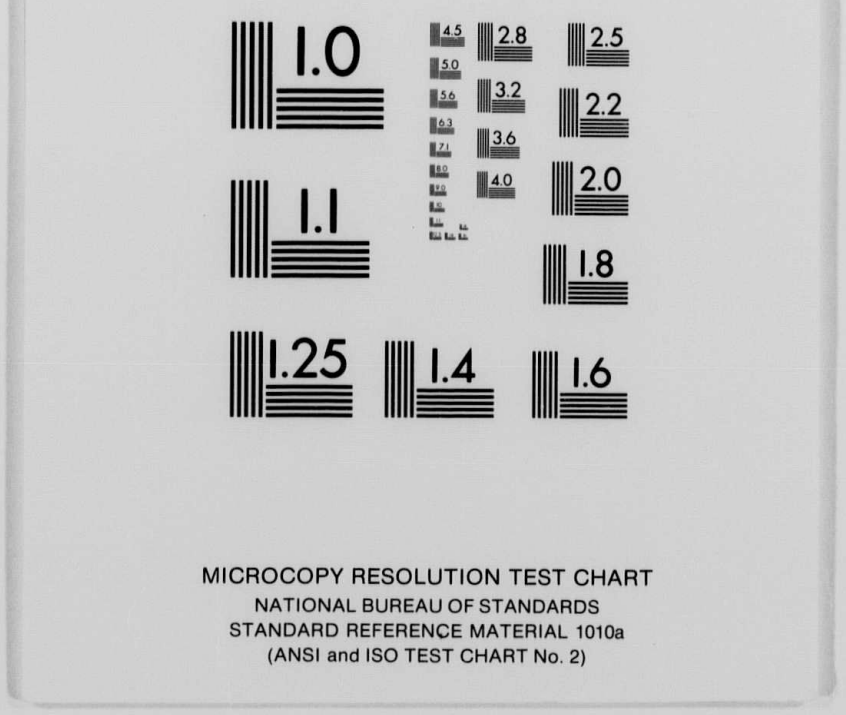


MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



START

DÉBUT

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National Archives of Canada

Archives nationales du Canada

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Data - Données MG26, J5

Canada

ARC 0178 (88/04)

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MG 26
J

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

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

1996-02-02
7-2061

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

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

Access is Restricted.

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

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

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

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

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

Public Papers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Personal Papers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Political Archives Section.

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MG 26
J

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

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

1996-02-02

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

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

Accès contrôlé.

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers publics. Original,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers personnels.

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

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

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

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VOIR DOSSIER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Section des archives politiques.

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

FILE BEGAN ON PREVIOUS REEL

LE DOSSIER A DEBUTE SUR LA
BOBINE PRECEDENTE

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
78		Results of Election, Radio. Speech outside Parliament	11 June 1945	D 49010 - D 49014	
78		Welcome to Major General Hoffmeister, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 June 1945	D 49015 - D 49042	
78		Welcome to H.R.H. Abdul Ilsh, Regent of Iraq, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	30 June 1945	D 49043 - D 49050	
78		Glengarry By-election, Alexandria, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	17 July 1945	D 49051 - D 49289	
78		Opening remarks, Ottawa, Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction. Speeches outside Parliament	6 Aug. 1945	D 49290 - D 49305	
78		Welcome to General Crerar, Ottawa. Parliament Hill Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1945	D 49306 - D 49382	
78		Welcome Address of Mr. King to the Premiers of the nine Provinces as Delegates to the Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Aug. 1945	D 49383 - D 49385	
78		Surrender of Japan, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	13 Aug. 1945	D 49386	

dence that there has been nothing in the way of dictatorship, that there has been no pressing of a candidate from above by those who, for one reason or another, felt they had to accept him. It is an evidence of a free people in a free country making a free choice, and as long as that is preserved from one end of our country to the other we need have nothing to fear for the preservation of our freedom and the growth of our liberty. These gentlemen come here tonight with the voice of the people themselves. All of you who are here of the Liberal party, whether men or women, young men or elderly, have had your say. Any one of you was free to make any other nomination. If the right choice has been made, you have helped to make that choice. That is self-government in the truest sense of the word and tonight, ladies and gentlemen, I feel a very great pride that after all the years I have spent in public life--and they run now between the thirties and the forties--I should come so near the very voice of the people itself, and have them express, after all that period of time, such great confidence as they have expressed in me at this time. I thank you one and all for this great honour, this great tribute, this highest compliment that could possibly be paid to any public man. If I am successful in my efforts to be your representative in Parliament I shall seek never to forget the trust you have placed in me and to do my utmost to protect your liberties and further to the best of my ability the interests of this constituency.

This is perhaps the point at which I should say that I am very happy indeed to accept the nomination of the Liberals of Glengarry to be their candidate in the by-election for the Parliament of Canada which takes place

next month. I look forward with the greatest possible interest and delight to the opportunities which will be afforded me in representing this historic constituency, should I be so fortunate as to be returned, as the leader of the government and as one who is charged with very heavy responsibilities at this particular time. Never forget, ladies and gentlemen, that a representative and those whom he represents to all intents and purposes are one in the management and conduct of public affairs. What is done by me will be shared with you, as what you have done this evening is shared with me. Our political fortunes will be cast together in the one common endeavour to serve our country to the utmost of our abilities, and I should like you to feel that in all things it may be my privilege to undertake in the high office which I hold at the present time, whatever I may be able to accomplish will be as a result of the confidence and support which I have from you. That means very much to a leader in public life, particularly to one who seeks to lead his country in times like the present.

One or two others have spoken this evening and I wish to make reference also to what has been said by them. I want to refer for a few moments to my friend and colleague Hon. Lionel Chevrier, the Minister of Transport, who has spoken to you so eloquently tonight. Before doing so, however, I want to tell you of one little thing of which perhaps most of you have not known but which helps to link this constituency very closely, not only with what inevitably must be the last of my years in public life but with the years in which I first entered upon the leadership of the

D 49197

Liberal party. Some of you will recall the great convention that was held at Ottawa in 1919, at which I was chosen as leader of the Liberal party. At that time, like the present, I was without a seat in Parliament and I had to find a constituency if I was to be in Parliament as leader of my party. I recall very well that at the close of that great convention some of the delegates who were present came to me and said, "Mr. King, you will have to find a constituency, and before you make a final decision think about the county of Glengarry." I do not know whether they had any authority from any source to extend that word at that time, but it is a word that has remained in my memory and always will; and it gains a new significance tonight because, as I say, it seems to complete the circle which links the year 1919 with the year 1945, and the association between Glengarry and myself.

As a matter of fact what happened on that occasion was this. Even before the final ballot had been cast Mr. John Bell, who was then the Premier of Prince Edward Island and who was on the platform while the votes were being counted, came over to me and said, "You are going to be chosen as leader. Now, before I return to Prince Edward Island let me ask you not to give a decision to anyone as to where you are going to run because we have a vacancy in Prince county in Prince Edward Island and I am sure our friends there will be glad to offer you to seat." When Mr. Bell returned to Prince county I received a telegram offering me the constituency of Prince in Prince Edward Island and I accepted that offer. I am telling you tonight a little secret which has remained in my memory ever since, but which I am happy to disclose openly this evening.

I wish also to refer to the welcome which I have received since coming to Alexandria tonight. From all sides it has been one of the happiest days that I can recall. When our train came in at the station I was delighted to see there so many little children who were good enough to come up to the car and extend a welcome on their own behalf. As you know, I have reached these seventy years without having any children and my own, but that only makes it the more delightful for me when these little children recognize that they have in me a friend and are prepared to come and share some of their happy hours with me. I shall remember that welcome by the little children as I came into the constituency of Glengarry tonight.

Then in regard to the welcome I have received since then, I must speak at once of the Highland pipers band. There is nothing in this world that will tell a Scotsman what blood he has in his veins quicker than the pipes or the sound of the pibroch. If I had not known with the best of reasons that the blood within me is blood from that old land, shared with many who are present in this audience tonight, certainly I should have known it as soon as the pipes began to play when I was greeted at the entrance to the armouries here.

Speaking of the pipes reminds me that what I wish to speak of particularly this evening is the magnificent part which has been played overseas by the brave men who have gone from this and adjoining constituencies. They have taken part in the battles of Europe. No finer body of men has ever crossed the Atlantic to participate in a great

war than the men and women from this country and from adjoining counties, banded together as the Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders, whose name has become famous in the pages of history. All of us have had our blood stirred as we read the account of the invasion of Europe and the part which this great regiment took at Caan and other places all through France and into Germany, as well as the part they played in Holland. No braver men, no men of finer valour, according to those who speak with highest military authority, have appeared on the battle fields of Europe than the men who have gone from this very part of our great dominion. With their battle cry of "Up the Glens!" they have struck terror into the breasts of the enemy. They have lost no opportunity to seize any position it was necessary to seize, to hold any position it was desirable to hold; and they have won every conflict in which they have taken part. They have helped to cause the enemy much in the way of loss of life. They have helped greatly in bringing to the world freedom which has been the result of the efforts of those engaged in this present world conflict.

What is most in my thoughts and my heart tonight, however, is the fact that they also have had heavy losses, and those losses weigh heavily in many homes in this constituency. Many a fireside is bereft tonight because some one who has been a hero in the fight for liberty has not come back from across the ocean. I should like to express a word, as has been done by others this evening, of deepest sympathy to those who have been bereaved; sympathy to the wives, to the parents, to the children of those whoselives have been sacrificed in order that you and I might enjoy the sense of freedom which we all enjoy tonight and that our

country might remain secure during the years to come. I do express to you my deepest sympathy; but this I wish to say above everything else. You and I and all the citizens of this country must never forget that if we enjoy freedom tonight it is because of the part which has been played by the armed forces of this country, on land, at sea and in the air, the men and women who have been prepared to give their lives and those who have given them , in order that a tyrant might not conquer this world and in order that men and women might remain free.

Never let us forget that above all else the first duty of Canadians, the first duty of the government of Canada, the first duty of the people of Canada is to see that the men who are spared to return to this country shall never lack for anything that we can do on their behalf, to show the gratitude of the nation as it ought to be shown, at all times and on all occasions, to them. Let us remember also that there is an equal duty to the dependants of those who have lost their lives or who have suffered impairment of health or limb in this great war. Let us understand and realize that our first obligation as a nation is to care for them as long as they need our care, and do for them all that it lies within our power to do.

This may not always be an easy task, because the next few years, with their readjustments and the like, are going to be difficult years. However, I am happy to say that the present government has not waited until the men have begun to return to make provision for their future welfare. Years ago we realized that they would be the greatest of the obligations which would be placed upon this country and we

sought then to make provision. While there is not time tonight to discuss the various measures that have been put through in order to help the veterans as they return, I can say without fear of contradiction that a finer body of legislation has not found place on the books of any country in the world.

There is one other association of which I would like to speak., This meeting tonight has brought many things to my memory, and as I was referring to the Highland band I could not help recalling that many of those whom I would meet this evening and who are before me at thepresent time are descendants of the men who two hundred years ago this very year were surrounding Bonny Prince Charlie and giving him their support in his great endeavour at that time. I recall to mind the fact that more than one of my own ancestors were with Prince Charlie at that time; that one of them was a Highland officer who had received a commission from his prince and who, after the battle of Cullodon, when Prince Charlie had to flee to the continent of Europe, went with him and remained with him during the years following his adverse fortunes, while he was on the continent.

Two hundred years ago in the highlands of Scotland a great political struggle was going on. Here today, two hundred years later, we, the descendants of those who fought in the Scottish highlands at that time, are joined together having participated in the greatest struggle for freedom which this world has ever known. That is a link with this constituency; and I never forget that the Scotch and the French have always fought and stood together when the time and need required it. So between the associations

that I have with old Scotland and the equal associations which my ancestors had with that country, the close association I had for so many years with Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the very loyal support which at all times I have received from the French Canadians of this country, I feel very proud that in all probability I shall very soon be representing a constituency in which these two great races and these two great cultures combine to make the citizenship of this riding a splendid example to all parts of Canada.

Now, Mr. Chevrier, may I say a word of thanks to you. Let me say at once, ladies and gentlemen, that if I have been fortunate in the years I have been leader of my party, particularly in the years I have held the office of Prime Minister, which are now eighteen years and will soon be nineteen, it is because I have had the good fortune to be surrounded by men of exceptional character, great ability and great loyalty. As I look back over the number of those who have sat around the council table in the years that I have presided over the council, I can see only one picture; that is of a group of men all of whom were united in one great purpose, that purpose being the service of their country to the best of their ability. As time goes on changes become necessary in an administration. Before the last general election, as you are aware, additions were made to the cabinet of Canada. I cannot tell you how fortunate I think our country is and how fortunate I think I am in having at the council table, in the persons of a number of the younger men of our country, statesmen who will do honour to their name and to the name of our country, in increasing measure as the years go by.

You have heard Mr. Chevrier speak to you tonight. I need not tell you that there are few men anywhere who could begin to address an audience with such eloquence as he demonstrated on this occasion. I am not referring to what he said about myself. I know what these young colleagues mean when they say some of the things they do. I am far from meaning that they are not wholly sincere, but I say they know that a word to the old man helps to gladden his heart; and I can assure you that my heart has been greatly gladdened this evening in listening to my young colleague say some of the things he has said, not only what he said about myself but particularly what he said about the problems of Canada.

Here may I take occasion to say to Mr. Chevrier, Senior, the father of our distinguished Minister of Transport, how glad I am that he is on this platform tonight. May I extend to him my warmest congratulations upon the position his son holds in the public life of our country today.

Ladies and gentlemen, I can think of nothing which would have filled the hearts of my father and mother, and of those who preceded them, with greater pride than to have witnessed this gathering here tonight, to see one of their own receive the honour which I am receiving from you on this occasion. I want to thank you not only for the honour you have done me but for the honour you have done my name.

What I feel most deeply of all is that if there has been anything in myself which you have found worthy of recognition at this time, it is due more than all else to the example and training which I have received from my father and mother and what some of my ancestors have left me of tradition in the history of our country and in their fights for freedom.

It delights me greatly to see this younger generation taking hold of the government of Canada. You may be perfectly sure, ladies and gentlemen, that schooled as they have been for years in the traditions of the Liberal party, running back to the beginnings of Liberalism in this country, and above all with the noble example of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the greatest of all political leaders of our country; I say, having those examples before them, and the example too I would say equally of men like Sir John A. Macdonald and others, who have played such great roles in the history of our country, you may expect to see the affairs of this country governed in the way which we need.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have taken a long time in expressing the thoughts which I feel at this time. I have not felt that it was necessary tonight to go into political questions. You have heard them discussed very completely in the recent election, but before I conclude I would just like to say a word or two about the recent election. Before I forget to do so may I at once say to the members of the Progressive Conservative party in this constituency and to the members of the C.C.F. party in this constituency who have kindly indicated that they do not intend to offer opposition to my election when the day of election comes around, how very deeply obliged I feel

to them. I thank them most heartily for this expression of their friendship and good-will. I feel as though I should not say anything again against either the Tories or members of the C.C.F., but I am going to wait until the election is over before I do say anything. I will say this: If they all continue to do as well for the rest of the time they will find me most agreeable.

I do wish that we might have more of this kind of thing in our public life. I think you will agree with me that while I have not hesitated to speak my mind on the questions of the day I have never found it necessary to decend into personalities. I have never found it necessary to speak ill of my opponents. I mean by that, to say the kind of things that one hears said about men in public life at the time of general elections. That does not help to make a country great, but it does help to demean the man who decends to that kind of thing.

I hope, ladies and gentlemen, as the years go by we may begin to consider more and more simply the issues and questions and never mind personalities. They will tell their own story as the days go by.

May I say one other thing while I am speaking to you to-night. I do hope that we will hear less and less of this business of the Liberal party being controlled by the Province of Quebec. I think there can be nothing more unpatriotic than that any citizen of Canada should try to set one part of Canada over against the rest. Through western Canada I heard over and over again, "Oh, don't vote for Mackenzie King, he is simply doing what pleases them in the Province of Quebec."

Well, ladies and gentlemen, may I say this:

D 49206

In the last parliament of Canada, if you had taken every member of that parliament who came from the Province of Quebec from the House of Commons, the Liberal party would still have had a majority over all other parties in the House of Commons. The Liberals from the Province of Quebec have helped us to put through the legislation that has helped all parts of this country. I wish to say this, that never in the course of the whole of my public life have I done anything for that province which I have not done in equal measure for every province of this Dominion of Canada.

Just so there may be no mistake about the future, may I point this out to you that if you take away to-day all the members who have been returned from the Province of Quebec you will find that the Liberal party has a majority over any other party in Canada at this time in our House of Commons. They have a majority over the Progressive Conservative party, over the C.C.F. party and over all the other parties. So let us have an end to this business of trying to set one part of Canada over against the other. Let us on the contrary seek to do the opposite and see if we cannot come to understand more of each other and realize that our national life is enriched by having many men and women of different races and of different creeds, but all of whom have great common sympathies and great objectives in common--to serve.

Looking back at the last election may I take advantage of this moment again to thank the people of Canada for having returned the Liberal party once again to power. When one thinks of the fact that that party has been in office for a long time, that we have gone through two war-time elections, that the whole of the last five years have been years of

war in which the people had to undergo privations, in which they had to suffer restrictions of one kind or another--everyone has felt something of the strain and stress of war--it would not have been strange if the administration had had to bear the inevitable result of that kind of discontent. But when one considers the results one realizes that what has really taken place is this, that the people of Canada have realized that it is to the advantage of our country to have one national party, one party that has as its representatives members from every province of this dominion and thereby help to make a united Canada, a Canada that is stronger than it has ever been before.

I believe, ladies and gentlemen, reflecting on the recent x election, the reason we have been returned as we have to power is because in all our policies we have sought to avoid extremes. What we have sought to do is to give expression to the average Canadian opinion. It is only the government that continues to avoid extremes and to have regard for the average Canadian opinion that can hope long to hold office in this country or to hold office at all.

We have avoided extreme measures in the course of these years of war. We have not been able to please everyone--that is impossible--but by avoiding extremes and seeking to take, as I have said, the view that we believe to be the average view of Canadian opinion, we have taken a course that has been appreciated by people from one part of Canada to the other.

Then again I think the people of Canada felt that the present administration had a wonderful war record. Not that the government was responsible for what was done in time of war. I have said from every platform I have spoken on

that it is the people of Canada who made the war effort what it is. Then there are those who have served in the forces overseas. Those are the ones to be thanked for what has been achieved in the way of victory. But the war effort of Canada was planned, was organized, was directed by the late administration and the people of Canada realized that that planning had been careful, that that directing had been with wisdom, that that organizing had been efficient and they felt that a government that had so conducted the affairs of the country at a time of its greatest peril was a government that should be sustained in office at least as long as the war contined, for do not forget that this war is not over yet.

There was that fact. Then again I think there was another thing of great importance. It was that the people of Canada realized that we had not left the problems that were to follow the war until the time the war itself was over, but that we had a programme already outlined, not only outlined but already in part in practice; that we had considered carefully the position of the veterans, that we had considered carefully the other social problems that were arising, and that we had sought to meet them in an efficient way and having a constructive programme, particularly a programme which has to do with the health and well being of the people of Canada as a whole. Having begun on that programme, the people were desirious of seeing us returned to office that we might carry it out.

And I think there was this further. I think the people of Canada realized that under the present administration Canada has come to have a position in the world more respected, and more highly honoured than at any

previous time in her whole history. They have come to see that Canada has the respect of nations everywhere to-day, and that as far as the future is concerned all our problems are going to be increasingly world problems.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is a thought I should like to leave with you and with the people of this country. We no longer can regard our problems as being simply domestic. They are all part of the great international problem; and it is only as we are prepared to work with other nations and to seek a solution along the lines of international cooperation that we will be able to satisfactorily carry on the government of the country and to solve the different problems that may arise.

In speaking of the social programme Canada has had, I am happy to say that we have considered as far as we can all classes in the community. We have sought to improve the condition of the working man by passing legislation with respect to unemployment insurance; by old age pensions and the like we have been seeking to serve the older people of the country. In our legislation in the nature of family allowances we have sought to give to the little children of our country a greater opportunity in the battle of life. For the farmers of our country we have considered that they too in times like the present may be faced with great uncertainty, begetting fresh fears with respect to their incomes; and in order that they may be assured and insured against loss of income through unforseen happenings that may come at any time we have passed legislation, as you know, fixing floors for the prices of agricultural products so that at all times there may be guaranteed to the farming community a sense of security in regard to their own livelihood and the income which must support their homes.

And I am happy tonight to think that the legislation is certain to be of great value to the people of this constituency, which holds such a high place in the agricultural life of our country, to the splendid dairy industry which is carried on here, the production of cheese and other like commodities. I will hope, ladies and gentlemen, as the time goes on, to learn more and more about your needs here and, as far as I can, x to support them in the best way I can in parliament.

There is one other thought and that is this. I think the people of Canada have felt that there is nothing in which we are all more concerned than the future peace of the world, and I think they have felt that the present parliament, the present government, has been specially interested in the problems of peace; that we are specially interested in furthering the basis of relations with other nations; that we wish to expand trade with other nations; that we wish to understand their problems and have them understand ours. And I believe that they have felt that in the hands of the present administration, when it comes to peace conferences, when it comes to international conferences on world security and the like, Canada will be best represented by the administration which has been conducting these affairs for the last few years.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, in conclusion may I say that the coming session of parliament will be one of the most important in the history of Canada. This war has run on for oever five years. As far as Europe is concerned it is over, but not the effects of the war. There is still a terrible war prevailing in the Orient, and the government that is in office at the present time, and the new parliament

that comes into existence in the course of the next few weeks, will have to deal with these problems. The first great problem is the war, and all that arises out of the war. Secondly, is the great problem of demobilization, to bring back all the men from the battle fields and re-establish them in civil pursuits in our own country. It is a time of transition.

The last elections, it seemed to me, were a point of division between the past and the future which was very marked indeed. May I illustrate it to you in this way. If you go west toward the Pacific coast you come to a point in the Rocky mountains which is spoken of as the Great Divide. Until you reach that point you are going uphill all the way. Then you reach the peak and you begin to go down again on the other side, toward the Pacific ocean. You come to the great divide. The problem on the one side is pushing up; on the other it is coming down and dealing with the situation as you come down.

I had the same thing in the constituency of Prince Albert which I represented. There as one went to the North one kept climbing up. Then you came to a great divide, right in the constituency of Prince Albert, right beside a spot where I had a little cottage. From there on the waters began to flow down into the Arctic ocean, instead of flowing south as they did in the other part.

So it has been with the periods that preceded and will follow the last general election. The last general election--and it is quite remarkable that this should have been so, but I wish to assure you that it was not all a matter of chance; it was part of the planning and arrangements at the time--the last general elections came

after the war in Europe was over and before the war in the Orient was over. It came at a moment when it was possible for our men overseas to study the problems which this country is facing in the future. It came in a moment of relative quiet between, as I say, the period when we were all striving harder and harder to win the victory and the time that will follow, when our striving will be to make sure of our steps as we proceed again to get everything on the level.

This is a period of transition, and all periods of transition are difficult. As I say, we have the demobilization. Then we have what is most important of all, the working out of a great programme of social reform. What we must seek to do in this country is to continue what the Liberal party has already begun to do, to seek to bring about a minimum standard of human well being throughout the whole of Canada. By that I mean that there must be an effort made to provide against the hazards in the lives of people, whether they are those who are living on farms or those working in factories, those who are in employment of different kinds, to see that when great hazards come there is something in the way of protection to help meet them. That is why we have unemployment insurance, to help meet the moment when unemployment may come. That will have to be supplemented by other means as well, and what we shall seek to do above all else is to maintain a high standard of employment in Canada through the years. We have had that during the period of this war. Now we must seek to see that this standard of employment which has meant employment for all to all intents and purposes--I am not saying every soul, but I am speaking generally--is

maintained during the years to come.

We must seek also to do something to help in the matter of the health of the population; the prevention, as far as possible, of disease in as many directions as possible and giving assistance where assistance is required.

There is that great work of social reform, and then finally this great work of peace, peace as between the different nations. At San Francisco they have worked out a great plan known as the United Nations Charter which will help serve to maintain peace in the years when the war is over. That can be worked out only if all nations do their full part. One of the first duties of the next parliament will be to ratify that charter, to help take on the part of Canada those steps which may be necessary for full cooperation with other countries in the world.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, during my life I have had two great purposes. One has been to lend whatever influence and power I might have to a furtherance of the cause of peace; peace in industrial relations, peace in international relations. The other great purpose has been to further the well being of my fellow men; to try to so enlarge the opportunities for men and women in the battle of life that we may all come to share in greater measure, in a measure much nearer to the equality of blessings which God has given to us when he gave to this world the resources which it has to-day and the possibilities which should be open to all who are in the land.

So I return now to Ottawa to take up these tasks anew, but with a new sense of strength, of power, and of hope because of what has taken place within these walls tonight. I go back feeling that in the endeavour to further

these great policies of which I have spoken the Prime Minister of this country will have at his back a body of men and women who he knows holds in their hearts views similar to his own, and who will be prepared to support him at all times in every effort that he may put forth to make this better condition for our human society prevail.

So, ladies and gentlemen, let my last words be these to you tonight. Never forget, as I have said, that from now on, should I be returned to parliament as your representative, we are no longer strangers. We are partners, partners in the great business of the government of our land. Let us make up our minds now that for such time as we may be spared to work together in this great joint effort for better human well being and for the good of our country, we will put into it the best that our minds and our hearts are able to give.

D 49215

NOTES RE SPEECH OF JULY 17, 1945,
ACCEPTING NOMINATION:

Page 3 - Line 3 - "I was congratulating myself that I had fought my last political battle."

Line 7 - "In the last contest I mentioned that it would be the last time I would be participating in a general election."

Page 7-8 - Approach of gentlemen from Glengarry re offer of constituency of Glengarry. Dr. MacDiarmid called on Mr. King same day, repeated that he would be happy to step aside. Deeply touched by expression of friendship and loyalty.

Page 9 - Thanks Doctor MacDiarmid "with all my heart for his generosity, his loyalty and his friendliness in making that decision."

Page 15 - Acceptance of nomination.

Page 23 - Thanks for honour.

Page 31 - Hopes to learn more about needs of constituency and to support them in Parliament.

D 49216

Speech by
Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
at
Alexandria, Ontario,
July 17, 1945.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

This is indeed a memorable day in my life. As I have been sitting here this evening looking into the faces of this vast audience, watching what has been taking place and listening to those who have addressed you thus far, my thoughts have gone back to the day thirty-seven years ago when, after having filled the position of Deputy Minister of Labour for eight years I resigned that position to run as a candidate in the election of 1908, to contest the constituency of North Waterloo, in which I was born. = 41 now 1949

Thirty-seven years is a long time in public life. I recall well on that occasion being the youngest candidate of all the Liberals running at that time. Sir Wilfrid Laurier came up to Waterloo county to open the meeting and speak on my behalf. Little did I think then that the day would ever come when I would have the great responsibility, as well as the great honour, of being his successor as leader of the Liberal party. At that time Sir Wilfrid had been leader of the party for twenty-one years. Little did I think the day would come when I would be leading the party, not for twenty-five years, as my friend Mr. Chevrier has just told you, but for twenty-six years, and it will be in the twenty-seventh year when the

7th of August rolls around.

ell, ladies and gentlemen, it delights me to think, recalling that long association with Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the great purpose of his life, that we are united into one great nation, with one Canadian feeling; that the peoples who are descendants of the two great races have become so united; that I should find it part of my good fortune to be about-- I hope--to represent a constituency in which the two great cultures are joined, as has been said tonight. If there is one constituency anywhere in Canada that may be spoken of as a symbol of Canada as a whole, as we would like to see Canada at all times, it is the constituency of Glengarry in which I am tonight, for here, as has been said from this platform this evening, there are found the descendants of the two great races who have laid the foundations of our country.

There are found here also the representatives of those from other countries, particularly other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations, so that we have in miniature, as it were, something which represents this great dominion from coast to coast, in the form of a united people with one voice, all serving their constituency and their country with one great aim and purpose.

That, as I have said, was the hope of Sir Wilfrid Laurier for the future of Canada. That hope, I believe, is being realized in increasing measure as the years go by.

On the night of June 11, when the returns were coming in, when before the evening was over I saw that the Liberal party had again been returned to power, I was congratulating myself that I had fought my last political battle. Since Confederation there have been twenty general elections in Canada. In ten of those elections I have been in the thick of the conflict and, as you may recall, in the last contest I mentioned that it would be the last time I would be participating in a general election. So I say I was congratulating myself because that would be the last political battle I would be called upon to fight. But when more complete returns came in I found that what had looked like a victory in the constituency of Prince Albert unfortunately turned into a defeat. Instead of having the small majority which resulted from the civilian vote, when the final vote was announced I found myself in a very small minority, on the wrong side of the sheet. So then I had to consider what it was best for me to do.

Had the party met with my misfortune; had the Liberal party itself not been returned to power, I think I should have felt that my duty by my party and by the country had been done, and probably I should have retired into private life. But realizing that the party had received such a splendid endorsation from all parts of Canada; realizing that nation-wide support had been given to the party, I felt it to be my duty, and indeed I found it generally believed that it was advisable and necessary, that I should continue if possible at the head of the

administration. So this made it necess ry that I myself, or by leaving it to others, should in some way find another seat, and if possible be returned to the Parliament of Canada once more.

Well, they say it is an ill wind that does not blow some good, and they also say that every cloud has a silver lining. As I look at this great gathering tonight I cannot but believe in the wisdom of both those sayings; for certainly the wind that has blown me into the constituency of Glengarry, a constituency with such a historic note, so near to the capital of Ottawa, has been indeed one of the best breezes I have experienced in the course of my days. And no cloud has ever had a brighter lining than the one which has given me at this moment the happy place which I enjoy among the descendants of the Scotch, the French and the other races who go to make up this great audience this evening.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, let me say just a word about Prince Albert before I begin to speak on Glengarry and to reply to the different addresses to which you have listened this evening. You will be anxious, no doubt, to know how it was that after having represented the constituency of Prince Albert for nineteen years I should meet with the misfortune of losing the seat at this particular time. Well, I think the explanation is simple. We have been passing through years of war, the most terrible years that the world has ever known;

and during those years I have had the responsibility of being at the head of the administration which was carrying on the war effort of Canada. I felt it my duty, during that long period, to be at the seat of government at all times when it seemed necessary to be there, not to spend my time travelling around seeking what I could do in the way of making secure my political future but thinking only of the future of our country and of the great problems with which it was faced during this period of time.

So, unfortunately, between the general election of 1940 and the general election of 1945 I had opportunity to visit my own constituency of Prince Albert only on one or two occasions. Well, now, can you wonder that in that period of five years, when almost another generation had been added to the voters' lists, there should have been found many who had not seen, and perhaps a great many who had not heard much about the member for the constituency?

More than that; when it came to the period of the general election, as you all know I had been obliged to attend the conference at San Francisco, the conference which has been dealing with world security; and having been present at that conference there were left only four weeks in all, between four and five weeks, in which it was possible for me to give attention to the general election. Being the leader of my party I felt it was my duty to consider the party's interest above all else and to make a tour from one side of Canada to the

other, to speak in different cities all the way from Vancouver on the Pacific to Saint John by the waters of the Atlantic. That left me without opportunity of spending more than between three and four days in the constituency of Prince Albert, one of which happened to be a Sunday, and we didn't do much electioneering on that day.

So you will see that, after all, what took place in Prince Albert was not so great a surprise. Indeed, I can imagine almost the feeling of consternation which the Liberals of the constituency must have had when I was obliged to tell them at the time the general election was announced that I would not be able to spend more than three or four days at the most in the riding. I cannot begin to tell you what a magnificent battle I think was put up by the Liberals in that constituency. Far from being a defeat, in the light of all the circumstances it was a great triumph for the men and women who sought to elect a Liberal in the constituency under those conditions. They came so near it that I cannot but feel with them a great disappointment that victory was not achieved at that particular time. On the other hand, I shall always feel that the Liberals of Prince Albert, while they lost the seat, helped to gain the victory over the Dominion of Canada as a whole by making it possible for the leader of the party to speak in all parts of the country, along with his colleagues and members of the House of Commons.

So, ladies and gentlemen, while I have been defeated in

Prince Albert, I shall always have a warm place in my heart for that constituency; and never was it warmer than it is tonight, as I think of the disappointment that may rest in the breasts of some of those who fought so bravely to be represented in Parliament by the member who had been their representative, as I say, for nearly twenty years, but who find today that their representative is in the opposition; and that he is not only in the opposition, but that he is a member of one group the influence of which in Parliament over these next few years is not likely to be anything comparable to the influence of the large party that comprises the government side of the house at this time.

"Now ladies and gentlemen, may I say that the results had scarcely been given to the public when three gentlemen from Glengarry called upon me at Laurier House at Ottawa and said they had been talking that day and the day before with Doctor MacDiarmid, the member elect of this constituency, who had suggested to them that he would be willing to step aside and have the constituency of Glengarry offered to me if the members of the executive and others of the Liberal Association were willing that this step should be taken. They told me that they themselves were members of the association and that they felt sure that if I would be willing to accept the nomination in the constituency of Glengarry the good people of this constituency would be prepared to have me as their candidate.

It so happened that Doctor MacDiarmid was in the city at the same time. He came to my office in the afternoon and repeated what these gentlemen had said, that he would be happy to step aside and allow me to run in the constituency of Glengarry, if I would be prepared to accept the nomination if it were offered to me by the constituency. He said, as he has said to you this evening, that he felt there was a certain duty owing to the party as a whole that its leader should find a seat in Parliament, and not only in Parliament during the time of the session but that he should be able to take his seat as soon as the session opened."

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I need not say to you how deeply touched I was by that expression of friendship, loyalty and good will on his part and on the part of the others who called upon me. I reported the matter to my colleagues in the cabinet and told them of the kind offer which had been made. I told them also of offers which had come from members elect and the executives of a number of ridings in different provinces of Canada; and just here I should like to take this opportunity of expressing to the many constituencies which have offered me the possibility of a seat, if I should be prepared to run there, a word of very sincere and deep appreciation for that offer. I said to my colleagues in the cabinet that it was necessary for me to return to San Francisco in order to sign, along with my colleague Mr. St. Laurent, the Minister of Justice, the United Nations Charter which was about to be completed at that time, and that I would

leave it with my colleagues to decide in which constituency they thought it would be best for me to seek the nomination. When I returned from San Francisco I was delighted indeed to find that it had been arranged that I was to run in this constituency of Glengarry; that Doctor MacDiarmid not only had again signified his readiness to step aside but had actually accepted or agreed to accept an office of emolument under the crown in order that he might thereby create a vacancy through having accepted office while a Member of Parliament. That office is not a very lucrative one, but the heart which was prepared to make that decision is a very large one, and tonight I should like to thank Doctor MacDiarmid with all my heart for his generosity, his loyalty and his friendliness in making that decision.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, almost immediately following that the electoral officer at Ottawa announced that there was a vacancy in the constituency of Glengarry and that a by-election would be held on August 6, with official nominations to take place on July 30. Following that I learned that the Liberals of the constituency were arranging for a convention to nominate their candidate and that in all probability the nomination would be tendered to myself. Well, here we are assembled together this evening. This has been the day of the convention and I must confess to you that it is a day I shall remember with gratitude and pride as long as I live. I should like to take advantage of this moment to say to each of the gentlemen who visited me on the morning to which I have referred how deeply

I was touched at the time by the expression of their friendship and what they brought to me of the friendship of the people of this constituency. May I say to you first of all, Mr. Major, how proud I am that you should be presiding over this gathering tonight. Of course I have known of your part in public affairs for many years. Few citizens of any constituency have been more active and more in earnest in regard to municipal, provincial and dominion affairs than you have been. You have been a stalwart among stalwarts in holding high the flag of Liberalism in our country, and I am proud indeed that as President of the Liberal Association of this constituency you should be presiding here this evening extending the words of welcome which you have so very generously expressed.

May I say the same to Mr. Donald Macdonald, K.C., who has spoken to you so eloquently from this platform tonight. Mr. Macdonald is another of the leaders of Liberalism in our land, a man who has taken a great part in shaping public opinion, not only in this constituency but throughout different parts of our province and different parts of the dominion. I should like to be able to dwell at length on some of the things he was kind enough to say this evening, but I wish to refer to other speakers also, so must limit what I have to say at this time. But let me say to him that I shall always remember with deepest gratitude the earnest manner in which, on the day he came to Laurier House, he told me about the opportunity which the con-

D 49226

stituency of Glengarry would offer to the leader of the government, particularly since the constituency itself is so near Ottawa. I shall remember also what he said about the affairs of our country and the desirability of the leader of the government being in the House of Commons when Parliament met. For this and for much else, particularly for what he has said to this great gathering this evening, I wish to thank him and very warmly and with all my heart.

There was another gentleman who was present on that occasion. He was another Mr. Macdonald, the son of the late Archie Macdonald, an old colleague and friend in the House of Commons, a former member for this constituency. Well, ladies and gentlemen, it did my heart good to find that the son of an old colleague was among the number who had come to speak to me about representing the constituency which his father had represented. There was a note about that which struck pretty deep into my heart. It said to me that men who were the sons of those who had been associated with me years ago were prepared to give the same confidence to the leader of the Liberal party that their fathers had given in years before. Could any man wish for a greater compliment than that? It made me recall for the moment that I had passed my three score years and ten, that I had got into a different class than the one I was in when I first entered Sir Wilfrid Laurier's cabinet at thirty-three years of age. I was then the youngest member of the cabinet. For some little time past I have been the oldest member of the

present cabinet, but may I say that to me no greater compliment could be paid than that which was paid by young Mr. Macdonald when he spoke of his father's loyalty and allegiance and the loyalty and allegiance which he was prepared to give me if I ran in his constituency. And may I say in passing how pleased I am this evening to have the honour of being welcomed by Mr. MacRae, a former member for the constituency, who was also a colleague in the House of Commons. That these gentlemen should have shared with you the confidence which they have expressed in this way is something for which I am indeed most grateful.

Now, Doctor MacDiarmid, I do not feel that I have begun to say to you what I really would like to say. After all, to give up a constituency for which one has been returned in two war-time elections in order to enable another to come in and represent one in that seat is a very great act of generosity, of kindness, of loyalty and of good will. For that generosity, that loyalty and good will I thank you with all my heart. You, ladies and gentlemen, know the doctor; he has lived here all his life. The fact that you have returned him on these occasions indicates the high esteem in which you hold him. Therefore, perhaps you will not be surprised at the public spirit which caused him to perform an act which is of service not only to me as an individual but which I believe will be also of service to the party and, may I venture even to say, of service to Parliament, because I do think it will be of some advantage that the leader of

D 49228

the government, the leader of the House of Commons should be in his seat when Parliament opens, particularly at the beginning of a new Parliament. But it was not altogether a surprise to me that the doctor should have taken this stand, for during the five years and more that we have been together in the House of Commons there have been many occasions when we have had difficult times to encounter, difficult passages to cross; and from the beginning to the end of our association he has been one of the members of Parliament always at one's side, always supporting without equivocation; and when moments of discouragement came, he was among the first to come forward with a word of good will which helped give one new spirit and new energy. So I say I am not surprised that at this time he should have shown his public spirit and the great generosity he has shown to me and to my colleagues in the government in having come to the decision at which he has arrived.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I have been very deeply impressed, as you could see, by what has been said and what has taken place here this evening, but there is one thing above all others which I will remember always, because to me it has been one of the finest illustrations of the way in which self-government is carried on in a country that it would be possible to give to a people as an example. I refer to the part which has been played this evening by the delegates who have come from the different polling divisions of the constituency. I am greatly honoured indeed that every polling sub-division should

have sent its delegation to this convention. I am particularly honoured that the senior members of the delegations, the chairman or some members of the executives, should have come forward with their credentials and stated to this gathering that they had only one nomination to offer, and that was the nomination of my humble self. I think you know how strongly I feel in the matter of self-government, how strongly I feel that we should preserve above all else the right of the people to govern themselves. If ever there was a case, here is evidence that there has been nothing in the way of dictatorship, that there has been no pressing of a candidate from above by those who, for one reason or another, felt they had to accept him. It is an evidence of a free people in a free country making a free choice, and as long as that is preserved from one end of our country to the other we need have nothing to fear for the preservation of our freedom and the growth of our liberty. These gentlemen come here tonight with the voice of the people themselves. All of you who are here of the Liberal party, whether men or women, young men or elderly, have had your say. Any one of you was free to make any other nomination. If the right choice has been made, you have helped to make that choice. That is self-government in the truest sense of the word and tonight, ladies and gentlemen, I feel a very great pride that after all the years I have spent in public life-- and they run now between the thirties and the forties-- I should come so near the very voice of the people itself, and

D 49230

have them express, after all that period of time, such great confidence as they have expressed in me at this time. I thank you one and all for this great honour, this great tribute, this highest compliment that could possibly be paid to any public man. If I am successful in my efforts to be your representative in Parliament I shall seek never to forget the trust you have placed in me and to do my utmost to protect your liberties and further to the best of my ability the interests of this constituency.

This is perhaps the point at which I should say that I am very happy indeed to accept the nomination of the Liberals of Glengarry to be their candidate in the by-election for the Parliament of Canada which takes place next month. I look forward with the greatest possible interest and delight to the opportunities which will be afforded me in representing this historic constituency, should I be so fortunate as to be returned, as the leader of the government and as one who is charged with very heavy responsibilities at this particular time. Never forget, ladies and gentlemen, that a representative and those whom he represents to all intents and purposes are one in the management and conduct of public affairs. What is done by me will be shared with you, as what you have done this evening is shared with me. Our political fortunes will be cast together in the one common endeavour to serve our country to the utmost of our abilities, and I should like you to feel that in all things it may be my privilege to undertake in the

D 49231

high office which I hold at the present time, whatever I may be able to accomplish will be as a result of the confidence and support which I have from you. That means very much to a leader in public life, particularly to one who seeks to lead his country in times like the present.

One or two others have spoken this evening and I wish to make reference also to what has been said by them. I want to refer for a few moments to my friend and colleague Hon. Lionel Chevrier, the Minister of Transport, who has spoken to you so eloquently tonight. Before doing so, however, I want to tell you of one little thing of which perhaps most of you have not known but which helps to link this constituency very closely, not only with what inevitably must be the last of my years in public life but with the years in which I first entered upon the leadership of the Liberal party. Some of you will recall the great convention that was held at Ottawa in 1919, at which I was chosen as leader of the Liberal party. At that time, like the present, I was without a seat in Parliament and I had to find a constituency if I was to be in Parliament as leader of my party. I recall very well that at the close of that great convention some of the delegates who were present came to me and said: "Mr. King, you will have to find a constituency, and before you make a final decision think about the county of Glengarry." I do not know whether they had any authority from any source to extend that word

D 49232

at that time, but it is a word that has remained in my memory and always will; and it gains a new significance tonight because, as I say, it seems to complete the circle which links the year 1919 with the year 1945, and the association between Glengarry and myself.

As a matter of fact what happened on that occasion was this. Even before the final ballot had been cast Mr. John Bell, who was then the Premier of Prince Edward Island and who was on the platform while the votes were being counted, came over to me and said: "You are going to be chosen as leader. Now, before I return to Prince Edward Island let me ask you not to give a decision to anyone as to where you are going to run because we have a vacancy in Prince county in Prince Edward Island and I am sure our friends there will be glad to offer you the seat." When Mr. Bell returned to Prince county I received a telegram offering me the constituency of Prince in Prince Edward Island and I accepted that offer. I am telling you tonight a little secret which has remained in my memory ever since, but which I am happy to disclose openly this evening.

I wish also to refer to the welcome which I have received since coming to Alexandria tonight. From all sides it has been one of the happiest days that I can recall. When our train came in at the station I was delighted to see there so many little children who were good enough to come up to the car and extend a welcome on their own behalf. As you know, I have reached these seventy years without having any children of

my own, but that only makes it the more delightful for me when these little children recognize that they have in me a friend and are prepared to come and share some of their happy hours with me. I shall remember that welcome by the little children as I came into the constituency of Glengarry tonight.

Then in regard to the welcome I have received since then, I must speak at once of the Highland pipers band. There is nothing in this world that will tell a Scotsman what blood he has in his veins quicker than the pipes or the sound of the pibroch. If I had not known with the best of reasons that the blood within me is blood from that old land, shared with many who are present in this audience tonight, certainly I should have known it as soon as the pipes began to play when I was greeted at the entrance to the armouries here.

Speaking of the pipes reminds me that what I wish to speak of particularly this evening is the magnificent part which has been played overseas by the brave men who have gone from this and adjoining constituencies. They have taken part in the battles of Europe. No finer body of men has ever crossed the Atlantic to participate in a great war than the men and women from this county and from adjoining counties, banded together as the Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders, whose name has become famous in the pages of history. All of us have had our blood stirred as we read the account of the invasion of Europe and the part which this great regiment took at Caen and other places all through France and into Germany, as well as the part they played

in Holland. No braver men, no men of finer valour, according to those who speak with highest military authority, have appeared on the battle fields of Europe than the men who have gone from this very part of our great dominion. With their battle cry of "Up the Glens!" they have struck terror into the breasts of the enemy. They have lost no opportunity to seize any position it was necessary to seize, to hold any position it was desirable to hold; and they have won every conflict in which they have taken part. They have helped to cause the enemy much in the way of loss of life. They have helped greatly in bringing to the world freedom which has been the result of the efforts of those engaged in this present world conflict.

What is most in my thoughts and my heart tonight, however, is the fact that they also have had heavy losses, and those losses weigh heavily in many homes in this constituency. Many a fireside is bereft tonight because some one who has been a hero in the fight for liberty has not come back from across the ocean. I should like to express a word, as has been done by others this evening, of deepest sympathy to those who have been bereaved; sympathy to the wives, to the parents, to the children of those whose lives have been sacrificed in order that you and I might enjoy the sense of freedom which we all enjoy tonight and that our country might remain secure during the years to come.

I do express to you my deepest sympathy; but this I wish to say above everything else. You and I and all the citizens of this country must never forget that if we enjoy freedom tonight it is because of the part which has been played by the armed forces of this country, on land, at sea and in the air, the men and women who have been prepared to give their lives and those who have given them, in order that a tyrant might not conquer this world and in order that men and women might remain free.

Never let us forget that above all else the first duty of Canadians, the first duty of the government of Canada, the first duty of the people of Canada is to see that the men who are spared to return to this country shall never lack for anything that we can do on their behalf, to show the gratitude of the nation as it ought to be shown, at all times and on all occasions, to them. Let us remember also that there is an equal duty to the dependents of those who have lost their lives or who have suffered impairment of health or limb in this great war. Let us understand and realize that our first obligation as a nation is to care for them as long as they need our care, and do for them all that it lies within our power to do.

This may not always be an easy task, because the next few years, with their readjustments and the like, are going to be difficult years. However, I am happy to say that the present government has not waited until the men have begun to return to make provision for their future welfare. Years ago we realized that they would be the greatest of the obligations which would

be placed upon this country and we sought then to make provision. While there is not time tonight to discuss the various measures that have been put through in order to help the veterans as they return, I can say without fear of contradiction that a finer body of legislation has not found place on the books of any country in the world.

There is one other association of which I would like to speak. This meeting tonight has brought many things to my memory, and as I was referring to the Highland band I could not help recalling that many of those whom I would meet this evening and who are before me at the present time are descendants of the men who two hundred years ago this very year were surrounding Bonny Prince Charlie and giving him their support in his great endeavour at that time. I recall to mind the fact that more than one of my own ancestors were with Prince Charlie at that time; that one of them was a Highland officer who had received a commission from his prince and who, after the battle of Cullodon, when Prince Charlie had to flee to the continent of Europe, went with him and remained with him during the years following his adverse fortunes, while he was on the continent.

Two hundred years ago in the highlands of Scotland a great political struggle was going on. Here today, two hundred years later, we, the descendants of those who fought in the Scottish highlands at that time, are joined together having participated in the greatest struggle for freedom which this world has ever known. That is a link with this constituency; and

I never forget that the Scotch and the French have always fought and stood together when the time and need required it. So between the associations that I have with old Scotland and the equal associations which my ancestors had with that country, the close association I had for so many years with Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the very loyal support which at all times I have received from the French Canadians of this country, I feel very proud that in all probability I shall very soon be representing a constituency in which these two great races and these two great cultures combine to make the citizenship of this riding a splendid example to all parts of Canada.

Now, Mr. Chevrier, may I say a word of thanks to you. Let me say at once, ladies and gentlemen, that if I have been fortunate in the years I have been leader of my party, particularly in the years I have held the office of Prime Minister, which are now eighteen years and will soon be nineteen, it is because I have had the good fortune to be surrounded by men of exceptional character, great ability and great loyalty. As I look back over the number of those who have sat around the council table in the years that I have presided over the council, I can see only one picture; that is of a group of men all of whom were united in one great purpose, that purpose being the service of their country to the best of their ability. As time goes on changes become necessary in an administration. Before the last general election, as you are aware, additions were made to the cabinet of Canada. I cannot tell you how fortunate I think our country is and how for-

tunate I think I am in having at the council table, in the persons of a number of the younger men of our country, statesmen who will do honour to their name and to the name of our country, in increasing measure as the years go by.

You have heard Mr. Chevrier speak to you tonight. I need not tell you that there are few men anywhere who could begin to address an audience with such eloquence as he demonstrated on this occasion. I am not referring to what he said about myself. I know what these young colleagues mean when they say some of the things they do. I am far from meaning that they are not wholly sincere, but I say they know that a word to the old man helps to gladden his heart; and I can assure you that my heart has been greatly gladdened this evening in listening to my young colleague say some of the things he has said, not only what he said about myself but particularly what he said about the problems of Canada.

Here may I take occasion to say to Mr. Chevrier, Senior, the father of our distinguished Minister of Transport, how glad I am that he is on this platform tonight. May I extend to him my warmest congratulations upon the position his son holds in the public life of our country today.

Ladies and gentlemen, I can think of nothing which would have filled the hearts of my father and mother, and of those who preceded them, with greater pride than to have witnessed this gathering here tonight, to see one of their own receive the honour which I am receiving from you on this occasion. I want to thank

you not only for the honour you have done me but for the honour you have done my name.

What I feel most deeply of all is that if there has been anything in myself which you have found worthy of recognition at this time, it is due more than all else to the example and training which I have received from my father and mother and what some of my ancestors have left me of tradition in the history of our country and in their fights for freedom.

It delights me greatly to see this younger generation taking hold of the government of Canada. You may be perfectly sure, ladies and gentlemen, that schooled as they have been for years in the traditions of the Liberal party, running back to the beginnings of Liberalism in this country, and above all with the noble example of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the greatest of all political leaders of our country; I say, having those examples before them, and the example too I would say equally of men like Sir John A. Macdonald and others, who have played such great roles in the history of our country, you may expect to see the affairs of this country governed in the way which we need.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have taken a long time in expressing the thoughts which I feel at this time. I have not felt that it was necessary tonight to go into political questions. You have heard them discussed very completely in the recent election, but before I conclude I would just like to say a word

or two about the recent election. Before I forget to do so may I at once say to the members of the Progressive Conservative party in this constituency and to the members of the C. C. F. party in this constituency who have kindly indicated that they do not intend to offer opposition to my election when the day of election comes around, how very deeply obliged I feel to them. I thank them most heartily for this expression of their friendship and good-will. I feel as though I should not say anything again against either the Tories or members of the C.C.F., but I am going to wait until the election is over before I do say anything. I will say this: If they all continue to do as well for the rest of the time they will find me most agreeable.

I do wish that we might have more of this kind of thing in our public life. I think you will agree with me that while I have not hesitated to speak my mind on the questions of the day I have never found it necessary to descend into personalities. I have never found it necessary to speak ill of my opponents. I mean by that, to say the kind of things that one hears said about men in public life at the time of general elections. That does not help to make a country great, but it does help to demean the man who descends to that kind of thing.

I hope, ladies and gentlemen, as the years go by we may begin to consider more and more simply the issues and questions and never mind personalities. They will tell their own story as the days go by.

D 49241

May I say one other thing while I am speaking to you tonight. I do hope that we will hear less and less of this business of the Liberal party being controlled by the Province of Quebec. I think there can be nothing more unpatriotic than that any citizen of Canada should try to set one part of Canada over against the rest. Through western Canada I heard over and over again, "Oh, don't vote for Mackenzie King, he is simply doing what pleases them in the Province of Quebec."

Well, ladies and gentlemen, may I say this: In the last parliament of Canada, if you had taken every member of that parliament who came from the Province of Quebec from the House of Commons, the Liberal party would still have had a majority over all other parties in the House of Commons. The Liberals from the Province of Quebec have helped us to put through the legislation that has helped all parts of this country. I wish to say this, that never in the course of the whole of my public life have I done anything for that province which I have not done in equal measure for every province of this Dominion of Canada.

Just so there may be no mistake about the future, may I point this out to you that if you take away today all the members who have been returned from the Province of Quebec you will find that the Liberal party has a majority over any other party in Canada at this time in our House of Commons. They have a majority over the Progressive Conservative party, over the C.C.F. party

and over all the other parties. So let us have an end to this business of trying to set one part of Canada over against the other. Let us on the contrary seek to do the opposite and see if we cannot come to understand more of each other and realize that our national life is enriched by having many men and women of different races and of different creeds, but all of whom have great common sympathies and great objectives in common-- to serve.

Looking back at the last election may I take advantage of this moment again to thank the people of Canada for having returned the Liberal party once again to power. When one thinks of the fact that that party has been in office for a long time, that we have gone through two war-time elections, that the whole of the last five years have been years of war in which the people had to undergo privations, in which they had to suffer restrictions of one kind or another-- everyone has felt something of the strain and stress of war--it would not have been strange if the administration had had to bear the inevitable result of that kind of discontent. But when one considers the results one realizes that what has really taken place is this, that the people of Canada have realized that it is to the advantage of our country to have one national party, one party that has as its representatives members from every province of this dominion and thereby help to make a united Canada, a Canada that is stronger than it has ever been before.

I believe, ladies and gentlemen, reflecting on the recent election, the reason we have been returned as we have to power is because in all our policies we have sought to avoid extremes. What we have sought to do is to give expression to the average Canadian opinion. It is only the government that continues to avoid extremes and to have regard for the average Canadian opinion that can hope long to hold office in this country or to hold office at all.

We have avoided extreme measures in the course of these years of war. We have not been able to please everyone--that is impossible--but by avoiding extremes and seeking to take, as I have said, the view that we believe to be the average view of Canadian opinion, we have taken a course that has been appreciated by people from one part of Canada to the other.

Then again I think the people of Canada felt that the present administration had a wonderful war record. Not that the government was responsible for what was done in time of war. I have said from every platform I have spoken on that it is the people of Canada who made the war effort what it is. Then there are those who have served in the forces overseas. Those are the ones to be thanked for what has been achieved in the way of victory. But the war effort of Canada was planned, was organized, was directed by the late administration and the people of Canada realized that that planning had been careful, that that directing had been with wisdom, that that organizing had been efficient and

they felt that a government that had so conducted the affairs of the country at a time of its greatest peril was a government that should be sustained in office at least as long as the war continued, for do not forget that this war is not over yet.

There was that fact. Then again I think there was another thing of great importance. It was that the people of Canada realized that we had not left the problems that were to follow the war until the time the war itself was over, but that we had a programme already outlined, not only outlined but already in part in practice; that we had considered carefully the position of the veterans, that we had considered carefully the other social problems that were arising, and that we had sought to meet them in an efficient way and having a constructive programme, particularly a programme which has to do with the health and well-being of the people of Canada as a whole. Having begun on that programme, the people were desirous of seeing us returned to office that we might carry it out.

And I think there was this further. I think the people of Canada realized that under the present administration Canada has come to have a position in the world more respected, and more highly honoured than at any previous time in her whole history. They have come to see that Canada has the respect of nations everywhere today, and that as far as the future is concerned all our problems are going to be increasingly world problems.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is a thought I should like to leave with you and with the people of this country. We no

D 49245

longer can regard our problems as being simply domestic. They are all part of the great international problem; and it is only as we are prepared to work with other nations and to seek a solution along the lines of international cooperation that we will be able to satisfactorily carry on the government of the country and to solve the different problems that may arise.

In speaking of the social programme Canada has had, I am happy to say that we have considered as far as we can all classes in the community. We have sought to improve the condition of the working man by passing legislation with respect to unemployment insurance; by old age pensions and the like we have been seeking to serve the older people of the country. In our legislation in the nature of family allowances we have sought to give to the little children of our country a greater opportunity in the battle of life. For the farmers of our country we have considered that they too in times like the present may be faced with great uncertainty, begetting fresh fears with respect to their incomes; and in order that they may be assured and insured against loss of income through unforeseen happenings that may come at any time we have passed legislation, as you know, fixing floors for the prices of agricultural products so that at all times there may be guaranteed to the farming community a sense of security in regard to their own livelihood and the income which must support their homes.

And I am happy tonight to think that the legislation is certain to be of great value to the people of this constituency,

D 49246

which holds such a high place in the agricultural life of our country, to the splendid dairy industry which is carried on here, the production of cheese and other like commodities. I will hope, ladies and gentlemen, as the time goes on, to learn more and more about your needs here and, as far as I can, to support them in the best way I can in parliament.

There is one other thought and that is this. I think the people of Canada have felt that there is nothing in which we are all more concerned than the future peace of the world, and I think they have felt that the present parliament, the present government, has been specially interested in the problems of peace; that we are specially interested in furthering the basis of relations with other nations; that we wish to expand trade with other nations; that we wish to understand their problems and have them understand ours. And I believe that they have felt that in the hands of the present administration, when it comes to peace conferences, when it comes to international conferences on world security and the like, Canada will be best represented by the administration which has been conducting these affairs for the last few years.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, in conclusion may I say that the coming session of parliament will be one of the most important in the history of Canada. This war has run on for over five years. As far as Europe is concerned it is over, but not the effects of the war. There is still a terrible war prevailing in the Orient, and the government that is in office at the present

D 49247

time, and the new parliament that comes into existence in the course of the next few weeks, will have to deal with these problems. The first great problem is the war, and all that arises out of the war. Secondly, is the great problem of demobilization, to bring back all the men from the battle fields and reestablish them in civil pursuits in our own country. It is a time of transition.

The last elections, it seemed to me, were a point of division between the past and the future which was very marked indeed. May I illustrate it to you in this way. If you go west toward the Pacific coast you come to a point in the Rocky mountains which is spoken of as the Great Divide. Until you reach that point you are going uphill all the way. Then you reach the peak and you begin to go down again on the other side, toward the Pacific ocean. You come to the great divide. The problem on the one side is pushing up; on the other it is coming down and dealing with the situation as you come down.

I had the same thing in the constituency of Prince Albert which I represented. There, as one went to the North, one kept climbing up. Then you came to a great divide, right in the constituency of Prince Albert, right beside a spot where I had a little cottage. From there on the waters began to flow down into the Arctic ocean, instead of flowing south as they did in the other part.

So it has been with the periods that preceded and will follow the last general election. The last general election --

and it is quite remarkable that this should have been so, but I wish to assure you that it was not all a matter of chance; it was part of the planning and arrangements at the time -- the last general elections came after the war in Europe was over and before the war in the Orient was over. It came at a moment when it was possible for our men overseas to study the problems which this country is facing in the future. It came in a moment of relative quiet between, as I say, the period when we were all striving harder and harder to win the victory and the time that will follow, when our striving will be to make sure of our steps as we proceed again to get everything on the level.

This is a period of transition, and all periods of transition are difficult. As I say, we have the demobilization. Then we have what is most important of all, the working out of a great programme of social reform. What we must seek to do in this country is to continue what the Liberal party has already begun to do, to seek to bring about a minimum standard of human well-being throughout the whole of Canada. By that I mean that there must be an effort made to provide against the hazards in the lives of people, whether they are those who are living on farms or those working in factories, those who are in employment of different kinds, to see that when great hazards come there is something in the way of protection to help meet them. That is why we have unemployment insurance, to help meet the moment when unemployment may come. That will have to be supplemented

by other means as well, and what we shall seek to do above all also is to maintain a high standard of employment in Canada through the years. We have had that during the period of this war. Now we must seek to see that this standard of employment which has meant employment for all to all intents and purposes -- I am not saying every soul, but I am speaking generally -- is maintained during the years to come.

We must seek also to do something to help in the matter of the health of the population; the prevention, as far as possible, of disease in as many directions as possible and giving assistance where assistance is required.

There is that great work of social reform, and then finally this great work of peace, peace as between the different nations. At San Francisco they have worked out a great plan known as the United Nations Charter which will help serve to maintain peace in the years when the war is over. That can be worked out only if all nations do their full part. One of the first duties of the next parliament will be to ratify that charter, to help take on the part of Canada those steps which may be necessary for full cooperation with other countries in the world.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, during my life I have had two great purposes. One has been to lend whatever influence and power I might have to a furtherance of the cause of peace; peace in industrial relations, peace in international relations. The other great purpose has been to further the well-being of my

fellowmen; to try to so enlarge the opportunities for men and women in the battle of life that we may all come to share in greater measure, in a measure much nearer to the equality of blessings which God has given to us when he gave to this world the resources which it has today and the possibilities which should be open to all who are in the land.

So I return now to Ottawa to take up these tasks anew, but with a new sense of strength, of power, and of hope, because of what has taken place within these walls tonight. I go back feeling that in the endeavour to further these great policies of which I have spoken the Prime Minister of this country will have at his back a body of men and women who he knows holds in their hearts views similar to his own, and who will be prepared to support him at all times in every effort that he may put forth to make this better condition for our human society prevail.

So, ladies and gentlemen, let my last words be these to you tonight. Never forget, as I have said, that from now on, should I be returned to parliament as your representative, we are no longer strangers. We are partners, partners in the great business of the government of our land. Let us make up our minds now that for such time as we may be spared to work together in this great joint effort for better human well-being, and, for the good of our country, we will put into it the best that our minds and our hearts are able to give.

D 49251

Speech by
Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
at
Alexandria, Ontario,
July 17, 1945.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

This is indeed a memorable day in my life. As I have been sitting here this evening looking into the faces of this vast audience, watching what has been taking place and listening to those who have addressed you thus far, my thoughts have gone back to the day thirty-seven years ago when, after having filled the position of Deputy Minister of Labour for eight years I resigned that position to run as a candidate in the election of 1908, to contest the constituency of North Waterloo, in which I was born.

Thirty-seven years is a long time in public life. I recall well on that occasion being the youngest candidate of all the Liberals running at that time. Sir Wilfrid Laurier came up to Waterloo county to open the meeting and speak on my behalf. Little did I think then that the day would ever come when I would have the great responsibility, as well as the great honour, of being his successor as leader of the Liberal party. At that time Sir Wilfrid had been leader of the party for twenty-one years. Little did I think the day would come when I would be leading the party, not for twenty-five years, as my friend Mr. Chevrier has just told you, but for twenty-six years, and it will be in the twenty-seventh year when the

7th of August rolls around.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, it delights me to think, recalling that long association with Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the great purpose of his life, that we are united into one great nation, with one Canadian feeling; that the peoples who are descendants of the two great races have become so united; that I should find it part of my good fortune to be about-- I hope--to represent a constituency in which the two great cultures are joined, as has been said tonight. If there is one constituency anywhere in Canada that may be spoken of as a symbol of Canada as a whole, as we would like to see Canada at all times, it is the constituency of Glengarry in which I am tonight, for here, as has been said from this platform this evening, there are found the descendants of the two great races who have laid the foundations of our country.

There are found here also the representatives of those from other countries, particularly other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations, so that we have in miniature, as it were, something which represents this great dominion from coast to coast, in the form of a united people with one voice, all serving their constituency and their country with one great aim and purpose.

That, as I have said, was the hope of Sir Wilfrid Laurier for the future of Canada. That hope, I believe, is being realized in increasing measure as the years go by.

On the night of June 11, when the returns were coming in, when before the evening was over I saw that the Liberal party had again been returned to power, I was congratulating myself that I had fought my last political battle. Since Confederation there have been twenty general elections in Canada. In ten of those elections I have been in the thick of the conflict and, as you may recall, in the last contest I mentioned that it would be the last time I would be participating in a general election. So I say I was congratulating myself because that would be the last political battle I would be called upon to fight. But when more complete returns came in I found that what had looked like a victory in the constituency of Prince Albert unfortunately turned into a defeat. Instead of having the small majority which resulted from the civilian vote, when the final vote was announed I found myself in a very small minority, on the wrong side of the sheet. So then I had to consider what it was best for me to do.

Had the party met with my misfortune; had the Liberal party itself not been returned to power, I think I should have felt that my duty by my party and by the country had been done, and probably I should have retired into private life. But realizing that the party had received such a splendid endorsation from all parts of Canada; realizing that nation-wide support had been given to the party, I felt it to be my duty, and indeed I found it generally believed that it was advisable and necessary, that I should continue if possible at the head of the

administration. So this made it necess ry that I myself, or by leaving it to others, should in some way find another seat, and if possible be returned to the Parliament of Canada once more.

Well, they say it is an ill wind that does not blow some good, and they also say that every cloud has a silver lining. As I look at this great gathering tonight I cannot but believe in the wisdom of both those sayings; for certainly the wind that has blown me into the constituency of Glengarry, a constituency with such a historic note, so near to the capital of Ottawa, has been indeed one of the best breezes I have experienced in the course of my days. And no cloud has ever had a brighter lining than the one which has given me at this moment the happy place which I enjoy among the descendants of the Scotch, the French and the other races who go to make up this great audience this evening.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, let me say just a word about Prince Albert before I begin to speak on Glengarry and to reply to the different addresses to which you have listened this evening. You will be anxious, no doubt, to know how it was that after having represented the constituency of Prince Albert for nineteen years I should meet with the misfortune of losing the seat at this particular time. Well, I think the explanation is simple. We have been passing through years of war, the most terrible years that the world has ever known;

and during those years I have had the responsibility of being at the head of the administration which was carrying on the war effort of Canada. I felt it my duty, during that long period, to be at the seat of government at all times when it seemed necessary to be there, not to spend my time travelling around seeking what I could do in the way of making secure my political future but thinking only of the future of our country and of the great problems with which it was faced during this period of time.

So, unfortunately, between the general election of 1940 and the general election of 1945 I had opportunity to visit my own constituency of Prince Albert only on one or two occasions. Well, now, can you wonder that in that period of five years, when almost another generation had been added to the voters' lists, there should have been found many who had not seen, and perhaps a great many who had not heard much about the member for the constituency?

More than that; when it came to the period of the general election, as you all know I had been obliged to attend the conference at San Francisco, the conference which has been dealing with world security; and having been present at that conference there were left only four weeks in all, between four and five weeks, in which it was possible for me to give attention to the general election. Being the leader of my party I felt it was my duty to consider the party's interest above all else and to make a tour from one side of Canada to the

other, to speak in different cities all the way from Vancouver on the Pacific to Saint John by the waters of the Atlantic. That left me without opportunity of spending more than between three and four days in the constituency of Prince Albert, one of which happened to be a Sunday, and we didn't do much electioneering on that day.

So you will see that, after all, what took place in Prince Albert was not so great a surprise. Indeed, I can imagine almost the feeling of consternation which the Liberals of the constituency must have had when I was obliged to tell them at the time the general election was announced that I would not be able to spend more than three or four days at the most in the riding. I cannot begin to tell you what a magnificent battle I think was put up by the Liberals in that constituency. Far from being a defeat, in the light of all the circumstances it was a great triumph for the men and women who sought to elect a Liberal in the constituency under those conditions. They came so near it that I cannot but feel with them a great disappointment that victory was not achieved at that particular time. On the other hand, I shall always feel that the Liberals of Prince Albert, while they lost the seat, helped to gain the victory over the Dominion of Canada as a whole by making it possible for the leader of the party to speak in all parts of the country, along with his colleagues and members of the House of Commons.

So, ladies and gentlemen, while I have been defeated in

Prince Albert, I shall always have a warm place in my heart for that constituency; and never was it warmer than it is tonight, as I think of the disappointment that may rest in the breasts of some of those who fought so bravely to be represented in Parliament by the member who had been their representative, as I say, for nearly twenty years, but who find today that their representative is in the opposition; and that he is not only in the opposition, but that he is a member of one group the influence of which in Parliament over these next few years is not likely to be anything comparable to the influence of the large party that comprises the government side of the house at this time.

Now ladies and gentlemen, may I say that the results had scarcely been given to the public when three gentlemen from Glengarry called upon me at Laurier House at Ottawa and said they had been talking that day and the day before with Doctor MacDiarmid, the member elect of this constituency, who had suggested to them that he would be willing to step aside and have the constituency of Glengarry offered to me if the members of the executive and others of the Liberal Association were willing that this step should be taken. They told me that they themselves were members of the association and that they felt sure that if I would be willing to accept the nomination in the constituency of Glengarry the good people of this constituency would be prepared to have me as their candidate.

It so happened that Doctor MacDiarmid was in the city at the same time. He came to my office in the afternoon and repeated what these gentlemen had said, that he would be happy to step aside and allow me to run in the constituency of Glengarry, if I would be prepared to accept the nomination if it were offered to me by the constituency. He said, as he has said to you this evening, that he felt there was a certain duty owing to the party as a whole that its leader should find a seat in Parliament, and not only in Parliament during the time of the session but that he should be able to take his seat as soon as the session opened.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I need not say to you how deeply touched I was by that expression of friendship, loyalty and good will on his part and on the part of the others who called upon me. I reported the matter to my colleagues in the cabinet and told them of the kind offer which had been made. I told them also of offers which had come from members elect and the executives of a number of ridings in different provinces of Canada; and just here I should like to take this opportunity of expressing to the many constituencies which have offered me the possibility of a seat, if I should be prepared to run there, a word of very sincere and deep appreciation for that offer. I said to my colleagues in the cabinet that it was necessary for me to return to San Francisco in order to sign, along with my colleague Mr. St. Laurent, the Minister of Justice, the United Nations Charter which was about to be completed at that time, and that I would

leave it with my colleagues to decide in which constituency they thought it would be best for me to seek the nomination. When I returned from San Francisco I was delighted indeed to find that it had been arranged that I was to run in this constituency of Glengarry; that Doctor MacDiarmid not only had again signified his readiness to step aside but had actually accepted or agreed to accept an office of emolument under the crown in order that he might thereby create a vacancy through having accepted office while a Member of Parliament. That office is not a very lucrative one, but the heart which was prepared to make that decision is a very large one, and tonight I should like to thank Doctor MacDiarmid with all my heart for his generosity, his loyalty and his friendliness in making that decision.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, almost immediately following that the electoral officer at Ottawa announced that there was a vacancy in the constituency of Glengarry and that a by-election would be held on August 6, with official nominations to take place on July 30. Following that I learned that the Liberals of the constituency were arranging for a convention to nominate their candidate and that in all probability the nomination would be tendered to myself. Well, here we are assembled together this evening. This has been the day of the convention and I must confess to you that it is a day I shall remember with gratitude and pride as long as I live. I should like to take advantage of this moment to say to each of the gentlemen who visited me on the morning to which I have referred how deeply

I was touched at the time by the expression of their friendship and what they brought to me of the friendship of the people of this constituency. May I say to you first of all, Mr. Major, how proud I am that you should be presiding over this gathering tonight. Of course I have known of your part in public affairs for many years. Few citizens of any constituency have been more active and more in earnest in regard to municipal, provincial and dominion affairs than you have been. You have been a stalwart among stalwarts in holding high the flag of Liberalism in our country, and I am proud indeed that as President of the Liberal Association of this constituency you should be presiding here this evening extending the words of welcome which you have so very generously expressed.

May I say the same to Mr. Donald Macdonald, K.C., who has spoken to you so eloquently from this platform tonight. Mr. Macdonald is another of the leaders of Liberalism in our land, a man who has taken a great part in shaping public opinion, not only in this constituency but throughout different parts of our province and different parts of the dominion. I should like to be able to dwell at length on some of the things he was kind enough to say this evening, but I wish to refer to other speakers also, so must limit what I have to say at this time. But let me say to him that I shall always remember with deepest gratitude the earnest manner in which, on the day he came to Laurier House, he told me about the opportunity which the con-

stituency of Glengarry would offer to the leader of the government, particularly since the constituency itself is so near Ottawa. I shall remember also what he said about the affairs of our country and the desirability of the leader of the government being in the House of Commons when Parliament met. For this and for much else, particularly for what he has said to this great gathering this evening, I wish to thank him and very warmly and with all my heart.

There was another gentleman who was present on that occasion. He was another Mr. Macdonald, the son of the late Archie Macdonald, an old colleague and friend in the House of Commons, a former member for this constituency. Well, ladies and gentlemen, it did my heart good to find that the son of an old colleague was among the number who had come to speak to me about representing the constituency which his father had represented. There was a note about that which struck pretty deep into my heart. It said to me that men who were the sons of those who had been associated with me years ago were prepared to give the same confidence to the leader of the Liberal party that their fathers had given in years before. Could any man wish for a greater compliment than that? It made me recall for the moment that I had passed my three score years and ten, that I had got into a different class than the one I was in when I first entered Sir Wilfrid Laurier's cabinet at thirty-three years of age. I was then the youngest member of the cabinet. For some little time past I have been the oldest member of the

D 49262

present cabinet, but may I say that to me no greater compliment could be paid than that which was paid by young Mr. Macdonald when he spoke of his father's loyalty and allegiance and the loyalty and allegiance which he was prepared to give me if I ran in his constituency. And may I say in passing how pleased I am this evening to have the honour of being welcomed by Mr. MacRae, a former member for the constituency, who was also a colleague in the House of Commons. That these gentlemen should have shared with you the confidence which they have expressed in this way is something for which I am indeed most grateful.

Now, Doctor MacDiarmid, I do not feel that I have begun to say to you what I really would like to say. After all, to give up a constituency for which one has been returned in two war-time elections in order to enable another to come in and represent one in that seat is a very great act of generosity, of kindness, of loyalty and of good will. For that generosity, that loyalty and good will I thank you with all my heart. You, ladies and gentlemen, know the doctor; he has lived here all his life. The fact that you have returned him on these occasions indicates the high esteem in which you hold him. Therefore, perhaps you will not be surprised at the public spirit which caused him to perform an act which is of service not only to me as an individual but which I believe will be also of service to the party and, may I venture even to say, of service to Parliament, because I do think it will be of some advantage that the leader of

the government, the leader of the House of Commons should be in his seat when Parliament opens, particularly at the beginning of a new Parliament. But it was not altogether a surprise to me that the doctor should have taken this stand, for during the five years and more that we have been together in the House of Commons there have been many occasions when we have had difficult times to encounter, difficult passages to cross; and from the beginning to the end of our association he has been one of the members of Parliament always at one's side, always supporting without equivocation; and when moments of discouragement came, he was among the first to come forward with a word of good will which helped give one new spirit and new energy. So I say I am not surprised that at this time he should have shown his public spirit and the great generosity he has shown to me and to my colleagues in the government in having come to the decision at which he has arrived.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I have been very deeply impressed, as you could see, by what has been said and what has taken place here this evening, but there is one thing above all others which I will remember always, because to me it has been one of the finest illustrations of the way in which self-government is carried on in a country that it would be possible to give to a people as an example. I refer to the part which has been played this evening by the delegates who have come from the different polling divisions of the constituency. I am greatly honoured indeed that every polling sub-division should

have sent its delegation to this convention. I am particularly honoured that the senior members of the delegations, the chairman or some members of the executives, should have come forward with their credentials and stated to this gathering that they had only one nomination to offer, and that was the nomination of my humble self. I think you know how strongly I feel in the matter of self-government, how strongly I feel that we should preserve above all else the right of the people to govern themselves. If ever there was a case, here is evidence that there has been nothing in the way of dictatorship, that there has been no pressing of a candidate from above by those who, for one reason or another, felt they had to accept him. It is an evidence of a free people in a free country making a free choice, and as long as that is preserved from one end of our country to the other we need have nothing to fear for the preservation of our freedom and the growth of our liberty. These gentlemen come here tonight with the voice of the people themselves. All of you who are here of the Liberal party, whether men or women, young men or elderly, have had your say. Any one of you was free to make any other nomination. If the right choice has been made, you have helped to make that choice. That is self-government in the truest sense of the word and tonight, ladies and gentlemen, I feel a very great pride that after all the years I have spent in public life-- and they run now between the thirties and the forties-- I should come so near the very voice of the people itself, and

have them express, after all that period of time, such great confidence as they have expressed in me at this time. I thank you one and all for this great honour, this great tribute, this highest compliment that could possibly be paid to any public man. If I am successful in my efforts to be your representative in Parliament I shall seek never to forget the trust you have placed in me and to do my utmost to protect your liberties and further to the best of my ability the interests of this constituency.

This is perhaps the point at which I should say that I am very happy indeed to accept the nomination of the Liberals of Glengarry to be their candidate in the by-election for the Parliament of Canada which takes place next month. I look forward with the greatest possible interest and delight to the opportunities which will be afforded me in representing this historic constituency, should I be so fortunate as to be returned, as the leader of the government and as one who is charged with very heavy responsibilities at this particular time. Never forget, ladies and gentlemen, that a representative and those whom he represents to all intents and purposes are one in the management and conduct of public affairs. What is done by me will be shared with you, as what you have done this evening is shared with me. Our political fortunes will be cast together in the one common endeavour to serve our country to the utmost of our abilities, and I should like you to feel that in all things it may be my privilege to undertake in the

D 49266

high office which I hold at the present time, whatever I may be able to accomplish will be as a result of the confidence and support which I have from you. That means very much to a leader in public life, particularly to one who seeks to lead his country in times like the present.

One or two others have spoken this evening and I wish to make reference also to what has been said by them. I want to refer for a few moments to my friend and colleague Hon. Lionel Chevrier, the Minister of Transport, who has spoken to you so eloquently tonight. Before doing so, however, I want to tell you of one little thing of which perhaps most of you have not known but which helps to link this constituency very closely, not only with what inevitably must be the last of my years in public life but with the years in which I first entered upon the leadership of the Liberal party. Some of you will recall the great convention that was held at Ottawa in 1919, at which I was chosen as leader of the Liberal party. At that time, like the present, I was without a seat in Parliament and I had to find a constituency if I was to be in Parliament as leader of my party. I recall very well that at the close of that great convention some of the delegates who were present came to me and said: "Mr. King, you will have to find a constituency, and before you make a final decision think about the county of Glengarry." I do not know whether they had any authority from any source to extend that word

D 49267

at that time, but it is a word that has remained in my memory and always will; and it gains a new significance tonight because, as I say, it seems to complete the circle which links the year 1919 with the year 1945, and the association between Glengarry and myself.

As a matter of fact what happened on that occasion was this. Even before the final ballot had been cast Mr. John Bell, who was then the Premier of Prince Edward Island and who was on the platform while the votes were being counted, came over to me and said: "You are going to be chosen as leader. Now, before I return to Prince Edward Island let me ask you not to give a decision to anyone as to where you are going to run because we have a vacancy in Prince county in Prince Edward Island and I am sure our friends there will be glad to offer you the seat." When Mr. Bell returned to Prince county I received a telegram offering me the constituency of Prince in Prince Edward Island and I accepted that offer. I am telling you tonight a little secret which has remained in my memory ever since, but which I am happy to disclose openly this evening.

I wish also to refer to the welcome which I have received since coming to Alexandria tonight. From all sides it has been one of the happiest days that I can recall. When our train came in at the station I was delighted to see there so many little children who were good enough to come up to the car and extend a welcome on their own behalf. As you know, I have reached these seventy years without having any children of

my own, but that only makes it the more delightful for me when these little children recognize that they have in me a friend and are prepared to come and share some of their happy hours with me. I shall remember that welcome by the little children as I came into the constituency of Glengarry tonight.

Then in regard to the welcome I have received since then, I must speak at once of the Highland pipers band. There is nothing in this world that will tell a Scotsman what blood he has in his veins quicker than the pipes or the sound of the pibroch. If I had not known with the best of reasons that the blood within me is blood from that old land, shared with many who are present in this audience tonight, certainly I should have known it as soon as the pipes began to play when I was greeted at the entrance to the armouries here.

Speaking of the pipes reminds me that what I wish to speak of particularly this evening is the magnificent part which has been played overseas by the brave men who have gone from this and adjoining constituencies. They have taken part in the battles of Europe. No finer body of men has ever crossed the Atlantic to participate in a great war than the men and women from this county and from adjoining counties, banded together as the Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders, whose name has become famous in the pages of history. All of us have had our blood stirred as we read the account of the invasion of Europe and the part which this great regiment took at Caen and other places all through France and into Germany, as well as the part they played

D 49269

in Holland. No braver men, no men of finer valour, according to those who speak with highest military authority, have appeared on the battle fields of Europe than the men who have gone from this very part of our great dominion. With their battle cry of "Up the Glens!" they have struck terror into the breasts of the enemy. They have lost no opportunity to seize any position it was necessary to seize, to hold any position it was desirable to hold; and they have won every conflict in which they have taken part. They have helped to cause the enemy much in the way of loss of life. They have helped greatly in bringing to the world freedom which has been the result of the efforts of those engaged in this present world conflict.

What is most in my thoughts and my heart tonight, however, is the fact that they also have had heavy losses, and those losses weigh heavily in many homes in this constituency. Many a fireside is bereft tonight because some one who has been a hero in the fight for liberty has not come back from across the ocean. I should like to express a word, as has been done by others this evening, of deepest sympathy to those who have been bereaved; sympathy to the wives, to the parents, to the children of those whose lives have been sacrificed in order that you and I might enjoy the sense of freedom which we all enjoy tonight and that our country might remain secure during the years to come.

I do express to you my deepest sympathy; but this I wish to say above everything else. You and I and all the citizens of this country must never forget that if we enjoy freedom tonight it is because of the part which has been played by the armed forces of this country, on land, at sea and in the air, the men and women who have been prepared to give their lives and those who have given them, in order that a tyrant might not conquer this world and in order that men and women might remain free.

Never let us forget that above all else the first duty of Canadians, the first duty of the government of Canada, the first duty of the people of Canada is to see that the men who are spared to return to this country shall never lack for anything that we can do on their behalf, to show the gratitude of the nation as it ought to be shown, at all times and on all occasions, to them. Let us remember also that there is an equal duty to the dependents of those who have lost their lives or who have suffered impairment of health or limb in this great war. Let us understand and realize that our first obligation as a nation is to care for them as long as they need our care, and do for them all that it lies within our power to do.

This may not always be an easy task, because the next few years, with their readjustments and the like, are going to be difficult years. However, I am happy to say that the present government has not waited until the men have begun to return to make provision for their future welfare. Years ago we realized that they would be the greatest of the obligations which would

be placed upon this country and we sought then to make provision. While there is not time tonight to discuss the various measures that have been put through in order to help the veterans as they return, I can say without fear of contradiction that a finer body of legislation has not found place on the books of any country in the world.

There is one other association of which I would like to speak. This meeting tonight has brought many things to my memory, and as I was referring to the Highland band I could not help recalling that many of those whom I would meet this evening and who are before me at the present time are descendants of the men who two hundred years ago this very year were surrounding Bonny Prince Charlie and giving him their support in his great endeavour at that time. I recall to mind the fact that more than one of my own ancestors were with Prince Charlie at that time; that one of them was a Highland officer who had received a commission from his prince and who, after the battle of Cullodon, when Prince Charlie had to flee to the continent of Europe, went with him and remained with him during the years following his adverse fortunes, while he was on the continent.

Two hundred years ago in the highlands of Scotland a great political struggle was going on. Here today, two hundred years later, we, the descendants of those who fought in the Scottish highlands at that time, are joined together having participated in the greatest struggle for freedom which this world has ever known. That is a link with this constituency; and

I never forget that the Scotch and the French have always fought and stood together when the time and need required it. So between the associations that I have with old Scotland and the equal associations which my ancestors had with that country, the close association I had for so many years with Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the very loyal support which at all times I have received from the French Canadians of this country, I feel very proud that in all probability I shall very soon be representing a constituency in which these two great races and these two great cultures combine to make the citizenship of this riding a splendid example to all parts of Canada.

Now, Mr. Chevrier, may I say a word of thanks to you. Let me say at once, ladies and gentlemen, that if I have been fortunate in the years I have been leader of my party, particularly in the years I have held the office of Prime Minister, which are now eighteen years and will soon be nineteen, it is because I have had the good fortune to be surrounded by men of exceptional character, great ability and great loyalty. As I look back over the number of those who have sat around the council table in the years that I have presided over the council, I can see only one picture; that is of a group of men all of whom were united in one great purpose, that purpose being the service of their country to the best of their ability. As time goes on changes become necessary in an administration. Before the last general election, as you are aware, additions were made to the cabinet of Canada. I cannot tell you how fortunate I think our country is and how for-

tunate I think I am in having at the council table, in the persons of a number of the younger men of our country, statesmen who will do honour to their name and to the name of our country, in increasing measure as the years go by.

You have heard Mr. Chevrier speak to you tonight. I need not tell you that there are few men anywhere who could begin to address an audience with such eloquence as he demonstrated on this occasion. I am not referring to what he said about myself. I know what these young colleagues mean when they say some of the things they do. I am far from meaning that they are not wholly sincere, but I say they know that a word to the old man helps to gladden his heart; and I can assure you that my heart has been greatly gladdened this evening in listening to my young colleague say some of the things he has said, not only what he said about myself but particularly what he said about the problems of Canada.

Here may I take occasion to say to Mr. Chevrier, Senior, the father of our distinguished Minister of Transport, how glad I am that he is on this platform tonight. May I extend to him my warmest congratulations upon the position his son holds in the public life of our country today.

Ladies and gentlemen, I can think of nothing which would have filled the hearts of my father and mother, and of those who preceded them, with greater pride than to have witnessed this gathering here tonight, to see one of their own receive the honour which I am receiving from you on this occasion. I want to thank

you not only for the honour you have done me but for the honour you have done my name.

What I feel most deeply of all is that if there has been anything in myself which you have found worthy of recognition at this time, it is due more than all else to the example and training which I have received from my father and mother and what some of my ancestors have left me of tradition in the history of our country and in their fights for freedom.

It delights me greatly to see this younger generation taking hold of the government of Canada. You may be perfectly sure, ladies and gentlemen, that schooled as they have been for years in the traditions of the Liberal party, running back to the beginnings of Liberalism in this country, and above all with the noble example of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the greatest of all political leaders of our country; I say, having those examples before them, and the example too I would say equally of men like Sir John A. Macdonald and others, who have played such great roles in the history of our country, you may expect to see the affairs of this country governed in the way which we need.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have taken a long time in expressing the thoughts which I feel at this time. I have not felt that it was necessary tonight to go into political questions. You have heard them discussed very completely in the recent election, but before I conclude I would just like to say a word

or two about the recent election. Before I forget to do so may I at once say to the members of the Progressive Conservative party in this constituency and to the members of the C. C. F. party in this constituency who have kindly indicated that they do not intend to offer opposition to my election when the day of election comes around, how very deeply obliged I feel to them. I thank them most heartily for this expression of their friendship and good-will. I feel as though I should not say anything again against either the Tories or members of the C.C.F., but I am going to wait until the election is over before I do say anything. I will say this: If they all continue to do as well for the rest of the time they will find me most agreeable.

I do wish that we might have more of this kind of thing in our public life. I think you will agree with me that while I have not hesitated to speak my mind on the questions of the day I have never found it necessary to descend into personalities. I have never found it necessary to speak ill of my opponents. I mean by that, to say the kind of things that one hears said about men in public life at the time of general elections. That does not help to make a country great, but it does help to demean the man who descends to that kind of thing.

I hope, ladies and gentlemen, as the years go by we may begin to consider more and more simply the issues and questions and never mind personalities. They will tell their own story as the days go by.

May I say one other thing while I am speaking to you tonight. I do hope that we will hear less and less of this business of the Liberal party being controlled by the Province of Quebec. I think there can be nothing more unpatriotic than that any citizen of Canada should try to set one part of Canada over against the rest. Through western Canada I heard over and over again, "Oh, don't vote for Mackenzie King, he is simply doing what pleases them in the Province of Quebec."

Well, ladies and gentlemen, may I say this: In the last parliament of Canada, if you had taken every member of that parliament who came from the Province of Quebec from the House of Commons, the Liberal party would still have had a majority over all other parties in the House of Commons. The Liberals from the Province of Quebec have helped us to put through the legislation that has helped all parts of this country. I wish to say this, that never in the course of the whole of my public life have I done anything for that province which I have not done in equal measure for every province of this Dominion of Canada.

Just so there may be no mistake about the future, may I point this out to you that if you take away today all the members who have been returned from the Province of Quebec you will find that the Liberal party has a majority over any other party in Canada at this time in our House of Commons. They have a majority over the Progressive Conservative party, over the C.C.F. party

D 49277

and over all the other parties. So let us have an end to this business of trying to set one part of Canada over against the other. Let us on the contrary seek to do the opposite and see if we cannot come to understand more of each other and realize that our national life is enriched by having many men and women of different races and of different creeds, but all of whom have great common sympathies and great objectives in common-- to serve.

Looking back at the last election may I take advantage of this moment again to thank the people of Canada for having returned the Liberal party once again to power. When one thinks of the fact that that party has been in office for a long time, that we have gone through two war-time elections, that the whole of the last five years have been years of war in which the people had to undergo privations, in which they had to suffer restrictions of one kind or another-- everyone has felt something of the strain and stress of war--it would not have been strange if the administration had had to bear the inevitable result of that kind of discontent. But when one considers the results one realizes that what has really taken place is this, that the people of Canada have realized that it is to the advantage of our country to have one national party, one party that has as its representatives members from every province of this dominion and thereby help to make a united Canada, a Canada that is stronger than it has ever been before.

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49278

I believe, ladies and gentlemen, reflecting on the recent election, the reason we have been returned as we have to power is because in all our policies we have sought to avoid extremes. What we have sought to do is to give expression to the average Canadian opinion. It is only the government that continues to avoid extremes and to have regard for the average Canadian opinion that can hope long to hold office in this country or to hold office at all.

We have avoided extreme measures in the course of these years of war. We have not been able to please everyone--that is impossible--but by avoiding extremes and seeking to take, as I have said, the view that we believe to be the average view of Canadian opinion, we have taken a course that has been appreciated by people from one part of Canada to the other.

Then again I think the people of Canada felt that the present administration had a wonderful war record. Not that the government was responsible for what was done in time of war. I have said from every platform I have spoken on that it is the people of Canada who made the war effort what it is. Then there are those who have served in the forces overseas. Those are the ones to be thanked for what has been achieved in the way of victory. But the war effort of Canada was planned, was organized, was directed by the late administration and the people of Canada realized that that planning had been careful, that that directing had been with wisdom, that that organizing had been efficient and

they felt that a government that had so conducted the affairs of the country at a time of its greatest peril was a government that should be sustained in office at least as long as the war continued, for do not forget that this war is not over yet.

There was that fact. Then again I think there was another thing of great importance. It was that the people of Canada realized that we had not left the problems that were to follow the war until the time the war itself was over, but that we had a programme already outlined, not only outlined but already in part in practice; that we had considered carefully the position of the veterans, that we had considered carefully the other social problems that were arising, and that we had sought to meet them in an efficient way and having a constructive programme, particularly a programme which has to do with the health and well-being of the people of Canada as a whole. Having begun on that programme, the people were desirous of seeing us returned to office that we might carry it out.

And I think there was this further. I think the people of Canada realized that under the present administration Canada has come to have a position in the world more respected, and more highly honoured than at any previous time in her whole history. They have come to see that Canada has the respect of nations everywhere today, and that as far as the future is concerned all our problems are going to be increasingly world problems.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is a thought I should like to leave with you and with the people of this country. We no

D 49280

longer can regard our problems as being simply domestic. They are all part of the great international problem; and it is only as we are prepared to work with other nations and to seek a solution along the lines of international cooperation that we will be able to satisfactorily carry on the government of the country and to solve the different problems that may arise.

In speaking of the social programme Canada has had, I am happy to say that we have considered as far as we can all classes in the community. We have sought to improve the condition of the working man by passing legislation with respect to unemployment insurance; by old age pensions and the like we have been seeking to serve the older people of the country. In our legislation in the nature of family allowances we have sought to give to the little children of our country a greater opportunity in the battle of life. For the farmers of our country we have considered that they too in times like the present may be faced with great uncertainty, begetting fresh fears with respect to their incomes; and in order that they may be assured and insured against loss of income through unforeseen happenings that may come at any time we have passed legislation, as you know, fixing floors for the prices of agricultural products so that at all times there may be guaranteed to the farming community a sense of security in regard to their own livelihood and the income which must support their homes.

And I am happy tonight to think that the legislation is certain to be of great value to the people of this constituency,

D 49281

which holds such a high place in the agricultural life of our country, to the splendid dairy industry which is carried on here, the production of cheese and other like commodities. I will hope, ladies and gentlemen, as the time goes on, to learn more and more about your needs here and, as far as I can, to support them in the best way I can in parliament.

There is one other thought and that is this. I think the people of Canada have felt that there is nothing in which we are all more concerned than the future peace of the world, and I think they have felt that the present parliament, the present government, has been specially interested in the problems of peace; that we are specially interested in furthering the basis of relations with other nations; that we wish to expand trade with other nations; that we wish to understand their problems and have them understand ours. And I believe that they have felt that in the hands of the present administration, when it comes to peace conferences, when it comes to international conferences on world security and the like, Canada will be best represented by the administration which has been conducting these affairs for the last few years.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, in conclusion may I say that the coming session of parliament will be one of the most important in the history of Canada. This war has run on for over five years. As far as Europe is concerned it is over, but not the effects of the war. There is still a terrible war prevailing in the Orient, and the government that is in office at the present

time, and the new parliament that comes into existence in the course of the next few weeks, will have to deal with these problems. The first great problem is the war, and all that arises out of the war. Secondly, is the great problem of demobilization, to bring back all the men from the battle fields and reestablish them in civil pursuits in our own country. It is a time of transition.

The last elections, it seemed to me, were a point of division between the past and the future which was very marked indeed. May I illustrate it to you in this way. If you go west toward the Pacific coast you come to a point in the Rocky mountains which is spoken of as the Great Divide. Until you reach that point you are going uphill all the way. Then you reach the peak and you begin to go down again on the other side, toward the Pacific ocean. You come to the great divide. The problem on the one side is pushing up; on the other it is coming down and dealing with the situation as you come down.

I had the same thing in the constituency of Prince Albert which I represented. There, as one went to the North, one kept climbing up. Then you came to a great divide, right in the constituency of Prince Albert, right beside a spot where I had a little cottage. From there on the waters began to flow down into the Arctic ocean, instead of flowing south as they did in the other part.

So it has been with the periods that preceded and will follow the last general election. The last general election --

and it is quite remarkable that this should have been so, but I wish to assure you that it was not all a matter of chance; it was part of the planning and arrangements at the time -- the last general elections came after the war in Europe was over and before the war in the Orient was over. It came at a moment when it was possible for our men overseas to study the problems which this country is facing in the future. It came in a moment of relative quiet between, as I say, the period when we were all striving harder and harder to win the victory and the time that will follow, when our striving will be to make sure of our steps as we proceed again to get everything on the level.

This is a period of transition, and all periods of transition are difficult. As I say, we have the demobilization. Then we have what is most important of all, the working out of a great programme of social reform. What we must seek to do in this country is to continue what the Liberal party has already begun to do, to seek to bring about a minimum standard of human well-being throughout the whole of Canada. By that I mean that there must be an effort made to provide against the hazards in the lives of people, whether they are those who are living on farms or those working in factories, those who are in employment of different kinds, to see that when great hazards come there is something in the way of protection to help meet them. That is why we have unemployment insurance, to help meet the moment when unemployment may come. That will have to be supplemented

by other means as well, and what we shall seek to do above all also is to maintain a high standard of employment in Canada through the years. We have had that during the period of this war. Now we must seek to see that this standard of employment which has meant employment for all to all intents and purposes -- I am not saying every soul, but I am speaking generally -- is maintained during the years to come.

We must seek also to do something to help in the matter of the health of the population; the prevention, as far as possible, of disease in as many directions as possible and giving assistance where assistance is required.

There is that great work of social reform, and then finally this great work of peace, peace as between the different nations. At San Francisco they have worked out a great plan known as the United Nations Charter which will help serve to maintain peace in the years when the war is over. That can be worked out only if all nations do their full part. One of the first duties of the next parliament will be to ratify that charter, to help take on the part of Canada those steps which may be necessary for full cooperation with other countries in the world.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, during my life I have had two great purposes. One has been to lend whatever influence and power I might have to a furtherance of the cause of peace; peace in industrial relations, peace in international relations. The other great purpose has been to further the well-being of my

by other means as well, and what we shall seek to do above all else is to maintain a high standard of employment in Canada through the years. We have had that during the period of this war. Now we must seek to see that this standard of employment which has meant employment for all to all intents and purposes -- I am not saying every soul, but I am speaking generally -- is maintained during the years to come.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

fellowmen; to try to so enlarge the opportunities for men and women in the battle of life that we may all come to share in greater measure, in a measure much nearer to the equality of blessings which God has given to us when he gave to this world the resources which it has today and the possibilities which should be open to all who are in the land.

So I return now to Ottawa to take up these tasks anew, but with a new sense of strength, of power, and of hope, because of what has taken place within these walls tonight. I go back feeling that in the endeavour to further these great policies of which I have spoken the Prime Minister of this country will have at his back a body of men and women who he knows holds in their hearts views similar to his own, and who will be prepared to support him at all times in every effort that he may put forth to make this better condition for our human society prevail.

So, ladies and gentlemen, let my last words be these to you tonight. Never forget, as I have said, that from now on, should I be returned to parliament as your representative, we are no longer strangers. We are partners, partners in the great business of the government of our land. Let us make up our minds now that for such time as we may be spared to work together in this great joint effort for better human well-being, and, for the good of our country, we will put into it the best that our minds and our hearts are able to give.

D 49286

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister.

E-201
1945

By-Elections - Glengarry
Stormont & Dundas

Mr. Lionel Chevrier called to say that the local radio station in Cornwall, CKSF, would much appreciate permission to broadcast your address at Alexandria. R-90

CKSF simply covers the three adjoining counties, and claims to be the only station covering Alexandria.

The Manager of CKSF (Mr. Flint) also called, from Cornwall, and said that he had already taken the matter up with Mr. Donald Macdonald (Pres. of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association) and Mr. Major, and that they approved, subject to your consent.

I told both Mr. Chevrier and Mr. Flint that I would bring the matter to your attention as soon as possible.

P.A.

P.A.

16th July, 1945.

(P. ACLAND)

M.L. & Can. broadcast

(1.) Other stations will want

(2.) Perhaps stay at home if broadcast against them

(3) not speaking from W.B.S.

(4) County Convention must for Members

Agreed with Chevrier 16-7-45.

W.L.M.K.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

49287

for the Prime Minister.

E-30-1
1945

Mr. Lionel Chevrier called to say that the local radio station in Cornwall, CKSF, would much appreciate permission to broadcast your address at Alexandria.

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P.A.

16th July, 1945.

E-20-1
1945

Ottawa,
July 16, 1945.

D 49288

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Procedure at Alexandria - July 17th

Mr. Lionel Chevrier informs me that there will be about 100 or more delegates in the hall at Alexandria, each of the seven municipalities in Glengarry being represented by 15 or 20 delegates.

The nomination will come from the delegates.

The President of the Association will call for nominations. The meeting will then be thrown open. Dr. McDiarmid will ask the Secretary to read from list of nominations prepared by each of the seven municipalities. These will be in writing and in each case the nomination will be moved by the senior delegate and seconded by the next senior delegate of the municipality. As all the nominations will be for Mr. King, the nomination will be declared unanimous.

Mr. Chevrier wishes me to assure you that all proceedings will be "strictly constitutional".

Actual order of speaking -

Dr. McDiarmid, who will voice sentiments of delegates in declaring nomination unanimous

Mr. Donald Macdonald, (President of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association) who will speak for 5 or 10 minutes.

Mr. Lionel Chevrier - Introducing the Prime Minister.

Mr. King

(Mr. Major, President of Glengarry Liberal Association will preside at meeting)

(There will be no speech of thanks afterwards, as it is felt there will be too much applause after Prime Minister's address for speech of thanks to get attention. That is why Mr. Donald Macdonald will speak before Prime Minister is introduced).

Mr. Donald Macdonald was runner-up against Dr. McDiarmid for the nomination last time, lost by one vote. He is a lawyer in Alexandria. Mr. Chevrier says you will recall meeting Mr. Macdonald when he called at Laurier House with Mr. Major (President of the Glengarry Liberal Association) and young Macdonald, son of the former member (Archie John Macdonald).

Mr. Chevrier lists former members as follows -

(Glengarry-Stormont was formed by Redistribution Act of 1914)

War election of 1917	John S. McMartin (died before next election)
1921	J. Wilfred Kennedy
1925 and 1926	Archie John Macdonald
1930	A. McGillis (Cons.)
1935	John D. McRae
1940 and 1945	Dr. McDiarmid

All above were Liberals except McGillis.

P. A.

PA/MC

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
78		Results of Election, Radio. Speech outside Parliament	11 June 1945	D 49010 - D 49014	
78		Welcome to Major General Hoffmeister, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 June 1945	D 49015 - D 49042	
78		Welcome to H.R.H. Abdul Ilsh, Regent of Iraq, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	30 June 1945	D 49043 - D 49050	
78		Glengarry By-election, Alexandria, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	17 July 1945	D 49051 - D 49289	
78		Opening remarks, Ottawa, Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction. Speeches outside Parliament	6 Aug. 1945	D 49290 - D 49305	
78		Welcome to General Crerar, Ottawa. Parliament Hill Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1945	D 49306 - D 49382	
78		Welcome Address of Mr. King to the Premiers of the nine Provinces as Delegates to the Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Aug. 1945	D 49383 - D 49385	
78		Surrender of Japan, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	13 Aug. 1945	D 49386	

D 49290

p. 4

Not to be released before delivery at 10.00 a.m., August 6th, 1945.

Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction

Opening Remarks by the Prime Minister of Canada,
Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

Ottawa, August 6, 1945

My colleagues in the Government of Canada join with me in extending to the Premiers of the several Provinces and to the other Ministers of the Provincial Governments a very cordial welcome to Ottawa, and to the Conference on Reconstruction which opens its proceedings this morning. I desire also to extend a similar welcome to the advisers and others who have accompanied the Provincial delegations.

With your permission I would now declare the proceedings of the Conference opened.

May I at the outset of the proceedings express, on behalf of the Dominion Government, our warm appreciation of the ready acceptance by the Premiers of all the Provinces of the invitation which was extended on June the 21st last to this Dominion-Provincial Conference.

I am sure I may say on behalf of all present that we are meeting together in conference with one overriding objective which we hold in common: the development of our homeland from coast to coast, and the progress and welfare of the Canadian people.

D 49291

It is true that the primary responsibility of each provincial government is to the residents of its own province. But the fact that we are met together in conference is, in itself, a recognition that the interests of each province are inseparably bound up in the common good of all.

In the proposals which the Dominion Government will place before the Conference, my colleagues and I have, as is our duty, given first consideration to what we believe to be in the interests of Canada as a whole. But we have sought always to keep in mind the paramount fact that Canada is a federal state in which each of the provinces has its own special characteristics and special problems. The Dominion's proposals have been so framed that provincial and national governments alike would be strengthened in their capacity to perform their appropriate functions. Our sincere desire is to have the proceedings of the Conference carried on in an atmosphere in which, because of the respect accorded the appropriate sphere of each government, the greatest possible co-operation will be achieved.

The Purpose of the Conference

The Conference is to be known as the Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction. Broadly speaking,

I should define its purpose as an effort to ensure the maximum of co-operation between the Federal government and the governments of the provinces, in order that the Canadian people, working together, may achieve the constructive goals of peace as effectively as they have carried on the essential, though inevitably destructive tasks of war.

The world which is emerging from a war not yet finally won is bound to be a difficult world for every country. Decisions of international importance are going to be made in the next year or two, decisions which will affect future trends in history. The voice of Canada must be strong and clear so that her interests will have their rightful place in the complex pattern of international affairs now emerging out of the chaos of war.

No country can live unto itself. That is the lesson we have learned in the bitterness and anguish of conflict. Hope for the world lies in the well-being of every nation. Unity of purpose and harmony of plan must be sought at home so that unity and harmony can be won abroad.

At San Francisco, the nations of the world endeavoured, for the good of all, to set limits on their

D 49293

individual amibitions. They sought collective security through collective generosity. At this conference it is ours to pave the way for national progress. It is equally ours, by maintaining unity of purpose, to build not only security and prosperity at home, but also to contribute to security and prosperity abroad.

Pride in Wartime Achievements

The people of Canada are justly proud of our country's wartime achievements. We are profoundly grateful for the complete victory over Nazi Germany. To the Allied triumph in Europe, Canada contributed in significant measure. What we were able to do in war - the magnitude of our achievement - has given to Canadians a new vision of their own future, and of the possibilities of national achievement in peace. I would ask all present to join tomorrow in extending a national welcome to the General who commanded the victorious Canadian army. The welcome of General Crerar will be a tribute to the armed forces of our country. In paying that tribute, may we, at the same time, resolve to maintain the spirit of our fighting men. They have assured our freedom. May we use that freedom to win the victories of peace; victories over distance, over climate, over nature; victories over depression, over unemployment, over insecurity and over want; victories

over prejudice, over intolerance, and over disunity. To be worthy of Canada's wartime achievements, to be worthy, above all, of the sacrifice of human life, let us resolve to work together to make Canada a land of ever widening opportunities for all our people, regardless of origin, of class or of region, the best land on earth in which to work and to live. The finest of all memorials to the men who have gone forth from Canada never to return will be our striving to work together towards that ideal.

The Meaning of Reconstruction

I have said that we have met for a Conference on Reconstruction. What do we mean by reconstruction? How different is the meaning of that word in Europe to what it is for us! Our country has, fortunately, been spared the terrible physical destruction which has been the lot of so many lands. Ours is not a task of physical rebuilding. For Canada, reconstruction means the conversion from a wartime to a peacetime basis; to shift the gears of the nation's economy from the service of the ends of war to those of peace. In saying this, I do not forget that the war chapter is not closed. The Canadian people are resolved to make their just contribution to the defeat of militarist Japan. But the day of final victory over

Japan is coming surely, and we believe swiftly. All the United Nations are today faced with the double task of finishing the war and entering upon the peace. In preparing for a real peace at home as well as abroad, we are seeking to transform our war economy into a peace economy with a minimum of distress, disturbance and dislocation.

But, by reconstruction, none of us, I am sure, means a return to conditions as they were in the early nineteen-thirties. We must go forward to a better social order, a more reliable economic structure, than we have ever had before. To achieve this will not be easy. It would be a fatal mistake to under-estimate the seriousness of the task. Because the war has demonstrated an unexpectedly large productive capacity in this country is no reason to assume that automatically we shall be better off than we were before the war.

Our productive capacity has been enlarged in response to an immense governmental demand for labour and materials arising out of the war. In order to continue to use Canada's productive capacity fully after the war, other and broader outlets must be found. To effect this, we need to achieve a much higher standard of living, a more rapid rate of capital development and substantial export markets.

International Aspects of Reconstruction

When the war with Japan is over, we shall no more be finished with this war than we were finished with the first Great War when the Armistice was concluded in November 1918. The effects of the war will remain, and will affect all of us for many years to come. I have in mind the colossal loss of life; the impairment of health and the sufferings of millions of people, and the physical displacement of multitudes torn from their homes; the destruction of dwellings, of factories, of production and transporation facilties, and the complete disorganization of that substantial portion of the world most immediately affected by the war.

If one looks at Europe one sees a continent which bears small resemblance to the Europe we have known in the past. With great parts of it the Western world has, for the time being at least, few effective contacts. The liberated countries of Western Europe face great difficulties in picking up the threads of their pre-war life. Many of the old ties are severed forever.

Let no one think that the difficulties and distress which the war has brought to a large part of the world are no concern of Canada's. They affect us deeply and directly. They affect us as a matter of common humanity. We could not, even if we so desired, hold ourselves aloof from the plight of those who during these long and bitter years of war have shared our hopes and fears, have fought at our side.

But it is not sympathy only that makes it necessary for us to concern ourselves with world affairs. It is also self-interest. For world affairs directly

D49297

affect the livelihood of our citizens, for better or for worse. This, in greater or less degree, is true of all countries . No isolation, economic or political, is possible. No country, today, can cut itself off from the world. But even more than most countries, Canada is exposed to the impact of external conditions. We are one of the great trading nations of the world, and our economy is inextricably linked up with the economies of other countries. In a world which is prosperous and stable, we can hope to manage our affairs in such a way as to achieve, in this country, prosperity and a high standard of living. In a world which is depressed and disorganized, our task would be much more difficult.

Canada's Contribution to International Reconstruction

Realizing as we do that a vital national interest is at stake, we, in this country, have striven with might and main to contribute to the establishment of a peaceful and prosperous world. The effort to lay the foundations for such a world is a difficult and complex one. This effort has gone forward along several parallel lines. At Hot Springs, a start was made at tackling on a world scale the important problems of agriculture and food consumption. At Atlantic City, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was set up to provide for the immediate needs of the distressed populations of the war-stricken countries. At Bretton Woods, the basis was laid for dealing with international exchange problems and for stimulating the international movement of capital for productive purposes.

At San Francisco, the United Nations laid the basis for a world security system through which it is hoped

to maintain among the United Nations the same degree of co-operation in peace time as has prevailed during the war. As an integral part of the Charter, provision is made for continuing economic collaboration among nations, and for a co-operative effort to attain higher standards of living, full employment, and economic and social progress throughout the world.

Canada has played her part in all these gatherings. I say, with some pride, that the part our country has played is widely recognized as a helpful and constructive one. We have only made a beginning. I am certain that in the great tasks of world economic reconstruction that lie ahead the Canadian people in every part of the Dominion will be anxious that Canada takes her full share, in her own interest as well as in the general interest of mankind.

Need of a Strong and United Canada

I have spoken about the international background because, while we have met to look at our domestic picture, we cannot forget that this picture has as its background our relations with the rest of the world. The background is a sombre one. We are approaching our task in a world so riven and torn by war that the difficulties of achieving success - difficulties which would be very great under the most favourable conditions - are tremendously increased.

Under our federal system, the Dominion Government has power in wartime to take whatever action may be required to wage war successfully. In peacetime, the Dominion Government has more limited powers. The successful development of peacetime policies, the success of reconstruction, depend no less upon the policies of the provinces than upon those of the Dominion. If all our

governments, each in its own sphere, are able and willing to work together towards common objectives, it is obvious that our domestic policies will have much greater prospect of being successful. It is certainly true that discord or lack of co-operation will frustrate the efforts of all governments. There is something equally important. In this period of transition throughout the world, the effective co-operation of Dominion and Provinces will be essential if Canada, in her own interest, is to make the contribution which it is vital our country should make to world reconstruction, world security and world prosperity. The greater the element of certainty and stability Canada can contribute to world affairs, the greater hope there will be for our own future and for the future of humanity.

The coming years are going to be anxious and troubled years.. In these years great questions affecting our own and future generations will be decided. They are years which will determine whether the world is to have lasting peace, whether international trade is to be restored, whether a high level of employment and social security are to become increasingly the common lot.

Dominion-Provincial Relations in Wartime

Under war conditions, the more noticeable functions of government have, of necessity, been those of the Federal Government. To the Federal Administration has fallen the responsibility of organizing and directing the national war effort. During these years of stress the public has tended, perhaps, to lose sight of the vital tasks which the provincial governments have continued to discharge. All through the years of war, the provinces have carried on their usual tasks. These provincial

functions are among those on which the perpetuation of our whole ordered society depends. The provinces have continued to administer justice, to provide the major civil police services, to maintain and even, where possible, to expand educational, health and welfare services. The foundation of our war effort is a sound and efficient community. In the maintenance of such a national community, in wartime, the part of the provincial governments has been very great.

In other ways, the provincial governments have contributed directly and immediately to the war effort of our country. I should like, on this occasion, to express my appreciation and that of the government, for all that has been done to facilitate our wartime task by the administrations of the nine provinces. Especially, I wish to mention the wartime financial agreements. By these arrangements, the provinces were assured of the necessary financial resources to maintain their own services, while the national government was given freedom to mobilize the whole of the financial resources of the nation efficiently and economically in the cause of freedom. From that co-operation both sides profited. As a consequence, all governments are emerging from the present war in a stronger financial position than any one would have believed possible in 1939. It is similar co-operation, in the period of reconstruction and in peace time, that we are now seeking co-operation from which all governments will gain increased strength.

Dominion-Provincial Relations in the Post-War

What exactly is the relationship we are seeking between the Dominion and the provinces? Let me first make very clear what we are not seeking. The Federal

Government is not seeking to weaken the provinces, to centralize all the functions of government, to subordinate one government to another or to expand one government at the expense of others. Our aim is to place the Dominion and every province in a position to discharge effectively and independently its appropriate functions. In other words, we believe that the sure road of Dominion-Provincial co-operation lies in the achievement in their own spheres of genuine autonomy for the provinces. By genuine autonomy, I mean effective financial independence, not only for the wealthier provinces but also for those less favourably situated.

We believe that once the provinces have reasonable financial security, it will be much easier for them to co-operate with the Dominion in the furtherance of policies which neither can bring into effect successfully without the help of the other.

To put it very briefly, we regard autonomy and co-operation as essential means of achieving satisfactory Dominion-Provincial relations.

Objectives of Dominion Proposals

What then are the aims or objectives for which we are seeking the best possible Dominion-Provincial Relations? To express them, also, very briefly, we are asking the provinces to go into partnership with the Dominion in a broad programme for the development of our national heritage, and the promotion of the welfare of the Canadian people.

The proposals which the Federal government is placing before the Conference are directed to attaining a progressive and secure standard of living based on

remunerative employment for all who are able and willing to work, and expanding markets at home and abroad for efficient agricultural and other primary industries. Our proposals envisage co-operation in the intelligent and systematic conservation and development of our natural and other resources, and, to this end, the fullest application of scientific knowledge and research. The proposals seek to further the enlargement of opportunities for individual and community development and the fullest encouragement of enterprise whether, in its appropriate field, the enterprise is public or private. Without excluding action by the state, the reconstruction programme of the Federal Government is deliberately designed to encourage and foster "employment-creating" enterprise by individuals and corporations.

Above all, we aim at the maintenance of a high level of employment. In no field are the interests of Dominion and provinces more thoroughly one than in the maintenance at all times of a high level of employment. The fear of war is undoubtedly the worst of all fears in the minds of men today. But next to the fear of war, the greatest fear for most men is the fear of unemployment. There are men and women who almost dreaded the coming of victory because they feared that depression and unemployment might come in victory's train. That fear we must all seek, in close co-operation, to remove.

This is not the time to enter into academic or political arguments about the comparative merits of public and private ownership of productive undertakings. The practical fact is that, in present circumstances, the bulk of employment must be provided by private and

corporate undertakings. If we are to maintain a high level of employment in the period of reconstruction, the action of government - and by government I mean all governments, provincial as well as Federal - must be such as to increase, not to decrease, the opportunities for individual freedom and initiative. At the same time, freedom and initiative must not be directed to purely selfish ends. These great qualities must be harnessed in the service of the community. We are convinced that the people of Canada expect government - all governments - to accept responsibility for creating conditions which will ensure high and stable employment. To create such conditions, we believe it should be made possible, through reduction and simplification of taxes, and in other ways, for private enterprise to operate boldly and courageously. We believe the State - and by the State, may I say again, I mean provinces as well as Dominion - should design programmes of public development and conservation which can be readily expanded or contracted to help in balancing the rise and fall of other sources of employment. We also believe that, under modern industrial conditions the State has an inescapable responsibility to provide, through unemployment insurance and assistance, a minimum of livelihood to those who, through no fault of their own, find themselves without work.

Finally, our proposals are designed to make possible a comprehensive system of social insurance, partially federal and partially provincial, through which the community will share with the individual in meeting the variations of income and expense to which the rise and fall of business activity, natural disasters, accident, illhealth and old age render all of us liable. Improved

standards of nutrition, housing, health and social amenities, for both urban and rural populations, are also objectives of our reconstruction policy.

It will be impossible to achieve these most necessary and desirable results by action of the Federal government alone. They can be achieved only by full co-operation among all the governments in the country. The basic fact which this conference must face is that as Canadians we cannot have conditions which promote the most effective use of our resources, a high level of employment, an effective social security programme, and steadily rising standards of living for all sections of the Canadian people, unless the Dominion and the Provincial Governments are able to agree on a well-considered constructive programme for the future.

I wish in conclusion to emphasize anew that the fundamental purpose of this Conference is to strengthen all the participating governments, provincial as well as Dominion. Only in this way can we all work effectively towards the common goal of ensuring a strong, a united and a happy Canada. I am convinced that the future of our country depends upon its unity and strength as a nation. We know that the peace of the world largely depends upon the achievement of world prosperity. We know that our country cannot make its full contribution to world peace and prosperity unless its government is strong and its people united. But we do not believe that unity is to be found in uniformity, in standardization or in centralization. We believe the unity and strength of Canada is equally dependent upon the soundness and strength of the provinces, and their capacity to discharge their functions effectively. We believe that, only when the provinces are relatively secure in their own

spheres, can we achieve the co-operation among all governments so essential to our country's needs.

The lessons of war have taught us the vital importance of co-operation in an effort to reach a common goal. Without unity there is frustration. Now that we are coming face to face with the problems of the post-war years, the need for unity and co-operation is not less than it has been: from some points of view, it is greater. The enemies we shall have to overcome will be on our own Canadian soil. They will make their presence known in the guise of sickness, unemployment and want. It is to plan for a unified campaign in Canada against these enemies of progress and human well-being that we have come together at this time. This may well be the most important Canadian Conference since Confederation. It is ours to make it worthy of the place which Canada holds today in the eyes of the world.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
78		Results of Election, Radio. Speech outside Parliament	11 June 1945	D 49010 - D 49014	
78		Welcome to Major General Hoffmeister, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 June 1945	D 49015 - D 49042	
78		Welcome to H.R.H. Abdul Ilsh, Regent of Iraq, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	30 June 1945	D 49043 - D 49050	
78		Glengarry By-election, Alexandria, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	17 July 1945	D 49051 - D 49289	
78		Opening remarks, Ottawa, Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction. Speeches outside Parliament	6 Aug. 1945	D 49290 - D 49305	
78		Welcome to General Crerar, Ottawa. Parliament Hill Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1945	D 49306 - D 49382	
78		Welcome Address of Mr. King to the Premiers of the nine Provinces as Delegates to the Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Aug. 1945	D 49383 - D 49385	
78		Surrender of Japan, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	13 Aug. 1945	D 49386	

D 49306

Not to be released until after delivery
between 12 and 12.30 p.m.

Parliament Hill,
August 7, 1945

WELCOME TO GENERAL CRERAR

REMARKS BY THE PRIME MINISTER

IN PRESENTING ADDRESS OF WELCOME

General Crerar:

Assembled here on Parliament Hill this morning are representatives of all the governments of Canada, and of the countries allied with Canada in the present war. The entire cabinet of the Dominion, the Premiers of each of the provinces with many of their ministers, other members of the legislative and executive branches of government, representatives of Canada's judiciary and of the churches of Canada are present here. There are also present, representatives of Canada's armed forces and of the other branches of the public service, His Worship the Mayor of Ottawa and the chief magistrates of several other Canadian cities and towns. Many who represent other aspects and activities of our national life are also here, with thousands of your fellow-citizens, all th welcome you home as you return, the valiant leader of a victorious army in the greatest of the world's wars.

His Excellency the Governor General and Her Royal Highness the Princess Alice much regret that it has not been

[illegible]

possible for them to be present in Ottawa at your home-coming today. Their welcome has already been extended personally to you. Lord Athlone has asked me to convey to you, on the completion of your journey, and your safe arrival in the capital of Canada, a word as well of congratulations on behalf of Their Majesties the King and Queen.

The gathering on Parliament Hill this morning, General Crerar, is an expression towards yourself of the feelings of the entire country. All the people of Canada rejoice in your triumphant return. From coast to coast they join with me in extending to you this morning the warmest of welcomes back to your native land. Beyond all outward signs of acclaim, the honour we would do you today is one which springs from our hearts.

Throughout the years of war, the government of Canada, and in particular, the citizens of Ottawa, have joined in welcome to our country's capital, distinguished men and women of many freedom-loving lands. There is a special joy and satisfaction in bidding welcome, here on Parliament Hill, to a soldier of world renown, who is also an honoured citizen of Canada, one of our very own.

General Crerar, as Commander of the First Canadian Army, you have proved yourself a great leader of a great army.

At a time when it is more than ever essential that men of many nations should learn to live and work together, your wisdom showed itself in the great skill with which you brought about harmonious co-operation among the fighting men of many races, including, at times, in addition to Canadian and British forces, Polish, Czechoslovak, Belgian, Netherlands, and United States forces co-ordinating their actions with the associated naval and air forces.

No greater tribute could have been paid your high abilities than when, by the addition of a large part of the British 2nd Army to your Canadian divisions, you were entrusted, at a critical time, with the command of the largest army on the western front. You justified that high confidence by proceeding to win the great battles which set the stage for the allied drive into the Ruhr and the plains of Germany.

Later, when your old command, the First Canadian Corps, came up from Italy to rejoin you, you had a truly Canadian army. That army of Canadian fighting men you led triumphantly on a wide front in Western and Northern Holland, as well as in Northern Germany. You, General Crerar, were the first Canadian General to lead a Canadian Army in the field to one brilliant victory after another. But that is not all.

D 49309

It will ever be remembered of you that throughout the stirring campaigns which, for Canada's Army, began on the shores of Normandy, and ended in an extensive arc from Western Holland to the banks of the Elbe, you were the moving spirit in a great epic of Canadian arms. With the support of the Royal Canadian Navy, and the Royal Canadian Air Force, and in combination with other forces of the United Nations, you were one of the architects of allied victory in Europe.

Notwithstanding the splendid sum of your achievements, you have, at all times, shown great modesty as to your own part in them, giving all credit to those who fought under you. This has made your fellow countrymen all the more proud of you, not alone as a great soldier and a great Canadian, but as a great gentleman.

Let me add what I know, you, General Crerar, would wish me above all else to say. In welcoming you today, we are at the same time honouring the fighting men of Canada wherever they have served, or are still serving. It has been the soldiers on the fighting fronts, under far-sighted and courageous leadership, who supported and sustained by other arms, and the workers at home, have made Canada's share in the winning of victory the mighty and memorable contribution it has been. In welcoming you within the shadow of the shrine commemorating this nation's sons and daughters fallen in the first Great War, we reverently pay our

tribute of remembrance also to those who have given their lives for the freedom of mankind.

As a souvenir of today's proceedings, it is my pleasant duty to present you, General Crerar, with an official illuminated address of welcome on behalf of the Government and people of Canada. This address I shall now read:

possible for them to be present in Ottawa at your home-coming today. Their welcome has already been extended personally to you. Lord Athlone has asked me to convey to you as well a word of congratulations on behalf of Their Majesties the King and Queen on the completion of your journey, and your safe arrival in the capital of Canada.

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D 49312

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Luncheon for
Gen. H. D. G. Crerar, C.H., C.B., D.S.O.
Ottawa, August 7, 1945

D 49317

Welcome to Gen. Crerar
already publicly expressed in ceremonie
on Parliament Hill

Now wish to renew, in the name of the
Govt. of Canada and in presence of many
of his comrades-in-arms and personal
friends.

Ceremonies today, nearly 3 months after VE

help to remind us all how great was the
victory over Nazi Germany, how extensi
was the Canadian contribution to the
forces of the United Nations

and how real is Canada's determination to
the war against Japan - the final stage
in this global war - brought to speedy
victory for Allied Arms

In all this realization the government and
people of Canada pay a tribute of honou
to General Crerar

not only as the Commander of the Canadi
Army in the field

but as the personification in himself o
those soldierly qualities of courage,
determination and gallantry

which in two world wars have held hig
the name of Canada's fighting men amo
the staunch defenders of the world's
freedom

In dealing with many post-war tasks of
rehabilitation
reconstruction

D 49318

Many of the same soldierly qualities will be required in full measure:

leadership
initiative
resourcefulness

General Crerar has given a lead in military matters where the fortunes of war were concerned;

his own example will help and inspire tens of thousands of men and women who served under his command and who will now, over the next year

be confronted with many problems of resuming civilian occupations and peacetime pursuits

For today, we welcome General Crerar for himself, as a distinguished soldier and as an honoured citizen of Canada

he has been decorated by His Majesty King George VI - first Canadian to become a member of the Order of the Companions of Honour (C.H.)

also, by many governments (including U.S.A. France, Belgium, Netherlands, Poland

but apart from all outward and visible symbols of honour and acclaim

General Crerar has earned a just and proud place in the hearts of the people of Canada

He is indeed one of them - one of us - and all of us will hope for him, after the responsibilities and ardours of these years of war

some leisure for the avocations of peace

some chance to travel about in Canada itself, and

some opportunity to render service to a country which is so proud of his staunchness in the face of peril, his skill in planning and his leadership in battle

The 1st Canadian Army, which he commanded with such distinction to himself and such renown to Canada, has now been disbanded, but its name and fame will endure wherever free men hold in remembrance the priceless possession of their liberty and at what cost in toil and battle their heritage of freedom was made secure

In welcoming General Crerar back to the capital of Canada we greet him on his triumphant homecoming and wish him good health and good fortune.

D 49319

Not to be released until after delivery
between 12 and 12.30 p.m.

Parliament Hill,
August 7, 1945

D 49320

WELCOME TO GENERAL CRERAR

REMARKS BY THE PRIME MINISTER

IN PRESENTING ADDRESS OF WELCOME

General Crerar:

Assembled here on Parliament Hill this morning are representatives of all the governments of Canada, and of the countries allied with Canada in the present war. The entire cabinet of the Dominion, the Premiers of each of the provinces with many of their ministers, other members of the legislative and executive branches of government, representatives of Canada's judiciary and of the churches of Canada are present here. There are also present, representatives of Canada's armed forces and of the other branches of the public service, His Worship the Mayor of Ottawa and the chief magistrates of several other Canadian cities and towns. Many who represent other aspects and activities of our national life are also here, with thousands of your fellow-citizens, all to welcome you home as you return, the valiant leader of a victorious army in the greatest of the world's wars.

His Excellency the Governor General and Her Royal Highness Princess Alice much regret that it has not been

possible for them

D 49321

possible for them to be present in Ottawa at your home-coming today. Their welcome has already been extended personally to you. Lord Athlone has asked me to convey to you as well a word of congratulations on behalf of Their Majesties the King and Queen, on the completion of your journey, and your safe arrival in the capital of Canada.

The gathering on Parliament Hill this morning, General Crerar, is an expression towards yourself of the feelings of the entire country. All the people of Canada rejoice in your triumphant return. From coast to coast they join with me in extending to you ~~this morning~~ the warmest of welcomes back to your native land. Beyond all outward signs of acclaim, the honour we would do you today is one which springs from our hearts.

Throughout the years of war, the government of Canada, and in particular, the citizens of Ottawa, have joined in welcoming to our country's capital, distinguished men and women of many freedom-loving lands. There is a special joy and satisfaction in bidding welcome, here on Parliament Hill, to a soldier of world renown, who is also an honoured citizen of Canada, one of our very own.

General Crerar, as Commander of the First Canadian Army, you have proved yourself a great leader of great army.

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49322

At a time when it is more than ever essential that men of many nations should learn to live and work together, your wisdom showed itself in the great skill with which you brought about harmonious co-operation among the fighting men of many races, including, at times, in addition to Canadian and British forces, Polish, Czechoslovak, Belgian, Netherlands, and United States forces, co-ordinating their actions with the associated naval and air forces.

No greater tribute could have been paid your high abilities than when, by the addition of a large part of the British 2nd Army to your Canadian divisions, you were entrusted, at a critical time, with the command of the largest army on the western front. You justified that high confidence by proceeding to win the great battles which set the stage for the allied drive into the Ruhr and the plains of Germany.

Later, when your old command, the First Canadian Corps, came up from Italy to rejoin you, you had a truly Canadian army. That army of Canadian fighting men you led triumphantly on a wide front in Western and Northern Holland, as well as in Northern Germany. You, General Crerar, were the first Canadian General to lead a Canadian Army in the field to one brilliant victory after another. But that is not all.

It will ever be remembered of you that throughout the stirring campaigns which, for Canada's Army, began on the shores of Normandy, and ended in an extensive arc from Western Holland to the banks of the Elbe, you were the moving spirit in a great epic of Canadian arms. With the support of the Royal Canadian Navy, and the Royal Canadian Air Force, and in combination with other forces of the United Nations, you were one of the architects of allied victory in Europe.

Notwithstanding the splendid sum of your achievements, you have, at all times, shown great modesty as to your own part in them, giving all credit to those who fought under you. This has made your fellow countrymen all the more proud of you, not alone as a great soldier and a great Canadian, but as a great gentleman.

Let me add what I know, you, General Crerar, would wish me above all else to say. In welcoming you today, we are at the same time honouring the fighting men of Canada wherever they have served, or are still serving. It has been the soldiers on the fighting fronts, under far-sighted and courageous leadership, who supported and sustained by other arms, and the workers at home, have made Canada's share in the winning of victory the mighty and memorable contribution it has been. In welcoming you within the shadow of the shrine commemorating this nation's sons and daughters fallen in the first Great War, we reverently pay our

D 49324

tribute of remembrance also to those who have given their lives for the freedom of mankind.

As a souvenir of today's proceedings, it is my pleasant duty to present you, General Crerar, with an ~~official~~ illuminated address of welcome on behalf of the Government and people of Canada. This address I shall now read:

D 49325

Parliament Hill,
August 7, 1945

WELCOME TO GENERAL CRERAR

REMARKS BY THE PRIME MINISTER

IN PRESENTING ADDRESS OF WELCOME

General Crerar:

Assembled here on Parliament Hill this morning are representatives of all the governments of Canada, and of the countries allied with Canada in the present war. The entire cabinet of the Dominion, the Premiers of each of the provinces with many of their ministers, other members of the legislative and executive branches of government, representatives of Canada's judiciary and of the churches of Canada of all denominations -- are present here. There are also present, representatives of Canada's armed forces and of the other branches of the Public Service, His Worship the Mayor of Ottawa and the chief magistrates of several other Canadian cities and towns. These and many who represent other aspects and activities of our national life are also here, with thousands of your fellow-citizens, all to welcome you home as you return - the valiant leader of a victorious army in the greatest of the world's wars.

His Excellency the Governor General and Her Royal Highness the Princess Alice much regret that it has not been

possible for them to be present in Ottawa at your home-coming today. Their welcome has already been extended personally to you, but Lord Athlone wished me to convey to you, on the completion of your journey, and your safe arrival in the capital of Canada, a word of welcome on behalf of Their Majesties the King and Queen.

The gathering on Parliament Hill this morning is, General Crerar, an expression towards yourself of the feelings of the entire country. Beyond all outward signs of acclaim, the honour we would do you today is one which springs from our hearts. All the people of Canada rejoice in your triumphant return. From coast to coast they join with me in extending to you this morning the warmest of welcomes back to your native land.

Throughout the years of war, the government of Canada, and in particular, the citizens of Ottawa, have joined in welcoming to our country's capital, distinguished men and women of many freedom-loving lands. There is a special joy and satisfaction in bidding welcome, here on Parliament Hill, to a soldier of world renown, one of our very own, who is also an honoured citizen of Canada.

General Crerar, as Commander of the First Canadian Army, you have proved yourself a great leader of a great army. At a time when it is more than ever essential that men of

many nations should learn to live and work together, your wisdom showed itself in the great skill with which you brought about harmonious co-operation among the fighting men of many races, including, at times, Polish, Czechoslovak, Belgian, Netherlands, and forces of the United States in addition to those of Canada and Britain, co-ordinating their actions with the associated naval and air forces.

No greater tribute could have been paid your high abilities than when, by the addition of a large part of the British 2nd Army to your Canadian divisions, you were entrusted, at a critical time, with the command of the largest army on the western front. You justified that high confidence by proceeding to win the great battles which set the stage for the allied drive into the Ruhr and the plains of Germany.

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Notwithstanding the splendid sum of your achievements, you have, at all times, shown great modesty as to your own part in them, giving all credit to those who fought under you. This has made your fellow countrymen all the more proud of you, not alone as a great soldier, but as a great gentleman, and a great Canadian.

Let me add what I know, General Crerar, you would want me above all else to say. In welcoming you today, we are at the same time honouring all the fighting men of Canada wherever they have served or are still serving. It has been the soldiers on the fighting fronts, supported and sustained by other arms and by the workers at home, who, under your far-sighted and courageous leadership, have made Canada's share in the winning of victory the mighty and memorable contribution it has been. ≠

49329

In welcoming you within the shadow of the shrine commemorating this nation's sons and daughters fallen in the first Great War, we pay our tribute of remembrance also to those who have given up their lives in this world-wide conflict.

D 49330

commemorating this nation's sons and daughters fallen in the first Great War, we pay our tribute of remembrance also to those who have given up their lives in this world-wide conflict.

As a souvenir of today's proceedings, it is my pleasant duty on behalf of the Government and people of Canada to present you, General Crerar, with an official illuminated address of welcome. This address I shall now read:

J. A. G.
2.viii.45

D 49331

Draft of Suggested Remarks

WELCOME TO GENERAL CRERAR:

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 7, 1945.

During the past five years the Government of Canada and, in particular, the citizens of Ottawa, have joined in welcoming to the nation's capital distinguished men and women of many freedom-loving nations.

There is a special satisfaction today in bidding welcome, here on Parliament Hill, to a distinguished soldier and an honoured citizen of Canada, General Henry Duncan Graham Crerar.

General Crerar has just returned to Canada from Northwest Europe, where he served with such distinction as Commander of the First Canadian Army. It is nearly three months since the cease fire sounded in Northwest Europe. It is some 14 months since the main Allied assault in the West was launched on D-Day, 1944. Throughout the stirring campaigns which for Canada's Army began on the shores of Normandy and ended in an extensive arc from Western Holland to the banks of the Elbe, General Crerar was the moving spirit in a great epic of Canadian arms. With the support of the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force, and in combination with other forces of the United Nations, General Crerar was one of the architects of allied victory in Europe.

D 49332

In welcoming General Crerar to Ottawa today, I should like to think that we are, at the same time, honouring all the fighting men of Canada wherever they have served or are still serving. For General Crerar has seen these fighting men - in England, where they stood guard for many months; in Italy, where the First Canadian Corps fought under physical conditions of the most arduous kind; in France, Belgium, The Netherlands and Germany, in all the momentous battles leading up to victory and liberation. The story of these battles is one of rigorous training of the most careful planning, and of unexcelled dash and gallantry in execution. General Crerar had the satisfaction of seeing these carefully-devised plans carried out, and it will I am sure for all time remain in hhs remembrance that the soliders on the fighting fronts, backed by all the workers at home, enabled Canada to have her due share in the winning of victory.

We are still at war against Japan, and until the defeat of that enemy is encompassed our war effort must be maintained in full vigour. Many of the fighting men who served under General Crerar have volunteered for further service in the Pacific Theatre. We may be sure that General Crerar will follow their fortunes and their prowess in battle in no ordinary way.

For today we welcome General Crerar as a soldier

and a citizen of Canada. We congratulate him upon the honours which have lately been conferred upon him by the King, by the President of the United States, and by the Governments of France, Belgium, The Netherlands and Poland. Beyond all outward signs of acclaim, the honour which we do him today is one which springs from our ~~warmest~~ hears, and no matter what the future may hold in store for this well-tried, well-loved son of Canada, we wish him well in all that he undertakes.

D 49334

Parliament Hill,
August 7, 1945

WELCOME TO GENERAL CRERAR

REMARKS BY THE PRIME MINISTER

IN PRESENTING ADDRESS OF WELCOME

General Crerar:

Assembled here on Parliament Hill this morning are representatives of all the governments of Canada, and of the countries allied with Canada in the present war. The entire cabinet of the Dominion, the Premiers of each of the provinces with many of their ministers, other members of the legislative and executive branches of government, representatives of Canada's judiciary and of the churches of Canada of all deonominations -- ~~all~~ are present here. There are also present, representatives of Canada's armed forces and of the other branches of the Public Service, His Worship the Mayor of Ottawa and the chief magistrates of several other Canadian cities and towns. These and many ~~representatives of~~ other aspects and activities of our national life are also here, with thousands of your fellow-citizens, all to welcome you home as you return - the valiant leader of a victorious army in the greatest of the world's wars.

His Excellency the Governor General and Her Royal Highness the Princess Alice ~~greatly~~ deeply regret that it has not been

Query: For a short and brilliant period Crerar was a Corps Commander of the celebrated 8th army.

Perhaps this reference could go in immediately before the reference to commanding the army at the bottom of page 2.

J.W.P.

D 49335

D 49336

possible for them to be present in Ottawa at your home-coming today. Their welcome has already been extended personally to you, but Lord Athlone wished me to convey to you a word of welcome on behalf of Their Majesties the King and Queen on the completion of your journey overseas, and your safe arrival in the capital of Canada.

The gathering on Parliament Hill this morning is, General Crerar, an expression of the feelings towards yourself of the entire country. Beyond all outward signs of acclaim, the honour we would do you today is one which springs from our hearts. All the people of Canada rejoice in your triumphant return. From coast to coast they join with me in extending to you this morning a welcoming back to your native land.

Throughout the years of war, the government of Canada, and in particular, the citizens of Ottawa, have joined in welcoming to our country's capital, distinguished men and women of many freedom-loving lands. There is a special joy and satisfaction in bidding welcome, here on Parliament Hill, also a soldier of world renown, one of our very own, who is an honoured citizen of Canada.

General Crerar, as Commander of the first Canadian Army, you have proved yourself a great leader of a great army.

suggested revision page 3, paragraph 1 D 49337

At a time when it is more than ever essential that men of many nations should learn to live and work together, your wisdom showed itself in the great skill with which you brought about harmonious co-operation amding the fighting men of many races, including, at times, Polish, Czechoslovak, Belgian, Netherlands, and forces of the United States in addition to those of Canada and Britain, co-ordinating their actions with the associated naval and air forces.

D 49338

At a time when it is more than ever essential that men of many nations should learn to live and work together, your wisdom showed itself in the great skill with which you effected harmonious co-operation ~~from~~ among the fighting men of many races, including, at times, Polish, Czecho-Slovak, Belgian, Netherlands', and American forces, in addition to Canadian and British, co-ordinating their actions with the associated naval and air forces.

No greater tribute could have been paid your high abilities than when, by the addition of adding a large part of the British 2nd Army to your Canadian divisions, you were entrusted, at a critical time, with the command of the largest army on the western front. You justified that high confidence by proceeding to win the great battles which set the stage for the allied drive into the Ruhr and the plains of Germany.

Later, when your old command, the First Canadian Corps, came up from Italy to rejoin you, you had a truly Canadian army. That Army of Canadian fighting men you led triumphantly on a wide front in Western and Northern Holland as well as in Northern Germany. You, General Crerar, were the first Canadian General to lead a Canadian Army in the field to one brilliant victory after another. But that is not all.

49339

In welcoming you within the shadow of the shrine commemorating this nation's sons and daughters fallen in the first Great War, we pay our tribute of remembrance also to those who have given up their lives in this world-wide conflict.

D 49340

As a souvenir of today's proceedings, it is my pleasant duty on behalf of the Government and people of Canada to present you, General Crerar, with an official illuminated address of welcome. This address I shall now read:

D 49341

Parliament Hill,
August 7, 1945

WELCOME TO GENERAL CRERAR

REMARKS BY THE PRIME MINISTER

IN PRESENTING ADDRESS OF WELCOME

General Crerar:

Assembled here on Parliament Hill this morning are representatives of all the governments of Canada, and of the countries allied with Canada in the present war. The entire cabinet of the Dominion, the Premiers of each of the provinces with many of their ministers, other members of the legislative and executive branches of government, representatives of Canada's judiciary and of the churches of Canada ~~of all denominations~~ -- are present here. There are also present, representatives of Canada's armed forces and of the other branches of the Public Service, His Worship the Mayor of Ottawa and the chief magistrates of several other Canadian cities and towns. ~~Thousand~~ many who represent other aspects and activities of our national life are also here, with thousands of your fellow-citizens, all to welcome you home as you return, the valiant leader of a victorious army in the greatest of the world's wars.

His Excellency the Governor General and Her Royal Highness the Princess Alice much regret that it has not been

possible for them to be present in Ottawa at your home-coming today. Their welcome has already been extended personally to you, ~~but~~ Lord Athlone ~~wished~~ asked me to convey to you, on the completion of your journey, and your safe arrival in the capital of Canada, a word of ~~welcome~~ congratulations as well on behalf of Their Majesties the King and Queen.

The gathering on Parliament Hill this morning, ~~is~~, General Crerar, is an expression towards yourself of the feelings of the entire country. Beyond all outward signs of acclaim, the honour we would do you today is one which springs from our hearts. All the people of Canada rejoice in your triumphant return. From coast to coast they join with me in extending to you this morning the warmest of welcomes back to your native land.

Throughout the years of war, the government of Canada, and in particular, the citizens of Ottawa, have joined in welcoming to our country's capital, distinguished men and women of many freedom-loving lands. There is a special joy and satisfaction in bidding welcome, here on Parliament Hill, to a soldier of world renown, one of our very own, who is also an honoured citizen of Canada.

General Crerar, as Commander of the First Canadian Army, you have proved yourself a great leader of a great army. At a time when it is more than ever essential that men of

D 49343

many nations should learn to live and work together, your wisdom showed itself in the great skill with which you brought about harmonious co-operation among the fighting men of many races, including, at times, Polish, Czechoslovak, Belgian, Netherlands, and United States forces, ~~of the United States~~ in addition to ~~those of Canada and Britain~~, Canadian and British forces, co-ordinating their actions with the associated naval and air forces.

No greater tribute could have been paid your high abilities than when, by the addition of a large part of the British 2nd Army to your Canadian divisions, you were entrusted, at a critical time, with the command of the largest army on the western front. You justified that high confidence by proceeding to win the great battles which set the stage for the allied drive into the Ruhr and the plains of Germany.

Later, when your old command, the First Canadian Corps, came up from Italy to rejoin you, you had a truly Canadian army. That army of Canadian fighting men you led triumphantly on a wide front in Western and Northern Holland, as well as in Northern Germany. You, General Crerar, were the first Canadian General to lead a Canadian Army in the field to one brilliant victory after another. But that is not all.

D 49344

It will ever be remembered of you that throughout the stirring campaigns which, for Canada's Army, began on the shores of Normandy, and ended in an extensive arc from Western Holland to the banks of the Elbe, you were the moving spirit in a great epic of Canadian arms. With the support of the Royal Canadian Navy, and the Royal Canadian Air Force, and in combination with other forces of the United Nations, you were one of the architects of allied victory in Europe.

Notwithstanding the splendid sum of your achievements, you have, at all times, shown great modesty as to your own part in them, giving all credit to those who fought under you. This has made your fellow countrymen all the more proud of you, not alone as a great soldier, but as a great gentleman, and a great Canadian.

Let me add what I know, General Crerar, you would ~~want~~ with me above all else to say. In welcoming you today, we are at the same time honouring ~~all~~ the fighting men of Canada ~~wherever~~ ~~they~~ who have served, ~~or are~~ and are still serving. It has been the soldiers on the fighting fronts, who supported and sustained by other arms, and by the workers at home, ~~who~~, under far-sighted and courageous leadership, have made Canada's share in the winning of victory the mighty and memorable contribution it has been. In welcoming you within the shadow of the shrine

commemorating this nation's sons and daughters fallen in the first Great War, we ~~pay~~ renewed our tribute of remembrance also to those who have given ~~their~~ their lives ~~in this world-wide conflict.~~ for the freedom we enjoy,

As a souvenir of today's proceedings, it is my pleasant duty on behalf of the Government and people of Canada to present you, General Crerar, with an official illuminated address of welcome. This address I shall now read:

D 49346

Press Release

Prime Minister's Office.

Not to be released until after delivery between 12 and 12.30 p.m. on Tuesday, August 7th.

Parliament Hill,
August 7, 1945.

WELCOME TO GENERAL CRERAR

REMARKS BY THE PRIME MINISTER

IN PRESENTING ADDRESS OF WELCOME

General Crerar:

Assembled here on Parliament Hill this morning are representatives of all the governments of Canada, and of the countries allied with Canada in the present war. The entire cabinet of the Dominion, the Premiers of each of the provinces with many of their ministers, other members of the legislative and executive branches of government, representatives of Canada's judiciary and of the churches of Canada are present here. There are also present, representatives of Canada's armed forces and of the other branches of the public service, His Worship the Mayor of Ottawa and the chief magistrates of several other Canadian

D 49347

cities and towns. Many who represent other aspects and activities of our national life are also here, with thousands of your fellow-citizens, all to welcome you home as you return, the valiant leader of a victorious army in the greatest of the world's wars.

His Excellency the Governor General and Her Royal Highness Princess Alice much regret that it has not been possible for them to be present in Ottawa at your home-coming today. Their welcome has already been extended personally to you. Lord Athlone has asked me to convey to you as well a word of congratulations on behalf of Their Majesties the King and Queen on the completion of your journey, and your safe arrival in the capital of Canada.

The gathering on Parliament Hill this morning, General Crerar, is an expression towards yourself of the feelings of the entire country. All the people of Canada rejoice in your triumphant return. From coast to coast they join with me in extending to you [redacted] the warmest of welcomes back to your native land. Beyond all outward signs of acclaim, the honour we would do you today is one which springs from our hearts.

Throughout the years of war, the government of Canada, and in particular, the citizens of Ottawa, have joined in welcome to our country's capital, distinguished men and women of many freedom-loving lands. There is a special joy and satisfaction in bidding welcome, here on Parliament Hill, to a soldier of world renown, who is also an honoured citizen of Canada, one of our very own.

General Crerar, as Commander of the First Canadian Army, you have proved yourself a great leader of a great army. At a time when it is more than ever essential that men of many nations should learn to live and work together, your wisdom showed itself in the great skill with which you brought about harmonious co-operation among the fighting men of many races, including, at times, in addition to Canadian and British forces, Polish, Czechoslovak, Belgian, Netherlands, and United States forces, co-ordinating the actions of all with the associated naval and air forces.

No greater tribute could have been paid your high abilities than when, by the addition of a large part of the British 2nd Army to your Canadian divisions, you were entrusted, at a critical time, with the command of the largest army on the western front. You justified that high confidence

D49349

by proceeding to win the great battles which set the stage for the allied drive into the Ruhr and the plains of Germany.

Later, when your old command, the First Canadian Corps, came up from Italy to rejoin you, you had a truly Canadian army. That army of Canadian fighting men you led triumphantly on a wide front in Western and Northern Holland, as well as in Northern Germany. You, General Crerar, were the first Canadian General to lead a Canadian Army in the field to one brilliant victory after another. But that is not all. It will ever be remembered of you that throughout the stirring campaigns which, for Canada's Army, began on the shores of Normandy, and ended in an extensive arc from Western Holland to the banks of the Elbe, you were the moving spirit in a great epic of Canadian arms. With the support of the Royal Canadian Navy, and the Royal Canadian Air Force, and in combination with other forces of the United Nations, you were one of the architects of allied victory in Europe.

Notwithstanding the splendid sum of your achievements, you have, at all times, shown great modesty as to your own part in them, giving all credit to those who fought under you. This has made your fellow countrymen all the more proud of you, not alone as a great soldier and a great Canadian, but as a great gentleman.

D 49350

Let me add what I know, you, General Crerar, would wish me above all else to say. In welcoming you today, we are at the same time honouring the fighting men of Canada wherever they have served, or are still serving. It has been the soldiers on the fighting fronts, under far-sighted and courageous leadership, who supported and sustained by other arms, and the workers at home, have made Canada's share in the winning of victory the mighty and memorable contribution it has been. In welcoming you within the shadow of the shrine commemorating this nation's sons and daughters fallen in the first Great War, we reverently pay our tribute of remembrance also to thos who have given their lives for the freedom of mankind.

As a souvenir of today's proceedings, it is my pleasant duty to present you, General Crerar, with an official illuminated address of welcome on behalf of the Government and people of Canada. This address I shall now read:

D 49351

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

GENERAL HENRY DUNCAN GRAHAM CRERAR,

Member of the Order of the Companions of Honour, Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Distinguished Service Order

The Canadian people welcome you home as Commander of their victorious Army. On the completion of the high responsibilities which you have so well and ably borne, the duties which you have so faithfully discharged, your country greets you as a gallant soldier and most distinguished citizen.

The honour which we seek to do you is highly merited. And through you we honour the magnificent Army which you have so brilliantly led.

In the momentous campaigns in Italy and in Northwest Europe, amid circumstances of unexampled hardship, your soldierly spirit has heartened Canadian fighting men.

In the dogged struggle of Falaise, in the advance across the Seine, in the relief of the menace to Britain by

sweeping the Channel coast, in planning the clearance of the Scheldt, in smashing the defences across the Maas and in the consequent forcing of the Rhine, and onwards through the flooded provinces of the Netherlands and into the fortress of Germany, - in all these important and eminently successful operations your tenacity of purpose and the dauntless spirit of the Troops won through to final victory. With these glorious achievements your name and that of our country will ever be remembered.

We remember too that your command of the fighting force which you led in battle with conspicuous skill, was marked by tolerance, kindness and sympathetic understanding: a feeling of human brotherhood, which is the true Canadian spirit.

General Crerar, the Government and People of Canada welcome you home: in this Address we desire to record our pride in you and in the Canadian Army and our grateful thanks for memorable service to our country.

(Sgd.) W.L.MACKENZIE KING

Prime Minister of Canada.

7th August, 1945.

D 49353

Press Release

Prime Minister's Office.

Not to be released until after delivery between 12 and 12.30 p.m. on Tuesday, August 7th.

Parliament Hill,
August 7, 1945.

WELCOME TO GENERAL CRERAR

REMARKS BY THE PRIME MINISTER

IN PRESENTING ADDRESS OF WELCOME

General Crerar:

Assembled here on Parliament Hill this morning are representatives of all the governments of Canada, and of the countries allied with Canada in the present war. The entire cabinet of the Dominion, the Premiers of each of the provinces with many of their ministers, other members of the legislative and executive branches of government, representatives of Canada's judiciary and of the churches of Canada are present here. There are also present, representatives of Canada's armed forces and of the other branches of the public service, His Worship the Mayor of Ottawa and the chief magistrates of several other Canadian

D 49354

cities and towns. Many who represent other aspects and activities of our national life are also here, with thousands of your fellow-citizens, all to welcome you home as you return, the valiant leader of a victorious army in the greatest of the world's wars.

His Excellency the Governor General and Her Royal Highness Princess Alice much regret that it has not been possible for them to be present in Ottawa at your home-coming today. Their welcome has already been extended personally to you. Lord Athlone has asked me to convey to you as well a word of congratulations on behalf of Their Majesties the King and Queen on the completion of your journey, and your safe arrival in the capital of Canada.

The gathering on Parliament Hill this morning, General Crerar, is an expression towards yourself of the feelings of the entire country. All the people of Canada rejoice in your triumphant return. From coast to coast they join with me in extending to you the warmest of welcomes back to your native land. Beyond all outward signs of acclaim, the honour we would do you today is one which springs from our hearts.

Throughout the years of war, the government of Canada, and in particular, the citizens of Ottawa, have joined in welcome to our country's capital, distinguished men and women of many freedom-loving lands. There is a special joy and satisfaction in bidding welcome, here on Parliament Hill, to a soldier of world renown, who is also an honoured citizen of Canada, one of our very own.

General Crerar, as Commander of the First Canadian Army, you have proved yourself a great leader of a great army. At a time when it is more than ever essential that men of many nations should learn to live and work together, your wisdom showed itself in the great skill with which you brought about harmonious co-operation among the fighting men of many races, including, at times, in addition to Canadian and British forces, Polish, Czechoslovak, Belgian, Netherlands, and United States forces, co-ordinating their actions of all with the associated naval and air forces.

No greater tribute could have been paid your high abilities than when, by the addition of a large part of the British 2nd Army to your Canadian divisions, you were entrusted, at a critical time, with the command of the largest army on the western front. You justified that high confidence

by proceeding to win the great battles which set the stage for the allied drive into the Ruhr and the plains of Germany.

Later, when your old command, the First Canadian Corps, came up from Italy to rejoin you, you had a truly Canadian army. That army of Canadian fighting men you led triumphantly on a wide front in Western and Northern Holland, as well as in Northern Germany. You, General Crerar, were the first Canadian General to lead a Canadian Army in the field to one brilliant victory after another. But that is not all. It will ever be remembered of you that throughout the stirring campaigns which, for Canada's Army, began on the shores of Normandy, and ended in an extensive arc from Western Holland to the banks of the Elbe, you were the moving spirit in a great epic of Canadian arms. With the support of the Royal Canadian Navy, and the Royal Canadian Air Force, and in combination with other forces of the United Nations, you were one of the architects of allied victory in Europe.

Notwithstanding the splendid sum of your achievements, you have, at all times, shown great modesty as to your own part in them, giving all credit to those who fought under you. This has made your fellow countrymen all the more proud of you, not alone as a great soldier and a great Canadian, but as a great gentleman.

Let me add what I know, you, General Crerar, would wish me above all else to say. In welcoming you today, we are at the same time honouring the fighting men of Canada wherever they have served, or are still serving. It has been the soldiers on the fighting fronts, under far-sighted and courageous leadership, who supported and sustained by other arms, and the workers at home, have made Canada's share in the winning of victory the mighty and memorable contribution it has been. In welcoming you within the shadow of the shrine commemorating this nation's sons and daughters fallen in the first Great War, we reverently pay our tribute of remembrance also to thos who have given their lives for the freedom of mankind.

As a souvenir of today's proceedings, it is my pleasant duty to present you, General Crerar, with an official illuminated address of welcome on behalf of the Government and people of Canada. This address I shall now read:

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

GENERAL HENRY DUNCAN GRAHAM CRERAR,

D 49358

Member of the Order of the Companions of Honour, Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Distinguished Service Order

The Canadian people welcome you home as Commander of their victorious Army. On the completion of the high responsibilities which you have so well and ably borne, the duties which you have so faithfully discharged, your country greets you as a gallant soldier and most distinguished citizen.

The honour which we seek to do you is highly merited. And through you we honour the magnificent Army which you have so brilliantly led.

In the momentous campaigns in Italy and in Northwest Europe, amid circumstances of unexampled hardship, your soldierly spirit has heartened Canadian fighting men.

In the dogged struggle of Falaise, in the advance across the Seine, in the relief of the menace to Britain by

sweeping the Channel coast, in planning the clearance of the Scheldt, in smashing the defences across the Maas and in the consequent forcing of the Rhine, and onwards through the flooded provinces of the Netherlands and into the fortress of Germany, - in all these important and eminently successful operations your tenacity of purpose and the dauntless spirit of the Troops won through to final victory. With these glorious achievements your name and that of our country will ever be remembered.

We remember too that your command of the fighting force which you led in battle with conspicuous skill, was marked by tolerance, kindness and sympathetic understanding: a feeling of human brotherhood, which is the true Canadian spirit.

General Crerar, the Government and People of Canada welcome you home: in this Address we desire to record our pride in you and in the Canadian Army and our grateful thanks for memorable service to our country.

(Sgd.) W.L.MACKENZIE KING

Prime Minister of Canada.

7th August, 1945.

J. A. G.
2.viii.45

D 49360

Draft of Suggested Remarks

WELCOME TO GENERAL CRERAR:

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 7, 1945.

During the past five years the Government of Canada and, in particular, the citizens of Ottawa, have joined in welcoming to the nation's capital distinguished men and women of many freedom-loving nations.

There is a special satisfaction today in bidding welcome, here on Parliament Hill, to a distinguished soldier and an honoured citizen of Canada, General Henry Duncan Graham Crerar.

General Crerar has just returned to Canada from Northwest Europe, where he served with such distinction as Commander of the First Canadian Army. It is nearly three months since the cease fire sounded in Northwest Europe. It is some 14 months since the main Allied assault in the West was launched on D-Day, 1944. Throughout the stirring campaigns which for Canada's Army began on the shores of Normandy and ended in an extensive arc from Western Holland to the banks of the Elbe, General Crerar was the moving spirit in a great epic of Canadian arms. With the support of the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force, and in combination with other forces of the United Nations, General Crerar was one of the architects of allied victory in Europe.

D 49361

In welcoming General Crerar to Ottawa today, I should like to think that we are, at the same time, honouring all the fighting men of Canada wherever they have served or are still serving. For General Crerar has seen these fighting men - in England, where they stood guard for many months; in Italy, where the First Canadian Corps fought under physical conditions of the most arduous kind; in France, Belgium, The Netherlands and Germany, in all the momentous battles leading up to victory and liberation. The story of these battles is one of rigorous training of the most careful planning, and of unexcelled dash and gallantry in execution. General Crerar had the satisfaction of seeing these carefully-devised plans carried out, and it will I am sure for all time remain in hhs remembrance that the soliders on the fighting fronts, backed by all the workers at home, enabled Canada to have her due share in the winning of victory.

We are still at war against Japan, and until the defeat of that enemy is encompassed our war effort must be maintained in full vigour. Many of the fighting men who served under General Crerar have volunteered for further service in the Pacific Theatre. We may be sure that General Crerar will follow their fortunes and their prowess in battle in no ordinary way.

For today we welcome General Crerar as a soldier

and a citizen of Canada. We congratulate him upon the honours which have lately been conferred upon him by the King, by the President of the United States, and by the Governments of France, Belgium, The Netherlands and Poland. Beyond all outward signs of acclaim, the honour which we do him today is one which springs from our ~~unfeigned~~ hearts, and no matter what the future may hold in store for this well-tried, well-loved son of Canada, we wish him well in all that he undertakes.

Parliament Hill,
August 7, 1945 D 49363

WELCOME TO GENERAL CRERAR

REMARKS BY THE PRIME MINISTER

IN PRESENTING ADDRESS OF WELCOME

General Crerar:

Assembled here on Parliament Hill this morning are representatives of all the governments of Canada, and of the countries allied with Canada in the present war. The entire cabinet of the Dominion, the Premiers of each of the provinces with many of their ministers, other members of the legislative and executive branches of government, representatives of Canada's judiciary and of the churches of Canada of all deonominations -- all are present here. There are also present, representatives of Canada's armed forces and of the other branches of the Public Service, His Worship the Mayor of Ottawa and the chief magistrates of several other Canadian cities and towns. These and many representatives of other aspects and activities of our national life are here, with thousands of your fellow citizens, to welcome you home as you return -- the valiant leader of a victorious army in the greatest of the world's wars.

His Excellency the Governor General and Her Royal Highness the Princess Alice greatly regret that it has not been

Query: For a short and brilliant period Crerar was a Corps Commander of the celebrated 8th army.

Perhaps this reference could go in immediately before the reference to commanding the army at the bottom of page 2.

J.W.P.

D 49364

D 49365

possible for them to be present in Ottawa at your home-coming today. Their welcome has already been extended personally to you, but Lord Athlone wished me to convey to you a word of welcome on behalf of Their Majesties the King and Queen on the completion of your journey overseas, and your safe arrival in the capital of Canada.

The gathering on Parliament Hill this morning is, General Crerar, an expression of the feelings towards yourself of the entire country. Beyond all outward signs of acclaim, the honour we would do you today is one which springs from our hearts. All the people of Canada rejoice in your triumphant return. From coast to coast they join with me in extending to you this morning a welcoming back to your native land.

Throughout the years of war, the government of Canada, and in particular, the citizens of Ottawa, have joined in welcoming to our country's capital, distinguished men and women of many freedom-loving lands. There is a special joy and satisfaction in bidding welcome, here on Parliament Hill, to a soldier of world renown, one of our very own, who is an honoured citizen of Canada.

General Crerar, as Commander of the first Canadian Army, you have proved yourself a great leader of a great army.

At a time when it is more than ever essential that men of many nations should learn to live and work together, your wisdom showed itself in the great skill with which you effected harmonious co-operation from the fighting men of many races, including, at times, Polish, Czecho-Slovak, Belgian, Netherlands', American forces, in addition to Canadian and British, co-ordinating their actions with the associated naval and air forces.

No greater tribute could have been paid your high abilities than when, by adding a large part of the British 2nd Army to your Canadian divisions, you were entrusted, at a critical time, with the command of the largest army on the western front. You justified that high confidence by proceeding to win the great battles which set the stage for the allied drive into the Ruhr and the plains of Germany.

Later, when your old command, the First Canadian Corps, came up from Italy to rejoin you, you had a truly Canadian army. That Army of Canadian fighting men you led triumphantly on a wide front in Western and Northern Holland as well as in Northern Germany. You, General Crerar, were the first Canadian General to lead a Canadian Army in the field to one brilliant victory after another. But that is not all.

D 49367

It will ever be remembered of you that throughout the stirring campaigns which, for Canada's Army, began on the shores of Normandy and ended in an extensive arc from Western Holland to the banks of the Elbe, you were the moving spirit in a great epic of Canadian arms. With the support of the Royal Canadian Navy, and the Royal Canadian Air Force, and in combination with other forces of the United Nations, you were one of the architects of allied victory in Europe.

Notwithstanding the splendid sum of your achievements, you have, at all times, shown great modesty as to your own part in them, giving all credit to those who fought under you. This has made your fellow countrymen all the more proud of you, not alone as a great soldier, but as a great gentleman, and a great Canadian.

Let me add what I know, General Crerar, you would want me above all else to say. In welcoming you today, we are at the same time honouring all the fighting men of Canada wherever they have served or are still serving. It has been the soldiers on the fighting fronts, supported and sustained by other arms and by the workers at home, who, under your far-sighted and courageous leadership, have made Canada's share in the winning of victory the mighty and memorable contribution it has been.

D 49368

As a souvenir of today's proceedings, it is my pleasant duty on behalf of the Government and people of Canada to present you, General Crerar, with an official illuminated address of welcome. This address I shall now read:

CANADA

IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE No. D49369

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

ARMY

OTTAWA, Ontario.
6 Aug 45

Dear Mr. Pickersgill,

At the request of Mr. Gibson I return to you with a few marginal comments on draft of introductory remarks, welcome to Gen. Crerar.

p.2,l.19 to read:-

"-----on Parliament Hill, to a soldier------"

p.2:-

the suggested inclusion of a reference to 8th Army at foot of page seems out of key.

p.3, 1.4 to read:-

"------skill with which you established harmonious cooperation among the fighting--------"

p.3, 1.6 to read:-

"------Belgian, Netherlands, and United States forces-------"

p.3, 1.10 to read:-

"------when by the addition of a large part----"

Yours faithfully,

A.Fortescue Duguid.

(A.Fortescue Duguid),
Colonel,
Director Historical Section (G.S.).

J.W. PICKERSGILL, Esq.,
Prime Minister's Office,
Room 213, East Block,
Parliament Bldg.,
OTTAWA.

NAT. DEF. B. 440
2500M-4-44 (4321)
H.Q. 1772-39-767

D 49370

Press Release

Prime Minister's Office.

Not to be released until after delivery between 12 and 12.30 p.m. on Tuesday, August 7th.

Parliament Hill,
August 7, 1945.

WELCOME TO GENERAL CRERAR

REMARKS BY THE PRIME MINISTER

IN PRESENTING ADDRESS OF WELCOME

General Crerar:

Assembled here on Parliament Hill this morning are representatives of all the governments of Canada, and of the countries allied with Canada in the present war. The entire cabinet of the Dominion, the Premiers of each of the provinces with many of their ministers, other members of the legislative and executive branches of government, representatives of Canada's judiciary and of the churches of Canada are present here. There are also present, representatives of Canada's armed forces and of the other branches of the public service, His Worship the Mayor of Ottawa and the chief magistrates of several other Canadian

cities and towns. Many who represent other aspects and activities of our national life are also here, with thousands of your fellow-citizens, all to welcome you home as you return, the valiant leader of a victorious army in the greatest of the world's wars.

His Excellency the Governor General and Her Royal Highness Princess Alice much regret that it has not been possible for them to be present in Ottawa at your home-coming today. Their welcome has already been extended personally to you. Lord Athlone has asked me to convey to you as well a word of congratulations on behalf of Their Majesties the King and Queen on the completion of your journey, and your safe arrival in the capital of Canada.

The gathering on Parliament Hill this morning, General Crerar, is an expression towards yourself of the feelings of the entire country. All the people of Canada rejoice in your triumphant return. From coast to coast they join with me in extending to you the warmest of welcomes back to your native land. Beyond all outward signs of acclaim, the honour we would do you today is one which springs from our hearts.

Throughout the years of war, the government of Canada, and in particular, the citizens of Ottawa, have joined in welcome to our country's capital, distinguished men and women of many freedom-loving lands. There is a special joy and satisfaction in bidding welcome, here on Parliament Hill, to a soldier of world renown, who is also an honoured citizen of Canada, one of our very own.

General Crerar, as Commander of the First Canadian Army, you have proved yourself a great leader of a great army. At a time when it is more than ever essential that men of many nations should learn to live and work together, your wisdom showed itself in the great skill with which you brought about harmonious co-operation among the fighting men of many races, including, at times, in addition to Canadian and British forces, Polish, Czechoslovak, Belgian, Netherlands, and United States forces, co-ordinating the actions of all with the associated naval and air forces.

No greater tribute could have been paid your high abilities than when, by the addition of a large part of the British 2nd Army to your Canadian divisions, you were entrusted, at a critical time, with the command of the largest army on the western front. You justified that high confidence

by proceeding to win the great battles which set the stage for the allied drive into the Ruhr and the plains of Germany.

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Notwithstanding the splendid sum of your achievements, you have, at all times, shown great modesty as to your own part in them, giving all credit to those who fought under you. This has made your fellow countrymen all the more proud of you, not alone as a great soldier and a great Canadian, but as a great gentleman.

Let me add what I know, you, General Crerar, would wish me above all else to say. In welcoming you today, we are at the same time honouring the fighting men of Canada wherever they have served, or are still serving. It has been the soldiers on the fighting fronts, under far-sighted and courageous leadership, who supported and sustained by other arms, and the workers at home, have made Canada's share in the winning of victory the mighty and memorable contribution it has been. In welcoming you within the shadow of the shrine commemorating this nation's sons and daughters fallen in the first Great War, we reverently pay our tribute of remembrance also to thos who have given their lives for the freedom of mankind.

As a souvenir of today's proceedings, it is my pleasant duty to present you, General Crerar, with an official illuminated address of welcome on behalf of the Government and people of Canada. This address I shall now read:

D 49375

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

GENERAL HENRY DUNCAN GRAHAM CRERAR,

Member of the Order of the Companions of Honour, Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Distinguished Service Order

The Canadian people welcome you home as Commander of their victorious Army. On the completion of the high responsibilities which you have so well and ably borne, the duties which you have so faithfully discharged, your country greets you as a gallant soldier and most distinguished citizen.

The honour which we seek to do you is highly merited. And through you we honour the magnificent Army which you have so brilliantly led.

In the momentous campaigns in Italy and in Northwest Europe, amid circumstances of unexampled hardship, your soldierly spirit has heartened Canadian fighting men.

In the dogged struggle of Falaise, in the advance across the Seine, in the relief of the menace to Britain by

sweeping the Channel coast, in planning the clearance of the Scheldt, in smashing the defences across the Maas and in the consequent forcing of the Rhine, and onwards through the flooded provinces of the Netherlands and into the fortress of Germany, - in all these important and eminently successful operations your tenacity of purpose and the dauntless spirit of the Troops won through to final victory. With these glorious achievements your name and that of our country will ever be remembered.

We remember too that your command of the fighting force which you led in battle with conspicuous skill, was marked by tolerance, kindness and sympathetic understanding: a feeling of human brotherhood, which is the true Canadian spirit.

General Crerar, the Government and People of Canada welcome you home: in this Address we desire to record our pride in you and in the Canadian Army and our grateful thanks for memorable service to our country.

(Sgd.) W.L.MACKENZIE KING

Prime Minister of Canada.

7th August, 1945.

(Ne pas publier avant que prononcé, le 7 août 1945, à partir de midi)

122

Sur la Colline parlementaire
7 août 1945.

D 49377

BIENVENUE AU GENERAL CRERAR

Remarques du premier ministre en guise de présentation d'une adresse de bienvenue au général Crerar.

Des représentants du gouvernement fédéral de tous les gouvernements provintiaux et des pays alliés au Canada dans la présente guerre, se trouvent assemblés ici, ce matin, sur la colline parlementaire. Tous les membres du cabinet fédéral, les premiers ministres de chacune des provinces et plusieurs membres de leurs cabinets, d'autres membres du corps législatif et de l'exécutif, des représentants de la magistrature canadienne et des confessions religieuses du pays sont ici présents. On voit aussi des représentants des services armés du Canada et des autres divisions du service public, Son Honneur le maire d'Ottawa et les premiers magistrats de plusieurs autres villes canadiennes. On remarque aussi plusieurs représentants d'autres domaines de notre vie nationale, ainsi que des milliers de vos concitoyens, tous accourus pour vous souhaiter la bienvenue à votre retour, vaillant chef d'une armée victorieuse dans la plus grande des guerres mondiales.

A leur grand regret, Son Excellence le Gouverneur général et Son Altesse la princesse Alice n'ont pu assister aujourd'hui à Ottawa à la célébration de votre retour au pays. Ils vous ont déjà personnellement souhaité la bienvenue, Lord Athlone m'a prié de vous transmettre les félicitations de Leurs Majestés le roi et la reine à l'occasion de votre arrivée sain et sauf au terme de votre voyage.

La réunion de ce matin sur la colline du Parlement, général Creras, est l'expression des sentiments que tout le pays éprouve à votre égard. Toute la population canadienne se réjouit de votre retour triomphant. D'un littoral à l'autre, les gens se joignent à moi pour vous souhaiter la plus cordiale bienvenue à votre retour au pays natal. C'est du fond de nos coeurs que jaillissent les hommages que nous vous rendons et qui se traduisent extérieurement par les acclamations.

Tout au long de la guerre le Gouvernement du Canada et en particulier les citoyens d'Ottawa ont accueilli dans notre capitale des hommes et des femmes distingués de plusieurs pays épris de liberté. Nous éprouvons une joie et une satisfaction toute particulières à souhaiter la bienvenue, sur cette colline du Parlement, à un soldat de renommée universelle qui est aussi un citoyen honoré du Canada et l'un des nôtres.

Général Crerar, comme commandant de la première armée canadienne, vous vous êtes révélé un grand chef d'une grande armée. Au moment où il est plus nécessaire que jamais que les citoyens de diverses nations s'appliquent à vivre et à travailler ensemble

D49379

dans l'harmonie, votre sagesse a été démontrée par la grande habileté avec laquelle vous avez su faire régner une étroite coopération entre les combattants de plusieurs races, parmi lesquels se trouvaient, à certains moments, outre les Canadiens et les Britanniques, des Polonais, des Tchécoslovaque, des Belges, des Hollandais et des Américains, tous coordonnant leurs opérations avec celles des forces navales et aériennes associées.

Aucun hommage plus grand n'aurait pu être rendu à vos remarquables talents qu'en l'occasion où par l'addition à vos divisions canadiennes d'une forte partie de la 2ème armée britannique, on vous confia, à un moment critique, le commandement de la plus grande armée opérant sur le front de l'Ouest. Vous avez justifié cette haute confiance en gagnant les grandes batailles qui servirent de prélude à la poussée alliée dans la Ruhr et dans les plaines de l'Allemagne.

Plus tard, lorsque votre ancienne unité, c'est-à-dire le premier corps canadien quitta l'Italie pour aller vous rejoindre, vous avez eu sous vos ordres une armée vraiment canadienne. Vous avez conduit cette armée de combattants canadiens à la victoire sur un vaste front dans l'ouest et le nord de la Hollande, ainsi que dans le nord de l'Allemagne. Général Crerar, vous avez été le premier général canadien à gagner successivement plusieurs brillantes victoires à la tête d'une armée canadienne. Mais il y a plus. Nous n'oublierons jamais que,pendant toute la durée des émouvantes campagnes qui, pour l'armée canadienne, ont commencé sur les rivages de Normandie pour former, à l'issue des hostilités, un arc immense s'étendant de la Hollande occidentale aux rives de

l'Elbe, vous avez été l'âme d'une glorieuse épopée des armées canadiennes. Avec l'appui de la marine et de l'aviation royales canadiennes, de concert avec les autres forces armées des Nations Unies, vous avez été l'un des artisans de la victoire alliée en Europe.

Malgré le nombre imposant de vos exploits, vous vous êtes toujours montré très modeste quant à la part que vous y aviez prise, en attribuant tout le mérite à vos subordonnés. Vos compatriotes n'en sont que plus fiers de reconnaître en vous, non seulement un grand soldat et un grand Canadien, mais un parfait gentilhomme.

Permettez-moi d'ajouter un mot qui, je le sais, général Crerar, vaut pour vous, plus que tous les éloges que je puis vous adresser. En vous souhaitant la bienvenue aujourd'hui, nous honorons en même temps les combattants Canadiens qui ont servi ou servent encore sur un théâtre de guerre, quel qu'il soit. Ce sont eux qui, sous un commandement éclairé et courageux, et, appuyés et soutenus par les autres armes et par les travailleurs du pays, ont fait la contribution du Canada à la victoire si puissante et si mémorable.

En vous accueillant, à l'ombre du monument élevé à la mémoire des fils et des filles de la nation qui sont tombés au cours de la première Grande Guerre, nous rendons également un pieux hommage à ceux qui ont donné leur vie pour la liberté du monde.

Comme souvenir de notre réunion d'aujourd'hui, j'ai l'agréable devoir au nom du Gouvernement et le peuple du Canada, de vous pré-

D 49381

senter, général Crerar, une adresse officielle enluminée.

Je donne maintenant lecture de cette adresse:

D 49382

ADRESSE DE BIENVENUE

GENERAL HENRY DUNCAN GRAHAM CRERAR, Membre de l'Ordre des Compagnons d'honneur, Compagnon du Très Honorable Ordre du Bain, Ordre du Service distingué,

La patrie canadienne accueille dans votre personne le commandant de son armée victorieuse. En ce jour où sont accomplis les grands devoirs dont vous vous êtes si bien et si admirablement acquitté, les tâches que vous avez si fidèlement remplies, votre pays acclame en vous un vaillant soldat et un citoyen des plus distingués.

L'honneur que nous voulons vous rendre est hautement mérité. Et derrière vous nous honorons l'intrépide armée que vous avez conduite avec tant d'éclat.

Dans les décisives campagnes d'Italie et du Nord-Ouest de l'Europe, au milieu de difficultés sans précédent, votre exemple valeureux a inspiré courage à nos combattants canadiens.

Dans la lutte acharnée de Falaise, dans la marche à travers la Seine, dans le coup dirigé contre la menace à la Grande-Bretagne par l'invasion de la côte de la Manche, dans l'offensive conçue pour déblayer l'Escaut, dans la brèche portée aux défenses de la Meuse et dans la bourse subséquente au delà du Rhin, à travers les provinces submergées des Pays-Bas et jusqu'au coeur de la forteresse allemande - dans toutes ces opérations importantes et couronnées d'un si brillant succès, votre détermination inflexible et la bravoure indomptable des troupes ont assuré la victoire finale. Par ces glorieux faits d'armes, votre nom et celui de notre pays vivront à jamais.

Nous n'oublions pas, non plus, qu'en menant au combat les effectifs que vous commandiez avec une science consommée, vous avez fait preuve de tolérance, de bonté et d'une sympathie pleine de compréhension; sentiment de fraternité humaine, par où se manifeste le véritable esprit canadien.

Général Crerar, le Gouvernement et le peuple du Canada vous souhaitent la bienvenue chez vous: puisse la présente adresse porter témoignage de la fierté que nous éprouvons devant vous et devant l'armée canadienne, comme aussi de notre merci reconnaissant pour les services mémorables rendus à notre pays.

W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Premier Ministre du Canada.

7 août 1945.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
78		Results of Election, Radio. Speech outside Parliament	11 June 1945	D 49010 - D 49014	
78		Welcome to Major General Hoffmeister, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 June 1945	D 49015 - D 49042	
78		Welcome to H.R.H. Abdul Ilsh, Regent of Iraq, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	30 June 1945	D 49043 - D 49050	
78		Glengarry By-election, Alexandria, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	17 July 1945	D 49051 - D 49289	
78		Opening remarks, Ottawa, Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction. Speeches outside Parliament	6 Aug. 1945	D 49290 - D 49305	
78		Welcome to General Crerar, Ottawa. Parliament Hill Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1945	D 49306 - D 49382	
78		Welcome Address of Mr. King to the Premiers of the nine Provinces as Delegates to the Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Aug. 1945	D 49383 - D 49385	
78		Surrender of Japan, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	13 Aug. 1945	D 49386	

D 49383

Dinner - Dominion-Provincial Conference

Ottawa, August 8, 1945.

Welcome to the Premiers of the nine provinces of Canada, and to various Ministers and officials accompanying them;

The most representative gathering of members of provincial governments in recent years

- first opportunity since announcement of victory in Europe

for welcoming to the nation's capital the leaders of the provincial governments.

Pleasure to extend this welcome in informal fashion, removed from Conference meeting rooms

an opportunity for exchanging views and opinions quite informally -

not always possible with the same freedom in conference sessions.

Pleasure also to extend this welcome for another reason -

during war years many heads of allied nations and ministers of state have visited Ottawa

their visits an outward evidence of the expanding stature of Canada as a world power of major rank

We should not lose sight of the expanding character of the domestic economy of Canada

- the things which concern the everyday livelihood of the Canadian people
- the right use and conservation of the natural resources of Canada
- now that the stresses of war in Europe have been removed, development of facilities for public recreation and the enjoyment of the out-of-doors
- an over-riding care and concern for the health and welfare of all the people

a matter in which co-operation between all the governments in Canada is paramount.

True that in Ottawa we have representatives from the provinces

- Ministers of the Crown
- Members of Parliament
- (visits of provincial officials)

But in the considerable areas of government which are the responsibility of the several provinces, it is useful to have direct, first-hand contacts from time to time.

Express hope that this evening will provid opportunities for friendly conversation

- renewing of old acquaintances
- making of new ones

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
78		Results of Election, Radio. Speech outside Parliament	11 June 1945	D 49010 - D 49014	
78		Welcome to Major General Hoffmeister, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 June 1945	D 49015 - D 49042	
78		Welcome to H.R.H. Abdul Ilsh, Regent of Iraq, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	30 June 1945	D 49043 - D 49050	
78		Glengarry By-election, Alexandria, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	17 July 1945	D 49051 - D 49289	
78		Opening remarks, Ottawa, Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction. Speeches outside Parliament	6 Aug. 1945	D 49290 - D 49305	
78		Welcome to General Crerar, Ottawa. Parliament Hill Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1945	D 49306 - D 49382	
78		Welcome Address of Mr. King to the Premiers of the nine Provinces as Delegates to the Dominion-Provincial Conference. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Aug. 1945	D 49383 - D 49385	
78		Surrender of Japan, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	13 Aug. 1945	D 49386	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date AUG 13 1945

Subject

D 49386

Mr. King's Text Off the 'Record'

Text of Prime Minister King's address broadcast by CBC:

The President of the United States has just announced the acceptance by Japan of the Allied terms of surrender. This announcement may justly be regarded as signifying that the world war, at last, is at an end. For the western world, the war began with Nazi Germany's attack upon Poland on Sept. 1, 1939. It assumed global proportions with Germany's attack upon Russia on June 22, 1941, and Japan's attack upon the United States forces at Pearl Harbor on December 7 of the same year.

In the Orient there has been continuous warfare since July 1937.

Today's victory over militarist Japan brings to a close the greatest war in human history. This world-encircling conflict has ended where it really began, with Japanese aggression against China in Manchuria 14 years ago. With Japan's unconditional surrender, the circle is complete.

This is not the time to review the events of the war, much less to seek to appraise the significance of the many Allied victories. A more appropriate occasion will be found for that.

In this solemn moment, there is but one thought I should like to express to you, my fellow countrymen. It is one which I know will find a full and ready response in your hearts.

We shall be following a natural and, indeed, a national impulse if we seek the earliest opportunity to give expression to our deepest feelings by acts of private and public devotion. Before any demonstration of rejoicing, let us first give thanks to Divine providence for the great deliverance from the evil forces of aggressor nations which, in our day, have sought to conquer and enslave the free peoples of the world.

Let us throughout Canada unite as a people in humble and reverent thanksgiving to God for His mercy thus vouchsafed to our own and other lands.

By Royal proclamation, a day has been set apart to be observed as a day of prayer and thanksgiving. This has been fixed for Sunday next. Meanwhile, we shall but be following the noblest insticts of our beings if our first thought is of the countlelss numbers of those who, in all parts of the world, have given their lives that victory might be ours. They, we believe, have come into the fulness of immortal life, and are safe in God's keeping. Our thoughts and prayers will, too, be of God's care for all the men and women of our armed forces, and for all who have suffered imprisonment, pain, anxiety and bereavement.

More than all others, in our thoughts, here in Canada, are the soldiers who gave their lives at Hong Kong and those who, for three and a half long and terrible years, have been in Japanese prison camps; also the men and women in the other fighting services, and the civilians interned by the Japanese. The surrender justly provides that the Japanese Government shall immediately transport all prisoners of war and civilian internees to places of safety, where they can quickly be placed aboard Allied transports. Especially do our hearts, at this hour, share the hopes and expectations of those who yearn for the return of their loved ones. Their long vigil has not been in vain.

Our rejoicing in victory over our enemies will be all the greater for giving place in our hearts first to the victory of truth and justice; to the ultimate triumph of righteousness in the conflict between the forces of good and evil; and to the mighty manifestation, of which we are the witnesses, of the inevitable workings out of inexorable moral laws which pervade the universe, and which govern nations as well as men.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
78		Result of Glengarry By-election, Alexandria. Speeches outside Parliament	24 Aug. 1945	D 49387 - D 49397	
78		Speeches on Address. Speeches in Parliament	Sept. 1945	D 49398 - D 49436	
78		Birthday Party of Hon. Adelard Godbout, Frelighsburg, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	22 Sept. 1945	D 49437 - D 49458	
78		Welcome to General de Gaulle. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Aug. 1945	D 49459 - D 49460	
78		Williamstown Fair, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Sept. 1945	D 49461 - D 49476	
78		Visit to U.K. and Continent of Europe. Speeches in Parliament	27 Sept. 1945	D 49477 - D 49501	
78		Secretary of State's Dinner, Washington, D.C. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Nov. 1945	D 49502 - D 49504	
78		National Liberal Federation, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Nov. 1945	D 49505	

D 49387

I have just received the final figures of the voting which has taken place today in the constituency of Glengarry. I cannot express too sincerely how honoured I feel that the electors should have turned out in the numbers they have to give me so splendid an expression of their confidence and regard. I shall be grateful if you will extend to one and all my warmest thanks for ~~returning~~ electing me as their member, ~~thereby~~ enabling me to represent the Electors of Glengarry in Parliament, and also making possible my presence in the House of Commons ~~at the~~ on the opening of the Twentieth Parliament which assembles on the twenty-third of this month.

I regret that the country should have been put to the expense, and the people of Glengarry subjected to ~~all~~ the inconveniences of a wholly unnecessary by-election. Contest It is to be hoped that, today's ~~election~~ the results of polling may serve to avoid in other constituencies futile contests born of ~~the~~ a love ~~for~~ of notoriety and publicity.

Will you please tell my friends in Glengarry that I am doubly grateful to them for presenting me with the magnificent majority they have, entirely on their own. They and others will have noticed that since Dr. Monahan made known his intention to contest the by-election, I have not thought it necessary to utter

D 49388

a single word. There, too, perhaps is something which ~~might well be emulated by many who wish to retain the confidence of the people.~~

I also thank the good people of Glengarry ~~constituency~~ for making me so handsome a gift of their good-will on the eve of the twenty-sixth anniversary of my election as leader of the Liberal party of Canada. Had today's majority been given to me when I entered public life, I might well have felt that, being unknown and untried, there were those who were generous enough to give me a chance to merit their confidence.

It is now thirty-seven years since I was first elected to the House of Commons. ~~I have since been the candidate for Parliament in ten general elections and in four by-elections.~~ I can think of no reward of public service more to be desired than to have been honoured as I have today by the generous expression of ~~their~~ good-will ~~from the~~ members of all political parties ~~in the constituency, in the by-election campaign just concluded.~~

D 49389

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D 49391

Remarks by the Prime Minister
at
Glengarry Liberal Association,

Alexandria, August 24, 1945.

1. Visit not as Prime Minister, but as newly elected M.P. to thank supporters.

2. Most overwhelming personal victory of political career.

Reminiscences of earlier contests:

Waterloo, 1908 and 1911
North York, 1917, 1921 and 1925
Prince Albert, 1926, 1930, 1935 1940, 1945
Prince, P.E.I., 1919 - acclamation.

3. How best Glengarry can be served:

1. Will make best arrangements to have others look after local interests.

2. Will seek to serve all Canada with which fate of Glengarry bound up.

D 49392

4. Seek, in closing years of public life, to further aims of its origin: enduring peace and social welfare.

   1. World affairs - atomic bomb - first concern to promote international security and help to banish war and fear of war.

   2. At home, more equality of opportunity between rich and poor, city and country. Social security advanced for rural Canada by
      (a) Family Allowances
      (b) Floor Prices for Farm Products.

5. Hope to justify confidence of Glengarry by adding something more to welfare of mankind and to human happiness in our own and other lands.

Copy for L.St.

Remarks by the Prime Minister
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D 49393

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Name of Publication Saint John Telegraph Journal John Telegraph Journal 5172

Date Aug. 27/45 D 49395

Subject

Prime Minister At Disadvantage

ALEXANDRIA, Ont., Aug. 25—(C. P.)—Prime Minister Mackenzie King paid a hurried visit to his Glengarry constituency last night and in an address to a Liberal association meeting expressed belief something should be done to ease the burden of a Canadian prime minister during a general election campaign.

Stressing that he could speak freely because he was not going to contest another election and therefore could not be accused of grinding his own axe, Mr. King said he felt it was impossible for a prime minister to make a country-wide tour and at the same time look after affairs in his own constituency, where all the forces of the opposition were being used against him.

It would be for others to find a solution to the problem, said Mr. King, who was elected earlier this month in a by-election in Glengarry which was opened to him following his defeat in the June 11 federal vote in the Saskatchewan constituency of Prince Albert.

He said he believed his defeat in the general election had resulted because he was unable to spend more time in his constituency. His wartime duties had prevented him from traveling to the constituency and, although he had not neglected its interests, he had not been able to meet his electors. He had been able to spend only two days with them during the Dominion tour.

His mood jovial, jocular and sometimes pensive, Mr. King said he was beginning to feel the strain of public life, but warned that there was a lot "of fight in me yet." He had been in public life 40 years and he had felt is a "great honor" to be elected by Glengarry to wind up his career in Parliament.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date AUG 25 1945

D 49396 5/72

Prime Minister Shouldn't Have To Play Dual Political Role

ALEXANDRIA, Ont., Aug. 24. —(CP)—Prime Minister King told his constituents here tonight that he believed something should be done to save a Canadian Prime Minister from having to tour the country during a Federal election campaign and look after affairs in his own constituency besides.

Paying his first visit to the county seat of Ontario's Glengarry constituency which returned him to the House of Commons in a byelection August 6, Mr. King reiterated that he is not going to contest any more elections.

He said that because he was not going to run again he could speak with an open mind on what a Prime Minister should do during an election campaign without being accused of grinding his own axe.

It was practically impossible for a Prime Minister to tour the whole country and look after his own interests in a constituency where all the forces of the opposition were being used against him.

It would be for others to decide a solution to the problem.

Mr. King spoke in the Alexander Hall at the annual meeting of the Glengarry Liberal Association. He travelled to the constituency in his private railway car and returned to Ottawa following the meeting. His speech throughout was informal and dealt mainly with his personal life.

He told of how he had started out in public life as deputy minister of labor, of his entry into the political field, his victories and defeats.

His defeat in the June 11 general election had been due, he believed, to the fact that he had been unable to spend more time in his Saskatchewan constituency of Prince Albert. His wartime duties had prevented him from travelling to the constituency and, although he had not neglected its interests, he had not been able to meet his electors. He had been able to spend only two days with them during his Dominion tour.

Mr. King said he had heard the Glengarry Liberal Association was to hold its annual meeting and he thought it would be an opportune time to meet his electors and get acquainted with them. He believed that in making the acquaintanceship he should tell his listeners something of his own life.

He reiterated that he had not moved to the United States during the First Great War. The report that he had gone to the United States during that period was the kind of a report that opponents spread to destroy a public man.

He had not given up residence in Canada for one day during the last war and proof of this could be found in the Ottawa City Hall tax records. He was serving with the Rockefeller Foundation during the war and had visited United States war plants to help draw up agreements between employers and employes and to help speed up war production.

At the time he had heavy personal obligations which would have "prevented me from going abroad if I had wanted to".

Mr. King said he was beginning to feel the strain of public life, but warned that "I have a lot of fight left in me yet". His political life now had run 40 years and "it was indeed a great honor for me to be elected by you at the close of my career in Parliament".

He was sorry the electors had been put to the trouble of an election after the major political parties had agreed not to oppose him, but this was a democratic country and candidates had a right to come forward even if they sought "notoriety" and "craved publicity".

The byelection campaign had been an odd one. There were two candidates in the field. "One did a great deal of talking and running about and the other was not in the constituency at all", said Mr. King.

(Mr. King's opponent, Dr. Richard Monahan, who ran as Independent Liberal, campaigned throughout the constituency while the Prime Minister remained in Ottawa.)

Mr. King asked the meeting to appoint someone who would serve as a liaison between him and the constituency. While he hoped to visit the constituency frequently, he believed that his heavy duties would prevent him from meeting each elector individually when a problem cropped up.

The Prime Minister said the job of government would be very difficult during the coming years.

There was starvation in Europe and elsewhere and because of the unrest among the people there was always fear of revolution. He had read an announcement that 10,000 workers were to be laid off in the United States. There were layoffs in the war industries of all countries. Anything that happened in the United States and elsewhere would have repercussions in Canada.

The business of government would be most difficult until matters settled down in Europe, Asia, Russia, China and Japan. He urged everyone to show kindness toward one another because kindness would be needed to keep peace in the world.

Mr. King's last visit here was in July, when he was chosen by a Liberal nominating convention to succeed Dr. W. B. McDiarmid, the sitting member, who had resigned to open a seat for the Prime Minister.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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The Prime Minister

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Prime Minister Shouldn't Have To Play Dual Political Role

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He said that because he was not going to run again he could speak with an open mind on what a Prime Minister should do during an election campaign without being accused of grinding his own axe.

It was practically impossible for a Prime Minister to tour the whole country and look after his own interests in a constituency where all the forces of the opposition were being used against him.

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He told of how he had started out in public life as deputy minister of labor, of his entry into the political field, his victories and defeats.

His defeat in the June 11 general election had been due, he believed, to the fact that he had been unable to spend more time in his Saskatchewan constituency of Prince Albert. His wartime duties had prevented him from travelling to the constituency and, although he had not neglected its interests, he had not been able to meet his electors. He had been able to spend only two days with them during his Dominion tour.

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He reiterated that he had not moved to the United States during the First Great War. The report that he had gone to the United States during that period was the kind of a report that opponents spread to destroy a public man.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date AUG 25 1945

5/72

D 49397

Subject

Mackenzie King Hits Dual Task Of Election Tour, Office Duties

Alexandria, Ont., August 24—(CP)—Prime Minister Mackenzie King told his constituents here tonight that he believed something should be done to save a Canadian Prime Minister from having to tour the country during a federal election campaign and look after affairs in his own constituency besides.

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His defeat in the June 11 general election had been due, he believed, to the fact that he had been unable to spend more time in his Saskatchewan constituency of Prince Albert. His wartime duties had prevented him from travelling to the constituency and, although he had not neglected his interests, he had not been able to meet his electors.

Mr. King said he had heard the Glengarry Liberal Association was to hold its annual meeting and he thought it would be an opportune time to meet his electors and get acquainted with them. He believed that in making the acquaintanceship he should tell his listeners something of his own life.

He reiterated that he had not moved to the United States during the First Great War. The report that he had gone to the United States during that period was the kind of a report that opponents spread to destroy a public man.

He had not given up residence in Canada for one day during the last war and proof of this could be found in the Ottawa City Hall tax records.

Mr. King said he was beginning to feel the strain of public life, but warned that "I have a lot of fight left in me yet." His political life now had run 40 years and "it was indeed a great honor for me to be elected by you at the close of my career in Parliament." The by-election campaign had been an odd one. There were two candidates in the field. "One did a great deal of talking and running about and the other was not in the constituency at all," said Mr. King.

(Mr. Kings opponent, Dr. Richard Monahan, who ran as Independent Liberal, campaigned throughout the constituency while the Prime Minister remained in Ottawa.)

The Prime Minister said the job of government would be very difficult during the coming years.

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
78		Result of Glengarry By-election, Alexandria. Speeches outside Parliament	24 Aug. 1945	D 49387 - D 49397	
78		Speeches on Address. Speeches in Parliament	Sept. 1945	D 49398 - D 49436	
78		Birthday Party of Hon. Adelard Godbout, Frelighsburg, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	22 Sept. 1945	D 49437 - D 49458	
78		Welcome to General de Gaulle. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Aug. 1945	D 49459 - D 49460	
78		Williamstown Fair, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Sept. 1945	D 49461 - D 49476	
78		Visit to U.K. and Continent of Europe. Speeches in Parliament	27 Sept. 1945	D 49477 - D 49501	
78		Secretary of State's Dinner, Washington, D.C. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Nov. 1945	D 49502 - D 49504	
78		National Liberal Federation, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Nov. 1945	D 49505	

[19457]

J. A. G.

D 49398

Speech on the Address

THEIR MAJESTIES THE KING AND QUEEN

All honourable members will have felt, through these days of thanksgiving and rejoicing, a special bond of loyalty and attachment to King George VI and Queen Elizabeth. Throughout the past six years their steadfast devotion to the service of the state, their calm courage in the face of peril and danger which they shared in common measure with the people of the United Kingdom, have won for them an abiding place in the hearts and minds of British subjects everywhere.

Since the days, now more than six years ago, when the King and Queen visited Canada, the British Commonwealth has, in common with the United Nations as a whole, passed through an ordeal of battle unlike any other in history. The pride of free association under the Crown is a possession which Canada shares with her sister nations of the Commonwealth. Through the years of war the exploits of our armed forces abroad and the efforts of the vast civilian army at home have added renewed lustre to that pride of free association.

As Their Majesties have been much in our thoughts throughout the years of war, so will they be in fullest measure as this Parliament and the people of Canada set about the constructive work of peace. All honourable members will, I

D 49399

am sure, join in the expressions of loyalty and devotion to the King, The Queen, the Princess Elizabeth and the Princess Margaret for which the opening of a new Parliament in this year of victory provides a fitting occasion.

J. A. G.

D 49400

Speech on the Address

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL

Hon. members will have heard in the Speech from The Throne that His Excellency The Governor General and Her Royal Highness The Princess Alice are leaving on a short visit to Britain - the first since His Excellency assumed office in June, 1940. They will return to Canada, later in the year, to spend a short time before their official departure from Canada.

I should not like to let the occasion pass without paying tribute in this place to the single-minded devotion of His Excellency to all that pertained to the welfare of Canada, and to the unstinted support which His Excellency, together with Her Royal Highness The Princess Alice, have given to many voluntary causes in the interest of the war effort of Canada. They have had numerous opportunities for seeing the effort of our country at war, and I am glad to think that they are still in our midst as this new Parliament sets about the work of rebuilding under conditions of peace.

To succeed the Earl of Athlone as His Majesty's representative in Canada, The King has been pleased to appoint Field Marshal the Honourable Sir Harold Alexander. It happens that Sir Harold has never been in Canada. But, through close contact with those of Canada's fighting men who served under his command in the Mediterranean theatre, he has had one introduction to Canada ~~in~~ to which he has already referred in very cordial terms. The First Canadian Corps in Italy,

D 49401

ships of the Royal Canadian Navy, and units of the Royal Canadian Air Force all shared in the victory which crowned the planning and strategy which Field Marshal Alexander directed so superbly. These and all Canadians will be proud to extend to Sir Harold, to Lady Alexander and their children the warmest of welcomes upon their arrival in Canada in the new year.

J. A. G.

Speech on the Address

D49402

THE ARMED FORCES

(a) General

As at Dec.31, 1944

		Men
Navy	92,880	724,023
Army	474,000	
RCAF	192,999	Women
Total	759,879	35,856

39 out of every 100 Canadians between the ages of 18 and 45 had entered the armed forces

(men and women together exceeded 1,031,000 approximately 11% of total population aged 14 years and over)

In the course of the war years Canada among the United Nations became

3rd in naval power

4th in air power

4th largest supplier of war equipment, and

one of the chief suppliers of food for the Allies.

J. A. G.

D 49403

Speech on The Address

ARMED FORCES

(a) Navy

Though the Royal Canadian Navy has been known traditionally as a "silent" service, it has been possible to give some publicity to its exploits in the war at sea. From its protection of the very first trans-Atlantic convoys which set out from Halifax in September 1939, until the entry into Hong Kong harbour a few days ago of HMCS Prince Robert, the story of the Royal Canadian Navy has been one of tremendous endeavour in the fight for freedom.

Perhaps the greatest single service of Canada's navy - and the one which occupied the greatest numbers of ships and men continuously over the longest period - was in keeping open the life-lines of the North Atlantic against the heaviest concentration of undersea raiders that the enemy could muster. To this bridge of ships Canada contributed destroyers, frigates, corvettes, and seasoned officers and men to man them. As the resources of naval construction in Canada turned out more and more fighting ships, the Canadian navy took an increasing share in the offensive warfare against enemy U-boat forces in the Atlantic. The Battle of the Atlantic was an unending battle, and it was not without interest that after hunting U-boats with all the resources at its command, the Royal Canadian Navy should finally have received the surrender of two of these craft after VE Day.

D 49404

* One part of the story of the R.C.N. is very little known, but deserves the fullest recognition now. Very early in the war, after the collapse of French resistance but before the entry of Italy into the war, at the urgent request of the United Kingdom Government, all of the Canadian destroyers then based at Halifax were sailed to British waters to reinforce the destroyer flotillas of the Home Fleet. There was at that moment grave danger of a seaborne invasion of the British Isles with air support. If such an invasion were to be resisted, and if the ocean trade of Britain which was her vital lifeline were to continue, every available destroyer was needed.

I emphasize the point that at that moment this represented a considerable contribution ~~to~~ by Canada. For some time there were no Canadian destroyers based at Halifax, though there remained the incidental protection of other ships of the Royal Navy sailing to Halifax on convoy escort. But to meet the greater peril in which Britain then stood, the fighting ships of Canada thereafter served in combination with ships of the Royal Navy. All of this original group of ships had proud records of combat service, and I am much pleased to have an opportunity today to pay renewed tribute to them and to their ships' companies as an example to the other and newer ships of Canada's Navy.

*(This and following paragraphs will have to be checked for security).

D 49405

Other ships of the R.C.N. carried out a variety of tasks. Armed merchant cruisers intercepted ships of German registry in extensive patrols off the Pacific Coast. Canadian minesweepers served in many dangerous waters; off the Atlantic coast of Canada, in the Mediterranean, in the approaches to Britain, and perhaps most notably of all in the English Channel before and during the main assault launched on June 6, 1944. Canadian motor torpedo boats served with great fighting spirit both in the Mediterranean and in the Channel area, repeatedly engaging enemy forces. Canadian corvettes formed part of the escort for the largest armada of modern times which covered the Allied landings in North Africa in the fall of 1942. Canadian manned landing craft were active during the Italian campaign as well as in the main assault in Western Europe. Canadian frigates werved in escort groups in European waters, and the newest destroyers did valiant service both on the stormy convoy route from Britain to Murmansk as well as in D-Day landings in France. Thereafter they fought in some spirited actions against enemy surface vessels. Two escort carriers were manned for some months by R.C.N. officers and men. Both of them saw vigorous action in the North Sea.

In addition to Canadian ships, many Canadians served in ships of the Royal Navy itself, all around the world. Losses there were; losses of storied ships and valiant men. But the losses of

D49406

war, when they are linked with remembrances of courage and gallantry, can never be impersonal, and it is for this reason that I should like to pay a renewed tribute of honour and acclaim to the Royal Canadian Navy.

D 49407

ARMED FORCES

(b) The Canadian Army.

The story of Canada's Army has been told in connection with many glorious exploits both in the invasion of Sicily and Italy, in the great assault in northwest Europe, in the freeing of the Channel Coast, in the tremendous battles for the Scheldt estuary, and in its latest roles in the liberation of the Netherlands and the sharing of occupation duties in Germany itself.

Nearly six years have gone by since the First Canadian Division embarked for Britain where, for many months, it had a guardian role of first importance. The passage of time has only sharpened our appreciation of the reality that, after Dunkerque, this Canadian Division was the only fully-armed formation remaining in Britain. But there was no mistaking the fighting qualities of these units, nor of those of the Second Division whose departure from Canada was accelerated to meet the possibility of invasion of Britain.

Units of the First Canadian Division were in the first wave of the assault upon Sicily in 1943. Together with the Fifth (Armoured) Division they fought throughout the Italian campaign, (latterly as the 1st Canadian Corps) until they were moved, with great secrecy in the spring of this year to northwest Europe and

D 49408

the First Canadian Army. In the battle honours of Canadian forces a special remembrance will always cluster about the names of Agira, Ortona, the Liri valley and the Hitler Line. It was these forces of whom Field Marshal Sir Harold Alexander said: "I shall always be proud that Canadian troops fought under my command during the greater part of the campaign".

The baptism of fire for the Second Canadian Division came in the reconnaisance in force at Dieppe on August 19, 1942. The Second Division followed closely upon the Third Division which landed in Normandy in the first wave of the assault in northwest Europe. Together with the Fourth (Armoured) Division these rigorously trained and superbly equipped troops saw some of the heaviest fighting in the battle across northern France, through Belgium and into The Netherlands, where the German forces surrendered to the Commander of the 2nd Canadian Corps on May 4, 1945.

Here again were storied names for remembrance - Caen, Falaise, the Channel Coast, the Scheldt Estuary, the Hochwald Forest - and both in the successive defeats administered to a reeling enemy and in the liberation of homelands long under enemy domination, Canada's army had an important and a glowing part.

It may not be out of place to recall that forces of our Allies - in particular those of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and The Netherlands - served for considerable periods under Canadian

D 49409

command. In the battles for the Channel ports, and in containing the enemy garrisons until surrender was effected, these units had a special place. Some of these troops were recruited and trained in Canada.

It is a satisfaction also to recall that during the Italian campaign, for the first time in the war, Canadian and United States soldiers werved side by side. So also did soldiers of Canada and of our ally Brazil, than which few things could better illustrate how far-reaching were the links binding the United Nations together.

A Canadian force (the revised Third Division) is at present sharing in occupation duties in Germany. The Pacific Force (designated as the Sixth Division), is to be disbanded consequent upon the surrender of Japan.

Not all the operations of Canada's army were in Europe. Within the last week we have received the first full details, after three and a half years, of the Canadian force which sailed for Hong Kong in the autumn of 1941. First hand accounts have made it clear that even when hopelessly outnumbered the defenders of Hong Kong fought with undaunted spirit. Vigorous efforts are now being made to ensure the prompt return to Canada of the survivors from the Royal Regiment of Canada and the Winnipeg Grenadiers.

Another Canadian force, in August 1943, shared with United States troops in the occupation of Kiska in the Aleutians. The denial of this outpost to Japanese forces (who had previously

D 49410

occupied it) was an important step in the battle of the Pacific.

J. A. G.

Speech on the Address

D49411

MERCHANT NAVY

To keep pace with the growing tonnage of merchant shipping operating under Canadian registry, the number of Canadian merchant seamen in foreign-going ships increased six-fold over the 1939 figure. In addition to service in Canadian merchant vessels, our merchant seamen helped to man ships of some ten other Allied countries. Over 1000 were reported dead or missing, with nearly 200 others held captive.

The merchant navy has had a vital part in the battle of supply across the oceans of the world. We are proud that Canadian ships and Canadian seamen shared so gallantly in this ceaseless battle against wind and waves and the perils of enemy attack.

D 49412

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, Sept 8, 1945

E H

Would you please insert these papers in material which was in the PM's white docket: they go AFTER the ARMY and before MERCHANT SEAMEN.

J.A.G.

(b)

~~(a)~~ ARMY: (Supplementary Note)

D49413

In addition to the First Canadian Army proper, there were also on active service

the First Canadian Parachute Battalion

(part of British 6th Airborne Division -

dropped into battle in Normandy (June 6, 1944)

and again over the Rhine (March 23/24, 1945);

the United States-Canada Special Service Force

(trained in the Rocky Mountains)

in action at: Kiska
the Anzio beachhead (Italy)
the drive on Rome
the South coast of France;

Canadian Army units were also stationed from time to time in

Newfoundland
Labrador
Iceland
Alaska
Gibraltar
West Indies

Armed Forces

(c) AIR FORCE

In common with the Navy and the Army, there was a phenomenal expansion in the strength of the Royal Canadian Air Force through the war years. At the peak period (in December, 1943) it numbered over 206,000 men and women.

Frequent reference has been made in this House to Canada's contribution to victory through the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan which made of our vast spaces what President Roosevelt called "the aerodrome of democracy". The plan began with the signing of the agreement between the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand at Ottawa on December 17, 1939. It came formally to an end on March 31 of this year.

At its highest pitch in this great enterprise of training, 154 air and ground training schools were in operation. This was more than double the original estimate. In all, some 360 separate units operated from 231 sites across Canada.

Under the original agreement, Canada's

financial commitment was to be	$ 531,000,000
of a total cost of	823,000,000
The expansion of the plan and the additional responsibilities which Canada undertook raised the Canadian contribution (to the training plan in Canada only) by March 31, 1945) to	1,281,000,000

The first aircrew graduates of the plan landed in the United Kingdom in November, 1940. By 1942 the output of trained aircrew

was a year ahead of schedule ; and by 1943 Canada herself was supplying aircrew in excess of the original estimates for the entire plan. Of the total aircrew graduates under the plan (131,553 men) Canada provided more than 55% (72,835).

In addition to nationals of the four signatory countries, training under the plan was provided also for men frpm Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Mexico, Netherlands, Newfoundland, Poland, as well as from the United States and the West Indies. (The Royal Norwegian Air Force trained its personnel in Canada in close co-operation with the RCAF).

In addition to aircrew graduates, more than 106,000 men qualified under ground crew courses. Of the Canadian ground crew despatched overseas, one interesting group was made up of nearly 5000 radar specialists for service with the R.A.F.

Because of concentration upon the air training plan, the early operational activities of the RCAF overseas were on a limited scale. During the first year of the war two army co-operation squadrons and one fighter squadron were based in Britain. The fighter squadron destroyed 31 planes in the great Battle of Britain between August and October of 1940. With the stream of trained aircrews following on from Canada, more than 45 squadrons were formed in Britain from RCAF personnel trained in Canada. The largest number of aircraft and men were engaged in the bombing operations over Germany and enemy occupied Europe. From January 1, 1943, Canadian heavy bomber squadrons served as a separate RCAF group within bomber command. Throughout the next two years

the scale of operations increased while the ratio of losses steadily declined. In the single month of August, 1944, the Canadian bomber group dropped nearly the weight of bombs which filled up all operational sorties during twelve months of 1943. The Canadian squadron operating in the Pathfinder group of bomber command had a most distinguished service record in marking targets for the bombing forces.

Canadian fighter squadrons also had an important part as escorts for day bomber squadrons of both the RAF and the United States Army Air Force. Low-level attacks, convoy patrols, and still later, fighter-bomber missions combined to do great damage to enemy defence installations, transport facilities and shipping. Renewed attacks over enemy territory after D-Day exacted a heavy toll of the German army's transport and armoured vehicles.

In addition, a fighter-reconnaissance wing of the RCAF gathered much tactical information as the assault in northwest Europe proceeded. Three night fighter squadrons helped in the air defence of Britain for over two and a half years, and were credited with an important share in the defeat of the flying-bomb menace. Other Canadian squadrons served on "intruder" duties over German airdromes.

Under Coastal Command, Canadian long-range squadrons shared with the Navy the duty of guarding shipping and destroying enemy submarines. Canadian aircraft were especially active in two areas: the Bay of Biscay and in the North Atlantic outward from the base in Iceland. Other RCAF squadrons under this command achieved much success in attacks on enemy shipping over the English channel and

off the coasts of the Low Countries and Norway.

Elsewhere over many battlefronts Canadian aircraft and Canadian airmen had a valiant part in contributing to the final defeat of the enemy. A fighter squadron accompanied the celebrated Eighth Army in its victorious advance from El Alamein to Cape Bon (Tunisia) thence across to Sicily and still later to the Italian mainland. /Hon. members will recall with pride that the hon, member for Vancouver North (Mr. Sinclair) was for a considerable time the adjutant of this squadron./ Another RCAF squadron, based in Ceylon, ranged over wide explanses of the Indian Ocean, escorting convoys, hunting submarines, combining in rescue duties and, on one eventful day, detecting the approach of a Japanese invasion force which, upon timely warning, was repulsed by the island defences.

Transport squadrons of the RCAF have carried mail and troops and supplies over routes which are now well-established. Across the North Atlantic, between Britain and the Netherlands and Germany, and in the Far East in the Burma Theatre, all of these squadrons had enviable service records.

Apart from the Royal Canadian Air Force itself, Canadians serving with the Royal Air Force have seen action in every theatre of war. A recent summary describes this activity very well:

"They had a hand in the smashing of the Mohne and Eder dams and in the sinking of the Tirpitz. Canadian pilots fought in the long Battle of Malta; they accompanied an RAF Mission to Russia; Canadians flew over the Western Desert and accompanied the allied forces in the invasion of North Africa; they participated in air battles and bombing expeditions over the jungles of Burma. By the hundreds they are in

transport command, ferrying aircraft across the Atlantic, over Africa, along the Persian Gulf and wherever aircraft bearing the r oundels of the RAF are to b e found. The full extent of their c ontribution cannot yet be estimated, bu t there has been no ma jor operation of the RAF in which Canada was not represented" (*)

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* Canada At War, No 45 (July, 1945), p.49.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER (JAG)

MEMORANDUM D 49419

Prime Minister: Material for Speech on the Address in Reply

You may wish to have available the following material which I have gathered together.

SURRENDER OF JAPAN

Joint proclamation , Potsdam, July 26/45
Potsdam Declaration, official text, Aug 2/45
Molotov Statement (USSR declaration of war) Aug 9
Statement by Prime Minister of Canada Aug 12
Japanese peace feeler & U.S. Reply (Aug 11)
Japanese acceptance of surrender terms (Aug 14)
President Truman's statement re (Aug 14)
Mr. Attlee's statement re (Aug 14)
The King's Speech of thanks (Aug 15)
Surrender Orders by Gen. MacArthur (Aug 23)
Statements and speeches at Surrender signing (Sept 2) by
MacArthur
Nimitz
Proclamation by the Emperor
President Truman

ATOMIC BOMB

Truman Statement
Churchill statement
Hanson Baldwin article (NY Times)

UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

Hambro article

J.A.G.

RGR/JMC

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister.

Re. Speech on Address

Attached herewith are four further notes that have been prepared in the Department of External Affairs, for possible use in connection with your speech in the Debate on the Address. The notes have been approved by Mr. Norman Robertson, and are on the following subjects:

1. Food and Agriculture Organization.
2. The Bretton Woods agreements.
3. The International Labour Organization.
4. Prisoners of war and interned civilians.

J.W.P.

D 49419-1

8th September, 1945.

JAC/SR
September 7, 1945.

D 49420

INTERIM COMMISSION ON FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

In accordance with the recommendations of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture, held at Hot Springs, Virginia, in May and June 1943, an Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture was set up. It consists of one representative of each of the governments which participated in the Conference, the first to be held by the United Nations. Mr. L.B. Pearson, Canadian Ambassador at Washington, was selected as Chairman of the Interim Commission.

The primary functions of the Interim Commission were to prepare a specific plan for a Permanent Organization in the field of food and agriculture and a formal declaration by which governments should recognize their obligations to raise the levels of nutrition of their peoples, to improve the efficiency of agricultural production, to co-operate with other nations to achieve these ends, and to exchange information with these other nations.

In pursuance of these duties the Interim Commission has submitted reports to the governments represented on it. These reports are at present under consideration by the Government of Canada. Detailed statistical studies are also being carried out by the Commission.

The constitution of the permanent Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations has been prepared and has been accepted by more than twenty nations, including the United States and the United Kingdom. Since only twenty acceptances are needed to bring the constitution into force, preparations are being completed for the first conference, to be held in Quebec on October 16th, which will appoint a Director General and determine the early tasks of the organisation. Acceptance by Canada of the constitution is provided for in a draft bill shortly to be introduced.

D 49421

BRETTON WOODS

(Notes for Prime Minister's speech on Address from the Throne)

I turn now from the attempt to provide a firmer political basis of security, embodied in the San Francisco charter, to the various attempts which are being made to deal constructively with the great economic problems facing the world and to provide a firmer economic basis of security. The connection between economic well-being and political stability is, of course, recognized in the San Francisco charter itself which provides for the establishment of an Economic and Social Council, one of whose main purposes is to promote "higher standards of living, full employment and economic and social progress and development." In the discussions which have taken place among governments during the past years it has been generally agreed that specialized institutions should be set up to organize international cooperation in particular fields.

At Bretton Woods last July the articles of agreement of two of these institutions were drawn up — the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The Bretton Woods Conference was preceded by 18 months of intensive discussion among officials of the principal United Nations regarding methods of organizing international financial collaboration after the war. Two main problems were discussed — first, what steps could be taken to prevent a chaotic exchange situation such as followed the last war from arising again and second, what steps could be taken to stimulate the international flow of capital for constructive purpose.

On the first question, separate British and American proposals were published in the Spring of 1943. Canadian officials naturally followed these discussions carefully and brought forward, in June 1943, certain suggestions which had considerable influence on the later discussions. By the Spring of 1944, agreement had been reached among experts on the main principles on which post-war exchange arrangements should be based and these principles were submitted for the consideration of representatives of all

D 49422

the United Nations at the Bretton Woods Conference.

The Bretton Woods Conference was attended by representatives of 44 countries. The Canadian delegation was led by the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Justice. The Conference drafted the Articles of Agreement of the two institutions I have already mentioned, a Fund and a Bank. The Fund is intended to provide the permanent machinery of collaboration on exchange problems. It is based on the principle of mutual assistance: a pool of credit, amounting to nearly $9,000 millions, is to be established out of the contribution of the members. The members will be entitled to draw on this pool in specified amounts related to their original contributions to see them over temporary difficulties in their balances of international payments. Members will undertake to refrain from specified exchange practices of a disruptive character. The Bank is intended to assist in providing for the long-term capital requirements of devastated and undeveloped countries. It will have a capital of $10,000 millions. It is clearly in the general interest, as well as in the interest of the countries whose productive equipment has been destroyed by the war or who lack modern means of development, that the countries which have surplus productive capacity should lend a hand in reconstruction and development.

No country was committed to membership in these institutions as a result of its participation in the Bretton Woods Conference. The agreement establishing the institutions remains open for signature until the end of this year, and the institutions will come into being only after countries which in the aggregate provide 65 per cent of the resources of the Fund and the Bank have formally accepted membership in accordance with their own legislative processes. The United States has already passed the necessary legislation by an overwhelming majority vote in both Houses and it is my understanding that China has also ratified and that legislative processes leading to ratification have been initiated in other countries. As the members of the House are aware, legislation will be submitted approving Canadian participation in these institutions.

D 49423

DRAFT FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH ON THE ADDRESS FROM THE THRONE.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION

The House will remember that in 1940 when the advance of German armies in Europe made it necessary for the International Labour Office to leave Geneva, the Canadian Government, with the co-operation of the Provincial and local authorities of Quebec, and McGill University, provided temporary headquarters for the office at Montreal. The International Labour Organization has, therefore, been able to carry on the work without interruption throughout the war. Two International Labour Conferences have been held in that period, one in New York in November of 1941 and the other in Philadelphia in May of 1944.

The staff of the International Labour Office, headed, since the resignation of The Honourable John G. Winant, by the Acting Director, Mr. E. G. Phelan, have throughout been welcome guests in this country.

I am glad to say that the International Labour Office, in conformity with decisions taken at Philadelphia, is now again building up its staff and with the release of key men and women by Governments and industry, should soon be able to restore its services or increase them even beyond the pre-war level.

I need scarcely tell the members of the House how much I value the work of the International Labour Organization. The Canadian Government have continued, even in the trying years of war, to play their part in the work of the Organization, not only in the conferences but also in the meetings of the Governing Body, on which the Canadian Government is permanently represented as one of the eight States of chief industrial importance.

Our interest in the International Labour Organization has been active, and, at Philadelphia, it was on the initiative of the Canadian delegation, supported by the delegations of the United Kingdom and the United States, that a Constitutional Committee was

D49424

set up by unanimous decision of the Conference to consider the future of the Organization, its constitutional development and its relation to the new international organizations now in the process of being created. The Secretary of State was the first Chairman of that Committee when it met in London in January of this year.

At the Conference and meetings of the Governing Body which are to take place at Paris in October, important questions bearing on the future of the Organization will be considered. The most important of these is, I think, the future of the International Labour Organization itself.

It is our view, as stated by the Canadian delegation at the Philadelphia Conference, that the Organization must avoid the two dangers, at the one extreme of seeking too complete autonomy, which would lead to isolation and would too closely limit its scope to those questions which are matters for negotiation between employers and workers, and, on the other hand, of taking such a wide and general initiative in economic and social questions as to bring it into conflict with other international organizations and to compromise its authority in its own proper field.

In the field of its own proper activities, the creation of industrial committees (in themselves small industrial conferences with representations of Governments, employers and workers) is one of the most important present occupations of the Organization. These industrial committees, which transcend national boundaries, can, I think, play an important role in the development of industries and in the removal of economic differences between countries which may become a cause of dispute.

LADS/CC/LF
September 8,1945.

D 49425

DRAFT FOR PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH ON THE ADDRESS FROM THE THRONE

CANADIAN PRISONERS OF WAR AND INTERNED CIVILIANS

During the war years, the welfare of Canadian prisoners of war and interned civilians has been the subject of anxious preoccupation on the part of the Canadian Government.

Of the Canadians who were reported as prisoners of war in German hands at the time of the surrender, all but twenty-one have been recovered, and the majority have now returned to their homes in Canada. Every effort is being made to discover the fate of the few men still untraced. The speedy recovery of our men from German prison camps was carried out by special teams that were rushed into Germany after the capitulation. As for Canadian civilians who had been held in internment by the Germans, all who wished to return to Canada have been repatriated, the remainder have, or are being returned to their occupations and homes in Europe.

The fact that so many prisoners of war and civilian internees were able to come home in a reasonable state of health is due in large measure to the efforts of the Red Cross to which this Government has given its full support. The Red Cross parcels, packed by the Canadian Red Cross and delivered by the International Red Cross, have literally meant the difference between life and death in many cases.

The Canadian Government, normally after consultation and with the cooperation of the other Commonwealth Governments and that of the United States has been vigilant to safeguard the rights of prisoners of war held by the Germans. On frequent occasions, protests were made to the German authorities through the good offices of the Swiss Government, and often conditions were improved as a result.

D 49426

The plight of our prisoners of war and interned civilians in Japanese hands has been very unhappy. Though the Japanese Government officially indicated its intention of applying the Geneva Convention respecting the treatment of prisoners of war, the evidence is clear that in fact they never made a serious effort to do so. The whole world now knows the inhuman treatment far too frequently received by Allied nationals in the power of the Japanese Government.

The Canadian Government did, from time to time, join in most solemn protests to the Japanese Government concerning their maltreatment of prisoners, but there is nothing to indicate that these protests served to modify Japanese conduct in any way. Though the Canadian Red Cross was ready at any time to despatch hundreds of thousands of relief parcels to our men in the East, the Japanese permitted only one such shipment to go forward, outside of the small amount of bulk relief carried by diplomatic exchange ships.

Now that the long ordeal for internees and prisoners is past, strenuous efforts are under way to bring them home as soon as possible. Personnel of the Canadian Navy and the Military Attaché from Chungking are now in Hong Kong. Thirty officers and other ranks of the Canadian Army have gone to Manila to ensure quick relief and early repatriation for prisoners of war. Three officers of the Department of External Affairs have arrived in the Philippines to look after released civilians and return them to Canada. In addition, the Canadian Red Cross has sent representatives to Manila to give assistance to those newly liberated.

In the ensuing weeks, our liberated prisoners of war and civilians from the Far East will be returning to Canada. In the heartfelt welcome which will be accorded them by the Canadian people, there will be mixed a deep understanding and sympathy for the many privations and hardships they have for so long been forced to endure.

Pris Congratulations to mover and seconder pp. 39-40

49427

Vol. LXXXI.—No. 3

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT—DAILY EDITION

Monday, February 1, 1943

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1943

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49428

to any satisfaction it may give them in seeing some things which they have been recently advocating set forth in the speech from the throne.

In that connection, may I say that I do not regard it as an entire misfortune that all the parties in the house to-day should be taking a more profound interest in questions of social security than some of them have in the past. If that were not so, I should think that some of us at least had failed entirely to appreciate what is really fundamental in the great struggle which is taking place in the world to-day. It is a struggle which, above all, so far as the allied forces are concerned, aims at the preservation of freedom and, along with that, at a social revolution which will see that more in the way of equality of opportunity and more in the way of freedom from want and from fear shall become the lot of the great mass of mankind.

I appreciate very much my hon. friend's reference to the speeches of the mover and the seconder of the address in reply to the speech from the throne. He said that he did not altogether like the fulsome praise that is indulged in at the beginning of sessions with reference to speeches made by mover and seconder, and he thought it was just as well to get rid of some of these traditions that have grown up. I am quite in agreement with him on the question of fulsome praise; but though I may be Liberal and not Tory in my sympathies, I am not prepared to say that I should like to get rid of all tradition. I think tradition has its place, particularly in the affairs of parliament, and I believe that the tradition which permits to members on one side of the house an occasional opportunity to say something that is pleasant to those opposite is a very good one. I do agree with my hon. friend, however, that the speeches which were delivered by the hon. member for Grey-Bruce (Mr. Harris) and the hon. member for Brome-Missisquoi (Mr. Hallé) were exceptional in many particulars. They were exceptionally well delivered, and they were exceptional also in what they contained. I have read through both speeches since we heard them in the house; and I believe that, considered from the point of view of what, in a time of war, it is appropriate and most helpful for a member of parliament to say in the House of Commons, it would be impossible to find their equal in any speeches delivered on the address at any previous time.

I believe that this House of Commons was particularly proud to see two of its members wearing His Majesty's uniform, one coming from the old province of Ontario and the other from the old province of Quebec, addressing the house at this time of war, at the opening of the session, using the words which they addressed to all who were here assembled. My hon. friends were right when they said that their selection was not a compliment merely to themselves, though it might well have been so merited, nor merely a compliment to their constituencies, which they were kind enough to suggest that it also might have been, but that it was first and foremost intended as a recognition of the service the armed forces of our country are rendering to Canada and the cause of freedom to-day. Not only that, it was also a recognition of the number of the members of the house who to-day are serving in the armed forces of Canada. We may all be proud that so large a percentage of the membership of this house is composed of men on active service at the present time.

What I felt most about the speeches of my hon. friends was that each brought us very close to the armed forces and to the services which they are rendering. One hon. member had just returned from England; both are going overseas very shortly. Their addresses brought home to all of us, I think, in a more intimate way than would otherwise have been possible, the magnitude and the perils of war and the service being rendered not to our country only but to the world through Canada's war effort at this time.

Their speeches also, I felt, helped to remind us of the unity which our country has happily preserved through these trying times. Each of these speakers spoke wholly irrespective of the province from which he came, wholly irrespective of the race from which he is descended, wholly irrespective of his own native tongue. They spoke solely as Canadians, and in speaking as Canadians, they reminded us of the spirit which underlies the service of our men abroad, and which was so well expressed by Abbé Sabourin when, in giving an account of the spirit with which the men who served at Dieppe entered upon that great reconnaissance, he said, "We went there not thinking of our faith, not thinking of our tongue, or of tradition; we went there thinking of Canada, our country which we were seeking to defend, and the cause of freedom which we were championing at that time."

Members on all sides of the house will rejoice that that spirit of Canadian unity underlying the services which are being rendered at this time have been made so manifest and clear in the first speeches that have been delivered in his house.

There was one other thought that came to my mind as both hon. members spoke, and that was what they felt that service in the

D 49429

armed forces had afforded to the members of those services in terms of a wider outlook. It was apparent from their remarks that, in their opinion, service in the armed forces had an effect upon all those who had enlisted, in enlarging their outlook, in giving them a greater appreciation of common human needs and, in association with that, an enlargement of the expectation of what should await them when the war is over. In other words, they made clear to us that, while they are fighting at the front to help to preserve our country and our freedom, they have a right to expect that those in this parliament, those who remain behind in this country, will so conduct its affairs that when they return to Canada they will find a better condition awaiting them than has been possible heretofore at any time. Both have given us in their addresses the keynote for the discussion which we should have in this parliament during the session. If we can follow the example which they have set of avoiding recriminations, of stressing the real significance of this war and also the importance of the post-war period; if we confine our discussions along those lines, our service will be one long remembered and appreciated by the country.

My hon. friend the leader of the opposition began and concluded his own remarks by reference to ideals in public life, and maintaining the prestige of parliament. May I say that with all that he said of that as an objective I am in most hearty accord. I think I can say in the presence of all who are here that in the twenty-seven years I have been a member of this parliament I have from the beginning sought, so far as it lay within my power, to maintain the highest traditions with respect to parliament and its proceedings. I think that, in the years when I was the leader of the opposition, some seven in all, and in the years I have been leader of the government, now nearly sixteen, I have throughout done the best I possibly could to maintain a high tradition with respect to public life, both within the halls of parliament, and on the platform in the country.

Perhaps my hon. friend while making that appeal did not altogether consider that in some ways it might have seemed to be a reflection upon the members of this house. The other day my hon. friend the former leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) spoke of his effort to maintain high traditions in debate and decorum in the house, and I said I thought he had succeeded in setting a good example in that respect, although all of us, as my hon. friend said, are liable at moments to slip a little. But I do maintain that if one contrasts the proceedings in this parliament with those of any other legislative assembly on earth, they will be found to compare favourably with those of other assemblies.

My hon. friend referred to the British House of Commons, a noble institution. It has maintained high standards; but I submit that any one who has followed the discussions in the British House of Commons, even in this time of war, will have observed that, in many particulars, they have been more acrimonious than has been the case with any discussions that have taken place here. And as far as comparisons with what takes place in congress or elsewhere are concerned, I think this House of Commons can stand on its own feet without fear. However, I am pleased that my hon. friend is going to do all in his power to see that this high standard is maintained, and I shall certainly do what I can to cooperate with him toward that end.

My hon. friend asked me to speak on a great number of subjects. I had rather made up my mind that I would follow a different course this session if possible; that I would not make speeches that were too long. I have been criticized a great deal on that score, and I must say as I listened to my hon. friend to-day I begin to see that such criticism may be very just. Therefore I hope he will not expect me to answer to-day all the questions he has raised. But at the appropriate time during the course of the session I shall do the best I can to give him the information he wishes.

He spoke at considerable length of what he referred to as dissatisfaction with the administration. He spoke more particularly of dissatisfaction with what is sometimes spoken of as a growing bureaucracy. My hon. friend referred to it in different connections. He referred to it in speaking of the Winnipeg programme. He referred to it as departure from responsible government because of the powers given to boards, and the orders passed under the War Measures Act.

No one deplores more than I do, and I am sure hon. members in the house generally do, that, in a time of war, it is necessary to establish boards to do what responsible ministers in time of peace are able to manage without such additions to the administration. But in times of war it is simply impossible for ordinary government departments to hope to administer the different policies that have to be carried out except with the aid of boards of one kind and another to assist the ministers.

My hon. friends opposite have changed their attitude very much toward the government in

Congratulations - p 36 - Mr. King
movers + seconders

Vol. LXXXII.—No. 3

D 49430

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT—DAILY EDITION

Monday, January 31, 1944

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D49431

CONTENTS

Monday, January 31, 1944

House of Commons—

Resignation of Hector Benoit, Parliamentary Reporter (French), Mr. Speaker..... 23

Debates—Reference to translation of speech delivered on January 28, Mr. Tremblay.... 23

Divorce Jurisdiction Act, 1930, Amendment. Jurisdiction of courts in province of married women's domicile. Bill No. 2, Mr. Black (Yukon), first reading..... 23

Live Stock. Press report with regard to slaughter and sale of animals by Quebec farmers, Mr. Fraser (Peterborough West), Mr. Ilsley, Mr. Hanson (York-Sunbury)..... 23

Excess Profits. Limitation from January 31 of tax advantage in respect of charitable contributions by business concerns, Mr. Ilsley..... 47

Governor General's Speech. Continuation of debate on Address in reply by:

Mr. Graydon..... 23

Amendment..... 34

Mr. Mackenzie King..... 34

Mr. Blackmore..... 48

Mr. Coldwell..... 52

Amendment to amendment..... 55

Mr. Raymond..... 58

Mr. Dorion..... 60

Debate adjourned on motion of Mr. Roebuck..... 65

D 49432

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Oh! That is pretty tough on me.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: No. My hon. friend was not leader; he was acting leader.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I was the leader until I retired.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend acted very well at times and sometimes very badly.

Mr. GRAYDON: I suppose that applies to the Prime Minister too.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The hon. gentleman was not leader of the Conservative party. May I draw this further fact to the attention of the house. The Conservative party, or the Progressive Conservative party, or whatever name it went by at the time, has not had a leader elected to the House of Commons during the life of this parliament. There have been two leaders of the party who have not been returned to this House of Commons during this parliament. The late Hon. Doctor Manion was the leader of the party at the time of the last election. Doctor Manion was defeated. My hon. friend (Mr. Hanson, York-Sunbury) has said he acted as leader until the party was in a position to choose a leader. Then the party chose a leader. As was expected under our system of government where all who take a part in parliamentary proceedings are supposed to represent the people, are supposed to have a constituency which they represent, the leader first chosen, Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, went before the people in his capacity as leader, asking to be returned for a constituency that he might take his seat in this House of Commons. He was defeated; he was not returned, and the party continued on without its leader in the House of Commons. That lasted for thirteen months. Then we had this Winnipeg convention at which John Bracken was elected, and at which he began to put forth bills of rights or other documents of high importance to legislative bodies. But up to the present time John Bracken has not found a seat. He represents nobody so far as representation in this House of Commons is concerned. I say—

Mr. GRAYDON: That would be more applicable to my right hon. friend than to Mr. Bracken.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon. I say, standing here speaking for the rights of the people in their parliament, that the only man who has a right to speak in the name of the people as a leader is one who occupies a seat in this parliament or who has received the approval of the electorate, giving him the right to speak as a representative. The fact that Mr. Bracken sat in a provincial legislature for a number of years does not entitle him to be regarded as a representative of the people of Canada at this time in dealing with the public affairs of this parliament; much less does it entitle him to put forth bills of rights and have those bills of rights quoted in this House of Commons when he himself is not here to stand up for them.

May I direct the attention of my hon. friend, since he has referred to a "bill of rights," to the fact that the Bill of Rights was an important statute enacted for the purpose of securing to the Commons of Britain, and to the parliament of Britain, its rights and privileges. One of the rights and privileges of free people is that there shall be a free parliament, and that their representatives shall sit in that parliament to determine the laws and policies that are to govern. What is to become of parliamentary institutions if we begin to substitute for membership in the House of Commons itself, or in parliament itself, some form of absentee leadership? That is a new development in the political life of our country—absentee leadership over a period of years.

My hon. friend knows that so far as this side of the house is concerned we have been prepared to facilitate the entry of Mr. Bracken into the House of Commons—

Mr. GRAYDON: As you did for Mr. Meighen.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The people expressed their opinion.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): No, no.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I may say that any leader who cannot obtain a seat is not one who ought longer to claim the right to lead a political party.

Mr. GRAYDON: My hon. friend was in exactly that position.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am just directing attention to the change that is coming over the spirit of our political institutions when it begins to be the custom to have leaders of parties, who claim they are to be at the head of an alternative government after a general election, direct their followings from outside parliament altogether.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Your friend Mitch Hepburn did that, did he not?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: He is no example.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): He was your friend then.

D 49433

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: That makes the position of my hon. friends worse and worse.

Mr. PERLEY: He succeeded.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: However, this is not a joking matter. It is not for me to say what road, either to success or to ruin, the hon. gentlemen opposite should take as we approach a general election, but it is for me in my position as leader of this House of Commons to point out that the place for the leader of a political party which hopes to be in a position to form a government, is in the House of Commons in the position of leader of the opposition.

May I here direct attention to the pertinancy of what I have just said. Parliament has given to the position of leader of the opposition a place of exceptional significance and importance. There has been assigned by statute to the leader of the opposition a position which places upon him certain definite obligations, one of which is to be in parliament and to watch the administration, to criticize the administration fairly, and presumably also to make known what alternative policies he would present to those which are being proposed. He draws a salary similar to that of the members of the government. Now, I submit that parliament never intended that that position should be occupied by someone acting in the place of the leader of the party, however amiable and delightful he himself might be. Considering the importance of the great questions which have to be decided in this parliament this year, I hope that before very long the leader of the Conservative party opposite will find it possible—if it is possible at all for him to do so—to get into this House of Commons and let us have the opportunity to debate these questions face to face.

May I point out also the invidious position in which I am placed if I venture to take issue with anything that Mr. Bracken may say; immediately it will be said that Mr. King is saying something in the absence of the person who has made the statement. Well, I wish to say what I have to say to Mr. Bracken in his presence, and I want that presence to be here in the House of Commons. I hope hon. gentlemen opposite will believe that the government is most sincere when I say, on behalf of the government, that if, in any way, we can facilitate Mr. Bracken's entry to this House of Commons at an early stage in this session we shall be happy to do so, because I believe the people of this country have the right to see, not how Mr. Bracken performs in matters of political organization outside this house, but how he conducts himself in matters of debate here when the house is in session.

I have said what I have said because my hon. friend attached so much importance in the course of his remarks to Mr. Bracken and his bill of rights. With much of what my hon. friend has otherwise said I am in accord. He did endorse in many directions a large part of the proposed legislation which is put forth in the speech from the throne.

Mr. GRAYDON: Look where it came from.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend now says, "Look where it came from". But he does not deny he has endorsed much of what the government has proposed to this parliament, and for that I wish to thank him.

I should like to congratulate the mover and the seconder of the address. My hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. Graydon) said he was going to save time and cut short his remarks in that particular. It is one of the traditions of the House of Commons that when hon. members speak at the opening of a session some cognizance should be taken of the manner in which they speak on such an important occasion. I for one, being rather fond of preserving traditions where they are worthy of preservation, have great pleasure this afternoon in complimenting most warmly both the hon. member for Dorchester (Mr. Tremblay) and the hon. member for Rosthern (Mr. Tucker) upon their splendid utterances in moving and seconding the address in reply to the speech from the throne. The leader of the opposition has drawn attention to the fact that, for some years, both hon. gentlemen have been members of this house, that both are veterans of the last war, that both are on active service in the present war, performing useful service in our country, and that both have regretted that for reasons which are apparent they do not find it possible to serve overseas. However, each has been setting a fine example to others in the manner in which he has sought to serve its interests both in parliament and at the same time in the armed forces. These hon. members are similar in the respects which I have mentioned. They are similar also in another respect which is important at this time. They are the fathers of fairly large families, and as such are in a position to speak not only as veterans on such matters as demobilization and rehabilitation of the forces, but, also as heads of families on the significance of the social legislation which is proposed in the speech from the throne. I am glad they have expressed themselves so strongly in favour of it.

There is one other point I should like to mention in regard to these two hon. gentlemen. One comes to us from the province of Quebec; he is of a race and religion different

D 49434

from that of the other hon. gentleman, who comes to us from the prairie provinces. In the speeches delivered by these two hon. gentlemen, however, we find that unity—unity in diversity—which is perhaps the greatest of all the outstanding features of our country. We are a united country, though we may have diverse elements; and our unity could not have been better exemplified than it was in the two admirable addresses which were delivered on Friday last.

This afternoon the leader of the opposition began his remarks, quite rightly, by emphasizing the fact that the war is continuing, and that it was or should be the most important of all considerations before us at this time. Later, however, in the course of his remarks my hon. friend said that he thought either the speech from the throne or the government itself had given evidence of a belief that the war would be over somewhat soon. May I immediately take exception to any statement of the kind. I wish I could say to this House of Commons that I believed the war was nearing an end. It is perfectly true that conditions are much better than they were a year ago. We have great reason to be thankful for the tremendous gains which have been made in the course of the past year; that the Germans have been driven out of Africa; that Italy has surrendered unconditionally; that the Italian fleet is now under the control of the allied powers; that Sicily has been successfully invaded and liberated, and that Italy has been invaded. We can be thankful that the Russians have had such great successes, and also that on the other side of the world the United States, Australian, New Zealand and British forces have had the great successes which they have achieved up to the present in their battles against the Japanese. But it remains true as far as both Germany and Japan are concerned that to-day these countries still occupy a very considerable proportion of conquered territory, and that the fighting is still taking place on that conquered territory. In Europe, while Russia is making a magnificent fight, the Germans are still on Russian soil. In Italy, while the British, United States and Canadian forces, and others allied with them, are making a magnificent fight, the Germans still are in possession of the greater part of that country. At the present time Germany is surrounded by a group of conquered countries which serve as outer defences to her immediate territory. Those countries which have been overrun are providing Germany at present with resources which she needs, in the way of man-power, food and raw materials. Their peoples are being made to work and to serve the interests of Germany, which itself remains a perfectly intact fortress. Similarly in the orient Japan controls the many countries and islands which she has taken from the Netherlands, the British and others, and Japan is being supplied with labour and materials in a way which helps to serve her ends and needs.

So, Mr. Speaker, while we have great reason to be thankful for the progress which has been made, it would be wrong to assume that there is like reason to believe that there will be an early conclusion to this war. I have followed the progress of the war, I think, as closely as any man in Canada, and I am sure I am only giving the experience of others who have sought to follow it closely, as well as my own, when I say that I have been surprised at how long it has taken, in the light of the expectations that have been cherished, to reach the different objectives that have been attained along the way. Let me remind hon. members here of what their views were at the time Africa was invaded by the United States armies, and at the time the British were fighting along the north coast of that continent. It was thought first that it would be a matter of only a few weeks before the Germans and Italians were driven out, then of a few months, but as it turned out a very much longer time was required. When this house adjourned last July our forces, along with British and American forces, had entered Sicily. We thought it was going to be a matter of only a short time until Sicily and then Italy were conquered. Certainly when the Italian mainland had been successfully invaded by the allied forces it was felt that it would be only a short time until Rome would be in the possession of the allied powers. Well, Rome is not yet under allied control, and no one can say how long the Italian campaign may last.

We know that in all probability Europe is to be invaded from the west as well as the east and south, but does anyone realize how difficult that invasion is going to be? I want this afternoon to leave that thought, above all others, with hon. members of this house. As I see it, our country, in common with Great Britain and the United States, is facing as appalling a situation as these countries have faced at any time. I do not wish to exaggerate the difficulty of invading Europe, but I do wish to draw attention to the fact that invasion means not merely a successful landing of troops on the continent of Europe and the combined action of different armed forces, but also that once men are on the soil of Europe they have to be maintained there. And they will have to be maintained with supplies brought, in large part, from this continent,

across the Atlantic. I need not go into details, because I think hon. members have a pretty clear conception of what the facts of the situation will be. But I do say at once to the House of Commons and to the people of Canada that I am far from believing there is going to be an early conclusion to this war. For that reason I believe parliament must continue to make the winning of the war its first and main objective.

Listening to my hon. friend this afternoon I must say I was surprised, particularly when he dwelt at such length upon matters pertaining to general elections compared with the time he devoted to the present situation in Europe.

Mr. GRAYDON: I was going by the speech from the throne.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Well, my hon. friend has his own responsibility.

Mr. GRAYDON: So does the Prime Minister.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: He has his own responsibility.

Mr. GRAYDON: The speech from the throne was filled with everything except the war.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend spoke on his own responsibility, and it was for him to do what I am seeking to do now, namely, to impress the house with the importance of winning the war, before all else.

My hon. friend has just said that he was following the speech from the throne. May I repeat to the house the paragraph which I believe to be the most important appearing in the speech from the throne. It is in these words:

> The winning of the war clearly remains the first of all objectives. My ministers believe it is their duty to see that Canada's war effort is firmly maintained until the enemy is defeated in Europe and in Asia. They believe the government's primary task, and the primary duty of the Canadian people, is to concentrate on the prosecution of the war. Our fighting men must be assured that there will be no diversion from this vital task and no relaxation of Canada's war effort. Till the war is won, the policies of my government will continue to be shaped to that end.

That is the policy of the present administration. In so far as it lies within our power, we intend, in the house, to endeavour to concentrate on measures relating to the winning of the war, until the war is won—and not, I pray, to devote our time to too great consideration of matters which may be more concerned with the winning of elections than with the winning of the war.

Before proceeding further, may I say, so that hon. members may know exactly where the government stands in relation to elections, that I have already made clear to the people of Canada, in an address last September, at a time when members of different parties were saying that we were going to have a general election before the end of the year, that so far as I was concerned, and so far as the government was concerned, we hoped to carry through to the end the trust which had been given to us by the Canadian people, when they returned us to power, a trust that we would put forth the utmost effort in the winning of the war, and direct the affairs of Canada to that end. We intend to do that. Unless prevented, in some way which it would be impossible to control, from carrying on the affairs of government as they must be carried on if we are to win the war, we intend to continue with that work, and not to interrupt it by any general election until the war is won. The people of Canada do not want a general election at this time of war. Our men fighting overseas do not want an election, if it can be avoided, until after victory is achieved, and we are in a position to welcome them and all our armed forces home as a victorious army.

A prime minister is placed in a very difficult position when he is asked to give any undertaking to the country that he will not, in any circumstance, have a general election. It is running counter to the spirit of British institutions, when as regards the time of an appeal to the people any government binds itself in any final way. For that reason I have found it necessary, as I do to-day, to say that situations may arise in which it will be impossible for the government to carry on, with the authority it should have in a time of war. Some questions might arise which would make it necessary that an appeal to the people be made to settle an issue, and get on with the work of winning the war. I see no reason for either at the present time. I have no desire for and no thought of seeking to find an issue of the kind. What I am determined to do, if God gives me health and strength, is to stay in the position I am in at the present time until this war is won. Then, if circumstances warrant, the people will be given their full rights and powers to decide as to what administration they may wish to have in office during the next parliament, whether they wish the present administration to be returned to office or some other to take its place.

I have not forgotten the fact that there is a constitutional limitation upon the duration of a parliament. But this parliament may continue, I believe, until June of next year, if

D 49436

GERMANY	declaration of a state of war	September 10, 1939
	unconditional surrender	May 7, 1945
	terms of surrender signed	May 8, 1945
ITALY	declaration of a state of war	June 10, 1940
	unconditional surrender	September 8, 1943
	terms of surrender signed	September 29, 1943
JAPAN	declaration of a state of war	December 7, 1941
	unconditional surrender	August 14/15, 1945
	terms of surrender signed	September 2, 1945

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
78		Result of Glengarry By-election, Alexandria. Speeches outside Parliament	24 Aug. 1945	D 49387 - D 49397	
78		Speeches on Address. Speeches in Parliament	Sept. 1945	D 49398 - D 49436	
78		Birthday Party of Hon. Adelard Godbout, Frelighsburg, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	22 Sept. 1945	D 49437 - D 49458	
78		Welcome to General de Gaulle. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Aug. 1945	D 49459 - D 49460	
78		Williamstown Fair, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Sept. 1945	D 49461 - D 49476	
78		Visit to U.K. and Continent of Europe. Speeches in Parliament	27 Sept. 1945	D 49477 - D 49501	
78		Secretary of State's Dinner, Washington, D.C. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Nov. 1945	D 49502 - D 49504	
78		National Liberal Federation, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Nov. 1945	D 49505	

Liberal Party - Que
Adelard Godbout
Elections - Provincial

Ottawa,
September 24, 1945

D 49437

MR. HANDY:

I have discussed the reports of the Frelighsburg speech with Mr. Bertrand, Mr. St. Laurent and Mr. Claxton.

Mr. Bertrand was occupied while the Prime Minister was speaking and did not hear more than a part of his speech, so is able to offer no evidence.

Mr. St. Laurent and Mr. Claxton are agreed that the Prime Minister said none of the things about provincial elections reported in the Citizen and the Gazette. Mr. Claxton is sure that the Prime Minister did say something along the lines of the brief reference in Le Canada.

Mr. St. Laurent is not sure that the Prime Minister made such a statement, but said he did so himself.

I have read the draft letter to Carnegie, which I am sending for the Prime Minister's consideration, to Mr. St. Laurent. He is very anxious that the Prime Minister should not go so far in denying the story as to give political opponents any cause for stating that there is a division between the federal and provincial parties.

I think it might be wise for Mr. King to have a further word with Mr. St. Laurent before any letter is sent.

J.W.P.

J.W. PICKERSGILL

(Dictated over the
'phone to Miss Z.)

Sept. 22/45

Visit to Frelighsburg

D 49438

1. Invitation extended (and accepted)

   by Mr. Godbout - to visit his farm,

   by friends - on occasion of birthday.

   Promise given.

2. Chance to thank electors of Quebec for their support.

   Not to discuss provincial matters.

3. Pay tribute to one of leading statesmen of Canada.

   Sketch Mr. Godbout's career.
   Inherited qualities;
   Personal chatacteristics;
   Relations with Sir Wilfrid.

4. Effort to secure for Federal Government -

   hold by province.

   Importance of co-operation between provinces and Dominion.

   DOMINION OUTLOOK.

S/B

D 49439

Godbout's position as leader in Quebec versus my own.

See JOURNAL clipping - Sept. 21, 1945
"Liberal party led by Mr. King is barely a living political force."

Record of Liberalism.

Since Sept. 21, 1920 - we have had 7 general elections - Liberals won 6.

24 years since - Liberal Govt. in office - nearly 19 years.

My own experience at elections--
through 10 general elections -
7 out of 10.

Since Sir John A. Macdonald's death, there have been 13 elections and Liberal Party has won all but 3.

Avoidance of extremes.

On 1st division this week, -
non-confidence motion defeated by 193 to 29. Majority of 164.

Sept. 22/45

Visit to Frelighsburg D49440

1. Invitation extended (and accepted)

by Mr. Godbout - to visit his farm,

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2. Chance to thank electors of Quebed for their support.

Not to discuss provincial matters.

3. Pay tribute to one of leading statesmen of Canada.

Sketch Mr. Godbout's career.
Inherited qualities;
Personal chatacteristics;
Relations with Sir Wilfrid.

4. Effort to secure for Federal Government

hold by province.

Importance of co-operation between provinces and Dominion.

DOMINION OUTLOOK.

Need for co-operation between nations -

WORLD OUTLOOK.

Co-operation between bodies to industi

Importance of attitude.

Position of Canada in world affairs -
fortunate position.

Position with Great Powers.

(a) with United Kingdom -
family living together,
relations within British Commonv

(b) with United States -
Immediate neighbour -
neighbours living side by side.

(c) with France -
Respect for differences of
races and religion.

(d) with China -
Co-operation in war and peace;
Pacific power.
Similar ideals.

(e) with Russia -
Also near neighbour -
immediate neighbour on North.
A great ally.

Re San Francisco Conference -
Place Canada holds among lesser
powers.

D 49441

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 49442

Place of Liberalism in world affairs -

Against all forms of Imperialism and Socialism.

General interest versus special interest

Freedom and opportunity.
U.S. Constitution

Godbout's position as leader in Quebec versus my own.

See JOURNAL clipping - Sept. 21, 1945 "Liberal party led by Mr. King is barely a living political force."

Record of Liberalism.

Since Sept. 21, 1920 - we have had 7 general elections - Liberals won 6

24 years since - Liberal Govt. in office - nearly 19 years.

My own experience at elections- through 10 general elections - 7 out of 10.

Since Sir John A. Macdonald's death, there have been 13 elections and Liberal Party has won all but 3.

Avoidance of extremes.

On 1st division this week, - non-confidence motion defeated by 193 to 29. Majority of 164.

D 49444

Birthday Party of Hon. Adelard Godbout

Frelighsburg, Quebec, September 22, 1945

Notes for the Prime Minister

this letter is from Hon. Godbout an old friend and colleague when he was Premier of Quebec

Birthday celebration recalls birth place:

Mr. Godbout born 53 years ago at St. Eloi, Temiscouata Co.

Remarkable coincidence that one small village, St. Eloi, should have been the birth place of two of the greatest leaders of French Canada - Ernest Lapointe and Adelard Godbout.

Not the only similarity - both men never lost touch with the land and the people who live on the land - essentially country men.

Mr. Godbout's life devoted to two great forms of service:

(1) Education in scientific agriculture

(2) Public affairs

Whole life a happy combination of politics and agriculture:

Family tradition of devotion to public affairs - Mr. Godbout's father a member of the Legislative Assembly before him;

Early years devoted to study and teaching of scientific agriculture;

A professor of agriculture when elected to the Legislature in 1929;

Quickly given recognition in public life becoming Minister of Agriculture in 1930;

D 49445

Succeeded Mr. Taschereau as Premier in June of 1936 - although not successful in elections of 1936, leadership of party in years of opposition gave provincial Liberal party a new and forward-looking social outlook;

Mr. Godbout entered upon second term as Premier in autumn of 1939, after one of bitterest and most critical elections in history, not only of Quebec but of Canada - victory at that time one of the greatest contributions to national unity of the war years;

Characteristically, Mr. Godbout assumed Agriculture portfolio in addition to Premiership, and maintained throughout term of office a close and constant interest in agriculture and colonization.

Five years of distinguished public service:

Co-operation with federal government in great national task of winning the war;

A period of great social advance - franchise for women - compulsory and free education - public development in electrification - a wide social vision - amelioration of rural life;

Qualities of the man:

Courtesy and consideration for others;

Simplicity of manner and absence of pretension;

D 49446

Sincerity and straightforwardness;

Tolerance and vision;

Eloquency and unusual beauty and sensitiveness of expression;

Above all, deep and broad love of country and abiding faith in the people;

Tribute to service to Canada:

Mr. Godbout's official political career has been confined to the provincial arena, but there has never been anything provincial in his outlook;

From the outset he has seen clearly - and never failed to speak equally clearly - that true interests of his own and all provinces are served by fullest and closest co-operation;

For him, the people of Quebec are first and foremost Canadians - and all Canada is their country;

Without that attitude in the leader of the province, Canada could not have contributed so much to the cause of humanity and civilization; without Mr. Godbout's leadership in Quebec, Canada would not to-day hold the high place our country occupies in the councils of the nations.

The health:

On Monday next (September 24th) Mr. Godbout enters upon his 54th year;

As years are numbered in public life, still a young man;

Most fruitful years of service to Quebec and Canada may well lie ahead;

By training, by experience and by services already rendered, one of the foremost of Canada's public men;

The sincerity, the courage, and the vision which served his province and our country in the years of war no less needed in the difficult years of reconstruction immediately before us;

Therefore, for the welfare of Quebec and the service of Canada, it is in a very literal sense that I propose the health of my friend and our friend - Adelard Godbout.

D49448

Hon. Adelard Godbout, M. L. A.

Born: St. Eloi, Temiscouata County, September 24, 1892

Educated as an agricultural scientist

Professor at College at St. Anne de la Pocatiere

Elected M. L. A. May 1929

Minister of Agriculture, 1930

Premier - June - August, 1936

Defeated with his government and outside Legislature 1936 - 1939

Premier and Minister of Agriculture - October 1939 - August 1944

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

file 5172/45

PUBLICATION Ottawa Morning Citizen DATE Sept. 24, 1945

D 49449

Mr. King Predicts Godbout's Return As Que. Premier

FRELIGHSBURG, Que., Sept. 23 —(CP)—Prime Minister Mackenzie King, speaking to a group of Liberal supporters here Saturday, said that he believed a Liberal government would be returned to power in the next Quebec general elections and added that Adelard Godbout would be provincial premier when that time came.

"Mr. Godbout is the right man to have in Quebec, and we want him there," said Mr. King in what was taken to be a reference to reports that Mr. Godbout, former premier and at present leader of the Liberal opposition leader, would be given a federal position.

Mr. Godbout said later, when questioned about the reports, that "there has not been any offer of such a position, and as far as I know the thing has not even been considered."

Mr. King said he believed defeat of the provincial Liberals 15 months ago could be traced to "a lack of preparedness and a lack of concerted effort." He spoke at a gathering which honored Mr. Godbout on his 53rd birthday.

The Prime Minister, after saying that Mr. Godbout was the man the federal Liberals wanted in Quebec, added that "We will see to it that he is returned there in the next election." The statement was taken as an indication that federal Liberal speakers would campaign on behalf of provincial candidates in the next Quebec elections.

Liberal speakers in Quebec, including Mr. Godbout, have predicted that Union Nationalc Premier Maurice Duplessis might call general elections in the fall.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Le Canada

Date Sep 24/45

D 49450 5172/45

Subject

M. Mackenzie King

Le t. hon. Mackenzie King, à qui la foule des invités fit un accueil empreint du plus vibrant enthousiasme, avait à peine dit quelques mots que de longs applaudissements l'interrompirent. Ses premières paroles, en effet, ont prédit un retour prochain au pouvoir de l'administration Godbout. Le calme revenu, le premier ministre qui, comme toujours, était d'excellente humeur, affirma son inébranlable confiance en la jeunesse du pays, jeunesse où le parti libéral recrute sans cesse ses éléments les meilleurs, les plus nombreux et les plus actifs.

Soulignant ensuite qu'il était heureux d'être enfin venu à la ferme de M. Godbout, dans la magnifique et riche région de Frelighsburg, M. King ajouta: "Le Canada est un pays rempli de coins enchanteurs et que l'on ne se lasse jamais d'admirer. Je suis enchanté d'être ici et d'y être au milieu d'êtres jeunes. Je ne puis me rappeler avoir jamais été entouré de meilleurs amis que ceux que je retrouve ici aujourd'hui. Il y a plusieurs années que M. Godbout m'avait invité à venir le rencontrer chez lui. Cette fois-ci, M. Godbout ayant accepté que l'on célébrât un samedi son anniversaire de naissance qui tombait un lundi, j'ai pu quitter la capitale et accomplir un désir que je caressais depuis longtemps, celui de venir, au nom de ses amis de toutes les parties du Canada, lui offrir mes meilleurs voeux et lui souhaiter de rester de longues années encore à la tête du parti libéral dans la province de Québec."

Et M. King poursuivit: "Je ne pourrais, je crois, trouver de meilleure occasion que celle qui m'est offerte aujourd'hui d'exprimer à nos innombrables amis du Québec notre reconnaissance. Je tiens cet après-midi à les remercier d'une façon toute spéciale de l'appui presque unanime qu'ils nous ont accordé aux dernières élections, de la fidélité qu'ils ont conservée aux grands principes libéraux des Lapointe et des Laurier".

Faisant l'éloge de M. Godbout, le premier ministre a déclaré que les Canadiens aussi bien de tout le reste du pays que du Québec étaient fortunés de pouvoir compter sur un homme de la valeur de M. Godbout pour diriger les puissantes forces libérales qui demeurent à peu près intactes dans notre province. Il a aussi rendu hommage au père de M. Adélard Godbout et il a félicité ce dernier d'avoir suivi les traditions si nobles qu'on lui avait enseignées et qui l'ont, par la suite, incité à rester près du sol.

"C'est sans doute à cause de tout cela, a continué M. King, que M. Godbout a toujours eu des idées larges. C'est sans doute à cause de tout cela aussi que, lorsqu'il a fait des lois, ce furent des lois favorisant le bien général de la majorité et non pas les privilèges de quelques-uns. M. Godbout, et je tiens à le proclamer bien haut, même si cela doit choquer sa modestie bien connue, est l'un des plus grands chefs politiques du Canada. Je me plais à reconnaître publiquement qu'il a toujours pensé et agi dans le meilleur sens des intérêts de tout son pays et non pas dans le seul sens plus étroit des seuls intérêts de sa province. Je puis bien révéler ici un secret que l'on connaît peut-être déjà en certains milieux. Plusieurs fois dans le passé j'ai essayé d'obtenir de M. Godbout qu'il consentît à venir diriger un ministère important à Ottawa. Et j'avoue qu'en agissant ainsi je songeais évidemment surtout au bien de la nation mais aussi au bien du parti libéral. Toujours, cependant, M. Godbout m'a répondu: "J'aime Québec et je suis convaincu que je puis faire plus de bien pour mon pays et même pour mon parti en restant dans Québec qu'en allant remplir des fonctions de ministre dans la capitale canadienne". Et je sais que M. Godbout avait raison, qu'il était sage. C'est un véritable Canadien et un grand Canadien".

Et M. King, s'adressant d'une façon particulière aux jeunes, a ajouté: "Les temps sont bien changés. Vous ne reverrez plus le monde que vous avez connu avant la guerre. Les bombes formidables qui sont tombées récemment au Japon ont rompu le lien qui reliait le passé à l'avenir. Il nous faut maintenant et il nous faudra désormais penser de plus en plus en citoyens d'un pays très étroitement lié à tous les autres pays du monde. Il faudra, dans toutes nos décisions, donner une place de plus en plus importante aux besoins de l'humanité entière. Les régionalismes et les nationalismes étroits n'ont plus rien à faire dans le monde de l'après-guerre. Parce que j'espère que le Canada aura dorénavant à jouer dans le monde un rôle aussi important, sinon plus important, que celui qu'il a joué dans la guerre; parce que je suis fermement convaincu que le Canada est à devenir l'une des grandes puissances de la terre, je vous demande, jeunes gens, de n'être jamais étroits d'esprits, d'avoir des idées bien aérées, d'affirmer avec plus de conviction et avec plus de force que vous ne le fites jamais vos droits de citoyens du Canada tout entier".

M. King a souligné après cela que, dans le domaine de la politique internationale, le Canada occupe aujourd'hui une position-clef. Notre pays, en effet, est partie du riche et puissant Commonwealth des nations britanniques et cela lui vaut déjà une situation plus qu'enviable dans la discussion des problèmes du monde. Il entretient en plus avec les Etats-Unis, grand pays victorieux, des relations que l'on peut citer en exemple à toutes les autres nations. Il a avec la France, et cela il le doit en grande partie à la province de Québec, une association heureuse et appelée à être des plus fécondes. Avec la Chine, à laquelle il a rendu de grands services et qui est peut-être l'un des pays qui aiment le plus la paix, il s'entend on ne peut mieux. Reste l'URSS. De ce côté-là, depuis que Moscou a établi une ambassade à Ottawa et que le Canada a lui-même son représentant diplomatique à Moscou, on a si bien travaillé que l'on a à peu près fait disparaître complètement les méfiances et les doutes qui auraient pu compromettre les fructueux résultats d'une amitié russe-canadienne.

"Ayant de si bonnes cartes en mains, a terminé M. King, nous nous devons de faire de notre mieux pour aider la grande cause de la paix et ,parce que le monde a plus que jamais besoin de véritable libéralisme, faisons de notre mieux pour répandre partout et à profusion les seuls grands et vrais principes, ceux de la doctrine libérale".

Une fois de plus, avant de mettre fin à son allocution, M. King a tenu à répéter son espoir que, pour le plus grand bien des Canadiens du Québec et des citoyens de tout le Canada, M. Godbout restera le plus longtemps possible le chef du parti libéral de la province de Québec.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

5172/45

Name of Publication Regina Leader-Post

Date Sep 24/45

D 49451

Subject

King sees Liberal win

FRELIGHSBURG, Que., Sept. 24 (CP).—Prime Minister Mackenzie King, speaking to a group of Liberal supporters Saturday, said that he believed a Liberal government would be returned to power in the next Quebec general elections and added that Adelard Godbout would be provincial premier when that time came.

"Mr. Godbout is the right man to have in Quebec, and we want him there," said Mr. King in what was taken to be a reference to reports that Mr. Godbout, former premier and at present leader of the Liberal opposition party, would be given a federal position.

Mr. Godbout said later, when questioned about the reports, that "there has not been any offer of such a position, and as far as I know the thing has not even been considered."

Mr. King said he believed defeat of the provincial Liberals 15 months ago could be traced to "a lack of preparedness and a lack of concerted effort." He spoke at a gathering which honored Mr. Godbout on his 53rd birthday.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date SEP 24 1945

D 49452

5172/45

GODBOUT STAYS IN LEADERSHIP

King Denies Waterways Commission Post Is Offered

(By Gazette Staff Reporter)

Frelighsberg, September 23. — Strong rumors to the effect that Hon. Adelard Godbout, leader of the Quebec Liberals, was to be given a federal government job as member of the International Waterways Commission were definitely quashed here on Saturday by Prime Minister King and Mr. Godbout himself at Mr. Godbout's 52nd birthday party.

Speaking to more than 500 stalwarts of the Quebec Liberal party at an open-air fete on the grounds of Mr. Godbout's residence, Mr. King declared emphatically that Mr. Godbout was leader of the Liberal party in Quebec, expressed the confirmed belief that the Liberals would be returned to power in the next provincial elections, and stressed that Mr. Godbout would be the rightful premier of Quebec after that time. "Mr. Godbout is the right man to have in Quebec and we want him there," said Mr. King.

When questioned later by The Gazette reporter, Mr. Godbout denied that there was any question of him taking the position with the International Waterways Commission or any other position with the federal government.

"There has not been any offer of such a position," said Mr. Godbout "and, as far as I know, the thing has not even been considered."

While expressing his opinion that the Liberals would go back into power in this province after the next election, Mr. King attributed defeat of the Liberal party in the last electoral contest to "a lack of preparedness, and a lack of concerted effort."

At the same time, he directly intimated that the efforts and resources of the federal Liberal party would be thrown into the fray in support of the provincial group in the next elections in this province.

It was freely stated here in Quebec during the last provincial electoral campaign that members of the federal Liberal organization were not interfering in the contest at the express request of the leaders of the Quebec organization.

SEEN AS "RIGHT MAN"

In his address yesterday Mr. King declared: "Mr. Godbout is the right man to be in Quebec. He is the man we want there, and we will see to it that he is returned there in the next election."

Mr. King made a special trip here to congratulate Mr. Godbout on his 52nd birthday. During the course of the fete at which Hon. Louis St. Laurent, Minister of Justice, presided, and presented to Mr. Godbout a portrait of himself on behalf of the Liberal organization and officers and members of the Reform Club of Montreal, Mr. King was the first to pay tribute to Mr. Godbout as leader of the Quebec Liberals. Mr. King praised the legislation that was enacted by the Liberal government here before the National Union government returned to power in August of last year. He also stressed the ability of Mr. Godbout to keep the Liberal party "strong and unified" in Quebec province.

Lauding the role played by Quebec in the war effort, emphasized particularly the part played by the French-Canadians in supplying manpower and materials, he contended at the same time that the war had helped Quebeckers broaden their outlook on life, Quebec now being "world-wide and international in scope rather than provincial." He insisted, however, that the bonds between both races in this province must be continually strengthened in all respects in order to raise the standard in the Dominion and the assure continued prosperity.

Mr. King, at the same time, praised the role of Liberalism in general in raising Canada's stature to the point where it enjoyed the most excellent relations in the Empire, with the United States, Russia and France. He had praise also for each of these other countries, and, in particular, for France as the home of the French-Canadians' ancestors.

'RACE UNIFIER'

Citing the Liberal party as a "great race unifier," and the best aid to progressive harmony, Mr. King paid tribute to the great leaders of the party forthcoming from Quebec province. He mentioned Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe and Adelard Godbout.

He concluded his address to the large gathering spread out under two large tents with a request for a united effort, and an expression of his pleasure at the party and the opportunity of meeting Quebeckers

Mr. Godbout first expressed his thanks to the Prime Minister for the honor of having his attendance at the fete, and also expressed his thanks for the birthday present of his portrait.

He emphasized the role played by the Liberal party in Quebec in aid of the war effort, and he emphasized that the future prosperity of Quebec—of French - Canadians—was dependent on a continual effort to foster unity with their fellowmen and the realization that they were a vital cog in the world picture.

He was convinced that the Quebec Liberals had lived up to their mandate when they were in power, and had played a most vital role in aiding the war contribution of Canada and the Empire. He also blamed the defeat of the party in the last elections to a lack of preparedness and of concerted effort, and expressed his confidence that the party would be returned to power in the next elections.

Mr. Godbout maintained the party would be better prepared next time due to greater unity and the combined efforts of the federal and provincial Liberal organizations. He also reminded members of the Liberal party that they must work for the betterment of their fellow men and world peace. With such action as a base, he said, Canada would play a major part in world affairs, increase the Dominion's trade and prosperity, improve the culture — all these things being, naturally, to the benefit of this province and French-Canadians

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date SEP 24 1945

Subject

5172/45

D 49453

Mr. King Predicts Godbout's Return As Que. Premier

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Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date SEP 24 1945

5172/40

D 49454

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'We'll See to It That Godbout Returns To Power'—King

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The Prime Minister, after saying that Mr. Godbout was the man the Federal Liberals wanted in Quebec, added that "we will see to it that he is returned there in the next election". The statement was taken as an indication that Federal Liberal speakers would campaign on behalf of provincial candidates in the next Quebec elections. It had been said here after the last elections that members of the Federal Liberal organization remained out of the campaigning at the request of leaders of the Quebec organization.

Mr. King made no direct mention of when provincial elections might be held, but Liberal speakers in Quebec, including Mr. Godbout, have predicted that Union Nationale Premier Maurice Duplessis might call general elections in the Fall.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date SEP 24 1945

5172/45

D 49454

Subject

'We'll See to It That Godbout Returns To Power'—King

FRELIGHSBURG, Que., Sept. 23. — (CP) — Prime Minister King, speaking to a group of Liberal supporters here Saturday, said that he believed a Liberal government would be returned to power in the next Quebec general elections and added that Adelard Godbout would be provincial Premier when that time came.

"Mr. Godbout is the right man to have in Quebec, and we want him there", said Mr. King in what was taken to be a reference to reports that Mr. Godbout, former Premier and at present Liberal Opposition leader, would be given a Federal position.

Mr. Godbout said later, when questioned about the reports, that "there has not been any offer of such a position, and as far as I know the thing has not even been considered".

Mr. King said he believed defeat of the provincial Liberals 15 months ago could be traced to "a lack of preparedness and a lack of concerted effort". He spoke at a gathering which honored Mr. Godbout on his 53rd birthday.

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Mr. King made no direct mention of when provincial elections might be held, but Liberal speakers in Quebec, including Mr. Godbout, have predicted that Union Nationale Premier Maurice Duplessis might call general elections in the Fall.

REPEAT
REPETITION

Copy for Mr. Handy

D 49455

Birthday Party of Hon. Adelard Godbout

Prelighsburg, Quebec, September 22, 1945

Notes for the Prime Minister

Birthday celebration recalls birth place:

Mr. Godbout born 53 years ago at St. Eloi, Temiscouata Co.

Remarkable coincidence that one small village, St. Eloi, should have been the birth place of two of the greatest leaders of French Canada - Ernest Lapointe and Adelard Godbout.

Not the only similarity - both men never lost touch with the land and the people who live on the land - essentially country men.

Mr. Godbout's life devoted to two great forms of service:

(1) Education in scientific agriculture

(2) Public affairs

Whole life a happy combination of politics and agriculture:

Family tradition of devotion to public affairs - Mr. Godbout's father a member of the Legislative Assembly before him;

Early years devoted to study and teaching of scientific agriculture;

A professor of agriculture when elected to the Legislature in 1929;

Quickly given recognition in public life becoming Minister of Agriculture in 1930;

Copy for Rt. Hon. Mr. Handy

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Quickly given recognition in public life becoming Minister of Agriculture in 1930;

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 49456

Succeeded Mr. Taschereau as Premier in June of 1936 - although not successful in elections of 1936, leadership of party in years of opposition gave provincial Liberal party a new and forward-looking social outlook;

Mr. Godbout entered upon second term as Premier in autumn of 1939, after one of bitterest and most critical elections in history, not only of Quebec but of Canada - victory at that time one of the greatest contributions to national unity of the war years;

Characteristically, Mr. Godbout assumed Agriculture portfolio in addition to Premiership, and maintained throughout term of office a close and constant interest in agriculture and colonization.

Five years of distinguished public service:

Co-operation with federal government in great national task of winning the war;

A period of great social advance - franchise for women - compulsory and free education - public development in electrification - a wide social vision - amelioration of rural life;

Qualities of the man:

Courtesy and consideration for others;
Simplicity of manner and absence of pretension;

D 49457

Sincerity and straightforwardness;

Tolerance and vision;

Eloquency and unusual beauty and sensitiveness of expression;

Above all, deep and broad love of country and abiding faith in the people;

Tribute to service to Canada:

Mr. Godbout's official political career has been confined to the provincial arena, but there has never been anything provincial in his outlook;

From the outset he has seen clearly - and never failed to speak equally clearly - that true interests of his own and all provinces are served by fullest and closest co-operation;

For him, the people of Quebec are first and foremost Canadians - and all Canada is their country;

Without that attitude in the leader of the province, Canada could not have contributed so much to the cause of humanity and civilization; without Mr. Godbout's leadership in Quebec, Canada would not to-day hold the high place our country occupies in the councils of the nations.

D 49458

The health:

On Monday next (September 24th) Mr. Godbout enters upon his 54th year;

As years are numbered in public life, still a young man;

Most fruitful years of service to Quebec and Canada may well lie ahead;

By training, by experience and by services already rendered, one of the foremost of Canada's public men;

The sincerity, the courage, and the vision which served his province and our country in the years of war no less needed in the difficult years of reconstruction immediately before us;

Therefore, for the welfare of Quebec and the service of Canada, it is in a very literal sense that I propose the health of my friend and our friend - Adelard Godbout.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
78		Result of Glengarry By-election, Alexandria. Speeches outside Parliament	24 Aug. 1945	D 49387 - D 49397	
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78		Birthday Party of Hon. Adelard Godbout, Frelighsburg, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	22 Sept. 1945	D 49437 - D 49458	
78		Welcome to General de Gaulle. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Aug. 1945	D 49459 - D 49460	
78		Williamstown Fair, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Sept. 1945	D 49461 - D 49476	
78		Visit to U.K. and Continent of Europe. Speeches in Parliament	27 Sept. 1945	D 49477 - D 49501	
78		Secretary of State's Dinner, Washington, D.C. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Nov. 1945	D 49502 - D 49504	
78		National Liberal Federation, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Nov. 1945	D 49505	

D 49459 ~~JAC~~ Z

Visit of General de Gaulle
August 29, 1945

Last previous visit to Ottawa (his first)

July 11, 1944.

Many happy recollections of his stirring address on Parliament Hill.

At that moment, France a battle-ground of liberation

(Canadian forces involved - landings in Normandy on D-Day June 6, 1944)

freeing of the Channel ports and helping to end menace of V-bombs directed against Britain.

Last visit was before the liberation of Paris through uprising of the resistance forces.

(A very graphic account of this subsequently sent Prime Minister by Chairman of Municipal Council of Paris).

The freeing of Paris - one of the great capitals of the world - evoked pride and admiration in the capital of Canada.

 D 49460

Service of General de Gaulle
in helping to restore the civil
administration of France -

many thorny problems.

Pleasant relations with members of French
delegation to San Francisco Conference

Many subsequent evidences of France
resuming a rightful and
important place among the
freedom-loving nations of the
world.

Delighted that at end of his visit to
Washington, General de Gaulle is
able to spend a day in Ottawa.

Wish him Godspeed in the myriad
tasks of <u>peace</u>.

Visit of General Vanier very opportune;

a sterling Canadian and a staunch
friend of France.

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Williamstown Fair
September 26,1945

D 49461

Glad to have opportunity to visit Williamstown Fair for many reasons:

1. To meet my constituents,

2. To thank them for honour,

3. To carry out promise to be present - Maxville vs. Williamstown,

4. To enjoy the Fair - meet people, not to make speech,

5. To be present on an historic occasion -- 131st anniversary - Fair held annually since 1814.

Fair a symbol of community life:

(a) In a constituency

many activities: rural
urban
commercial;

many peoples races
religions
interests
etc.

(b) In a country - a national community;

(c) In the world - a world community.

Take in turn (see Alberta address)

D 49462

Effect of war:

To teach (I) how small the world,

(2) security is indivisible,

(3) prosperity is "

How to live together in a crowded world:

(I) attitude - good-will,

(2) objective - peace, security and prosperity.

Substitute exchange for exhibits in goods, ideas, etc., and we have in Fair, the world objectives of today

Difficulties ahead greater than those behind.

Nations of world must learn to live together peacefully in a crowded world.

Canada's position, example and opportunity to great powers.

Take in turn (see Alberta address)

Williamstown Fair 49463
September 26,1945

Glad to have opportunity to visit Williamstown Fair for many reasons:

I. To meet my constituents,

2. To thank them for honour,

3. To carry out promise to be present - Maxville vs. Williamstown,

4. To enjoy the Fair - meet people, not to make speech,

5. To be present on an historic occasion -- 131st anniversary - Fair held annually since 1814.

Fair a symbol of community life:

(a) In a constituency

many activities: rural
urban
commercial;

many people: races
religions
interests
etc.

(b) In a country -
a national community;

(c) In the world -
a world community.

D 49464

Effect of war:

To teach (I) how small the world,

(2) security is indivisible,

(3) prosperity is "

How to live together in a crowded world:

(I) attitude - good-will,

(2) objective - peace, security and prosperity.

Substitute exchange for exhibits in goods, ideas, etc., and we have in Fair, the world objectives of today.

Difficulties ahead greater than those behind.

Nations of world must learn to live together peacefully in a crowded world.

Canada's position, example and opportunity re great.powers.

Take in turn (see Alberta address)

Need for co-operation between nations -

WORLD OUTLOOK.

49465

D

Co-operation between bodies to industry

Importance of attitude.

Position of Canada in world affairs -
fortunate position.

Position with Great Powers.

(a) with United Kingdom--
family living together,
relations within British Commonwt

(b) with United States -
Immediate neighbour -
neighbours living side by side.

(c) with France -
Respect for differences of
races and religion.

(d) with China -
Co-operation in war and peace;
Pacific power.
Similar ideals.

(e) with Russia -
Also near neighbour -
immediate neighbour on North.
A great ally.

Re San Francisco Conference -
Place Canada holds among lesser
powers.

-5- 4/ D 49466

Place of Liberalism in world affairs -

Against all forms of Imperialism and Socialism.

In building sound home values &

General interest versus special interests:

Freedom and opportunity.
U.S. Constitution

J. A. C.
25.9.45

D 49467

WILLIAMSTOWN FAIR

1945 - 131st anniversary

(held yearly since 1814)

This year there is combined with the Fair the first Eastern Ontario Ayrshire Championship Show.

Williamstown

takes its name from Sir William Johnson (1715-1774) who came to America in 1738, and who was mainly instrumental in settling and developing the Mohawk Valley (New York) whence some of the Catholic Highlanders emigrated to Glengarry in Canada;

although his main activities were on what is no U.S. territory, and principally in the affairs of the Six Nations Indians with whom he had unrivalled influence, he had many connections with Canada;

1759 captured Niagara from the French
1760 accompanied Amherst to Montreal
1761 Led an expedition to Detroit

JAG/Z
25-9-45

D 49468

WILLIAMSTOWN FAIR - Wednesday, September 26, 1945.

Express pleasure at being present at the Williamstown Fair.

(St. Lawrence Valley Agricultural Society,
perpetuating one of the oldest-established
organizations of its kind in Canada).

This Fair a gratifying proof od the variety
and virility of that renowned Canadian
institution - the county fair;

also a heartening reminder of the pride I myself
feel in representing in the Parliament of Canada
this historic and beautiful county of Glengarry.

The County Fairs of Canada

coming at this harvest season

are also a proof, if any were nedded, of the
part of our national prosperity which is

rooted in the soil of Canada

and strengthened by the industry and adaptability
of our farming population.

How important that part has been is more than
evident in this year of victory.

Canada a granary of democracy
as well as the airdrome, the shipyard and
the arsenal.

Greatly increased production of food in wartime
was one of Canada's outstanding contributions
to Allied victory.

The maintenance of a high level of food production
is important in these post-war years

- in providing for the urgent needs of war-
ravaged markets;

- in helping to retain for Canada important markets for exports of agricultural products.

Some foodstuffs being provided from Canadian sources through UNRRA (United Nations Relief and (Rehabilitation Administration)

From the beginning until now Canada has been Chairman of the Supplies Committee

recently (August 1945) elected to the Central (directing) Committee of UNRRA.

Another important new organization

the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (F.A.O.)

will shortly hold its second conference in Canada (Quebec - mid-October).

Pleasure to recall that the present Canadian Ambassador at Washington (Mr. L. B. Pearson) was Chairman of the interim commission of F.A.O.

The operation Canadian Mutual Aid legislation has come to and end, but many of the markets for our products created in wartime will be assured in peace-time through

loans to individual nations (e.g. United Kingdom)

operation of Export Credits Act guaranteeing Canadian exporters against loss,

other loans under this legislation already promised

e.g. China
Czechoslovakia
France.

The fact that there has been no interruption in the provision of financial assistance to members of the United Nations on this scale

will be of great advantage in maintaining confidence in the quality of Canadian products abroad;

D 49470

Add a word about <u>urgent problems at home</u>:

<u>Demobilization</u> of service personnel
and re-establishment in civilian life.
(Department of Veterans Affairs)

<u>Housing</u> - needs of skilled labour,
materials in short supply
(shortages being overcome).

(Interest in, of Dept. of National Health and
(Welfare; Finance (for low-rent arrangements).

<u>Employment</u> - maintaining the national income at a high level;
useful employment;

- retaining and developing all the good features
of <u>national prosperity</u>
while guarding against the inroads of evil
effects.

Canada's answer to these problems a reflection of our own growing stature in the world community -

<u>one lesson of the war</u> that <u>security is indivisible</u>

<u>one maxim of the present</u> that <u>prosperity is indivisible</u>.

If the answer at home is in practical
<u>measures of legislation</u>,

the answer abroad is in an <u>attitude of mind</u>
which constantly expresses itself in co-operation
and mutual aid.

J. A. G.
25.9.45

D 49471

WILLIAMSTOWN FAIR

1945 - 131st anniversary

(held yearly since 1814)

This year there is combined with the Fair the first Eastern Ontario Ayrshire Championship Show.

Williamstown

takes its name from ~~Sir William~~ John Johnson (1715-1774) who came to America in 1738, and who was mainly instrumental in settling and developing the Mohawk Valley (New York) whence some of the Catholic Highlanders emigrated to Glengarry in Canada;

although his main activities were on what is now U.S. territory, and principally in the affairs of the Six Nations Indians with whom he had unrivalled influence, he had many connections with Canada;

1759 captured Niagara from the French
1760 accompanied Amherst to Montreal
1761 led an expedition to Detroit

JAG/Z
25-9-45

D 49472

WILLIAMSTOWN FAIR - Wednesday, September 26, 1945.

Express pleasure at being present at the Williamstown Fair.

(St. Lawrence Valley Agricultural Society, perpetuating one of the oldest-established organizations of its kind in Canada). 131st anniversary
(Fair held annually since 1814)

This Fair a gratifying proof of the variety and virility of that renowned Canadian institution - the county fair;

see Citizen article attached

also a heartening reminder of the pride I myself feel in representing in the Parliament of Canada this historic and heautiful county of Glengarry.

The County Fairs of Canada

coming at this harvest season

are also a proof, if any were needed, of the part of our national prosperity which is

rooted in the soil of Canada

and strengthened by the industry and adaptability of our farming population.

How important that part has been is more than evident in this year of victory.

Canada a granary of democracy as well as the airdrome, ~~the~~ a shipyard and ~~the~~ arsenal.

Greatly increased production of food in wartime was one of Canada's outstanding contributions to Allied victory.

The maintenance of a high level of food production is important in these post-war years

- in providing for the urgent needs of war-ravaged ~~markets~~ Europe;

- in helping to retain for Canada important markets for exports of agricultural products.

D 49473

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loans to individual nations (e.g. United Kingdom)

operation of Export Credits Act guaranteeing Canadian exporters against loss,

other loans under this legislation already promised

e.g. China
Czechoslovakia
France.

The fact that there has been no interruption in the provision of financial assistance to members of the United Nations on this scale

will be of great advantage in maintaining confidence in the quality of Canadian products abroad;

demand for the goods and services which Canada can supply to best advantage.

D 49474

Add a word about urgent problems at home:

Demobilization of service personnel
and re-establishment in civilian life.
(Department of Veterans Affairs)

Housing - needs of skilled labour,
materials in short supply
(shortages being overcome).

(Interest in, of Dept. of National Health and
(Welfare; Finance (for low-rent arrangements).

Employment - maintaining the national income at a high level;
useful employment;

- retaining and developing all the good features
of national prosperity
while guarding against the inroads of evil
effects.

Canada's answer to these problems a reflection of our own growing stature in the world community -

one lesson of the war that security is indivisible

one maxim of the present that prosperity is indivisible.

If the answer at home is in practical
measures of legislation,

the answer abroad is in an attitude of mind
which constantly expresses itself in co-operation
and mutual aid.

Our country Canada - a symbol of Commonwealth
being optimistic community self-

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

Re Unemployment — Labour Conference

Housing — Labour Conference

(Conference of Provincial Premiers and Ministers)

Housing organization

Job: — a high level of employment and income

Canada must maintain

Level of construction

Loan down all Channels

Create demand for commodities

C.N.R. & C.P.R.

Loan to Britain

Export Credits

Purchases mainly from

U.S. and others

D 49475

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date SEP 27 1945

Subject

5172

D 49476

KING LAUDS SPIRIT OF COUNTRY FAIRS

Prime Minister Opens Williamstown Fair, Cites Interdependence Example

Williamstown, Ont., September 26 —(CP)—The community spirit of the Canadian country fair must be extended to embrace the world if the United Nations program of peace and prosperity is to succeed, Prime Minister Mackenzie King said here today.

Opening the 131-year-old annual fair, Mr. King, who is the member of parliament for this Eastern Ontario Glengarry County town, said country fairs were a good example of the interdependence of the community. They represented the prosperity of the community, and prosperity, in the community or in the world at large, was indivisible with the peace of the world. Therefore, the country fair spirit, which was unity in diversity, was a good example of what could be done throughout the globe.

Those who attended a country fair were impressed with the fact that it represented the total contribution of the community prosperity. It demonstrated the interdependence of neighbors. It was an object lesson to the world at this time, for the future prosperity of Canada depended on the prosperity of her allies. Canada's contribution to Allied prosperity would open markets for Canada's products and this, in turn, would contribute to prosperity generally and peace.

Dressed in a pin-striped suit and wearing a black homburg hat and a cane, Mr. King marched, smiling, into the fair grounds behind kilted pipers. He acknowledged rounds of applause. At the centre of the soggy fairground he mounted the rear of a feed truck and delivered a short speech in bright sunshine.

About 5,000 persons were in attendance and stood around in mire, churned up by farm trucks arriving in heavy rains of the last few days, to listen to the speech.

When Mr. King finished speaking, he started a marathon handshake with his constituents.

Somebody mentioned it was hard luck that the cheese factory had burned the other day and the Prime Minister immediately climbed back onto the truck and, waving a paper aloft, shouted that he had just remembered he had brought from Ottawa the papers covering the early rebuilding of the cheese factory. This was no favor for his own riding, he said, but just official recognition of the urgent need of cheese production for overseas needs.

Looking down at a row of tousled headed farm boys, Mr. King asked them to continue a pride in their Canadian inheritance, but also to look broadly at the world and realize its urgent problems were theirs. "Recognize your general interest, not your specific interest," he said.

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PM | Statements

September 25, 1945

516

Re Visit to United Kingdom and Continent of Europe

D 49477

In answer to a question by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition on Friday of last week, I said that I hoped I could find it possible at an early date to talk over with members of the United Kingdom Government questions of mutual concern.*

The world is still in a very troubled state. The war is over and the victory won, but the responsibilities that rest on Governments are not perceptibly lighter. We have our own task of reconstruction to do in Canada, but we cannot do it as wisely or as well as it deserves to be done if we do not consult from time to time with members of other Governments who are facing similar problems, often under more difficult circumstances.

These last months in particular have seen many changes in Europe, brought new men into responsible office and faced them with new problems. We in Canada are very directly concerned with the solutions to these problems which they are seeking and which experience has taught us very quickly become our problems as well.

The process of peace-making is obviously going to be difficult and protracted. The task is not one of restoring the world as we knew it before the war. That world has gone. The collective task is to get the new world going again along paths that will lead to peace, happiness and the general

* Now that this address is off my chest from the throne I have agreed that I should like to inform hon members more particularly of what I have in mind.

D 49478

welfare. This means finding ways in which the peoples of the world can work together in confidence and co-operation.

In the shaping of the new world order, a good start must be made in the right direction during these next critical months, for decisions that will have to be taken during the coming months may shape and determine the kind of world we are going to live in. I am not thinking primarily of the kind of questions that the Council of Foreign Ministers has been considering at its several meetings. Questions of boundaries, of colonial administration, or regional disarmament are important, but, in the last analysis, many of them are of less consequence, even to the countries whose interests they affect most immediately, than are questions of attitudes and objectives. These are, as I see it, the big questions, the worrying questions. They are hard to formulate and harder still to answer. What kind of a world do we really wish to live in? What sort of effort are we ready to make to realize it? What do we and what do people in other countries mean when we agree that peace and prosperity are indivisible in this one world? How can we help each other to make our world a free world in which we can give some semblance of substance to the idea for which free men died?

We ~~must~~ should find working answers to these questions and find them without delay, for, on the answers which we in Canada and in other countries give ~~and get~~ to these questions, ~~our~~ national policies must be based. It is the answers to these ~~very~~ general questions which will determine what we should do about defence, how we can most wisely and effectively maintain high levels of employment and promote a fairer distribution of a larger national income, and how far, as a country, we can go in attempting to assist the economic recovery of our allies and the restoration of the world trade on which our wealth and welfare have depended.

Honourable members will be aware that during the meetings in London of the Council of Foreign Ministers the question of participation by nations of the British Commonwealth, apart from the United Kingdom, has arisen on a number of occasions.

The Canadian interest in the meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers lay not so much in the detailed discussions of particular issues, as, for example, ~~frontier~~ demarcations, frontiers, as in an over-riding concern for the peaceful settlement of outstanding differences, and for consolidating the general organization for the maintenance of international security.

It is important that ~~Canada~~ we should not merely be consulted, but ~~should establish a~~ Canada's right to effective participation in the great decisions where questions affecting this

there should be recognition of

D 49480

and authority I should like to possess on many of the problems which are now upon the horizon, that I should see for myself something of the changed world in which Canada must make her way and take her part. ~~Of conditions in Europe generally~~ I should like to obtain first hand information from my own enquiries and observation.

general ordering of the future peace of the world ~~are~~ are under consideration. During the war, it was ~~frequently~~ necessary to ~~overlook~~ the operation of wartime arrangements under which responsibility for major decisions on the direction of the allied war effort was concentrated in a very few hands. The continued use of methods improvised to meet the urgent strain and hazards of war, whereby private settlements are arrived at between the great powers on issues of general interest might well become a source of difficulty and even of danger. Every possible precaution should be taken to see that ~~in this particular~~, the wartime pattern ~~should~~ not ~~be~~ perpetuated ~~through~~ the framing of the peace settlement and ~~into~~ the United Nations Organization.

It is with these thoughts in mind that I have decided I should, without further delay, make an informal and, if necessary, an extended visit to the United Kingdom and Western Europe. ~~A~~ personal ~~exchange of views~~ on these and other matters of mutual interest and concern would permit of much fuller ~~consultation and discussion~~ than is possible by the normal channels of telegraphic communication, or ~~through~~ representations made ~~by~~ others.

~~In addition to this, I feel it to be necessary~~ If I am ~~to understand and be able to speak with~~ the knowledge

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The operations of UNRRA, the general conditions of food, clothing and shelter in the war devastated countries of Europe are all of concern to Canada as a principal supplying agency under various international arrangements. Apart from the practical working of these arrangements, there is a still greater humanitarian interest which will continue to have a strong claim upon our capacity to help in the relieving of suffering and distress.

I ~~would~~ hope, while in Europe, to have an opportunity to visit areas occupied by Canadian soldiers, and the scenes ~~of some of the~~ battles with which the name of Canada ~~has become associated through~~ the heroic exploits of her fighting men; ~~also~~ to visit Canada's embassies and legations.

Throughout the six years of war my mind has been so concentrated upon the problems of war, as they have presented themselves from day to day, ~~that I have not had the opportunity, of which I now feel greatly in need,~~ to reflect upon ~~would~~ trends and developments ~~of such an opportunity I now feel greatly in need.~~

If, within the next month or two, I do not avail myself of the opportunity to do what I have in mind, I am unable to see just when another such opportunity is likely to present itself. I cannot see that the opportunity will present itself between the close of the present session and the opening of the next session.

D 49482-1

Apart from the resolution approving the United Nations Charter, and one or two other resolutions, the measures which will come before the House at the present session will be mainly financial in character. The latter measures will be presented by the Minister of Finance. The Minister of Justice, along with other members of parliament who were present with him at the San Francisco Conference, is prepared, in my absence, to act as Minister of External Affairs.

While regretting that it was impossible for me to go to London at the opening of the first session of the new Parliament, having promised Mr. Attlee that I should be glad to talk over with him matters of mutual interest to our governments as soon as opportunity afforded, I feel that I should avail myself of the opportunity which now presents itself, and leave for London just as soon as it may be possible. This I hope may be possible early in the coming week.

September 27, 1945

D 49483

Re: Visit to United Kingdom and Continent of Europe

In answer to a question by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition on Friday of last week, I said that I hoped I could find it possible at an early date to talk over questions of mutual concern with members of the United Kingdom Government. I have been waiting until the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne has been agreed to, to inform hon. members of what I have in mind, and of my present intentions. As my plans have been made on the expectation that, at a first session, the debate on the Address would not likely continue longer than three weeks from the opening of Parliament, which period expires today, I feel I should not delay longer in making to the House the statement I had hoped to make at the conclusion of the debate.

The world is still in a very troubled state. The war is over and the victory won, but the responsibilities that rest on governments are not perceptibly lighter. We have our own task of reconstruction in Canada, but to carry it out as wisely and as well as we should wish, it is essential that consultation be had from time to time with members of other governments, facing similar problems, often under more difficult circumstances.

These last months have seen many changes in Europe, brought new persons into responsible office and faced them with new problems. We in Canada are directly concerned with the solutions which they are seeking to these problems. Experience has taught us that the problems of other countries very quickly become our problems as well.

The process of peace-making is obviously going to be difficult and protracted. The task is not one of restoring the world as we knew it before the war. That world has gone. The collective task is to get the new world moving along paths that will lead to peace, happiness and the general welfare. This means finding ways in which the peoples of the world can work together in confidence and co-operation.

In the shaping of the new world order, a good start must be made in the right direction during these next critical months. Decisions that will have to be taken during the coming months may shape and determine the kind of world we are going to live in. I am not thinking primarily of the particular questions that the Council of Foreign Ministers has been considering at its recent meetings. Questions of boundaries, of colonial administration, or regional disarmament are important, but, in the last analysis, many of them are of less consequence, even to the countries whose interests they affect most immediately, than are questions of attitudes and objectives. These are, as I see it, the big questions, the worrying questions. They are hard to formulate and harder still to answer. What kind of a world do we really wish to live in? What sort of effort are we ready to make to realize it? What do we and what do people in other

D 49485

countries mean when we agree that peace and prosperity are indivisible in this one world? How can we help each other to make our world a free world in which we can give substance to the idea for which free men died?

We should find working answers to these questions and find them without delay, for, on the answers which we in Canada and [redacted] other countries give to these questions, national policies must be based. It is the answers to these general questions which will determine what we should do about defence; how we can most wisely and effectively maintain high levels of employment and promote a fairer distribution of a larger national income; and how far, as a country, we can go in attempting to assist the economic recovery of our allies and the restoration of the world trade on which our wealth and welfare have depended.

Honourable members will be aware that during the meetings in London of the Council of Foreign Ministers the question of participation by nations of the British Commonwealth, apart from the United Kingdom, has arisen on a number of occasions.

The Canadian interest in the meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers lay not so much in the detailed discussions of particular issues, as, for example, demarcation of frontiers, as in an over-riding concern for the peaceful settlement of

D 49486

outstanding differences, and for consolidating the general organization for the maintenance of international security.

It is important that ~~we~~ Canada should not merely be consulted, but that there should be ^ recognition of Canada's right to effective participation in the great decisions where questions affecting ~~this~~ the general ordering of the future peace of the world are under consideration. During the war, for military reasons, it was necessary to acquiesce in the operation of wartime arrangements under which responsibility for major decisions on the direction of the allied war effort was concentrated in a very few hands. The continued use of methods such as were improvised to meet the urgent strain and hazards of war, whereby private settlements are arrived at between the great powers on issues of general interest, might well become a source of difficulty and even of danger. Every possible precaution should, therefore, be taken to see that the wartime pattern in this particular is not perpetuated in the framing of the peace settlement and in the United Nations Organization.

It is with these thoughts in mind that I have decided I should, ~~without further delay~~, make an informal and, if necessary, an extended visit to the United Kingdom and Western Europe. ~~Personal and informal discussion on~~

D 49487

Of conditions in Europe generally, I should like to obtain first-hand information from my own observation and inquiries. If I am to have the knowledge of many of the problems which are now upon the horizon, and to be able to speak regarding them with the authority I should like to possess, I feel that I should see for myself something of the changed world in which Canada must make her way and take her part.

The operations of UNRRA, the general conditions of food, clothing and shelter in the war-devastated countries of Europe are all of concern to Canada as a principle supplying agency under various international arrangements. Apart from the practical working of these arrangements, there is a still greater humanitarian interest which will continue to have a strong claim upon our capacity to help in the relieving of suffering and distress.

I would hope, while in Europe, to have an opportunity to visit areas occupied by Canadian soldiers, and the scenes of battles with which, through the heroic exploits

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of our fighting men, the name of Canada will ever be associated. I think it is important also that I should visit Canada's embassies and legations, some of which have been established since the beginning of the war, and all of which, in consequence of the war and post-war problems, have had to operate under new and difficult circumstances.

It was [redacted] August 24 that Mr. Attlee, in a personal message to myself, stated that he would greatly welcome it [redacted] possible ~~that~~ I and other Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth felt we would be able to come to London for purposes of consultation and personal discussion at the opening of the Council of Foreign Ministers. At the same time, Mr. Attlee stated he regretted to have to raise such proposals at such short notice and that the United Kingdom Government recognized the great difficulties which this might involve for me and for the other Prime Ministers. When Mr. Attlee's telegram was received, the present Parliament had been summoned to meet on September 6, and it was, as Mr. Attlee himself recognized, not possible for me, because of the opening of the first session of a new parliament to visit London at that time. Until I had met Parliament and confidence in the government had been expressed by the House of Commons, it would not have done for me to be absent from Canada. That confidence has been expressed in the votes thus far recorded on the divisions which took place on the amendments moved by the Progressive Conservative Party, the C.C.F. Party and the Social Credit Party to the motion of thanks to His Excellency for His Excellency's Speech addressed to both Houses of Parliament.

It is now, therefore, possible for me to take the House into my confidence with respect to the reasons which make it advisable that I should pay the extended visit I have referred to. [redacted] Having assured Mr. Attlee that I would, at an early opportunity, be glad to talk over with him matters of mutual interest to our governments, I feel I should avail myself of the opportunity which now presents itself, and which, if not availed of at this first session, may not be possible in the period between the close of the present session and the next session which will come [redacted] in the new year. My plans have, accordingly, been made to leave for London early in the coming week.

D Z 49490

STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING ON THE OCCASION OF HIS VISIT TO EUROPE

(House of Commons, Ottawa, September 27th, 1945.)

I should like to make a statement to the House which will serve in part as a further answer to some of the questions which have been asked on the orders of the day this afternoon. I hope the house will not object to the length of the statement, but it is important, and for that reason I have tried to anticipate and cover some of the questions I thought might be in the minds of hon. members.

In answer to a question by the hon the leader of the opposition (Mr. Bracken) on Friday of last week, I said that I hoped I could find it possible at an early date to talk over questions of mutual concern with members of the United Kingdom Government. I have been waiting until the address in reply to the speech from the throne has been agreed to to inform hon. members of what I have in mind, and of my present intentions. As my plans have been made in the expectation that, at a first session, the debate on the address would not likely continue longer than three weeks from the opening of Parliament, which period expires today, I feel I should not delay longer in making to the house the statement I had hoped to make at the conclusion of the debate.

The world is still in a very troubled state. The war is over and the victory won, but the responsibilities that rest on governments are not perceptibly lighter. We have our own task of reconstruction in Canada, but to carry it out as wisely and as well as we should wish it is essential that consultation be had from time to time with members of other governments, facing similar problems, often under more difficult circumstances.

These last months have seen many changes in Europe, brought new persons into responsible office and faced them with new problems. We in Canada are directly concerned with the solutions which they are seeking to these problems. Experience has taught us that the problems of other countries very quickly become our problems as well.

The process of peace-making is obviously going to be difficult and protracted. The task is not one of restoring the world as we knew it before the war. That world has gone. The collective task is to get the new world moving along the paths that will lead to peace, happiness and the general welfare. This means finding ways in which the peoples of the world can work together in confidence and co-operation.

In the shaping of the new world order, a good start must be made in the right direction during these next critical months. Decisions that will have to be taken during the coming months may shape and determine the kind of world we are going to live in. I am not thinking primarily of the particular questions that the Council of Foreign Ministers has been considering at its recent meetings. Questions of boundaries, of colonial administration or regional disarmament are important, but, in the last analysis, many of them are of less consequence, even to the countries whose interests they affect most immediately, than are questions of attitudes and objectives. These are, as I see it, the big questions, the worrying questions. They are hard to formulate and harder still to answer. What kind of world do we really wish to live in? What sort of effort are we ready to make to realise it? What do we and

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what do people in other countries mean when we agree that peace and prosperity are indivisible in this one world? How can we help each other to make our world a free world in which we can give substance to the idea for which free men died?

We should find working answers to these questions and find them without delay; for, on the answers which we in Canada and other countries give to these questions, national policies must be based. It is the answers to these general questions which will determine what we should do about defence; how we can most wisely and effectively maintain high levels of employment and promote a fairer distribution of a larger national income; and how far, as a country, we can go in attempting to assist the economic recovery of our allies and the restoration of the world trade on which our wealth and welfare have depended.

Hon. members will be aware that during the meetings in London of the Council of Foreign Ministers the question of participation by nations of the British Commonwealth, apart from the United Kingdom, has arisen on a number of occasions.

The Canadian interest in the meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers lay not so much in the detailed discussions of particular issues as, for example, the demarcation of frontiers, as in an overriding concern for the peaceful settlement of outstanding differences, and for consolidating the general organisation for the maintenance of international security.

It is important that Canada should not merely be consulted, but that there should be clear recognition of Canada's right to effective participation in the great decisions where questions affecting the general ordering of the future peace of the world are under consideration. During the war, for military reasons, it was necessary to acquiesce in the operation of wartime arrangements under which responsibility for major decisions on the direction of the allied war effort was concentrated in a very few hands. The continued use of methods such as were improvised to meet the urgent strain and hazards of war, whereby private settlements are arrived at between the great powers on issues of general interest, might well become a source of difficulty and even of danger. Every possible precaution should, therefore, be taken to see that in this particular the wartime pattern is not perpetuated in the framing of the peace settlement and in the United Nations Organisation.

It is with these thoughts in mind that I have decided I should, as soon as possible, make an informal and, if necessary, an extended visit to the United Kingdom and western Europe.

Of conditions in Europe generally, I should like to obtain first-hand information from my own observations and enquiries. If I am to have the knowledge of many of the problems which are now upon the horizon, and to be able to speak regarding them with the authority I should like to possess, I feel that I should see for myself something of the changed world in which Canada must make her way and take her part.

The operations of UNRRA, the general conditions of food, clothing and shelter in the war-devastated countries of Europe, are all of concern to Canada as a principal supplying agency under various international arrangements. Apart from the practical working of these arrangements, there is still greater humanitarian interest which will continue to have a strong claim upon our capacity to help in the relieving of suffering and distress.

I would hope, while in Europe, to have an opportunity to visit areas occupied by Canadian soldiers, and the scenes of battles with which, through the heroic exploits of our fighting men, the name of Canada will ever be associated. I think it is important

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also that I should visit Canada's Embassies and Legations, some of which have been established since the beginning of the war, and all of which, in consequence of the war and post-war problems, have had to operate under new and difficult circumstances.

It was on August 24 that Mr. Attlee, in a personal message to myself, stated that he would greatly welcome it if I and other Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth felt we would be able to come to London for purposes of consultation and personal discussion at the opening of the Council of Foreign Ministers. At the same time Mr. Attlee stated he regretted to have to raise such proposals at such short notice and that the United Kingdom Government recognised the great difficulties which this might involve for me and for the other Prime Ministers. When Mr. Attlee's telegram was received, the present Parliament had been summoned to meet on September 6 and it was, as Mr. Attlee himself recognised, not possible for me, because of the opening of the first session of a new parliament to visit London at that time. Until I had met Parliament and confidence in the Government had been expressed by the House of Commons, it would not have done for me to be absent from Canada. That confidence has been expressed in the votes thus far recorded in the divisions which have taken place on the amendments moved by the Progressive Conservative Party, the C.C.F. party and the Social Credit Party to the motion of thanks to His Excellency for His Excellency's speech addressed to both houses of Parliament.

It is now, therefore, possible for me to take the house into my confidence with respect to the reasons which make it advisable that I should pay the extended visit I have referred to. Having assured Mr. Attlee that I would, at an early opportunity, be glad to talk over with him matters of mutual interest to our Governments, I feel I should avail myself of the opportunity which now presents itself for this and the other purposes I have mentioned, and which, if not availed of at this first session, may not be possible in the period between the close of the present session and the next session which will come in the new year. My plans have, accordingly, been made to leave for London early in the coming week.

D 49493

STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING ON THE OCCASION OF HIS VISIT TO EUROPE

(House of Commons, Ottawa, September 27th, 1945.)

I should like to make a statement to the House which will serve in part as a further answer to some of the questions which have been asked on the orders of the day this afternoon. I hope the house will not object to the length of the statement, but it is important, and for that reason I have tried to anticipate and cover some of the questions I thought might be in the minds of hon. members.

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In the shaping of the new world order, a good start must be made in the right direction during these next critical months. Decisions that will have to be taken during the coming months may shape and determine the kind of world we are going to live in. I am not thinking primarily of the particular questions that the Council of Foreign Ministers has been considering at its recent meetings. Questions of boundaries, of colonial administration or regional disarmament are important, but, in the last analysis, many of them are of less consequence, even to the countries whose interests they affect most immediately, than are questions of attitudes and objectives. These are, as I see it, the big questions, the worrying questions. They are hard to formulate and harder still to answer. What kind of world do we really wish to live in? What sort of effort are we ready to make to realise it? What do we and

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It is with these thoughts in mind that I have decided I should, as soon as possible, make an informal and, if necessary, an extended visit to the United Kingdom and western Europe.

Of conditions in Europe generally, I should like to obtain first-hand information from my own observations and enquiries. If I am to have the knowledge of many of the problems which are now upon the horizon, and to be able to speak regarding them with the authority I should like to possess, I feel that I should see for myself something of the changed world in which Canada must make her way and take her part.

The operations of UNRRA, the general conditions of food, clothing and shelter in the war-devastated countries of Europe, are all of concern to Canada as a principal supplying agency under various international arrangements. Apart from the practical working of these arrangements, there is still greater humanitarian interest which will continue to have a strong claim upon our capacity to help in the relieving of suffering and distress.

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It was on August 24 that Mr. Attlee, in a personal message to myself, stated that he would greatly welcome it if I and other Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth felt we would be able to come to London for purposes of consultation and personal discussion at the opening of the Council of Foreign Ministers. At the same time Mr. Attlee stated he regretted to have to raise such proposals at such short notice and that the United Kingdom Government recognised the great difficulties which this might involve for me and for the other Prime Ministers. When Mr. Attlee's telegram was received, the present Parliament had been summoned to meet on September 6 and it was, as Mr. Attlee himself recognised, not possible for me, because of the opening of the first session of a new parliament to visit London at that time. Until I had met Parliament and confidence in the Government had been expressed by the House of Commons, it would not have done for me to be absent from Canada. That confidence has been expressed in the votes thus far recorded in the divisions which have taken place on the amendments moved by the Progressive Conservative Party, the C.C.F. party and the Social Credit Party to the motion of thanks to His Excellency for His Excellency's speech addressed to both houses of Parliament.

It is now, therefore, possible for me to take the house into my confidence with respect to the reasons which make it advisable that I should pay the extended visit I have referred to. Having assured Mr. Attlee that I would, at an early opportunity, be glad to talk over with him matters of mutual interest to our Governments, I feel I should avail myself of the opportunity which now presents itself for this and the other purposes I have mentioned, and which, if not availed of at this first session, may not be possible in the period between the close of the present session and the next session which will come in the new year. My plans have, accordingly, been made to leave for London early in the coming week.

D 49496

STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING ON THE OCCASION OF HIS VISIT TO EUROPE

(House of Commons, Ottawa, September 27th, 1945.)

I should like to make a statement to the House which will serve in part as a further answer to some of the questions which have been asked on the orders of the day this afternoon. I hope the house will not object to the length of the statement, but it is important, and for that reason I have tried to anticipate and cover some of the questions I thought might be in the minds of hon. members.

In answer to a question by the hon the leader of the opposition (Mr. Bracken) on Friday of last week, I said that I hoped I could find it possible at an early date to talk over questions of mutual concern with members of the United Kingdom Government. I have been waiting until the address in reply to the speech from the throne has been agreed to to inform hon. members of what I have in mind, and of my present intentions. As my plans have been made in the expectation that, at a first session, the debate on the address would not likely continue longer than three weeks from the opening of Parliament, which period expires today, I feel I should not delay longer in making to the house the statement I had hoped to make at the conclusion of the debate.

The world is still in a very troubled state. The war is over and the victory won, but the responsibilities that rest on governments are not perceptibly lighter. We have our own task of reconstruction in Canada, but to carry it out as wisely and as well as we should wish it is essential that consultation be had from time to time with members of other governments, facing similar problems, often under more difficult circumstances.

These last months have seen many changes in Europe, brought new persons into responsible office and faced them with new problems. We in Canada are directly concerned with the solutions which they are seeking to these problems. Experience has taught us that the problems of other countries very quickly become our problems as well.

The process of peace-making is obviously going to be difficult and protracted. The task is not one of restoring the world as we knew it before the war. That world has gone. The collective task is to get the new world moving along the paths that will lead to peace, happiness and the general welfare. This means finding ways in which the peoples of the world can work together in confidence and co-operation.

In the shaping of the new world order, a good start must be made in the right direction during these next critical months. Decisions that will have to be taken during the coming months may shape and determine the kind of world we are going to live in. I am not thinking primarily of the particular questions that the Council of Foreign Ministers has been considering at its recent meetings. Questions of boundaries, of colonial administration or regional disarmament are important, but, in the last analysis, many of them are of less consequence, even to the countries whose interests they affect most immediately, than are questions of attitudes and objectives. These are, as I see it, the big questions, the worrying questions. They are hard to formulate and harder still to answer. What kind of world do we really wish to live in? What sort of effort are we ready to make to realise it? What do we and

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what do people in other countries mean when we agree that peace and prosperity are indivisible in this one world? How can we help each other to make our world a free world in which we can give substance to the idea for which free men died?

We should find working answers to these questions and find them without delay; for, on the answers which we in Canada and other countries give to these questions, national policies must be based. It is the answers to these general questions which will determine what we should do about defence; how we can most wisely and effectively maintain high levels of employment and promote a fairer distribution of a larger national income; and how far, as a country, we can go in attempting to assist the economic recovery of our allies and the restoration of the world trade on which our wealth and welfare have depended.

Hon. members will be aware that during the meetings in London of the Council of Foreign Ministers the question of participation by nations of the British Commonwealth, apart from the United Kingdom, has arisen on a number of occasions.

The Canadian interest in the meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers lay not so much in the detailed discussions of particular issues as, for example, the demarcation of frontiers, as in an overriding concern for the peaceful settlement of outstanding differences, and for consolidating the general organisation for the maintenance of international security.

It is important that Canada should not merely be consulted, but that there should be clear recognition of Canada's right to effective participation in the great decisions where questions affecting the general ordering of the future peace of the world are under consideration. During the war, for military reasons, it was necessary to acquiesce in the operation of wartime arrangements under which responsibility for major decisions on the direction of the allied war effort was concentrated in a very few hands. The continued use of methods such as were improvised to meet the urgent strain and hazards of war, whereby private settlements are arrived at between the great powers on issues of general interest, might well become a source of difficulty and even of danger. Every possible precaution should, therefore, be taken to see that in this particular the wartime pattern is not perpetuated in the framing of the peace settlement and in the United Nations Organisation.

It is with these thoughts in mind that I have decided I should, as soon as possible, make an informal and, if necessary, an extended visit to the United Kingdom and western Europe.

Of conditions in Europe generally, I should like to obtain first-hand information from my own observations and enquiries. If I am to have the knowledge of many of the problems which are now upon the horizon, and to be able to speak regarding them with the authority I should like to possess, I feel that I should see for myself something of the changed world in which Canada must make her way and take her part.

The operations of UNRRA, the general conditions of food, clothing and shelter in the war-devastated countries of Europe, are all of concern to Canada as a principal supplying agency under various international arrangements. Apart from the practical working of these arrangements, there is still greater humanitarian interest which will continue to have a strong claim upon our capacity to help in the relieving of suffering and distress.

I would hope, while in Europe, to have an opportunity to visit areas occupied by Canadian soldiers, and the scenes of battles with which, through the heroic exploits of our fighting men, the name of Canada will ever be associated. I think it is important

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also that I should visit Canada's Embassies and Legations, some of which have been established since the beginning of the war, and all of which, in consequence of the war and post-war problems, have had to operate under new and difficult circumstances.

It was on August 24 that Mr. Attlee, in a personal message to myself, stated that he would greatly welcome it if I and other Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth felt we would be able to come to London for purposes of consultation and personal discussion at the opening of the Council of Foreign Ministers. At the same time Mr. Attlee stated he regretted to have to raise such proposals at such short notice and that the United Kingdom Government recognised the great difficulties which this might involve for me and for the other Prime Ministers. When Mr. Attlee's telegram was received, the present Parliament had been summoned to meet on September 6 and it was, as Mr. Attlee himself recognised, not possible for me, because of the opening of the first session of a new parliament to visit London at that time. Until I had met Parliament and confidence in the Government had been expressed by the House of Commons, it would not have done for me to be absent from Canada. That confidence has been expressed in the votes thus far recorded in the divisions which have taken place on the amendments moved by the Progressive Conservative Party, the C.C.F. party and the Social Credit Party to the motion of thanks to His Excellency for His Excellency's speech addressed to both houses of Parliament.

It is now, therefore, possible for me to take the house into my confidence with respect to the reasons which make it advisable that I should pay the extended visit I have referred to. Having assured Mr. Attlee that I would, at an early opportunity, be glad to talk over with him matters of mutual interest to our Governments, I feel I should avail myself of the opportunity which now presents itself for this and the other purposes I have mentioned, and which, if not availed of at this first session, may not be possible in the period between the close of the present session and the next session which will come in the new year. My plans have, accordingly, been made to leave for London early in the coming week.

Unrevised Hansard
September 21, 1945
p. 376

D49499

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

QUESTION AS TO DISCUSSIONS LOOKING TO MEETING IN OTTAWA OR ELSEWHERE

On the orders of the day:

Mr. JOHN BRACKEN (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I should like to ask the Prime Minister whether or not any discussions have been entered into in the last three months between the government of Canada and the government of Great Britain or any of the members of the commonwealth with regard to the holding of an imperial conference at Ottawa or elsewhere?

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): In reply to my hon. friend I would say that there have been no discussions between the British government and the Canadian government during the last three months with respect to the holding of an imperial conference at Ottawa or elsewhere. My hon. friend will recall that when the council of foreign ministers was about to meet in London to take up matters which arose out of the Berlin conference, the Prime Minister of Great Britain sent a communication to the prime ministers of the several dominions. Mr. Attlee said it would be of help to himself and his colleagues and mutually advantageous if the prime ministers of the different dominions might be in London at the time that the council was meeting, but he recognized that probably in all cases that would not be possible. He suggested that where it could be arranged conveniently a representative who could speak in the name of the Prime Minister might be present to ensure closer consultation and continuous discussion.

The council of foreign ministers is a body composed solely of the foreign ministers of the five great powers. There was no invitation extended to any dominion to be represented at the council. I should like to make it clear, because there seems to be misunderstanding in some quarters on this point, that the council is not authorized in any way to conclude treaties of peace or territorial settlement. It is a body called together for the purpose of doing essential preparatory work on draft treaties and draft proposals which will be submitted later to all the united nations concerned with the settlement of the peace.

In reply to Mr. Attlee I said that I regretted that it was not possible for me to be in London for purposes of consultation with him while the council was meeting. If it had been possible at all I should have been happy to go over to be in England just at this time, as there are a number of questions about which I feel it would be desirable if at all possible to have a personal conference with the members of the new government, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs. I have been turning over in my mind what might be possible in that way, and it may be that when the house gets along a little further with its business I shall ask the house to allow me to visit London for that and other purposes which I may take occasion to mention later on.

PROPOSED VISIT OF PRIME MINISTER TO UNITED KINGDOM AND EUROPE

On the orders of the day:

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): I should like to make a statement to the house which will serve in part as a further answer to some of the questions which have been asked on the orders of the day this afternoon. I hope the house will not object to the length of the statement, but it is important, and for that reason I have tried to anticipate and cover some of the questions I thought might be in the minds of hon. members.

In answer to a question by the hon. the leader of the opposition (Mr. Bracken) on Friday of last week, I said that I hoped I could find it possible at an early date to talk over questions of mutual concern with members of the United Kingdom government. I have been waiting until the address in reply to the speech from the throne has been agreed to, to inform hon. members of what I have in mind, and of my present intentions. As my plans have been made on the expectation that, at a first session, the debate on the address would not likely continue longer than three weeks from the opening of parliament, which period expires to-day, I feel I should not delay longer in making to the house the statement I had hoped to make at the conclusion of the debate.

The world is still in a very troubled state. The war is over and the victory won, but the responsibilities that rest on governments are not perceptibly lighter. We have our own task of reconstruction in Canada, but to carry it out as wisely and as well as we should wish it is essential that consultation be had from time to time with members of other governments, facing similar problems, often under more difficult circumstances.

These last months have seen many changes in Europe, brought new persons into responsible office and faced them with new problems. We in Canada are directly concerned with the solutions which they are seeking to these problems. Experience has taught us that the problems of other countries very quickly become our problems as well.

The process of peace-making is obviously going to be difficult and protracted. The task is not one of restoring the world as we knew it before the war. That world has gone. The collective task is to get the new world moving along paths that will lead to peace, happiness and the general welfare. This means finding ways in which the peoples of the world can work together in confidence and cooperation.

In the shaping of the new world order, a good start must be made in the right direction during these next critical months. Decisions that will have to be taken during the coming months may shape and determine the kind of world we are going to live in. I am not thinking primarily of the particular questions that the council of foreign ministers has been considering at its recent meetings. Questions of boundaries, of colonial administration or regional disarmament are important, but, in the last analysis, many of them are of less consequence, even to the countries whose interests they affect most immediately, than are questions of attitudes and objectives. These are, as I see it, the big questions, the worrying questions. They are hard to formulate and harder still to answer. What kind of world do we really wish to live in? What sort of effort are we ready to make to realize it? What do we and what do people in other countries mean when we agree that peace and prosperity are indivisible in this one world? How can we help each other to make our world a free world in which we can give substance to the idea for which free men died?

We should find working answers to these questions and find them without delay; for, on the answers which we in Canada and other countries give to these questions, national policies must be based. It is the answers to these general questions which will determine what we should do about defence; how we can most wisely and effectively maintain high levels of employment and promote a fairer distribution of a larger national income; and how far, as a country, we can go in attempting to assist the economic recovery of our allies and the restoration of the world trade on which our wealth and welfare have depended.

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ment and in the united nations organization.

It is with these thoughts in mind that I have decided I should, as soon as possible, make an informal and, if necessary, an extended visit to the United Kingdom and western Europe.

Of conditions in Europe generally, I should like to obtain first-hand information from my own observation and inquiries. If I am to have the knowledge of many of the problems which are now upon the horizon, and to be able to speak regarding them with the authority I should like to possess, I feel that I should see for myself something of the changed world in which Canada must make her way and take her part.

The operations of UNRRA, the general conditions of food, clothing and shelter in the war-devastated countries of Europe, are all of concern to Canada as a principal supplying agency under various international arrangements. Apart from the practical working of these arrangements, there is a still greater humanitarian interest which will continue to have a strong claim upon our capacity to help in the relieving of suffering and distress.

I would hope, while in Europe, to have an opportunity to visit areas occupied by Canadian soldiers, and the scenes of battles with which, through the heroic exploits of our fighting men, the name of Canada will ever be associated. I think it is important also that I should visit Canada's embassies and legations, some of which have been established since the beginning of the war, and all of which, in consequence of the war and post-war problems, have had to operate under new and difficult circumstances.

It was on August 24 that Mr. Attlee, in a personal message to myself, stated that he would greatly welcome it if I and other prime ministers of the commonwealth felt we would be able to come to London for purposes of consultation and personal discussion at the opening of the council of foreign ministers. At the same time, Mr. Attlee stated he regretted to have to raise such proposals at such short notice and that the United Kingdom government recognized the great difficulties which this might involve for me and for the other prime ministers. When Mr. Attlee's telegram was received, the present parliament had been summoned to meet on September 6, and it was, as Mr. Attlee himself recognized, not possible for me, because of the opening of the first session of a new parliament to visit London at that time. Until I had met parliament and confidence in the government had been expressed by the House of Commons, it would not have done for me to be absent from Canada. That confidence has been expressed in the votes thus far recorded in the divisions which have taken place on the amendments moved by the Progressive Conservative party, the C.C.F. party and the Social Credit party to the motion of thanks to His Excellency for His Excellency's speech addressed to both houses of parliament.

It is now, therefore, possible for me to take the house into my confidence with respect to the reasons which make it advisable that I should pay the extended visit I have referred to. Having assured Mr. Attlee that I would, at an early opportunity, be glad to talk over with him matters of mutual interest to our governments, I feel I should avail myself of the opportunity which now presents itself for this and the other purposes I have mentioned, and which, if not availed of at this first session, may not be possible in the period between the close of the present session and the next session which will come in the new year. My plans have, accordingly, been made to leave for London early in the coming week.

Mr. M. J. COLDWELL (Rosetown-Biggar): I do not think this statement should be allowed to pass without some expression from the house. Hon. members have listened with a great deal of interest, and with approval, to what the Prime Minister has said, particularly his reference to the international situation and the necessity for Canada's raising her voice in that regard. As one who was present at the San Francisco conference I can say that I think we all understood that prior agreements among the five great powers were useful. There was a very general feeling that the time had arrived when other nations which had played such an important part in the winning of the war should also be heard. I am thoroughly in approval of what the Prime Minister has said this afternoon, and I can assure him of our support in that particular.

Mr. JOHN BRACKEN (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I am sure the house listened with keen interest to what the Prime Minister has just said. Speaking as the leader of the group sitting opposite to him, may I say we wholly commend his statement. I want to assure him, too, that his party will receive the very generous co-operation of hon. members on this side while he is away.

Mr. SOLON E. LOW (Peace River): Mr. Speaker, it gave me considerable satisfaction to listen to the Prime Minister's statement this afternoon. I believe no group in the house has been more careful to keep in touch with the world situation than has the Social Credit group, realizing as we do the tragic situation in which the world finds itself to-day, and realizing too that Canada has grown to the full stature of nationhood and should take her position in the world community of nations, a position of responsibility.

I concur in the Prime Minister's determination to go to Europe to find out definitely what the situation is, and to lend his experienced hand in a serious attempt to turn chaos into order and bring about a solution of the world's problems. My congratulations are extended to him, and this group wish him godspeed, safe journey, and safe return.

NG: Mr. Speaker,
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Mr. SOL[illegible]



Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Mr. Speaker, I should like to express my very warm thanks to the leaders of the different parties who have spoken this afternoon for the approval they have so cordially given to the course which I have felt it was in the public interest for me to take at this time. I can assure hon. members I regret deeply, and shall regret even more deeply while I am away, not being able to be present with other hon. members throughout this first session of the new parliament. I can see quite clearly, however, that unless I take advantage of the opportunity afforded during this first session to take up some of the matters to which I have referred, a like opportunity may not again present itself.

May I say to the leader of the opposition (Mr. Bracken) how obliged I am to him for his courtesy in agreeing to extend a pair to me during the time of my absence.

REPEAT
REPETITION

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
78		Result of Glengarry By-election, Alexandria. Speeches outside Parliament	24 Aug. 1945	D 49387 - D 49397	
78		Speeches on Address. Speeches in Parliament	Sept. 1945	D 49398 - D 49436	
78		Birthday Party of Hon. Adelard Godbout, Frelighsburg, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	22 Sept. 1945	D 49437 - D 49458	
78		Welcome to General de Gaulle. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Aug. 1945	D 49459 - D 49460	
78		Williamstown Fair, Ontario. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Sept. 1945	D 49461 - D 49476	
78		Visit to U.K. and Continent of Europe. Speeches in Parliament	27 Sept. 1945	D 49477 - D 49501	
78		Secretary of State's Dinner, Washington, D.C. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Nov. 1945	D 49502 - D 49504	
78		National Liberal Federation, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Nov. 1945	D 49505	

49502

Outline of speech - Nov. 12, 1945
Secretary of State's dinner

BLAIR HOUSE
1651 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

1. Many and happy memories revived by present visit.

2. Always conscious, in visiting U.S. of what I owe to U.S.

   Always conscious in visiting England of what I owe to England.

   And to the two combined.

3. Refer to life at Hull House - scholarship - University of Chicago and Harvard.

   Acquaintance with British Parliamentary institutions in England -

   life in the settlement.

   Parallel ground with Attlee.

4. On this visit, 3 memories in particular very vivid.

   (a) The friendship shared with Pres. Roosevelt over so many years, going back to Harvard days;
   visits to the White House, etc.

   (b) In particular, association with Churchill and the President during the years of war.

   What is peculiar to onsself relates itself in a large way to Canada's role.

BLAIR HOUSE
1651 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

White House,
Hyde Park, conferences at
Quebec, etc.

Complete understanding based on
appreciation of closest
co-operation.

Going a little further back -
10 years ago yesterday was announcement
of reciprocity agreement between
Canada and the U.S.

1935 - Armistice Day ceremony -
better way in the New World -

showing Old World better way to meet
problems of the New.

Still further back - visit to White House
when President Theodore Roosevelt there -
taking up relations at that time with
Japan;

emphasizing the common problems which
are shared between Canada and the U.S.;
also U.K.

taking messages to Edward Grey.

Just as these problems solved in the past,
so present problems will be met as
regards the future.

What all had in common -
more in the way of world co-operation,
international amity and good-will.

D 49504

References to secretaries of the U.S.:

Mr. Root;
Mr. Bacon.

Opium Conference at Shanghai, 1909.

Word re Secretary of State Hull.

Grave matters;

United Nations Conference;

Secretary of State Stettinius and
Secretary of State Byrnes.

Association with Colorado days
and labour problems.

End up by all tied together like a
bundle of sticks;

"All members one of another".

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E Citizen 5772

Date Nov 14/45

D 49505

Subject

Prime Minister Lauds Work Of Lib. Federation

Liberals from the Atlantic to the Pacific gathered in the Chateau Laurier this morning to renew their allegiance to the party and to participate in the two-day deliberations of the National Liberal Federation. Highlight of the morning, at this annual convention, was a personal message from Prime Minister Mackenzie King, read by Hon. J. L. Ilsley, acting prime minister. Mr. Ilsley himself was accorded no mean tribute, the whole gathering spontaneously rising as he left the convention hall.

In his greetings, Mr. King gave full credit to the federation for its part in winning the election last June. He also expressed regret that he could not attend personally today.

The Prime Minister said in part:

"When the federation met in 1943 it presented to the government a comprehensive set of resolutions recommending a program for the period of reconstruction. Almost the whole of that program was translated by the government into legislation. As a consequence, Canada was better prepared than any other country at war to meet at the close of hostilities the problems of transition from war to peace.

"The National Liberal Federation kept the program, the policies and the achievements of the government before the country. This relationship between the government and the federation was most helpful.

Election Success

"Without doubt, the work of the federation was an all important factor in the success of the party in the general election in June last.

"Once more, the federation is meeting to chart its course under new and difficult conditions. Hostilities have ceased but much of the dislocation of war is still with us. In these troubled times, the National Liberal Federation should against serve as an essential link between the government supporters throughout the country and the government itself. In upholding, strengthening and promoting the principles of the Liberal party, I wish the National Liberal Federation every possible success."

Senator Wishart McL. Robertson, national president, and also government leader in the Senate, lost no time in emphasizing the role of Liberalism.

"Liberalism," he insisted, "is the greatest political force in the country today and will continue to be if we apply Liberal principles in seeking a solution for the problems of tomorrow, and place our conclusions clearly, concisely and forceably before the Canadian people. We have accomplished much in the past, and I believe will continue to do so, but there is one aspect of the subject which I would like to draw to your attention particularly; I personally feel, and offer the suggestion to you for what it is worth, that there is no adequate appreciation by the Canadian people, generally, and the members of the Liberal party generally, of the magnitude and importance of measures already placed on the state books of this country, and of the proposals made for the future action such as those presented to the Dominion-provincial conference."

Education Work

The senator also suggested that, since the prime purpose of the federation was education, and since it was designed to create study and research groups, that special work should be done among the women of Canada and among the young people of Canada.

Paying a tribute to the government's wartime policy, Senator Robertson remarked: "The action during the war of this government has resulted in a distribution of income resulting from the war effort, beween all classes of society, which I doubt has been equalled in modern times, and if there is any question in anybody's mind as to that fact, the recent accomplishment of the 9th Victory Loan, both as to the amount subscribed and as to the participation of 3,500,000 people in Canada, should be conclusive evidence."

Hon. Senator Cairine Wilson acted as joint chairman with Senator Robertson this morning. The afternoon session opened with Vice-President J. A. Blanchette, MP for Compton, in the chair, jointly presiding with Charles Duranceau.

The late afternoon will be taken up with reports of the affiliated organizations, and the report of the nominating committee.

The annual banquet will be held at seven tonight in the Chateau Laurier ball room.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E Citizen 5772

Date Nov 14/45

D 49505

Subject

Prime Minister Lauds Work Of Lib. Federation

Liberals from the Atlantic to the Pacific gathered in the Chateau Laurier this morning to renew their allegiance to the party and to participate in the two-day deliberations of the National Liberal Federation. Highlight of the morning, at this annual convention, was a personal message from Prime Minister Mackenzie King, read by Hon. J. L. Ilsley, acting prime minister. Mr. Ilsley himself was accorded no mean tribute, the whole gathering spontaneously rising as he left the convention hall.

In his greetings, Mr. King gave full credit to the federation for its part in winning the election last June. He also expressed regret that he could not attend personally today.

The Prime Minister said in part:

"When the federation met in 1943 it presented to the government a comprehensive set of resolutions recommending a program for the period of reconstruction. Almost the whole of that program was translated by the government into legislation. As a consequence, Canada was better prepared than any other country at war to meet at the close of hostilities the problems of transition from war to peace.

"The National Liberal Federation kept the program, the policies and the achievements of the government before the country. This relationship between the government and the federation was most helpful.

Election Success

"Without doubt, the work of the federation was an all important factor in the success of the party in the general election in June last.

"Once more, the federation is meeting to chart its course under new and difficult conditions. Hostilities have ceased but much of the dislocation of war is still with us. In these troubled times, the National Liberal Federation should against serve as an essential link between the government supporters throughout the country and the government itself. In upholding, strengthening and promoting the principles of the Liberal party, I wish the National Liberal Federation every possible success."

Senator Wishart McL. Robertson, national president, and also government leader in the Senate, lost no time in emphasizing the role of Liberalism.

"Liberalism," he insisted, "is the greatest political force in the country today and will continue to be if we apply Liberal principles in seeking a solution for the problems of tomorrow, and place our conclusions clearly, concisely and forceably before the Canadian people. We have accomplished much in the past, and I believe will continue to do so, but there is one aspect of the subject which I would like to draw to your attention particularly; I personally feel, and offer the suggestion to you for what it is worth, that there is no adequate appreciation by the Canadian people, generally, and the members of the Liberal party generally, of the magnitude and importance of measures already placed on the state books of this country, and of the proposals made for the future action such as those presented to the Dominion-provincial conference."

Education Work

The senator also suggested that, since the prime purpose of the federation was education, and since it was designed to create study and research groups, that special work should be done among the women of Canada and among the young people of Canada.

Paying a tribute to the government's wartime policy, Senator Robertson remarked: "The action during the war of this government has resulted in a distribution of income resulting from the war effort, beween all classes of society, which I doubt has been equalled in modern times, and if there is any question in anybody's mind as to that fact, the recent accomplishment of the 9th Victory Loan, both as to the amount subscribed and as to the participation of 3,500,000 people in Canada, should be conclusive evidence."

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REPEAT
REPETITION

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
78		Impressions of Britain & Europe. Speeches in Parliament	20 Nov. 1945	D 49506 - D 49519	
78		Opening Statement of Mr. King to the Dominion-Provincial Conference Reconstruction. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Nov. 1945	D 49520 - D 49533	
78		Washington, Declaration on Atomic Energy. Speeches in Parliament	17 Dec. 1945	D 49534 - D 49850	
79		General Eisenhower, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	Jan. 1946	D 49851 - D 49874	
79		Mr. King's Vote of Thanks to General Dwight D. Eisenhower before the Canadian Club, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Jan. 1946	D 49875 - D 49881	
79		Comments of Mr. King re: Ontario's Proposals at the Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction, 1945-1946, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Jan. 1946	D 49882 - D 49885	
79		Opening Statement to the Co-Ordinating Committee of the Dominion-Provincial Conference, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament, Ottawa	28 Jan. 1946	D 49886 - D 49910	

20-11-45

D 49506

Impressions of Britain and Europe.

Admiration of people never greater.

London - re physical destruction.

Do not see destruction of human life.

Evidences of great fatigue and great privation.

Pleasure at being back in Canada and the House of Commons.

Thank for granting visit - greetings on return.

Opportunity afforded by visit.

Courtesies by Mr. Attlee
Lord Addison
Mr. Ernest Bevin.

Forego visit to continent.

Impression of recovery by Belgium and Holland;

critical state of affairs in France;

Germany - simply appalling.

D 49507

Lack of food, clothing and housing - lack of transportation, of fuel.

Starvation, pestilence, death.

Uncertainty in political arena.

Anything but confidence among nations.

Conditions in southern Europe.

Need of new world to help.

Assistance in providing supplies.

When spring comes, people help themselves on land - production and manufacture.

All members one of another.

Visit to United States.

End of September visit to White House.

Visit of Mr. Attlee and myself again on Saturday, the 10th, until Friday, the 16th.

Discussion on atomic energy and the problem to which release of atomic power has given rise.

Agreement reached November 15th - table.

D 49508

External Affairs estimates
course of next week or two.

Appreciation of courtesies extended by U. S. Government.

Mr. Truman
Secretary of State Byrnes
Chairmen of Senate and House
Foreign Relations Committees.

Position of Canada in world -

Opportunities for world service
greater than ever.

D 49509

Impressions of Britain and Europe:

Admiration of people never greater.

London badly battered - on all sides evidence of destruction and devastation - outward evidence of physical destruction;

one does not see what there has been of destruction of human life, of constant strain, and nerve exhaustion.

What one does see are evidences of great fatigue and great privation. It will take some time to be rid of both - accepting the inevitable with great courage and fortitude and high resolve - without complaint, strong determination and faith. What they have endured and accomplished in time of war has given confidence and faith for the present tasks and the future.

Pleasure it is to be again in Canada and with fellow-members in House of Commons.

Thank for readiness in granting visit - greetings on return.

Renew thanks for readiness of the House to allow me to visit England and United States at this time, notwithstanding Parliament in session.

an express appreciation of the cordiality of the greetings extended on my return.

I scarcely know which is the greater compliment - opportunity afforded by visit

Would like to express at once my profound appreciation of the courtesies extended by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and his colleagues, particularly Lord Addison, the Secretary of State for the Dominions, and Mr. Ernest Bevin, the Foreign Minister. The opportunities afforded by conferences gave quite exceptional knowledge of post-war conditions and problems in British and in Europe.

Forego the visit to the Continent

From many sources able to gain first-hand information. Impression one gathers is of remarkable recovery being made by Belgium and Holland - of a critical state of affairs in France, conditions unsettled, much hardship, living exceedingly costly - of a condition throughout Germany that is simply appalling. On all sides one hears accounts of not merely the lack of food and clothing and housing, but the recurring entire absence of all three; also lack of transportation and of fuel, and the certainty once

winter has set in of starvation, pestilence and death in large numbers of the population. There is combined with great uncertainty in the political arena - and anything but confidence among the nations as to what the future may bring forth. Of conditions in Southern Europe I had less opportunity to form a definite opinion, but there too it is clear there will be much distress, much unrest, unsettle political situations for sometime to come.

Need of New World to help

I am sure this continent, the United States and Canada, cannot do too much by way of assistance in providing supplies for our own present and future good, if for no other reasons, should Europe experience a condition of collapse, it is impossible to say what frightful conditions might arise.

If winter conditions can be surmounted there is every probability that when spring comes the people may again be in a position to help themselves on the land and to further production and manufacture - a better distribution of the necessities of life but meanwhile every effort must be made to assist all we can.

We are all members one of another.

Visit to United States.

At end of September, visit to White House before leaving for Britain .

The present is not the moment at which to disclose the matters discussed at that time, except, perhaps, to say that at that time reference was made to a possible further visit to Washington by myself immediately upon my return from abroad, and a visit as well by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, which was being considered at the time. Visits of the Prime Minister of Great Britain and myself, as the House is aware, were finally arranged to begin on Saturday, the 10th until Friday the 16th, concerned most with a discussion on atomic energy and the problem to which the release of atomic power has given rise.

Agreement reached November 15th - table.

Discussion when taking up estimates of Department of External Affairs - course of next week or two.

Express appreciation of courtesies extended by U. S. Government, and especially Mr. Truman, and Secretary of State Byrnes, and the Chairmen of the Senate and House Foreign Relations Committees.

Position of Canada in world task - never prouder of; nor were opportunities for world service ever greater than they are.

Notes for Speech

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

CANADA

Visit Govt Projects
referred
conversation with Premiers of
other Provs Saskatchewan
Manitoba Ontario Quebec
Govt & Canada Govt & Continent -
Pat Ben Jackman accompanied
invitation to Holler, Govt
Canada

need acceptance
Saskatchewan Power Corp - Sask
will go ahead to Nanticoke

Reserve what I can say but
I'll do it & others
delegation will assign Jackman
(Ben

D 49513

matl for speech re visit to Britain

Copy

(Extract from speech of Prime Minister Attlee at Mansion House)
November, 1945

D 49514

My Lord Mayor, when one surveys this great assemblage of nations so varied in character, offering to us so many varieties of constitution, there is one thing that stands out to my mind more than any other. The pace of advance towards self-government is decided not so much by the degree of culture that has been achieved but by the extent to which a people is either homogeneous or when it comprises more than one community has realised that tolerance is the essence of democracy. You will find that constitutional advance is restricted not by the desire of Great Britain to dominate but by the failure of communities to trust each other.

Toleration is a slow growth, but until it exists freedom and democracy cannot flourish. I have stressed this point to you today because this question of confidence lies at the root of the problem of peace. We seek a world in which small as well as large nations will be able to live in security. We seek a world in which the rule of law will prevail. We seek a world of social justice. How to secure this is the major task that faces us today. If we survey the world today we can see everywhere the bitter results of two evil things - fear and domination. Twice in our life-time we have been faced with a world cataclysm. On each occasion before that war there

D 49515

has been a long period in which mutual fears built up great armaments. At the end of the first world war we sought, in the League of Nations, to build an organisation strong enough to rid the world of fear. It failed, but the idea which inspired it was right. We now after a longer and more devastating war have to take up that task anew. Even before the close of this war, I, in company with Mr. Eden and other colleagues, went to America to take part in the formulation of the Charter of the United Nations. When I last saw President Truman it was at Berlin, with Marshal Stalin. Since then the United Nations Organisation has come into being. In a short time it will be meeting. The executive Committee has suggested to the Preparatory Commission that the first meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations should take place in London. We shall be glad and proud to act as hosts. My Lord Mayor, in my view we must look to the United Nations and their close unity of purpose especially that between Great Britain, the United States of America and Russia as the foundation of peace. As you know, in a few hours, fortified by your confidence and hospitality, I am leaving this country to visit the President of the United States of America. I am sure that I shall carry with me your wishes that our talks may be favourable and increase the friendship

D 49516

and co-operation between our two countries and may help in bringing all the nations together. I am sure that I can tell the President that the citizens of London, conscious of the immense service rendered to our common cause by the forces of the United States, earnestly desire to draw ever-closer the ties between us which comradeship in war have so greatly strengthened. I think that you will wish me to express to President Truman our high approval of his recent speech and our cordial acceptance of the twelve points which he laid down as the guiding principles of American policy. In particular we welcome the assurance of the continued active participation of the United States in world affairs. As you know, my principal purpose in visiting President Truman is to discuss with him and with Mr. Mackenzie King world affairs in the light, the terrible light, of the discovery of atomic energy. I do not think that the majority of our people yet realize what this means to the world. I do not think that they yet understand to what an extent it is necessary to readjust our ideas. We have already had experience of the atomic bomb. We cannot be sure that science applied to warfare will not discover other and more terrible weapons. The

question that faces us today is not so much how can we control this new and devastating force let loose on the world by science, as what kind of a world society is necessary in a world where a few bombs might destroy utterly great cities, the work of centuries of human endeavour. We must I believe face up to this, that unless we can devise human relationships other than those which have obtained through the ages, destruction on an unbelievable scale may fall upon our civilisation. In face of a possibility of such a catastrophe how small are the things for which nations have in the past gone to war. One cannot conceive today any extension of territory any grandiose dream of domination which has the slightest value in the face of this danger. We have to get together with all the nations to consider how we can live together in peace. In the history of this City you will find that from time to time it was visited by outbreaks of plague, which destroyed thousands of the citizens. Later, it used to have a heavy death-roll from other epidemics, such as typhus and cholera. These visitations do not occur today because the citizens of London have learned the conditions necessary for millions of people to live together in a few square miles. I hope that the day will come when devastating wars will be as much a thing of the past as outbreaks of the

D 49518

plague are now in the City of London. I hope that in the future the nations will have learned the only conditions in which it is possible for hundreds of millions of them to live in this little planet without periodical wars each more devastating than the last. Good citizenship, good civic government, the rule of law and the enforcement of law, and the application of science for the saving of life, has made this great London of ours possible. London learned its lesson. Only by the world learning the same lesson can civilisation endure. The foundation of world order must be laid in the hearts of men. I go to America, accompanied by Sir John Anderson, with just this in view. I want to exchange ideas with the President and the Prime Minister of Canada to see how best we can lift from the ordinary man and woman this spectre of fear that haunts him today. I want to consider with them how best our common ideals of peace, freedom, tolerance and economic prosperity for all peoples can be realised. It has been said that the twentieth century is the century of the common man. I have great faith in the common man. During these six grim years of war while leadership has often been that of the exceptional man the common man by his virtues and qualities has saved the world. I want a world which will be safe for the common man.

D 49519

My Lord Mayor, I have spoken of the difficulties which we have to face. I have spoken of the fears that beset men and women today, fears of war and destruction, fears of material want. These we must seek to remove. But mankind needs also the things of the spirit. In these times when science has placed so much at our disposal the continuance of war and want is due to the moral failure of human beings. There was a night we all remember when this great City was blasted with fire, when home and shop, and office and factory were destroyed. In the morning men saw still standing serene above the ruins our great cathedral of St. Paul. That seems to me symbolic. In the midst of all the death and destruction of these years of war there remain still those eternal truths on the acceptance of which our life depends.

I go to the consideration of these high matters not downcast or depressed, but in a spirit of high endeavour to try to serve my fellow men, taking with me these three things, Faith, Hope and Charity "and the greatest of these is Charity".

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"K" Box

D 49520

Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction
Co-ordinating Committee

Opening Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada
November 26, 1945

Gentlemen:

~~Speaking officially~~ On behalf of the Federal Government, and also personally, I have much pleasure in welcoming you to this meeting of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction. As you are ~~all~~ aware, the date of this meeting was set when the Conference itself adjourned on August 10th. It would, I believe, assist us in proceeding with the work of the Committee if I were to recall the purpose for which the Co-ordinating Committee was established. The Committee was not to replace the full Conference which must necessarily be called together again before any final agreement can be reached. You will remember that the original proposal of the Federal Government was to establish a number of committees to consider the several Dominion Proposals in detail immediately following the adjournment of the full Conference. But the opinion was expressed by several provincial governments that time was required by each provincial government to study the full implications of the Dominion Proposals before special committees could

usefully begin their work. This view was accepted by the Conference. To maintain continuity, a Co-ordinating Committee of the Conference was established. That Committee recommended, and the Conference agreed that the Co-ordinating Committee should meet again on November 26th, by which time it was expected that all the provinces would be prepared to submit their views on the Dominion Proposals as well as any counter-proposals they might wish to bring before the Conference. It was understood that the main function of the Co-ordinating Committee, when it met, would be to determine future procedure.

Procedure in the Committee.

The first question to be settled is that of the procedure of this Co-ordinating Committee itself. It will be for the Committee to determine first what is the most appropriate manner in which the views of each provincial government in respect to the Dominion Proposals may be presented. Next we shall have to decide upon the most satisfactory method of advancing towards a final agreement once the provincial views have been exchanged. At this point a technical consideration arises. During the preliminary meetings of the Conference in August, the sessions of

the Co-ordinating Committee were held in camera. There has been a good deal of discussion since August, in the press and elsewhere, as to whether the present sessions of the Committee should be in camera or should be open to the public. Since the Dominion Proposals are already a matter of public record, the decision on this point is perhaps of more direct concern to the provinces than it is to the Federal Government. We are, of course, prepared to abide by the decision of the Committee. Regardless of which decision is reached on this point there is a subsidiary question as to whether a stenographic record should be kept. Before we discuss these two questions there are one or two other points which I should like to bring to the attention of the Committee.

Method of Continuing Work of Conference.

The next question to be determined by the Committee is the procedure which should be adopted following the presentation of the provincial views. It was the view of the Federal Government in August, and remains our view, that the most practical method of expediting the conclusion of an agreement would be to establish a number of joint Dominion-Provincial Committees to consider each of the major

aspects of the Dominion Proposals together with such modifications and counter-proposals as are put forward by the provincial governments. At the Conference, in August, sub-conferences met to discuss the following subjects: financial arrangements, public investment, social security, agriculture, labour and housing. Following the Conference, all of the provincial governments were advised, on August 13th, that a Minister had been designated and a secretary appointed to discuss details of the proposals on each of these subjects with any interested provincial government. This arrangement provided for a useful exchange of views and the clarification of many points. It is our hope that this arrangement will now provide a nucleus for continuing committees on the several subjects to which all the provinces will appoint representatives. Before the joint committees can begin their work, it will be necessary for the Federal Government to give consideration to the views of the provincial governments which are submitted to ~~their~~ this committee. I assume that each of the provincial governments will wish to consider the views of the others. It is our hope that these committees will be organized now and prepared to meet almost immediately,

and in any event not later than the beginning of the New Year. The purpose we envisage for these committees is to reconcile the views of the various governments with the Dominion Proposals as far as possible, and to submit reports to the Co-ordinating Committee. As the present Dominion-Provincial tax transfer agreements expire at the end of each provincial fiscal year nearest to December 31st, 1946, it is obviously desirable to expedite the conclusion of a new agreement. It would be our hope that the proposed committees would be in a position to report early enough to permit the holding of a plenary session of the Conference in February.

(or late January ?)

The Dominion Approach.

In beginning these sessions of the Co-ordinating Committee, I feel I should remind you of the spirit in which the Dominion approached the deliberations of the Dominion-Provincial Conference. In that connection, I do not think that I can do better than to remind you of the words which I used in my closing remarks at the plenary session on August 10th when I said:

"The Dominion government, I need scarcely say, has been pleased by the acceptance of its proposals as a basis of discussion. We have been anxious to avoid snap judgments or hasty decisions. So far as our proposals go we ask only for them consideration and examination on their merits. We intend to give the same full consideration to the proposals and suggestions of the provinces. We believe all proposals can be improved."

At that time I expressed the hope that when the full Conference reassembled we should be in a position speedily to resolve any remaining differences and to conclude agreements which would be of benefit to all. I said then, and I feel more strongly today, that that hope will be increasingly shared by the people of all provinces, as the months pass and the alternative to agreement becomes clear to all.

Acceleration of Dominion Proposals.

As tangible evidence of the Federal Government's desire to achieve co-operation with the provincial governments and to speed up the work of reconstruction, it is our intention to appropriate necessary funds at this session of Parliament to provide at January 1st, 1946, the planning grants for health

insurance and the planning grants for public works as outlined in the Dominion Proposals. This is a modification of the Dominion Proposals made in August last. The health grant, as then proposed, was conditional upon the undertaking of a province to enter the health insurance scheme. What we are now proposing is to make the grant available on January 1st without requiring any commitment other than an undertaking to report in an approved manner on the expenditure and the findings. The public investment planning grant provides for payment by the Dominion of half the cost of planning all projects which are accepted by the Dominion as being subject to timing, provided that the cost of planning does not exceed 7½% of the estimated cost of the project. It is proposed that one-half the grant will be payable upon registration of the project with the Dominion and the other one-half upon completion of the blueprints. Unlike the grants originally proposed, these grants will be paid if a project is accepted by the Dominion as timeable whether, in fact, it is subsequently carried out in accordance with a Dominion time schedule or not. It is proposed initially to make available in the next calendar year an amount up to $1.00 per capita in each province.

D 49527

These are firm commitments which we propose to make without regard to the acceptance of the over-all proposals. The Federal Government believes provision for planning in both these fields is a basic requirement to development along the lines and on the scale envisaged by the Dominion Proposals and should not be further delayed. We believe that, in any event, such planning is a sound investment in Canada's future.

Recall Aim of Dominion-Provincial Conference.

It is, I believe, well for us to recall the goal we have set for the period of reconstruction and for the future. As I said at the closing session in August, our goal is the maintenance, in peace-time, of the high levels of employment and national income attained in war-time; and the use of the high productive capacity we have developed to bring about a rapid advance in social security and in the standard of living of the people. With that goal all the provincial governments have expressed agreement. Full employment and a high national income in war-time were necessarily largely the result of the policies of the Dominion Government. There has been general agreement with the view that, in peace-time, the maintenance of employment and national

income depend upon the policies of the provincial governments, as well as those of the Dominion. We all know, and we all declared at that time, that full success in our aim depends upon co-operation.

It is a basic feature of the Dominion Proposals that every provincial government should be put in a financial position to discharge its constitutional responsibilities adequately. The Dominion proposals have been framed with a view to achieving this objective. It should not be necessary to stress that there is a very real responsibility on each provincial government, in submitting counter-proposals, to seek to base these proposals on principles of general application which will provide a tolerable situation for the Dominion and all other provincial governments. Failure of the Dominion-Provincial Conference would react at least as unfavourably on provincial governments as on the Dominion and would not relieve the Federal Government of its responsibility to do whatever it can to carry out policies it believes essential in the national interest. In this connection I feel I cannot too strongly emphasize the greatly increased responsibilities which our economic and social objectives at home, and the problems of Canada's new international position arising out of the war have imposed on the Federal Government.

D 49529

The World Situation.

The Federal Government is already committed to very heavy expenditures purposely designed to maintain employment in Canada and to restore our markets abroad in the difficult period of transition from war to peace. These expenditures will have an indirect but nonetheless powerful stimulating effect upon the economies and revenues of all the provinces. But this is only part of the picture. The Federal Government is also called upon to assume heavy international obligations for the maintenance of peace and national security. ~~I need not remind any of you that~~ It was the very day the Dominion-Provincial Conference met in August last that the world received the news of the use of the first atomic bomb. Some ~~of you~~ may have felt, at the time, that the language with which I described that event was exaggerated. But, in the few short weeks which have passed, we have come to see that the world has entered upon a new age. This is an age in which the survival not only of our own nation but of the whole of civilization may well depend upon the capacity of peace-loving nations to act speedily and effectively in world affairs. We in Canada ~~simply cannot afford~~ in this age must not allow all else and to be divided or confused by domestic difficulties. ~~To do so might well imperil the existence of thousands of our people~~

D 49530

and, indeed, the existence of the nation itself. In the positions of responsibility all of us hold, none can escape a share of the solemn responsibility to place this country of ours in a position to fulfil its destiny.

As corrected and read by PM W.L.M.K.

D 49531

Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction
Co-ordinating Committee

Opening Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada
November 26, 1945

Gentlemen:

~~(Speaking officially)~~ on behalf of the Federal Government, and also personally, I have much pleasure in welcoming you to this meeting of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction. As you are all aware, the date of this meeting was set when the Conference itself adjourned on August 10th. It would, I believe, assist us in proceeding with the work of the Committee if I were to recall the purpose for which the Co-ordinating Committee was established. The Committee was not to replace the full Conference which must necessarily be called together again before any final agreement can be reached. You will remember that the original proposal of the Federal Government was to establish a number of committees to consider the several Dominion Proposals in detail immediately following the adjournment of the full Conference. But the opinion was expressed by several provincial governments that time was required by each provincial government to study the full implications of the Dominion Proposals before special committees could usefully begin their work. This view was accepted by the Conference. To maintain continuity, a Co-ordinating Committee of the Conference was established. That Committee recommended, and the Conference agreed that the Co-ordinating Committee should meet again on November 26th, by which time it was expected that all the provinces would be prepared to submit their views on the Dominion Proposals as well as any counter-proposals they might wish to bring before the Conference. It was understood that the main function of the Co-ordinating Committee, when it met, would be to determine future procedure.

Procedure in the Committee

The first question to be settled is that of the procedure of this Co-ordinating Committee itself. It will be for the Committee to determine first what is the most appropriate manner in which the views of each provincial government in respect to the Dominion Proposals may be presented. Next we shall have to decide upon the most satisfactory method of advancing towards a final agreement once the provincial views have been exchanged. At this point a technical consideration arises. During the preliminary meetings of the Conference in August, the sessions of the Co-ordinating Committee were held in camera. There has been a good deal of discussion since August, in the press and elsewhere, as to whether the present sessions of the Committee should be in camera or should be open to the public. Since the Dominion Proposals are already a matter of public record, the decision on this point is perhaps of more direct concern to the provinces than it is to the Federal Government. We are, of course, prepared to abide by the decision of the Committee. Regardless of which decision is reached on this point there is a subsidiary question as to whether a stenographic record should be kept. Before we discuss these two questions there are one or two other points which I should like to bring to the attention of the Committee.

Method of Continuing Work of Conference

The next question to be determined by the Committee is the procedure which should be adopted following the presentation of the provincial views. It was the view of the Federal Government in August, and remains our view, that the most practical method of expediting the conclusion of an agreement would be to establish a number of joint Dominion-Provincial Committees to consider each of the major aspects of the Dominion Proposals together with such modifications and counter-proposals as are put forward by the provincial governments. At the Conference, in August, sub-conferences met to discuss the following subjects: financial arrangements, public investment, social security, agriculture, labour and housing. Following the Conference, all of the provincial governments were advised, on August 13th, that a Minister had been designated and a secretary appointed to discuss details of the proposals on each of these subjects with any interested provincial government. This arrangement provided for a useful exchange of views

D 49532

and the clarification of many points. It is our hope that this arrangement will now provide a nucleus for continuing committees on the several subjects to which all the provinces will appoint representatives. Before the joint committees can begin their work, it will be necessary for the Federal Government to give consideration to the views of the provincial governments which are submitted to this committee. I assume that each of the provincial governments will wish to consider the views of the others. It is our hope that these committees will be organized now and prepared to meet almost immediately, and in any event not later than the beginning of the New Year. The purpose we envisage for these committees is to reconcile the views of the various governments with the Dominion Proposals as far as possible, and to submit reports to the Co-ordinating Committee. As the present Dominion-Provincial tax transfer agreements expire at the end of each provincial fiscal year nearest to December 31st, 1946, it is obviously desirable to expedite the conclusion of a new agreement. It would be our hope that the proposed committees would be in a position to report early enough to permit the holding of a plenary session of the Conference in February or late January

The Dominion Approach

In beginning these sessions of the Co-ordinating Committee, I feel I should remind you of the spirit in which the Dominion approached the deliberations of the Dominion-Provincial Conference. ~~(In that connection, I do not think that I can do better than to remind you of~~ May I quote the words which I used in my closing remarks at the plenary session on August 10th when I said:

> "The Dominion government, I need scarcely say, has been pleased by the acceptance of its proposals as a basis of discussion. We have been anxious to avoid snap judgments or hasty decisions. So far as our proposals go we ask only for them consideration and examination on their merits. We intend to give the same full consideration to the proposals and suggestions of the provinces. We believe all proposals can be improved."

At that time I expressed the hope that when the full Conference reassembled we should be in a position speedily to resolve any remaining differences and to conclude agreements which would be of benefit to all. I said then, and I feel more strongly today, that that hope will be increasingly shared by the people of all provinces, as the months pass and the alternative to agreement becomes clear to all.

Acceleration of Dominion Proposals

As tangible evidence of the Federal Government's desire to achieve co-operation with the provincial governments and to speed up the work of reconstruction, it is our intention to appropriate necessary funds at this session of Parliament to provide at January 1st, 1946, the planning grants for health insurance and the planning grants for public works as outlined in the Dominion Proposals. This is a modification of the Dominion Proposals made in August last. The health grant, as then proposed, was conditional upon the undertaking of a province to enter the health insurance scheme. What we are now proposing is to make the grant available on January 1st without requiring any commitment other than an undertaking to report in an approved manner on the expenditure and the findings. The public investment planning grant provides for payment by the Dominion of half the cost of planning all projects which are accepted by the Dominion as being subject to timing, provided that the cost of planning does not exceed 7½% of the estimated cost of the project. It is proposed that one-half the grant will be payable upon registration of the project with the Dominion and the other one-half upon completion of the blueprints. Unlike the grants originally proposed, these grants will be paid if a project is accepted by the Dominion as timeable whether, in fact, it is subsequently carried out in accordance with a Dominion time schedule or not. It is proposed initially to make available in the next calendar year an amount up to $1.00 per capita in each province.

These are firm commitments which we propose to make without regard to the acceptance of the over-all proposals. The Federal Government believes provision for planning in both these fields is a basic requirement to development along the lines and on the scale envisaged by the Dominion Proposals and should not be further delayed. We believe that, in any event, such planning is a sound investment in Canada's future.

D 49533

Recall Aim of Dominion-Provincial Conference

It is, I believe, well for us to recall the goal we have set for the period of reconstruction and for the future. As I said at the closing session in August, our goal is the maintenance, in peace-time, of the high levels of employment and national income attained in war-time; and the use of the high productive capacity we have developed to bring about a rapid advance in social security and in the standard of living of the people. With that goal all the provincial governments have expressed agreement. Full employment and a high national income in war-time were necessarily largely the result of the policies of the Dominion Government. There has been general agreement with the view that, in peace-time, the maintenance of employment and national income depend upon the policies of the provincial governments, as well as those of the Dominion. We all know, and we all declared at that time, that full success in our aim depends upon co-operation.

It is a basic feature of the Dominion Proposals that every provincial government should be put in a financial position to discharge its constitutional responsibilities adequately. The Dominion proposals have been framed with a view to achieving this objective. It should not be necessary to stress that there is a very real responsibility on each provincial government, in submitting counter-proposals, to seek to base these proposals on principles of general application which will provide a tolerable situation for the Dominion and all other provincial governments. Failure of the Dominion-Provincial Conference would react at least as unfavourably on provincial governments as on the Dominion and would not relieve the Federal Government of its responsibility to do whatever it can to carry out policies it believes essential in the national interest. In this connection I feel I cannot too strongly emphasize the greatly increased responsibilities which our economic and social objectives at home, and the problems of Canada's new international position arising out of the war have imposed on the Federal Government.

The World Situation

The Federal Government is already committed to very heavy expenditures purposely designed to maintain employment in Canada and to restore our markets abroad in the difficult period of transition from war to peace. These expenditures will have an indirect but nonetheless powerful stimulating effect upon the economies and revenues of all the provinces. But this is only part of the picture. The Federal Government is also called upon to assume heavy international obligations for the maintenance of peace and national security. ~~I need not remind any of you that.~~ It was the very day the Dominion-Provincial Conference met in August last the the world received the news of the use of the first atomic bomb. Some of you may have felt, at the time, that the language with which I described that event was exaggerated. But, in the few short weeks which have passed, we have come to see that the world has entered upon a new age. This is an age in which the survival not only of our own nation but of the whole of civilization may well depend upon the capacity of peace-loving nations to act speedily and effectively in world affairs. We in Canada ~~simply cannot afford in~~ must not in this age, to be divided or confused by domestic difficulties. ~~To do so might well imperil the existence of thousands of our people and, indeed, the existence of the nation itself. In the positions of responsibility all of us hold, none can escape a share of the solemn responsibility to place this country of ours in a position to fulfil its destiny.~~

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
78		Impressions of Britain & Europe. Speeches in Parliament	20 Nov. 1945	D 49506 - D 49519	
78		Opening Statement of Mr. King to the Dominion-Provincial Conference Reconstruction. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Nov. 1945	D 49520 - D 49533	
78		Washington, Declaration on Atomic Energy. Speeches in Parliament	17 Dec. 1945	D 49534 - D 49850	
79		General Eisenhower, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	Jan. 1946	D 49851 - D 49874	
79		Mr. King's Vote of Thanks to General Dwight D. Eisenhower before the Canadian Club, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Jan. 1946	D 49875 - D 49881	
79		Comments of Mr. King re: Ontario's Proposals at the Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction, 1945-1946, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Jan. 1946	D 49882 - D 49885	
79		Opening Statement to the Co-Ordinating Committee of the Dominion-Provincial Conference, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament, Ottawa	28 Jan. 1946	D 49886 - D 49910	

Dec. 14/45 Miss Shields

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49534

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Further changes in statement on Atomic Energy:

Page 15, after Subheading "Exchange of Scientific Information", insert:

"In the agreed declaration we felt obliged to draw a distinction between the information essential for the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and the information concerning the practical industrial application of atomic energy."

Page 18, insert after end of long paragraph -

"These tasks may well have to move forward by separate stages, building upon the confidence which the progressive exchange of information will provide."

Not to be released until delivered

D 49535

Washington Declaration on Atomic Energy.

Statement by the Prime Minister, Rt.Hon.W.L.Mackenzie King
House of Commons, December 17, 1945.

The House of Commons is being asked by the motion now before it to approve the Agreed Declaration on Atomic Energy which was signed at the White House, Washington, on the 15th of November of this year, by the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the Prime Minister of Canada.

The statement which embodies the declaration was read to hon. members of this House by my colleague, the Minister of Justice, on the afternoon of the day on which the declaration was made. Copies of the Declaration in English and in French were tabled in pamphlet form on December 1st. The Declaration has received the widest publicity. I think it may be truly said that it has met with general approval.

As the Declaration is one of far-reaching significance and historic interest, it is desirable that it should be formally approved by both Houses of our Parliament. Apart from other positive advantages, such approval should serve effectively to meet the criticism that the Prime Minister of Canada in joining with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States in the discussions at Washington and in signing the Declaration "either assumed that Parliament and the Canadian people had no views on the atomic

D 49536

bomb question or that their views didn't matter; that it was within his sole right and power to determine what should be done." I am happy to say that this uncalled for criticism seems to have met only with the rebuke it so obviously deserves.

Research into Atomic Energy

No discovery, in all time, has equalled in interest that of the release of atomic energy. No discovery has been fraught with possibilities which may prove to be either so baneful or so beneficial to mankind.

It may serve as a helpful introduction to an understanding of the problems which the discovery of atomic energy has created, if I say a word or two concerning the discovery itself, and the circumstances which led to the part the release of atomic energy came to have in military warfare. My introductory words may also help to give some idea of Canada's contribution to atomic research and processes, and to explain the strategic position which Canada, along with the United Kingdom and the United States, has come to hold in working towards a solution of problems to which the use of atomic energy has given rise.

All the world now knows that the sudden termination of the war against Japan was due to the appalling destruction of life and property wrought, in August of the present year, by the use of the atomic bomb against the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

D 49537

Until recently the world believed that the atom was the ultimate indivisible particle of matter; a particle of matter so minute as to admit of no division. When the war began in 1939, scientists of many nations had come to recognize that the release of energy by the "splitting" of the atom, or what is scientifically referred to as "atomic fission" was a possibility. The war gave impetus to research into the means of releasing atomic energy and later to the production of atomic bombs.

At the outset, research was carried on mainly in the universities of the United Kingdom. During 1940, there was an interchange of information on war research between Britain, the United States and Canada. By the summer of 1941 such progress had been made in research in the application of atomic energy that it was felt that full use should be made of university and industrial laboratories in seeking to find, just as rapidly as possible, the means of producing atomic bombs. In October of 1941, upon the suggestion of President Roosevelt, there began a co-ordination and joint conduct of British and American efforts. In 1942, the United Kingdom authorities proposed that an important section of research into atomic energy should be carried on in Canada as a joint enterprise. The special Montreal Laboratory of the National Research Council was thereafter organized, and staffed by over

300 workers. It was by far the largest organization ever created in Canada to carry out a single research project. Other research projects were undertaken at McMaster, Toronto and McGill Universities, and at the National Research Laboratories in Ottawa.

Developments in the United States and Canada.

By the summer of 1942, the expanded programme of research seemed to justify a decision to proceed with the construction of large-scale production plants in the United States. The Americans alone were active in large-scale work.

At Quebec, in September 1943, an agreement was signed between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, which bound their two countries to collaborate with the object of producing, as quickly as possible, a military weapon for use in the war. Under this agreement a Combined Policy Committee was set up. Upon the invitation of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, in which I had concurred, Mr. Howe, the Minister of Munitions and Supply, was made a member of the Combined Policy Committee as the representative of Canada.

Up to the present, uranium is the mineral that has been used as basic material for the atomic bomb process. Thorium is a probable second basic material for that purpose,

D 49539

although it is not as yet a proven material. The largest proved deposit of uranium ore is in the Belgian Congo, and the next largest is in Canada. As soon as the significant use of uranium in the atomic bomb process was disclosed to Mr. Howe and myself, we secured the approval of the Cabinet to the purchase of the Eldorado Uranium properties in the Great Bear Lake area, and reserved for the government control of all such minerals as might be discovered in Canada in the future. This was a strategic factor of high importance since this second largest known source of raw material thereby became accessible to the large manufacturing plants already built in the United States.

The work of the several research projects has been closely co-ordinated with the development of a pilot plant at Chalk River for the investigation of atomic energy processes. This work is of considerable importance. It includes the study of the utilization of thorium as a starting point for the production of "active material". This pilot plant is unique in character, and is suitable for a field of research that has not been explored elsewhere.

Three Governments in Partnership.

Here may I quote from a statement prepared by Mr. Churchill while he was at the head of the Coalition Government. It was made public by his successor after Mr. Attlee's assumption of office.

Mr. Churchill's statement is as follows:

"In the United States the erection of the immense plants was placed under the responsibility of Mr. Stimson, United States Secretary of War, and the American Army Administration whose wonderful work and marvellous secrecy cannot be sufficiently admired. The main practical effort and virtually the whole of its prodigious cost now fell upon the United States authorities who were assisted by a number of British scientists.

"The relationship of the British and the American contributions was regulated by discussion between me and President Roosevelt, and a Combined Policy Committee was set up. The Canadian Government whose contribution was most valuable provided both indispensable raw material for the project as a whole, and also necessary facilities for the work of one section of the project which has been carried out in Canada by the three Governments in partnership."

Elsewhere in his statement Mr. Churchill said:

"By God's mercy, British and American science outpaced all German efforts. These were on a considerable scale but far behind. The possession of these powers by the Germans, at any time, might have altered the result of the war."

It is worthy of notice that the determination to embark on large-scale undertakings for production of atomic bombs was agreed upon while some details of the project were still in the laboratory stage. The outcome was a most impressive demonstration of the collaboration of scientific skill and technical capacity conducted under conditions of the highest secrecy.

This aspect of the production of the atomic bomb was referred to by Mr. Churchill in the following words:

"The whole burden of execution including the setting up of the plants and many technical processes connected therewith in the practical sphere constitutes one of the greatest triumphs of American - or indeed human - genius of which there is record. Moreover, the decision to make these enormous expenditures upon a project which however hopefully established by American and British research remained nevertheless an awful uncertainty stands to the everlasting honour of President Roosevelt and his advisers."

The Two Uses of Atomic Energy

What was aimed at in the combined efforts of the scientists was the development of methods for the release of atomic energy, either to produce an explosion, or as a source of power. The immediate purpose of the construction of large-scale production plants, and the work of the Combined Policy Committee, was the use of atomic energy for military purposes.

It is now known that the release of atomic energy can be effected so rapidly that a few pounds of "active material" will produce an explosion equivalent to that of the setting off of several thousands of tons of TNT. On the other hand, the energy released can, it is believed, be so controlled as to produce a steady flow of heat obtainable at a temperature high enough to operate steamdriven electrical generating plants. One ton of "active material" used in this way would generate as much power as about three million tons of coal.

In a passage which will carry its appeal to every human heart, Mr. Churchill has vividly expressed the sentiments to which these amazing facts give rise:

"This revelation of the secrets of nature long mercifully withheld from man should, " he said, "arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every being capable of comprehension. We must indeed pray that these awful agencies

will be made to conduce to peace among the nations and that, instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe, they may become a perennial fountain of world prosperity."

This is the problem presented by the discovery of the release of atomic energy. Here is the challenge to our day and generation.

Sharing of Information.

Up to a certain point the processes for releasing atomic energy are the same whether the purpose is an industrial, commercial or humanitarian use, or whether it is that of mass destruction. Up to this point of departure the processes are already quite widely known. The scientific knowledge upon which these processes are based has been shared by a number of nations.

Beyond this point of common development, the construction of atomic bombs consists of a series of highly technical manufacturing processes which are still very secret. Knowledge of these technical manufacturing processes is popularly referred to as the "know-how". It is this "know-how" which is possessed in whole or in part by Britain, the United States, and Canada, and which has not been made known to other nations. The reason for not imparting to other nations, without certain guarantees and controls, the "know-how" in the

production of atomic bombs, is because of the potentialities of vast destruction involved.

It should not be supposed that the control of the raw materials presently enjoyed by Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States will, for any length of time, prevent developments in other countries. Neither should it be imagined that the processes in manufacturing atomic bombs - now secret - will prevent, indefinitely, similar developments in other countries. Even with international measures of supervision and control, it will be but a matter of time before all processes are known to practically all nations. Hence the need for immediate action to seek every available means to end all possibility of war itself.

Preliminary discussions on Atomic Energy.

I come now to the Declaration on Atomic Energy signed at Washington, on November 15th last.

As hon. members are aware, I visited President Truman at the White House on September 30th, the day before I sailed from New York for England. During this visit, matters related to the atomic bomb were referred to in conversation between the President and myself. Mr. Truman invited me to visit him again on my return from abroad. He also told me that he was looking

D 49545

forward to a visit from Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

Upon arrival in London, I learned from Mr. Attlee that, toward the end of September last, he had made known to the President his view on the vital importance to the world of the discovery of atomic energy. He had expressed the opinion that the application of atomic energy to warfare made it essential that those in responsible positions in the countries under whose auspices the development had taken place, should consider the problems to which it had given rise. In conveying to the President the tentative conclusions at which the British government had arrived, Mr. Attlee had suggested that personal discussion might follow.

On October 3rd, in a message to Congress, President Truman said: "I therefore propose to initiate discussions, first with our associates in this discovery, Great Britain and Canada, and then with other nations, in an effort to effect agreement on the conditions under which co-operation might replace rivalry in the field of atomic power."

While I was in London, communications were received from President Truman inviting Mr. Attlee and myself to come to Washington at as early a date as could be arranged to discuss with him the problems related to atomic energy.

In his Navy Day speech on United States foreign policy, on October 27th, President Truman, referring to his message to Congress, added that discussion of the atomic bomb with Great Britain and Canada, and later with other nations, could not wait upon the formal organization of the United Nations.

The Conference at Washington.

Mr. Attlee and I arrived in Washington on the morning of Saturday, November 10th. Mr. Attlee had left London by plane on the afternoon of the previous day. I had left London on Saturday of the previous week to cross by ship. We arrived in Washington at the same hour. During our stay in Washington, every courtesy was extended to Mr. Attlee and myself by the President and the Secretary of State, Mr.Byrnes. From the hour of our arrival to the day of the signing of the Declaration, meetings and conversations were held continuously.

In our consideration of the problems discussed, the President and Mr.Byrnes had the assistance of Dr.Vannevar Bush, Director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, and scientific adviser to the President's Committee on Atomic Energy. Prime Minister Attlee was accompanied by Sir John Anderson, Chairman of the Advisory Committee in the United Kingdom on Atomic Energy. Sir John Anderson is perhaps the best

D 49547

informed of anyone in the United Kingdom on the whole subject, and on the circumstances attending the work with the Americans and ourselves in the researches on atomic energy. Mr.Attlee was also assisted by Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador. I was joined in Washington by Mr.Howe, the Canadian member of the Combined Policy Committee, and Dr. C.J.Mackenzie, President of our National Research Council. I was also assisted while in Washington, by the Canadian Ambassador, Mr.L.B.Pearson; by Mr.Norman Robertson, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who had accompanied me to England, and by Mr.Hume Wrong, Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who joined Mr.Robertson and myself on our arrival in Washington.

I should like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance given me by all these gentlemen and by members of our Embassy staff in Washington.

The Agreed Declaration

In asking hon. members to support the motion which is now before the House, approving the Washington Declaration on Atomic Energy, I feel I cannot do better than to set forth essential features of the Declaration itself and, in so doing, indicate governing considerations which were constantly in the minds of all who participated in the discussions.

D 49548

There was recognition at the outset that the vast significance of the discovery of the release of atomic energy was not yet fully comprehended; that very few realized the far-reaching effect of the discovery upon the future of the world. It was agreed that the discovery had placed at the disposal of mankind means of destruction hitherto unknown, and against which there could be no adequate military defence, and in the employment of which no single nation could, in fact, have a monopoly. In a word, it was agreed that civilization could not survive an atomic war. It was also recognized that it was impossible to isolate the problem of the atomic bomb from the problem of the use of other weapons of destruction. The atomic bomb was seen as the latest word in destructiveness, but not necessarily the last.

The truth is that no system of safeguards that can be devised will of itself provide an effective guarantee against production of atomic weapons by a nation bent on aggression. Nor can we overlook the probability of the development of other major weapons of mass destruction, or of new methods of warfare which may constitute an even greater threat to civilization than the military use of atomic energy. At Washington, we were therefore called upon to consider not merely the elimination of the atomic bomb as a weapon of war, but also the kind of world

D 49549

order which is necessary in an atomic age, if civilization is to survive.

In our deliberations we were seeking to take the first step in an effort to rescue the world from a desperate race in weapons of mass destruction. We were prepared to concede that the progress our three countries had made in the development and use of atomic energy demanded that our countries take the initiative in an international effort to prevent the further use of atomic energy for destructive purposes. We felt an equal obligation on the part of our countries to promote the use of recent and future exchanges of scientific knowledge, particularly in the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful and humanitarian ends. At the same time we sought to make very clear that the responsibility for devising means to ensure that the new discovery should be used for the benefit of mankind, instead of as a means of destruction, rested not on our nations alone, but on the whole civilized world.

The Exchange of Scientific Information.

Representing, as we did, the three countries which possess the knowledge essential to the use of atomic energy, we declared our willingness, as a first contribution, to proceed with the exchange of fundamental scientic information, and

with the interchange of scientists, and scientific literature for peaceful ends, with any nation that would fully reciprocate. We stated our belief that the fruits of scientific research should be made available to all nations, and that freedom of investigation and the free interchange of ideas were essential to the progress of knowledge. The basic scientific processes essential to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes have already been made available to the world. We declared that all further information of this character that might become available from time to time should be similarly treated.

As I have already explained, the use of atomic energy for industrial, commercial and humanitarian purposes is dependent upon the same methods and processes as, up to a certain point, are required for the military exploitation of atomic energy. While we were prepared to share the information essential to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, we were not convinced that the spread of the specialized information regarding the practical application of atomic energy in the manufacture of bombs, before it was possible to devise reciprocal and enforceable safeguards acceptable to all nations, would contribute to a constructive solution of the problem of the atomic bomb. On the contrary, we thought it might have the opposite effect. However, we stated our readiness to share, on a reciprocal basis, with others of the United Nations, detailed information concerning

the practical industrial application of atomic energy, just as soon as effective and enforceable safeguards against its use for destructive purposes could be devised.

Atomic Energy and the Arts of Peace.

The attention which has so far been directed to the strictly war aspects of atomic energy - that is, to the atomic bomb - should not be allowed to obscure the immense possibilities of development of atomic energy for the arts of peace. The atomic bomb is a weapon of destruction unsurpassed in human experience. But the energy locked up inside the atom, controlled and directed to useful and constructive ends, may make it possible to provide goods and services for people throughout the world on a scale which we cannot now envisage. It may be the means of raising the standard of living; of providing physical comfort against hazards of weather and extremes of heat and cold. It may revolutionize some present-day means of transport and communication, making all countries of the world near neighbours in a more immediate sense than has been made possible even by the development of air transport.

It must never be forgotten, however, that the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes cannot be developed without at the same time producing the very material which is used in a bomb.

D 49552

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Commission on Atomic Energy proposed at Washington.

In order to attain the most effective available means of entirely eliminating the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and for promoting its widest use for industrial, commercial and humanitarian purposes, we gave it as our opinion in the Washington Declaration that at the earliest practicable date a Commission should be set up under the United Nations Organization, to prepare recommendations for submission to the Organization. We expressed the view that the Commission should be instructed to proceed with the utmost despatch; and that, in particular, it should make specific proposals (a) for extending, between all nations, the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends; (b) for the control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes; (c) for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction; and (d) for effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means, to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions.

Under the Charter of the United Nations the signatory powers have pledged themselves not to use force except in support of the purposes and principles of the Charter. At

Washington, we expressed the view that by whole-hearted support of the United Nations Organization, and by consolidating and extending its authority, thereby creating conditions of mutual trust in which all peoples will be free to devote themselves to the arts of peace, there would be found the most immediately available means of maintaining the rule of law among nations and of banishing the scourge of war from the earth. We declared it to be the firm resolve of our three countries to work without reservation to achieve these ends.

Nothing can be truer than that without unremitting co-operation and the united effort of nations there will be no enduring and effective protection against the atomic bomb. Nor without this co-operation and united effort can there be protection against the indiscriminate use of poison or against the latest refinements in gas warfare, and no protection against bacteriological warfare, all of which are even more frightful methods of human destruction than the atomic bomb. To ensure civilization from ~~self~~ destruction it is not enough to banish atomic or gas or bacteriological warfare, we must banish war itself.

It is intended that the proposals of the Washington Declaration for the establishment of a Commission to prepare recommendations on the means of dealing with the problems raised by the development of atomic energy should be submitted to the first General Assembly of the United Nations. It is expected

that the General Assembly will open its first session in London on January 10th. On the exact procedure to be followed in bringing up this vital matter for consideration by the United Nations Organization, I am unable to say anything at present.

Before leaving Washington on Thursday last, December 13th, to take part in the meeting in Moscow of the foreign ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, the Secretary of State of the United States announced that he wished to discuss with the Soviet Government its views on how they would be prepared to co-operate in the establishment of the Commission and on the procedure which should be followed. On these questions, we are in constant consultation with the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom, the other parties to the Washington Declaration on Atomic Energy.

President Roosevelt's Vision

While I do not wish, at the moment, to attempt to look too far into the future with respect to proceedings of the United Nations Organization, I am pleased to have this opportunity to speak of the past in reference to the creation of the United Nations Organization itself. I recall very well

that while the war against Germany and Japan was still in progress, there were many who felt that President Roosevelt was pressing, with undue haste, the establishment of a United Nations Organization. Echoes of this criticism were heard at San Francisco last spring at the time of the United Nations Conference on International Organization. It was not until after the Conference was over, and the Charter of the United Nations Organization had been brought into existence that the world learned of the discovery of the release of atomic energy and of its practical application against Japan. The use of the atomic bomb as a major weapon of military warfare presented, in an instant, to all nations wholly new problems of security. Against the use of the atomic bomb in war, nothing has thus far been suggested which could be regarded as a means of defence.

President Roosevelt's prophetic vision had once more come to the aid of Humanity at a time of its greatest need. Had President Roosevelt waited until the war was over to call a United Nations Conference to bring the Charter into being, we should not have had the United Nations Organization at hand today to assist in the solution of the problems which the atomic bomb has brought so conspicuously to the fore. Instead, the countries seeking a solution of its problems would have been more bewildered and baffled than they are. The world is but slowly recognizing what it owes to the late President.

D 49557

Problems of the Atomic Era

If I have made myself clear with respect to the problems of the atomic era with which we are now faced, it will be apparent that they are primarily political problems affecting the relations between men and governments. Fundamentally they are a part of the age old conflict between good and evil. As such their ultimate solution will be found only in the realm of philosophy and morals. One thing is certain: they admit of no mechanistic solution. By themselves, devices for the control of atomic energy are at best but temporary expedients. For this reason, I believe, it is an error to contemplate the control of the use of atomic energy in commodity and police terms, as if atomic energy were some new and dangerous drug. Technical scientific controls of production, processing and final disposition are indispensable, but they are obviously inadequate. It would, I believe, be criminal folly to allow ourselves to imagine that the peace and security of mankind can be attained by any scheme of commodity control.

As political problems affecting the relations of governments, the solution of the problems presented by atomic energy must be sought in the realm of world politics. The more deeply one ponders the problems with which our world

D 49558

is confronted in the light - "the terrible light", as Mr. Attlee said - of the implications of the development of atomic energy, the harder it is to see a solution in anything short of some surrender of national sovereignty. With a limited surrender of national sovereignty, there must be instituted some form of world government restricted, at least at the outset, to matters pertaining to the prevention of war, and the maintenance of international security.

The United Nations Organization is not a sufficient answer to the problems of peace and security which the world is now seeking. It is a first step, and an all-important step, in the direction of that co-operation between nations which is essential to the survival of civilization. It is not, however, the only, much less the final, step. The United Nations Organization is an indispensable medium and channel and forum through which the peoples of the world can work out new institutions and arrangements which their peace and security now require.

We do well to recall that the United Nations Charter had been signed before the world knew of the existence of the atomic bomb, much less anything about its ghastly military potentialities for mass destruction. The coming of the atomic bomb has opened our eyes to the

appalling possibilities which will face the world if the United Nations should fail to achieve effective international co-operation. It is to be hoped that such a prospect may be sufficient to cause every country, in the interests of its own citizens, to recognize that "over all nations is humanity". It is devoutly to be hoped that the nations will not delay too long in welcoming, albeit in the form of some self-denying ordinance upon individual national sovereignties, a measure of world sovereignty sufficiently effective to maintain international security and to end all possibility of war.

If we are agreed on the ultimate necessity of some measure of world government to maintain world security, we should, by every means in our power, support and strengthen every agency of international co-operation and understanding which can help to make the world community a reality. The peoples of all nations must address themselves to the task of helping to devise and shape institutions and relationships which will enable mankind to ensure, if not its salvation, at least its survival. We must work with all our might for a world order under the rule of law. This seems to be our only hope./ Humanity is one. We must act in the belief that no nation and no individual liveth to himself alone, and that all are members one of another.

D49560

CANADA

Débats de la Chambre des Communes

COMPTE RENDU OFFICIEL

DISCOURS

DU

TRÈS HONORABLE W. L. MACKENZIE KING,

PREMIER MINISTRE DU CANADA

SUR

LA DÉCLARATION DE WASHINGTON

concernant

L'ÉNERGIE ATOMIQUE

Prononcé à la Chambre des communes, le lundi 17 décembre 1945*

Le très hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (premier ministre): Monsieur l'Orateur, la motion maintenant à l'étude demande à la Chambre des communes d'approuver la Déclaration concertée sur l'énergie atomique, signée à la Maison Blanche, à Washington, le 15 novembre de cette année, par le président des Etats-Unis, le premier ministre du Royaume-Uni et le premier ministre du Canada.

Mon collègue, le ministre de la Justice, a lu à la Chambre l'exposé renfermant la Déclaration, dans l'après-midi du jour où elle a été formulée. Le 1er décembre, on a déposé sur le bureau de la Chambre le texte français et anglais de la Déclaration, sous forme de brochure. Elle a été l'objet d'une très grande publicité, et je me crois justifié de dire qu'elle a reçu l'approbation générale.

Comme elle est d'une grande importance et d'intérêt historique, il est souhaitable que les deux Chambres lui donnent leur approbation formelle.

* * * * *

Recherches sur l'énergie atomique

Jamais aucune découverte n'a présenté autant d'intérêt que la libération de l'énergie atomique. Aucune découverte n'offre d'aussi grandes possibilités pour le bien ou pour le mal de l'humanité.

Il serait peut-être utile, pour la compréhension du problème posé par la découverte de l'énergie atomique, que je dise quelques mots concernant la découverte même et les événements qui ont concouru au rôle de la libération de l'énergie atomique dans le domaine militaire. Cela aiderait peut-être aussi à donner une idée de la contribution apportée par le Canada aux recherches et aux procédés atomiques et à expliquer la position stratégique que le Canada, de concert avec le Royaume-Uni et les Etats-Unis, s'est acquise dans la recherche d'une solution aux problèmes suscités par l'emploi de l'énergie atomique.

Le monde entier sait maintenant que la fin soudaine de la guerre contre le Japon est due à l'effroyable destruction de vies et de biens causée, en août dernier, par l'emploi de la bombe atomique contre les villes de Hiroshima et de Nagasaki.

Jusqu'à ces derniers temps, on considérait l'atome comme la dernière subdivision possible de la matière, comme une particule de matière si infime qu'elle ne se prêtait plus à la division. Au début des hostilités, en 1939, les hommes de science de diverses nations en étaient arrivés à reconnaître la possibilité de libérer de l'énergie par la "rupture" de l'atome, ou par ce que les hommes de science appellent

* (Les sous-titres ont été insérés à l'intention du lecteur. Ils sont disposés autrement dans le compte rendu officiel.)

D 49561

la "fission atomique". La guerre est venue donner un élan aux travaux de recherche sur les moyens de libérer l'énergie atomique et, plus tard, sur la fabrication des bombes atomiques.

Au début, les travaux se poursuivaient surtout dans les universités du Royaume-Uni. L'année 1940 a marqué un échange des résultats des recherches dans le domaine militaire entre la Grande-Bretagne, les Etats-Unis et le Canada. A l'été de 1941, les progrès réalisés dans les recherches sur l'application de l'énergie atomique étaient tels qu'il fut jugé à propos de mettre à pleine contribution les universités et les laboratoires industriels dans le but de découvrir à la plus brève échéance possible les moyens de produire des bombes atomiques. En octobre 1941, à la recommandation du président Roosevelt, les efforts britanniques et américains furent coordonnés et placés sous une direction commune. En 1942, les autorités du Royaume-Uni proposèrent la poursuite au Canada, à titre de projet mixte, d'une importante partie des recherches en matière d'énergie atomique. C'est alors que le Conseil national de recherches aménagea son laboratoire spécial à Montréal, où travaillaient plus de 300 personnes. C'était là de beaucoup la plus vaste organisation jamais montée au Canada pour un seul programme de recherches. D'autres programmes se poursuivaient aussi aux universités McMaster, Toronto et McGill, ainsi qu'aux laboratoires du Conseil national de recherches à Ottawa.

Progrès aux Etats-Unis et au Canada

A l'été de 1942, l'ampleur des programmes de recherches semblait justifier une décision de procéder à la construction aux Etats-Unis d'établissements capables de produire sur une vaste échelle. Seuls les Américains s'occupaient de travaux de grande envergure.

En septembre 1943, MM. Churchill et Roosevelt signèrent à Québec un accord engageant leurs pays respectifs à collaborer en vue d'en arriver le plus tôt possible à la production d'une arme qui pourrait servir dans le conflit. A la suite de cet accord fut créé le Comité mixte d'orientation. A l'invitation de MM. Roosevelt et Churchill, invitation que j'avais moi-même approuvée, notre ministre des Munitions et approvisionnements, M. Howe, fut élu membre de ce comité à titre de représentant du Canada.

Jusqu'à présent, le minéral servant de base à la fabrication de la bombe atomique est l'uranium. Le thorium se présente comme un succédané probable, bien qu'on n'ait pas encore établi la possibilité de l'utiliser. Le plus considérable gisement éprouvé de minerai d'uranium se trouve au Congo belge et le deuxième en importance se trouve au Canada. Dès que nous a été révélé, à M. Howe et à moi-même, l'emploi significatif de l'uranium dans le procédé de fabrication de la bombe atomique, nous avons obtenu du cabinet l'autorisation d'acheter les propriétés de l'Eldorado Uranium dans la région du Grand Lac de l'Ours et nous avons réservé pour le Gouvernement le contrôle de tous les minéraux de ce genre qui pourraient être découverts au Canada à l'avenir. Ce fut là un facteur stratégique capital, vu que cette source de matière première, la deuxième en importance parmi celles qui étaient connues, devint ainsi accessible aux vastes usines déjà construites aux Etats-Unis.

Le travail des diverses entreprises de recherche a été étroitement coordonné avec l'exploitation d'une installation d'essai établie à Chalk-River aux fins d'examiner les procédés de développement d'énergie atomique. Ce travail revêt une importance considérable. Il comporte l'étude de l'utilisation du thorium comme point de départ pour la production de "matière active". Cette installation d'essai est d'un genre unique et se prête aux recherches dans un domaine qui n'a pas été exploré ailleurs.

Trois gouvernements associés

Permettez-moi de citer ici une déclaration que M. Churchill a préparée lorsqu'il était chef du gouvernement de coalition. Son successeur, M. Attlee, l'a rendue publique après son avènement au pouvoir.

La déclaration de M. Churchill se lit:

Aux Etats-Unis, l'établissement des vastes usines fut confié à M. Stimson, Secrétaire à la Guerre aux Etats-Unis, et à l'Administration de l'Armée américaine, dont on ne peut trop admirer le magnifique travail et la merveilleuse discrétion. Dès lors, la principale tâche, du point de vue pratique, et la quasi-totalité du coût prodigieux de l'entreprise retombèrent sur les autorités des Etats-Unis, qui eurent le concours d'hommes de science britanniques.

Les relations entre les apports britanniques et américains furent réglementées au moyen de pourparlers entre le président Roosevelt et moi-même, et un comité mixte d'orientation fut établi. Le gouvernement canadien, dont la collaboration fut extrêmement précieuse, fournit la matière première indispensable à l'entreprise dans son ensemble, ainsi que les aménagements requis pour la réalisation d'une partie du projet, laquelle fut exécutée au Canada par les trois gouvernements associés.

Ailleurs, dans sa déclaration, M. Churchill s'exprime ainsi:

Grâce à Dieu, la science américaine et britannique a devancé tous les efforts allemands. Ceux-ci, bien que poussés fort loin, sont demeurés bien inférieurs dans leurs résultats. La possession de cette puissance par les Allemands aurait pu, en tout temps, changer l'issue de la guerre.

D 49562

Il y a lieu de mentionner que la décision de mettre sur pied de très vastes entreprises en vue de la production des bombes atomiques a été prise à un moment où certains détails du projet n'étaient encore qu'à l'état d'expériences de laboratoire. Il en résulta une très impressionnante démonstration de ce que peuvent accomplir, sous le sceau du plus grand secret, les connaissances scientifiques alliées à la compétence technique.

Parlant de cet aspect de la production de la bombe atomique, M. Churchill s'exprimait dans les termes suivants:

Le fardeau tout entier de l'exécution, y compris l'établissement d'usines et la mise au point de divers procédés techniques en vue de leur application pratique, constitue l'un des plus grands triomphes du génie américain et même du génie humain. En outre, la décision de consacrer des sommes énormes à un projet qui, bien qu'offrant des perspectives encourageantes à la suite des recherches effectuées par les savants américains et britanniques n'en demeurait pas moins un terrible risque, sera à jamais à l'honneur du président Roosevelt et de ses conseillers.

Double utilisation de l'énergie atomique

Les efforts concertés des hommes de science visaient la découverte de méthodes propres à libérer la puissance atomique soit pour produire une explosion soit comme source d'énergie. Le but immédiat de l'aménagement d'usines de grande production et des travaux du Comité mixte d'orientation était l'usage de l'énergie atomique à des fins militaires.

On sait maintenant qu'il est possible d'amener la libération d'énergie atomique avec une telle rapidité que quelques livres de "matière active" peuvent produire une explosion équivalant à celle de plusieurs milliers de tonnes de trinitrotoluène. Par ailleurs, l'énergie libérée peut, croit-on, être maîtrisée de façon qu'elle produise un courant continu de chaleur qu'on peut porter à un degré suffisamment élevé pour faire fonctionner des générateurs d'électricité mus à la vapeur. Une tonne de "matière active" peut produire autant d'énergie qu'environ trois millions de tonnes de houille.

Dans une formule de nature à émouvoir tout être humain, M. Churchill a exprimé avec éclat les sentiments que nous inspirent ces faits renversants:

La révélation de ces secrets de la nature que la Providence a longtemps, dans sa miséricorde, soustrait à la connaissance de l'homme, fait naître les réflexions les plus graves dans l'esprit et la conscience de tout être humain doué de raison. Nous devons espérer que ces terribles découvertes serviront à contribuer à la paix et que, au lieu de faire des ravages incommensurables dans l'univers entier, elles constitueront une source intarissable de prospérité pour le monde.

Voilà le problème que crée la libération de l'énergie atomique. Voilà le défi lancé à notre génération.

Echange de renseignements

Jusqu'à un certain point, les procédés permettant de libérer l'énergie atomique sont les mêmes, peu importe qu'on veuille s'en servir à des fins industrielles, commerciales, humanitaires, ou encore pour la destruction sur une grande échelle. Jusque-là les procédés employés sont déjà très bien connus. Plusieurs nations déjà partagent les connaissances scientifiques dont ils s'inspirent.

A partir de ce point commun de développement, la fabrication des bombes atomiques comprend une série de procédés très techniques et encore des plus secrets. On appelle communément la connaissance de ces procédés techniques de fabrication le "savoir-faire", ("know-how"). C'est ce "savoir-faire" que connaissent, totalement ou partiellement, la Grande-Bretagne, les Etats-Unis et le Canada, et que nous n'avons pas divulgué aux autres nations. En raison des grands pouvoirs de destruction que comporte la connaissance de ce "savoir-faire" dans la fabrication des bombes atomiques, nous ne voulons pas en faire part aux autres nations sans certaines garanties et réglementations.

Il ne faudrait pas croire que le main-mise exercée sur les matières premières par le Canada, le Royaume-Uni et les Etats-Unis empêchera longtemps les autres pays de procéder à de semblables découvertes. Il ne faudrait pas non plus s'imaginer que les procédés de fabrication des bombes atomiques, qui sont actuellement secrets, empêcheront toujours les autres nations de découvrir un procédé semblable. Même avec des mesures internationales de surveillance et de réglementation, ce n'est plus qu'une question de temps avant que tous ces procédés soient connus de presque toutes les nations. C'est pourquoi nous devons essayer de trouver immédiatement les moyens qui écarteront tout danger de guerre.

Pourparlers préliminaires sur l'énergie atomique

Je parlerai maintenant de la Déclaration portant sur l'énergie atomique, signée à Washington le 15 novembre dernier.

Les honorables députés savent que j'ai rendu visite au président Truman à la Maison Blanche, le 30 septembre, soit à la veille de mon départ de New-York à destination de l'Angleterre. Pendant cette visite, j'ai discuté avec le président certaines questions relatives à l'énergie atomique. M. Truman m'a invité à lui rendre visite de nouveau à mon retour de Grande-Bretagne. Il m'a également dit qu'il s'attendait de recevoir la visite de M. Attlee, le premier ministre du Royaume-Uni.

A mon arrivée à Londres, j'ai appris de M. Attlee que, vers la fin du mois de septembre dernier, il avait fait connaître son opinion au Président sur l'importance vitale pour le monde de la découverte de l'énergie atomique. Il lui avait déclaré que l'application de l'énergie atomique à la guerre conférait l'obligation aux personnes en autorité dans les pays sous les auspices desquels ces travaux ont été effectués, d'étudier les problèmes auxquels cette découverte avait donné naissance. M. Attlee, en transmettant au Président les conclusions expérimentales auxquelles le gouvernement anglais était arrivé, avait laissé entendre que des conversations personnelles pourraient avoir lieu par la suite.

Le 3 octobre, dans un message au Congrès, le président Truman disait:

Je propose, en conséquence, d'entamer des discussions, d'abord avec nos associés dans cette découverte, la Grande-Bretagne et le Canada, et ensuite avec d'autres nations, dans le but d'essayer à nous entendre sur les conditions dans lesquelles la collaboration pourrait remplacer la rivalité dans le domaine de l'énergie atomique.

Pendant mon séjour à Londres, le président Truman a transmis des invitations à M. Attlee et à moi-même nous demandant de nous rendre à Washington aussitôt que nous le pourrions pour y étudier avec lui les problèmes se rapportant à l'énergie atomique.

Dans le discours sur la politique étrangère des Etats-Unis qu'il a prononcé le jour consacré à la marine de guerre, le 27 octobre, le Président Truman, en faisant allusion à son message au Congrès, a ajouté que la discussion sur la bombe atomique avec la Grande-Brtagne et le Canada, et plus tard avec d'autres nations, ne pouvait pas être retardée jusqu'à ce que les Nations Unies soient officiellement organisées.

Conférence de Washington

M. Atlee et moi sommes arrivés à Washington samedi matin, le 10 novembre, M. Attlee avait quitté Londres par avion l'après-midi du jour précédent. J'étais parti de Londres le samedi de la semaine précédente à bord d'un navire. Nous sommes arrivés à Washington à la même heure. Durant notre séjour à Washington, M. Attlee et moi-même avons été entourés de la plus grande courtoisie possible par le Président et par le secrétaire d'Etat, M. Byrnes. Du moment de notre arrivée jusqu'au jour de la signature de la déclaration, il y eut des réunions et des conversations continuellement.

Pendant l'étude de ces problèmes, le Président et M. Byrnes ont bénéficié de l'aide de M. Vannevar Bush, directeur du Bureau de recherches et d'études scientifiques et conseiller technique du comité du président sur l'énergie atomique. Le premier ministre Attlee était accompagné de sir John Anderson, le président du comité consultatif sur l'énergie atomique au Royaume-Uni. Sir John Anderson est peut-être l'homme le mieux renseigné du Royaume-Uni sur toute cette question et sur les circonstances qui ont entouré les travaux de recherche sur l'énergie atomique accomplis par les Américains et nous-mêmes. M. Attlee était aussi accompagné de lord Halifax, ambassadeur britannique. Je fus rejoint à Washington par M. Howe, membre canadien du comité mixte d'orientation, et M. C. J. Mackenzie, président de notre Conseil national de recherches. Durant mon séjour à Washington, j'avais aussi à mes côtés l'ambassadeur canadien, M. L. B. Pearson; M. Norman Robertson, sous-secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, qui m'avait accompagné en Angleterre, et M. Hume Wrong, sous-secrétaire d'Etat adjoint aux Affaires extérieures, qui vint nous rencontrer, M. Robertson et moi, à notre arrivée à Washington.

Je tiens à marquer ici toute ma gratitude pour l'aide inappréciable que m'ont apportée tous ces messieurs et les membres du personnel de notre ambassade à Washington.

Déclaration concertée

Au moment de demander aux honorables membres de la Chambre d'appuyer la motion dont nous sommes maintenant saisis et portant approbation de la déclaration de Washington sur l'énergie atomique, je ne saurais mieux faire que d'exposer ici quelques aspects essentiels de la Déclaration elle-même, et, ce faisant, d'indiquer les motifs dont ne cessèrent d'être animés ceux qui ont participé à ces discussions.

On a reconnu dès le début que le monde ne saisissait pas encore pleinement toute la signification de la découverte de la libération de l'énergie atomique; que bien peu de gens se rendaient compte de l'immense portée de la découverte sur l'avenir du monde. On s'accorda à reconnaître que cette découverte avait mis à la disposition de l'humanité des moyens de destruction inconnus jusqu'ici contre lesquels ne pourrait exister aucun moyen de défense suffisant et dont l'emploi ne pourrait être, de fait, laissé en monopole à une seule nation. En un mot, on en vint à la conclusion que la civilisation ne pourrait survivre à une guerre atomique. On a aussi reconnu qu'il était impossible d'isoler le problème de la bombe atomique du problème de l'usage des autres moyens de destruction. On

a vu dans la bombe atomique le plus puissant des moyens de destruction, ce qui ne veut pas nécessairement dire qu'elle sera le dernier.

A vrai dire, on ne peut concevoir aucun moyen de sauvegarde propre à empêcher, par lui-même, la production d'armes atomiques par une nation animée du désir d'agression. Nous ne pouvons pas davantage ignorer l'invention probable d'autres grands moyens de destruction en masse ou la découverte possible de nouvelles méthodes de faire la guerre qui constitueraient peut-être pour la civilisation une menace plus grande encore que celle que constitue l'utilisation militaire de l'énergie atomique. A Washington, nous avons donc dû prendre en considération non seulement l'élimination de la bombe atomique comme arme de guerre, mais aussi l'organisation dans le monde de l'ordre nécessaire, en une ère d'énergie atomique, pour permettre à la civilisation de survivre. Dans nos délibérations, nous avons tenté un premier pas afin d'épargner au monde une course désespérée aux moyens de destruction massive. Nous étions disposés à admettre que les progrès réalisés dans la découverte et l'utilisation de l'énergie atomique par nos trois pays leur créaient l'obligation de prendre l'initiative d'un effort international en vue de prévenir l'emploi ultérieur de l'énergie atomique à des fins destructives. Nous estimions que nos pays avaient également le devoir d'encourager l'usage des échanges récents et futurs de connaissances scientifiques, en particulier dans l'utilisation de l'énergie atomique à des fins pacifiques et humanitaires. Nous avons cherché en même temps à établir d'une façon très claire qu'il n'appartenait pas exclusivement à nos nations mais à tout le monde civilisé de trouver les moyens d'assurer l'utilisation de la nouvelle découverte au profit de l'humanité et non pas comme un engin de destruction.

Echange de renseignements scientifiques

Dans la déclaration concertée nous avons cru devoir établir une distinction entre les renseignements essentiels aux recherches atomiques pour des buts pacifiques et les renseignements concernant l'application pratique de l'énergie atomique aux fins industrielles.

A titre de représentants des trois pays qui possèdent les connaissances essentielles à l'utilisation de l'énergie atomique, nous avons déclaré, comme premier apport, notre bonne volonté de procéder à l'échange de renseignements scientifiques fondamentaux, à l'échange de savants et d'ouvrages scientifiques pour des fins pacifiques avec toute nation disposée à nous rendre tout à fait la pareille. Nous avons exprimé notre conviction que les fruits de la recherche scientifique doivent être mis à la disposition de toutes les nations et que la liberté de l'investigation et de l'échange des idées est essentielle au progrès de la connaissance. Les procédés scientifiques fondamentaux essentiels d'utilisation de l'énergie atomique à des fins de paix sont mis déjà à la disposition du monde. Nous avons déclaré qu'il faut disposer d'une manière analogue de tout autre renseignement de ce genre que de temps à autre l'on pourrait trouver.

L'usage de l'énergie atomique à des fins industrielles, commerciales et humanitaires dépend, dans une certaine mesure, je l'ai déjà expliqué, des mêmes méthodes et procédés requis pour son exploitation militaire. Même si nous étions disposés à partager les renseignements essentiels à l'exploitation de l'énergie atomique en vue d'objectifs de paix, nous n'étions pas convaincus que la diffusion de renseignements spéciaux sur l'application pratique de l'énergie atomique à la fabrication de bombes, avant qu'il fût possible de trouver des garanties réciproques exécutoires agréables à toutes les nations, aiderait à la solution pratique du problème de la bombe atomique. Au contraire, avons-nous pensé, elle pourrait avoir un effet opposé. Nous nous sommes montrés prêts cependant à partager, d'une façon réciproque, avec les autres Nations Unies, des renseignements détaillés sur l'application pratique de l'énergie atomique à des fins industrielles, dès qu'il sera possible d'instituer des garanties efficaces et exécutoires contre son utilisation à des fins de destruction.

Energie atomique et arts de la paix

L'attention qui s'est directement concentrée jusqu'ici sur les aspects strictement militaires de l'énergie atomique, c'est-à-dire de la bombe atomique, ne devrait pas permettre de reléguer dans l'ombre les immenses possibilités qu'offre l'énergie atomique mise au service des arts de la paix. La bombe atomique constitue l'engin de destruction le plus efficace des annales humaines. Mais l'énergie emprisonnée dans l'atome, régie et appliquée à des fins utiles et pratiques, est en mesure de procurer des biens et des services, et sur une échelle sans précédent, à tous les peuples de l'univers; elle peut être un moyen de relever le niveau d'existence; elle peut assurer le confort physique contre les risques de la température, tant contre la chaleur extrême que contre un froid très intense; elle peut révolutionner les moyens de transport et de communication des temps modernes, et rendre les nations voisines les unes des autres en supprimant beaucoup plus efficacement les distances que ne l'ont fait les progrès accomplis jusqu'ici dans le transport aérien.

D 49565

Il ne faudra jamais oublier, toutefois, qu'il devient impossible d'utiliser l'énergie atomique pour des fins de paix sans produire du même coup la substance même dont on se sert dans une bombe.

Commission de l'énergie atomique proposée à Washington

En vue d'en arriver aux moyens les plus efficaces possibles d'éliminer complètement l'utilisation de l'énergie atomique à des fins de destruction, et afin d'en favoriser le plus possible l'application à des fins industrielles, commerciales et humanitaires, nous avons exprimé l'avis dans la Déclaration de Washington qu'il faudrait instituer le plus tôt possible une commission placée sous la direction de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et qui aurait pour mission de soumettre des recommandations à l'organisation. Nous avons opiné que la Commission devrait recevoir les instructions de se mettre au travail incontinent, et qu'elle devrait, en particulier, préparer des propositions spécifiques visant *a*) à étendre à toutes les nations l'échange des renseignements fondamentaux d'ordre scientifique pour des fins pacifiques; *b*) à régir l'énergie atomique dans la mesure où cette régie devient nécessaire pour assurer l'application de l'énergie atomique à des fins pacifiques seulement; *c*) à faire disparaître des armements nationaux les engins atomiques et les autres engins importants qui tendent à la destruction massive; et *d*) à créer, au moyen d'inspections et autrement, des sauvegardes efficaces, pour que les Etats intéressés puissent se protéger contre les risques des violations et des fauxfuyants.

Ces tâches devront probablement être exécutées par étapes successives à mesure que naîtra la confiance et que l'échange progressif des renseignements le permettra.

Appui de l'Organisation des Nations Unies

Les puissances signataires de la Charte des Nations Unies se sont engagées à ne pas recourir à la force, sauf pour appuyer les fins et les principes de la charte. A Washington, nous avons émis l'avis que ce sera en apportant notre plus entier concours à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, en consolidant et en étendant son autorité,—créant par là une confiance mutuelle grâce à laquelle tous les peuples pourront librement consacrer leurs énergies à la poursuite des arts de paix,—que nous obtiendrons le moyen le plus efficace d'assurer l'hégémonie du droit parmi les nations et de bannir le fléau de la guerre de la surface du globe. Nous avons déclaré que c'était la ferme résolution de nos trois pays, de travailler sans relâche à la réalisation de ces fins.

Sans la coopération incessante et l'effort conjugué des Nations Unies, il faut admettre,—car rien n'est plus vrai,—qu'il n'existera aucune protection permanente et efficace contre la bombe atomique. Sans cette coopération et cette conjugaison des énergies, il n'existera non plus aucune protection contre l'utilisation aveugle des poisons ou contre les derniers raffinements de la guerre des gaz; aucune protection contre la guerre bactériologique. Ce sont là autant de moyens destructeurs de la vie humaine encore plus dévastateurs que la bombe atomique. Pour garantir la civilisation de la destruction, il ne suffit pas de bannir de la guerre l'énergie atomique, les gaz et les bactéries, il faut encore bannir la guerre elle-même.

On est d'avis que les propositions de la Déclaration de Washington,—en vue d'établir une commission chargée de préparer les recommandations sur les moyens à prendre pour résoudre les problèmes que pose le développement de l'énergie atomique,—devraient être soumises à la première Assemblée générale des Nations Unies. On s'attend que l'Assemblée générale tiendra sa première session à Londres le 10 janvier. Je ne suis pas actuellement en état de faire connaître la façon dont on s'y prendra pour saisir de cette question d'importance capitale l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

Avant de quitter Washington jeudi dernier, le 13 décembre, pour participer à la réunion à Moscou des ministres des Affaires étrangères des Etats-Unis, du Royaume-Uni et de l'Union Soviétique, le secrétaire d'Etat des Etats-Unis a annoncé qu'il désirait discuter avec le gouvernement des Soviets la manière dont ce dernier entendait collaborer à l'établissement de la Commission et de la procédure qu'il conviendrait de suivre. Au sujet de ces questions, nous nous tenons constamment en relation avec les gouvernements des Etats-Unis et du Royaume-Uni, les autres parties à la Déclaration de Washington sur l'énergie atomique.

Perspicacité du président Roosevelt

Bien que je ne désire pas en ce moment chercher à trop anticiper sur ce que seront les délibérations de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, je suis heureux de saisir cette occasion pour vous parler d'événements passés relativement à la création de l'Organisation des Nations Unies elle-même. Je me rappelle fort bien, que, pendant que nous étions encore en guerre contre l'Allemagne et le Japon, plusieurs trouvaient que le président Roosevelt insistait intempestivement sur l'établissement d'une organisation des Nations Unies. Nous avons

D 49566

entendu les échos de cette critique, le printemps dernier, à San-Francisco, pendant la Conférence des Nations Unies sur l'Organisation internationale. Ce n'est qu'après la tenue de la conférence et la création de la Charte de l'Organisation des Nations Unies que l'univers a appris la découverte de la libération de l'énergie atomique et de son application pratique contre le Japon. L'usage de la bombe atomique comme important engin de guerre militaire a soudainement saisi toutes les nations de problèmes absolument nouveaux de sécurité. Contre l'utilisation de la bombe atomique dans la guerre, aucune invention ne semble présenter jusqu'ici quelque moyen de défense.

La vision prophétique du président Roosevelt était de nouveau venue à la rescousse de l'humanité à un moment où elle en avait le plus grand besoin. Si le président Roosevelt avait attendu jusqu'à la fin même des hostilités pour inviter la Conférence des Nations Unies à donner naissance à la charte, nous n'aurions pu compter aujourd'hui sur l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour nous assister dans la recherche de la solution des problèmes que la bombe atomique a posés d'une façon aussi impérieuse. Au contraire, les nations se seraient, dans la recherche de la solution de leurs problèmes, trouvées plus égarées et plus embarrassées que maintenant. Le monde ne reconnaît que lentement ce dont il est redevable à l'ancien président.

Problèmes de l'ère atomique

Si j'ai réussi à faire un exposé clair des problèmes que pose l'Ere atomique dans laquelle nous entrons, il est manifeste que ces problèmes sont essentiellement d'ordre politique et portent sur les relations entre les citoyens et les gouvernements. Ils sont, au fond, l'un des aspects de l'éternel conflit entre le bien et le mal, et, comme tels, ils ne peuvent trouver leur solution définitive que sur le terrain de la philosophie et de la morale. Ils ne comportent assurément aucune solution mécanique. Les formules de contrôle de l'énergie atomique ne constituent tout au plus, en elles-mêmes, que des expédients provisoires. Pour cette raison, ce serait donc, je crois, commettre une erreur que d'envisager la réglementation de l'usage de l'énergie atomique par rapport à un plan de réglementation de denrées et de mesures de police, comme s'il s'agissait d'une drogue nouvelle et dangereuse. Les méthodes scientifiques de réglementation de la production, de la préparation et de l'usage définitif sont indispensables, mais elles sont évidemment insuffisantes. Ce serait, je crois, folie criminelle que de nous imaginer qu'un plan quelconque de réglementation des denrées peut assurer la paix et la sécurité de l'humanité.

Les problèmes que pose l'énergie atomique étant d'ordre politique et portant sur les relations des gouvernements, il faut en chercher la solution sur le terrain de la politique mondiale. Plus nous approfondissons les problèmes qui confrontent le monde à la lumière,—"la terrible lumière", comme disait M. Attlee,—des conséquences de la découverte de l'énergie atomique, plus il nous paraît difficile d'en trouver la solution ailleurs que dans un certain abandon de la souveraineté nationale. En retour d'un abandon restreint de la souveraineté nationale, il faut instituer une certaine forme de gouvernement mondial dont la compétence, au moins au début, serait restreinte aux questions touchant la prévention de la guerre et le maintien de la sécurité internationale.

L'Organisation des Nations Unies ne constitue pas une solution suffisante des problèmes de paix et de sécurité que le monde cherche. C'est un premier pas, et un pas de toute importance, dans la voie de cette coopération entre nations qui est indispensable à la survivance de la civilisation. Ce n'est pas, cependant, le seul, et encore bien moins le pas définitif. L'Organisation des Nations Unies est l'intermédiaire indispensable, l'instrument et le forum grâce auxquels les nations du monde pourront édifier les nouvelles institutions et prendre les nouvelles dispositions nécessaires à la paix et à la sécurité universelles.

Les intérêts de l'humanité priment tout

Nous faisons bien de nous rappeler que la Charte des Nations Unies avait été signée avant que le monde fût au courant de l'existence de la bombe atomique, encore bien moins, de ses effroyables possibilités militaires de destruction massive. L'avènement de la bombe atomique nous a ouvert les yeux sur les épouvantables perspectives qui se dresseront sur le monde si les Nations Unies ne parviennent pas à réaliser une coopération internationale effective. Il est à souhaiter qu'une telle hantise suffira à convaincre chaque pays, dans l'intérêt de ses propres citoyens, "qu'au-dessus des nations, il y a l'humanité". On ne saurait trop espérer que les nations ne tardent pas trop à faire bon accueil, fût-ce sous forme de certain renoncement aux souverainetés nationales particulières, à une mesure de souveraineté mondiale suffisamment effective pour maintenir la sécurité internationale et exclure toute possibilité de guerre.

Si nous convenons de la nécessité ultime d'une certaine mesure de gouvernement mondial pour assurer la sécurité universelle, nous devons utiliser tous les moyens à notre disposition pour appuyer et renforcer toutes les

D49567

agences de collaboration et d'entente internationales qui peuvent aider à faire passer la communauté mondiale dans le domaine de la réalité. Les peuples de tous les pays doivent s'appliquer avec ferveur à la tâche d'imaginer et de façonner des institutions et des rapports qui permettront à l'humanité d'assurer sa propre survivance, sinon son salut. Nous devons nous efforcer à la limite de créer un ordre mondial sous le règne du droit. Là réside apparemment notre seule raison d'espérer. L'humanité est indivisible. Nous devons agir avec la pensée qu'aucun peuple, qu'aucun individu ne vit pour lui-même et que nous formons tous un seul corps.

Suit un extrait des observations du premier ministre à la fin du débat:

En terminant, j'ajouterai cette réflexion que je crois fort opportune. A mon sens, on ne peut jeter un coup d'œil rétrospectif sur les années qui viennent de s'écouler sans se rendre compte que le plus grand danger qui puisse s'abattre sur un pays, c'est de laisser des hommes animés d'un esprit malfaisant en prendre la direction. Les faits révélés au procès de Nuremberg démontrent à quiconque prend la peine de s'y arrêter que les Allemands doivent leur situation actuelle, et le monde la terrible guerre qui vient de se terminer, au fait que l'administration de leur pays était passée aux mains de gens pervers. Pour que survive la démocratie, en quelque pays que ce soit, pour que survive même toute autre forme de gouvernement, les populations doivent se préoccuper d'abord de confier l'administration de leurs pays à des hommes qui croient en ce qui est bien, à des hommes honnêtes, et non à des individus qui, à l'instar de cette clique allemande, ne sont au fond que des bandits.

Science et progrès

Pour ce qui est de la science, l'humanité a, je crois, raison de se féliciter de ses grandes découvertes. Pour une bonne part, elles ont assuré le progrès de l'univers. La plupart des découvertes peuvent servir à des objets diamétralement opposés aux intentions de leurs auteurs; elles peuvent servir à des fins soit utiles, soit néfastes. Tout dépend de qui elles relèvent et des motifs qui inspirent leurs possesseurs.

Parmi les bienfaiteurs de l'humanité, je crois que la première place, chez les savants, revient au célèbre Louis Pasteur. J'ai déjà cité à la Chambre certaines paroles de Pasteur, mais je ne saurais clore le présent débat sans les citer à nouveau, car elles me semblent résumer la situation dont nous avons parlé aujourd'hui. Ses remarques remontent à plus d'un demi-siècle. On verra qu'elles ont une portée bien plus grande qu'on ne pouvait se l'imaginer alors:

> Deux lois contraires semblent aujourd'hui en lutte: une loi de sang et de mort qui, en imaginant chaque jour de nouveaux moyens de combat, oblige les peuples à être toujours prêts pour le champ de bataille; et une loi de paix, de travail, de salut, qui ne songe qu'à délivrer l'humanité des fléaux qui l'assiègent.
>
> L'une ne cherche que les conquêtes violentes; l'autre que le soulagement de l'humanité. Celle-ci met une vie humaine au-dessus de toutes les victoires; celle-là sacrifierait des centaines de mille existences à l'ambition d'un seul. . . Laquelle de ces deux lois l'emportera sur l'autre? Dieu seul le sait.

* * * * *

En nous permettant d'établir dans l'univers le règne de la paix, du travail et du bien-être, la science nous aura fourni, je crois, la solution des problèmes mondiaux. Les savants sont connus comme des gens perspicaces et animés de sentiments humanitaires. Je suis convaincu que la plupart se laissent guider par l'ambition de servir leurs semblables. Pour emprunter encore une fois les paroles de Pasteur: "La science en se conformant aux lois de l'humanité élargira les frontières de la vie."

OTTAWA: EDMOND CLOUTIER, Imprimeur de Sa Très Excellente Majesté le Roi, 1946

D 49568

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

OF

Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M. P.

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

ON

THE WASHINGTON DECLARATION ON ATOMIC ENERGY

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, MONDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1945*

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, the House of Commons is being asked by the motion now before it to approve the agreed declaration on atomic energy which was signed at the White House, Washington, on the 15th of November of this year, by the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the Prime Minister of Canada.

The statement which embodies the declaration was read to hon. members of this house by my colleague, the Minister of Justice, on the afternoon of the day on which the declaration was made. Copies of the declaration in English and in French were tabled in pamphlet form on December 1. The declaration has received the widest publicity. I think it may be truly said that it has met with general approval.

As the declaration is one of far-reaching significance and historic interest, it is desirable that it should be formally approved by both houses of our parliament.

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Research Into Atomic Energy

No discovery, in all time, has equalled in interest that of the release of atomic energy. No discovery has been fraught with possibilities which may prove to be either so baneful or so beneficial to mankind.

It may serve as a helpful introduction to an understanding of the problems which the discovery of atomic energy has created, if I say a word or two concerning the discovery itself, and the circumstances which led to the part the release of atomic energy came to have in military warfare. My introductory words may also help to give some idea of Canada's contribution to atomic research and processes,

* (Sub-headings have been inserted for the convenience of readers. They do not appear, in this form, in the official report.)

and to explain the strategic position which Canada, along with the United Kingdom and the United States, has come to hold in working towards a solution of problems to which the use of atomic energy has given rise.

All the world now knows that the sudden termination of the war against Japan was due to the appalling destruction of life and property wrought, in August of the present year, by the use of the atomic bomb against the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Until recently the world believed that the atom was the ultimate indivisible particle of matter; a particle of matter so minute as to admit of no division. When the war began in 1939, scientists of many nations had come to recognize that the release of energy by the "splitting" of the atom, or what is scientifically referred to as "atomic fission" was a possibility. The war gave impetus to research into the means of releasing atomic energy and later to the production of atomic bombs.

At the outset, research was carried on mainly in the universities of the United Kingdom. During 1940 there was an interchange of information on war research between Britain, the United States and Canada. By the summer of 1941 such progress had been made in research in the application of atomic energy that it was felt that full use should be made of university and industrial laboratories in seeking to find, just as rapidly as possible, the means of producing atomic bombs. In October of 1941, upon the suggestion of President Roosevelt, there began a coordination and joint conduct of British and American efforts. In 1942 the United Kingdom authorities proposed that an important section of research into atomic energy should be carried on in Canada as a joint enterprise. The special Montreal laboratory of the national research council was thereafter organized, and staffed by over 300 workers. It was by far the largest organization ever created in Canada to carry out a single research project. Other research projects were undertaken at McMaster, Toronto and McGill universities, and at the national research laboratories in Ottawa.

Developments in the United States and Canada

By the summer of 1942, the expanded program of research seemed to justify a decision to proceed with the construction of large-scale production plants in the United States. The Americans alone were active in large-scale work.

At Quebec, in September 1943, an agreement was signed between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt which bound their two countries to collaborate with the object of producing, as quickly as possible, a military weapon for use in the war. Under this agreement a combined policy committee was set up. Upon the invitation of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, in which I had concurred, Mr. Howe, the Minister of Munitions and Supply, was made a member of the combined policy committee as the representative of Canada.

Up to the present, uranium is the mineral that has been used as basic material for the atomic bomb process. Thorium is a probable second basic material for that purpose, although it is not as yet a proven material. The largest proved deposit of uranium ore is in the Belgian Congo, and the next largest is in Canada. As soon as the significant use of uranium in the atomic bomb process was disclosed to Mr. Howe and myself, we secured the approval of the cabinet of the purchase of the Eldorado uranium properties in the Great Bear lake area, and reserved for the government control of all such minerals as might be discovered in Canada in the future. This was a strategic factor of high importance, since this second largest known source of raw material thereby became accessible to the large manufacturing plants already built in the United States.

The work of the several research projects has been closely coordinated with the development of a pilot plant at Chalk River for the investigation of atomic energy processes. This work is of considerable importance. It includes the study of the utilization of thorium as a starting point for the production of "active material". This pilot plant is unique in character and is suitable for a field of research that has not been explored elsewhere.

Three Governments in Partnership

Here may I quote from a statement prepared by Mr. Churchill while he was at the head of the coalition government. It was made public by his successor after Mr. Attlee's assumption of office.

Mr. Churchill's statement is as follows:

In the United States the erection of the immense plants was placed under the responsibility of Mr. Stimson, United States Secretary of War, and the American army administration whose wonderful work and marvellous secrecy cannot be sufficiently admired. The main practical effort and virtually the whole of its prodigious cost now fell upon the United States authorities who were assisted by a number of British scientists.

The relationship of the British and the American contributions was regulated by discussion between me and President Roosevelt, and a combined policy committee was set up. The Canadian government whose contribution was most valuable provided both indispensable raw material for the project as a whole, and also necessary facilities for the work of one section of the project which has been carried out in Canada by the three governments in partnership.

Elsewhere in his statement Mr. Churchill said:

By God's mercy, British and American science outpaced all German efforts. These were on a considerable scale but far behind. The possession of these powers by the Germans, at any time, might have altered the result of the war.

It is worthy of notice that the determination to embark on large-scale undertakings for production of atomic bombs was agreed upon while some details of the project were still in the laboratory stage. The outcome was a most impressive demonstration of the collaboration of scientific skill and technical capacity conducted under conditions of the highest secrecy.

This aspect of the production of the atomic bomb was referred to by Mr. Churchill in the following words:

The whole burden of execution including the setting up of the plants and many technical processes connected therewith in the practical sphere constitutes one of the greatest triumphs of American—or indeed human—genius of which there is record. Moreover, the decision to make these enormous expenditures upon a project which however hopefully established by American and British research remained nevertheless an awful uncertainty stands to the everlasting honour of President Roosevelt and his advisers.

The Two Uses of Atomic Energy

What was aimed at in the combined efforts of the scientists was the development of methods for the release of atomic energy, either to produce an explosion, or as a source of power. The immediate purpose of the construction of large-scale production plants, and the work of the combined policy committee, was the use of atomic energy for military purposes.

It is now known that the release of atomic energy can be effected so rapidly that a few pounds of "active material" will produce an explosion equivalent to that of the setting off of several thousands of tons of TNT. On the other hand, the energy released can, it is believed, be so controlled as to produce a steady flow of heat obtainable at a temperature high enough to operate steamdriven electrical generating plants. One ton of "active material" used in this way would generate as much power as about three million tons of coal.

In a passage which will carry its appeal to every human heart, Mr. Churchill has vividly expressed the sentiments to which these amazing facts give rise:

"This revelation of the secrets of nature long mercifully withheld from man should," he said, "arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every being capable of comprehension. We must indeed pray that these awful agencies will be made to conduce to peace among the nations and that, instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe, they may become a perennial fountain of world prosperity."

This is the problem presented by the discovery of the release of atomic energy. Here is the challenge to our day and generation.

Sharing of Information

Up to a certain point the processes for releasing atomic energy are the same whether the purpose is an industrial, commercial or humanitarian use, or whether it is that of mass destruction. Up to this point of departure the processes are already quite widely known. The scientific knowledge upon which these processes are based has been shared by a number of nations.

Beyond this point of common development, the construction of atomic bombs consists of a series of highly technical manufacturing processes which are still very secret. Knowledge of these technical manufacturing processes is popularly referred to as the "know-how". It is this "know-how" which is possessed in whole or in part by Britain, the United States, and Canada, and which has not been made known to other nations. The reason for not imparting to other nations, without certain guarantees and controls, the "know-how" in the production of atomic bombs, is because of the potentialities of vast destruction involved.

It should not be supposed that the control of the raw materials presently enjoyed by Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States will, for any length of time, prevent developments in other countries. Neither should it be imagined that the processes in manufacturing atomic bombs—now secret—will prevent, indefinitely, similar developments in other countries. Even with international measures of supervision and control, it will be but a matter of time before all processes are known to practically all nations. Hence the need for immediate action to seek every available means to end all possibility of war itself.

Preliminary Discussions on Atomic Energy

I come now to the declaration on atomic I come now to the declaration on atomic energy signed at Washington, on November 15th last.

As hon. members are aware, I visited President Truman at the White House on September 30th, the day before I sailed from

D 49571

New York for England. During this visit, matters related to the atomic bomb were referred to in conversation between the President and myself. Mr. Truman invited me to visit him again on my return from abroad. He also told me that he was looking forward to a visit from Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

Upon arrival in London, I learned from Mr. Attlee that, toward the end of September last, he had made known to the President his view on the vital importance to the world of the discovery of atomic energy. He had expressed the opinion that the application of atomic energy to warfare made it essential that those in responsible positions in the countries under whose auspices the development had taken place, should consider the problems to which it had given rise. In conveying to the President the tentative conclusions at which the British government had arrived, Mr. Attlee had suggested that personal discussion might follow.

On October 3, in a message to Congress, President Truman said:

> I therefore propose to initiate discussions, first with our associates in this discovery, Great Britain and Canada, and then with other nations in an effort to effect agreement on the conditions under which cooperation might replace rivalry in the field of atomic power.

While I was in London, communications were received from President Truman inviting Mr. Attlee and myself to come to Washington at as early a date as could be arranged to discuss with him the problems related to atomic energy.

In his Navy day speech on United States foreign policy, on October 27, President Truman, referring to his message to Congress, added that discussion of the atomic bomb with Great Britain and Canada, and later with other nations, could not wait upon the formal organization of the united nations.

The Conference at Washington

Mr. Attlee and I arrived in Washington on the morning of Saturday, November 10th. Mr. Attlee had left London by plane on the afternoon of the previous day. I had left London on Saturday of the previous week to cross by ship. We arrived in Washington at the same hour. During our stay in Washington, every courtesy was extended to Mr. Attlee and myself by the President and the Secretary of State, Mr. Byrnes. From the hour of our arrival to the day of the signing of the declaration, meetings and conversations were held continuously.

In our consideration of the problems discussed, the President and Mr. Byrnes had the assistance of Dr. Vannevar Bush, director of the office of scientific research and development, and scientific adviser to the President's committee on atomic energy. Prime Minister Attlee was accompanied by Sir John Anderson, chairman of the advisory committee in the United Kingdom on atomic energy. Sir John Anderson is perhaps the best informed of anyone in the United Kingdom on the whole subject, and on the circumstances attending the work with the Americans and ourselves in the researches on atomic energy. Mr. Attlee was also assisted by Lord Halifax, the British ambassador. I was joined in Washington by Mr. Howe, the Canadian member of the combined policy committee, and Dr. C. J. Mackenzie, president of our national research council. I was also assisted while in Washington, by the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. L. B. Pearson; by Mr. Norman Robertson, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who had accompanied me to England, and by Mr. Hume Wrong, Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who joined Mr. Robertson and myself on our arrival in Washington.

I should like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance given me by all these gentlemen and by members of our embassy staff in Washington.

The Agreed Declaration

In asking hon. members to support the motion which is now before the house, approving the Washington declaration on atomic energy, I feel I cannot do better than to set forth essential features of the declaration itself and, in so doing, indicate governing considerations which were constantly in the minds of all who participated in the discussions.

There was recognition at the outset that the vast significance of the discovery of the release of atomic energy was not yet fully comprehended; that very few realized the far-reaching effect of the discovery upon the future of the world. It was agreed that the discovery had placed at the disposal of mankind means of destruction hitherto unknown, and against which there could be no adequate military defence, and in the employment of which no single nation could, in fact, have a monopoly. In a word, it was agreed that civilization could not survive an atomic war. It was also recognized that it was impossible to isolate the problem of the atomic bomb from the problem of the use of other weapons of destruction. The atomic bomb was seen as the latest word in destructiveness, but not necessarily the last.

The truth is that no system of safeguards that can be devised will of itself provide an

D 49572

effective guarantee against production of atomic weapons by a nation bent on aggression. Nor can we overlook the probability of the development of other major weapons of mass destruction, or of new methods of warfare which may constitute an ever greater threat to civilization than the military use of atomic energy. At Washington, we were therefore called upon to consider not merely the elimination of the atomic bomb as a weapon of war, but also the kind of world order which is necessary in an atomic age, if civilization is to survive.

In our deliberations we were seeking to take the first step in an effort to rescue the world from a desperate race in weapons of mass destruction. We were prepared to concede that the progress our three countries had made in the development and use of atomic energy demanded that our countries take the initiative in an international effort to prevent the further use of atomic energy for destructive purposes. We felt an equal obligation on the part of our countries to promote the use of recent and future exchanges of scientific knowledge, particularly in the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful and humanitarian ends. At the same time we sought to make very clear that the responsibility for devising means to ensure that the new discovery should be used for the benefit of mankind, instead of as a means of destruction, rested not on our nations alone, but on the whole civilized world.

The Exchange of Scientific Information

In the agreed declaration we felt obliged to draw a distinction between the information essential for the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and the information concerning the practical industrial application of atomic energy.

Representing, as we did, the three countries which possess the knowledge essential to the use of atomic energy, we declared our willingness, as a first contribution, to proceed with the exchange of fundamental scientic information, and with the interchange of scientists, and scientific literature for peaceful ends, with any nation that would fully reciprocate. We stated our belief that the fruits of scientific research should be made available to all nations, and that freedom of investigation and the free interchange of ideas were essential to the progress of knowledge. The basic scientific processes essential to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes have already been made available to the world. We declared that all further information of this character that might become available from time to time should be similarly treated.

As I have already explained, the use of atomic energy for industrial, commercial and humanitarian purposes is dependent upon the same methods and processes as, up to a certain point, are required for the military exploitation of atomic energy. While we were prepared to share the information essential to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, we were not convinced that the spread of the specialized information regarding the practical application of atomic energy in the manufacture of bombs, before it was possible to devise reciprocal and enforceable safeguards acceptable to all nations, would contribute to a constructive solution of the problem of the atomic bomb. On the contrary, we thought it might have the opposite effect. However, we stated our readiness to share, on a reciprocal basis, with others of the united nations, detailed information concerning the practical industrial application of atomic energy, just as soon as effective and enforceable safeguards against its use for destructive purposes could be devised.

Atomic Energy and the Arts of Peace

The attention which has so far been directed to the strictly war aspects of atomic energy—that is, to the atomic bomb—should not be allowed to obscure the immense possibilities of development of atomic energy for the arts of peace. The atomic bomb is a weapon of destruction unsurpassed in human experience. But the energy locked up inside the atom, controlled and directed to useful and constructive ends, may make it possible to provide goods and services for people throughout the world on a scale which we cannot now envisage. It may be the means of raising the standard of living; of providing physical comfort against hazards of weather and extremes of heat and cold. It may revolutionize some present-day means of transport and communication, making all countries of the world near neighbours in a more immediate sense than has been made possible even by the development of air transport.

It must never be forgotten, however, that the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes cannot be developed without at the same time producing the very material which is used in a bomb.

Commission on Atomic Energy Proposed at Washington

In order to attain the most effective available means of entirely eliminating the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and for promoting its widest use for

D 49573

industrial, commercial and humanitarian purposes, we gave it as our opinion in the Washington declaration that at the earliest practicable date a commission should be set up under the united nations organization, to prepare recommendations for submission to the organization. We expressed the view that the commission should be instructed to proceed with the utmost despatch; and that, in particular, it should make specific proposals (a) for extending, between all nations, the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends; (b) for the control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes; (c) for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction; and (d) for effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means, to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions. These tasks may well have to move forward by separate stages, building upon the confidence which the progressive exchange of information will provide.

Support of United Nations' Organization

Under the charter of the united nations the signatory powers have pledged themselves not to use force except in support of the purposes and principles of the charter. At Washington we expressed the view that by whole-hearted support of the united nations organization, and by consolidating and extending its authority, thereby creating conditions of mutual trust in which all peoples will be free to devote themselves to the arts of peace, there would be found the most immediately available means of maintaining the rule of law among nations and of banishing the scourge of war from the earth. We declared it to be the firm resolve of our three countries to work without reservation to achieve these ends.

Nothing can be truer than that without unremitting cooperation and the united effort of nations there will be no enduring and effective protection against the atomic bomb. Nor without this cooperation and united effort can there be protection against the indiscriminate use of poison or against the latest refinements in gas warfare, or protection against bacteriological warfare, all of which are even more frightful methods of human destruction than the atomic bomb. To ensure civilization from destruction it is not enough to banish atomic or gas or bacteriological warfare; we must banish war itself.

It is intended that the proposals of the Washington declaration for the establishment of a commission to prepare recommendations on the means of dealing with the problems raised by the development of atomic energy should be submitted to the first general assembly of the united nations. It is expected that the general assembly will open its first session in London on January 10. On the exact procedure to be followed in bringing up this vital matter for consideration by the united nations organization, I am unable to say anything at present.

Before leaving Washington on Thursday last December 13, to take part in the meeting in Moscow of the foreign ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, the Secretary of State of the United States announced that he wished to discuss with the Soviet government its views on how they would be prepared to cooperate in the establishment of the commission and on the procedure which should be followed. On these questions we are in constant consultation with the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom, the other parties to the Washington declaration on atomic energy.

President Roosevelt's Vision

While I do not wish at the moment to attempt to look too far into the future with respect to proceedings of the united nations organization, I am pleased to have this opportunity to speak of the past in reference to the creation of the united nations organization itself. I recall very well that while the war against Germany and Japan was still in progress, there were many who felt that President Roosevelt was pressing, with undue haste, the establishment of a united nations organization. Echoes of this criticism were heard at San Francisco last spring at the time of the united nations conference on international organization. It was not until after the conference was over, and the charter of the united nations organization had been brought into existence, that the world learned of the discovery of the release of atomic energy and of its practical application against Japan. The use of the atomic bomb as a major weapon of military warfare presented, in an instant, to all nations wholly new problems of security. Against the use of the atomic bomb in war, nothing has thus far been suggested which could be regarded as a means of defence.

President Roosevelt's prophetic vision had once more come to the aid of humanity at a time of its greatest need. Had President Roosevelt waited until the war was over to call a united nations conference to bring the

D 49574

charter into being, we should not have had the united nations organization at hand to-day to assist in the solution of the problems which the atomic bomb has brought so conspicuously to the fore. Instead, the countries seeking a solution of its problems would have been more bewildered and baffled than they are. The world is but slowly recognizing what it owes to the late President.

Problems of the Atomic Era

If I have made myself clear with respect to the problems of the atomic era with which we are now faced, it will be apparent that they are primarily political problems affecting the relations between men and governments. Fundamentally they are a part of the age-old conflict between good and evil. As such their ultimate solution will be found only in the realm of philosophy and morals. One thing is certain: they admit of no mechanistic solution. By themselves, devices for the control of atomic energy are at best but temporary expedients. For this reason, I believe, it is an error to contemplate the control of the use of atomic energy in commodity and police terms, as if atomic energy were some new and dangerous drug. Technical scientifiec controls of production, processing and final disposition are indispensable, but they are obviously inadequate. It would, I believe, be criminal folly to allow ourselves to imagine that the peace and security of mankind can be attained by any scheme of commodity control.

As political problems affecting the relations of governments, the solution of the problems presented by atomic energy must be sought in the realm of world politics. The more deeply one ponders the problems with which our world is confronted in the light—"the terrible light", as Mr. Attlee said—of the implications of the development of atomic energy, the harder it is to see a solution in anything short of some surrender of national sovereignty. With a limited surrender of national sovereignty, there must be instituted some form of world government restricted, at least at the outset, to matters pertaining to the prevention of war, and the maintenance of international security.

The united nations organization is not a sufficient answer to the problems of peace and security which the world is now seeking. It is a first step, and an all-important step, in the direction of that cooperation between nations which is essential to the survival of civilization. It is not, however, the only, much less the final step. The united nations organization is an indispensable medium and channel and forum through which the peoples of the world can work out new institutions and arrangements which their peace and security now require.

Humanity's Interests Supreme

We do well to recall that the united nations charter had been signed before the world knew of the existence of the atomic bomb, much less anything about its ghastly military potentialities for mass destruction. The coming of the atomic bomb has opened our eyes to the appalling possibilities which will face the world if the united nations should fail tc achieve effective international cooperation. It is to be hoped that such a prospect may be sufficient to cause every country, in the interests of its own citizens, to recognize that "over all nations is humanity". It is devoutly to be hoped that the nations will not delay too long in welcoming, albeit in the form of some self-denying ordinance upon individual national sovereignties, a measure of world sovereignty sufficiently effective to maintain international security and to end all possibility of war.

If we are agreed on the ultimate necessity of some measure of world government to maintain world security, we should, by every means in our power, support and strengthen every agency of international cooperation and understanding which can help to make the world community a reality. The peoples of all nations must address themselves to the task of helping to devise and shape institutions and relationships which will enable mankind to ensure, if not its salvation, at least its survival. We must work with all our might for a world order under the rule of law. This seems to be our only hope. Humanity is one. We must act in the belief that no nation and no individual liveth to himself alone, and that all are members one of another.

The following is an extract from the Speech of the Prime Minister in concluding the debate:

In conclusion may I say this one word which I feel I should like to say at this time. I do not believe we can survey the past years without realizing that the most dangerous of all things that can happen to any country is that evil men should get control of its affairs. No one can look at what is being brought out at the trial at Nuernberg without realizing that the reason the German people are in the position they are in to-day, the reason we have had this terrible war, is that the government of Germany got into the hands of wicked

D 49575

men. If democracy is to save itself, I do not care what the country is, if any form of government is to save itself, the people must make it their first endeavour to see that the men whom they entrust with the responsibility of power are men who believe in what is right, who are honest men, not men, as this group in Germany have been, a lot of gangsters at heart.

Science and Progress

Speaking of science, I believe the world has reason to be thankful that men of science have made the great discoveries they have. The progress of the world has come in large part from scientific discoveries. Most discoveries may be made to serve diametrically opposite ends. They may be used for beneficent or diabolical purposes. It all depends upon who possess the control and what the motive is that lies behind their actions.

The greatest of all scientists, so far as being a benefactor of mankind is concerned, was, I believe, that great man, Louis Pasteur. I have before quoted in this house a certain passage from Pasteur, I should like before we conclude this debate to quote it again because it seems to me to go to the very heart of the whole situation we have been discussing to-day. The statement was made by Pasteur over half a century ago. It will be seen to have a much wider application than could ever have been dreamt of at the time it was made:

> 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 battlefield—the other, a law of peace, work and health, ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. The one seeks violent conquest, the other the relief of humanity. The latter places one human life above any victory; while the former would sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to the ambition of one. Which of these two laws shall ultimately prevail, God alone knows.

* * * * *

I believe that by enabling us to make prevail among nations, the law of peace, work, and health, science will have given us the key to the solution of our world problems. The great scientists are known to be men of wide vision and of large heart. I am sure the motive that actuates them is, in most cases, at least, that of service to their fellowmen. Again, in the words of Pasteur, I believe the final verdict upon their researches will be: "Science will have tried by obeying the laws of Humanity to extend the frontiers of Life."

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D 49576

Washington Declaration on Atomic Energy

Statement by The Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King

House of Commons
December 17, 1945

The House of Commons is being asked by the motion now before it to approve the Agreed Declaration on Atomic Energy which was signed at the White House, Washington, on the 15th of November of this year, by the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and the Prime Minister of Canada.

The statement which embodies the declaration was read to hon. members of this House by my colleague, the Minister of Justice, on the afternoon of the day on which the declaration was made. Copies of the Declaration in English and in French were tabled in pamphlet form on December 1st. The Declaration has received the widest publicity. I think it may be truly said that it has met with general approval.

As the Declaration is one of far-reaching significance and historic interest, it is desirable that it should be formally approved by both Houses of our Parliament. Apart from other positive advantages, such approval should serve effectively to meet the criticism that the Prime Minister of Canada in joining with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States in the discussions at Washington and in signing the Declaration "either assumed that Parliament and the Canadian people had no views on

D 49577

the atomic bomb question or that their views didn't matter; that it was within his sole right and power to determine what should be done." I am happy to say that this uncalled for criticism seems to have met only with the rebuke it/obviously so deserves.

Research into Atomic Energy

No discovery, in all time, has equalled in interest that of the release of atomic energy. No discovery has been fraught with possibilities which may prove to be either so baneful or so beneficial to mankind.

It may serve as a helpful introduction to an understanding of the problems which the discovery of atomic energy has created, if I say a word or two concerning the discovery itself, and the circumstances which led to the part the release of atomic energy came to have in military warfare. My introductory words may also help to give some idea of Canada's contribution to atomic research and processes, and to explain the strategic position which Canada, along with the United Kingdom and the United States, has come to hold in working towards a solution of problems to which the use of atomic energy has given rise.

All the world now knows that the sudden termination of the war against Japan was due to the appalling destruction of life and property wrought, in August of the present year, by the use of the atomic bomb against the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

D 49578

Until recently the world believed that the atom was the ultimate indivisible particle of matter; a particle of matter so minute as to admit of no division. When the war began in 1939, scientists of many nations had come to recognize that the release of energy by the "splitting" of the atom, or what is scientifically referred to as "atomic fission" was a possibility. The war gave impetus to research into the means of releasing atomic energy and later to the production of atomic bombs.

At the outset, research was carried on mainly in the universities of the United Kingdom. During 1940, there was an interchange of information on war research between Britain, the United States and Canada. By the summer of 1941 such progress had been made in research in the application of atomic energy that it was felt that full use should be made of university and industrial laboratories in seeking to find, just as rapidly as possible, the means of producing atomic bombs. In October of 1941, upon the suggestion of President Roosevelt, there began a co-ordination and joint conduct of British and American efforts. In 1942, the United Kingdom authorities proposed that an important section of research into atomic energy should be carried on in Canada as a joint enterprise. The special Montreal Laboratory of the National Research Council was thereafter organized, and staffed by over

D 49579

300 workers. It was by far the largest organization ever created in Canada to carry out a single research project. Other research projects were undertaken at McMaster, Toronto and McGill Universities, and at the National Research Laboratories in Ottawa.

Developments in the United States and Canada.

By the summer of 1942, the expanded programme of research seemed to justify a decision to proceed with the construction of large-scale production plants in the United States. The Americans alone were active in large scale work.

At Quebec, in September 1943, an agreement was signed between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, which bound their two countries to collaborate with the object of producing, as quickly as possible, a military weapon for use in the war. Under this agreement a combined policy committee was set up. Upon the invitation of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, in which I had concurred, Mr. Howe, the Minister of Munitions and Supply, was made a member of the combined policy committee as the representative of Canada.

Up to the present, uranium is the mineral that has been used as basic material for the atomic bomb process. Thorium is a probable second basic material for that purpose,

D 49580

although it is not as yet a proven material. The largest proved deposit of uranium ore is in the Belgian Congo, and the next largest is in Canada. As soon as the significant use of uranium in the atomic bomb process was disclosed to Mr. Howe and myself, we secured the approval of the Cabinet to the purchase of the Eldorado Uranium properties in the Great Bear Lake area, and reserved for the government control of all such minerals as might be discovered in Canada in the future. This was a strategic factor of high importance since this second largest known source of raw material thereby became accessible to the large manufacturing plants already built in the United States.

The work of the several research projects has been closely co-ordinated with the development of a pilot plant at Chalk River for the investigation of atomic energy processes. This work is of considerable importance. It includes the study of the utilization of thorium as a starting point for the production of "active material". This pilot plant is unique in character, and is suitable for a field of research that has not been explored elsewhere.

D 49581

Three Governments in Partnership.

Here may I quote from a statement prepared by Mr. Churchill while he was at the head of the Coalition Government. It was made public by his successor after Mr. Attlee's assumption of office.

Mr. Churchill's statement is as follows:

"In the United States the erection of the immense plants was placed under the responsibility of Mr. Stimson, United States Secretary of War, and the American Army Administration whose wonderful work and marvellous secrecy cannot be sufficiently admired. The main practical effort and virtually the whole of its prodigious cost now fell upon the United States authorities who were assisted by a number of British scientists.

"The relationship of the British and the American contributions was regulated by discussion between me and President Roosevelt, and a Combined Policy Committee was set up. The Canadian Government whose contribution was most valuable provided both indispensable raw material for the project as a whole, and also necessary facilities for the work of one section of the project which has been carried out in Canada by the three Governments in partnership."

Elsewhere in his statement Mr. Churchill said:

D 49582

"By God's mercy, British and American science outpaced all German efforts. These were on a considerable scale but far behind. The possession of these powers by the Germans, at any time, might have altered the result of the war."

It is worthy of notice that the determination to embark on large-scale undertakings for production of atomic bombs was agreed upon while some details of the project were still in the laboratory stage. The outcome was ~~the~~ a most impressive demonstration of the collaboration of scientific skill and technical capacity conducted under conditions of the highest secrecy.

This aspect of the production of the atomic bomb was referred to by Mr. Churchill in the following words:

"The whole burden of execution including the setting up of the plants and many technical processes connected therewith in the practical sphere constitutes one of the greatest triumphs of American - or indeed human - genius of which there is record. Moreover, the decision to make these enormous expenditures upon a project which however hopefully established by American and British research remained nevertheless an awful uncertainty stands to the everlasting honour of President Roosevelt and his advisers."

D 49583

The Two Uses of Atomic Energy

What was aimed at in the combined efforts of the scientists was the development of methods for the release of atomic energy, either to produce an explosion, or as a source of power. The immediate purpose of the construction of large-scale production plants, and the work of the combined Policy Committee, was the use of atomic energy for military purposes.

It is now known that the release of atomic energy can be effected so rapidly that a few pounds of "active material" will produce an explosion equivalent to that of the setting off of several thousands of tons of TNT. On the other hand, the energy released can, it is believed, be so controlled as to produce a steady flow of heat obtainable at a temperature high enough to operate steamdriven electrical generating plants. One ton of "active material" used in this way would generate as much power as about three million tons of coal.

In a passage which will carry its appeal to every human heart, Mr. Churchill has vividly expressed the sentiments to which these amazing facts give rise:

"This revelation of the secrets of nature long mercifully withheld from man should," he said, "arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every being capable of comprehension. We must indeed pray that these awful agencies

will be made to conduce to peace among the nations and that, instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe, they may become a perennial fountain of world prosperity."

This is the problem presented by the discovery of the release of atomic energy. ~~This~~ is the challenge to our day and generation.

Sharing of Information.

Up to a certain point the processes for releasing atomic energy are the same whether the purpose is an industrial, commercial or humanitarian use, or whether it is that of mass destruction. Up to this point of departure the processes are already quite widely known. The scientific knowledge upon which these processes are based has been shared by a number of nations.

Beyond this point of common development, the construction of atomic bombs consists of a series of highly technical manufacturing processes which are still very secret. Knowledge of these technical manufacturing processes is popularly referred to as the "know-how". It is this "know-how" which is possessed in whole or in part by Britain, the United States, and Canada, and which has not been made known to other nations. The reason for not imparting to other nations, without certain guarantees and controls, the "know how" in the

production of atomic bombs, is because of the potentialities of vast destruction involved.

It should not be supposed that the control of the raw materials presently enjoyed by Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States will, for any length of time, prevent developments in other countries. Neither should it be imagined that the processes in manufacturing atomic bombs - now secret - will prevent, indefinitely, similar developments in other countries. Even with international measures of supervision and control, it will be but a matter of time before all processes are known to practically all nations. Hence the need for immediate action to seek every available means to end all possibility of war itself.

Preliminary discussions on Atomic Energy.

I come now to the Declaration on Atomic Energy signed at Washington, on November 15th last.

As hon. members are aware, I visited President Truman at the White House on September 30th, the day before I sailed from New York for England. During this visit, matters related to the atomic bomb were referred to in conversation between the President and myself. Mr. Truman invited me to visit him again on my return from abroad. He also told me that he was looking

D 49586

forward to a visit from Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

Upon arrival in London, I learned from Mr. Attlee that, toward the end of September last, he had made known to the President his view on the vital importance to the world of the discovery of atomic energy. He had expressed the opinion that the application of atomic energy to warfare made it essential that those in responsible positions in the countries under whose auspices the development had taken place, should consider the problems to which it had given rise. In conveying to the President the tentative conclusions at which the British government had arrived, Mr. Attlee had suggested that personal discussion might follow.

On October 3rd, in a message to Congress, President Truman said: "I therefore propose to initiate discussions, first with our associates in this discovery, Great Britain and Canada, and then with other nations, in an effort to effect agreement on the conditions under which co-operation might replace rivalry in the field of atomic power."

While I was in London, communications were received from President Truman inviting Mr. Attlee and myself to come to Washington at as early a date as could be arranged to discuss with him the problems related to atomic energy.

In his Navy Day speech on United States Foreign Policy, on October 27th, President Truman, referring to his message to Congress, ~~said~~ added that discussion of the atomic bomb with Great Britain and Canada, and later with other nations, could not wait upon the formal organization of the United Nations.

The Conference at Washington.

Mr. Attlee and I arrived in Washington on the morning of Saturday, November 10th. Mr. Attlee had left London by plane on the afternoon of the previous day. I had left London on Saturday of the previous week to cross by ship. We arrived in Washington at the same hour. During our stay in Washington, every courtesy was extended to Mr. Attlee and myself by the President and the Secretary of State, Mr. Byrnes. From the hour of our arrival to the day of the signing of the Declaration, meetings and conversations were held continuously.

In our consideration of the problems discussed, the President and Mr. Byrnes had the assistance of Dr. Vannevar Bush, Director of the office of Scientific Research and Development, and scientific adviser to the President's Committee on Atomic Energy. Prime Minister Attlee was accompanied by Sir John Anderson, Chairman of the Advisory Committee in the United Kingdom on Atomic Energy. Sir John Anderson is perhaps the best informed

 D 49588

of anyone in the United Kingdom on the whole subject, and on the circumstances attending the work with the Americans and ourselves in the researches on atomic energy. Mr. Attlee was also assisted by Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador. I was joined in Washington by Mr. Howe, the Canadian member of the Combined Policy Committee, and Dr. C. J. Mackenzie, President of our National Research Council. I was also assisted, while in Washington, by the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. L. B. Pearson; by Mr. Norman Robertson, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who had accompanied me to England, and by Mr. Hume Wrong, Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who joined Mr. Robertson and myself on our arrival in Washington.

I should like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance given me by all these gentlemen and by members of our Embassy staff in Washington.

The Agreed Declaration.

In asking hon. members to support the motion which is now before the House, approving the Washington Declaration on Atomic Energy, I feel I cannot do better than to set forth essential features of the Declaration itself and, in so doing, indicate governing considerations which were constantly in the minds of all who participated in the discussions.

D 49589

There was recognition at the outset that the vast significance of the discovery of the release of atomic energy was not yet fully comprehended; that very few realized the far-reaching effect of the discovery upon the future of the world. It was agreed that the discovery had placed at the disposal of mankind means of destruction hitherto unknown, and against which there could be no adequate military defence, and in the employment of which no single nation could, in fact, have a monopoly. In a word, it was agreed that civilization could not survive an atomic war. It was also recognized that it was impossible to isolate the problem of the atomic bomb from the problem of the use of other weapons of destruction. The atomic bomb was seen as the latest word in destructiveness, but not necessarily the last.

The truth is that no system of safeguards that can be devised will of itself provide an effective guarantee against production of atomic weapons by a nation bent on aggression. Nor can we overlook the probability of the development of other major weapons of mass destruction, or of new methods of warfare which may constitute an even greater threat to civilization than the military use of atomic energy. At Washington, we were therefore called upon to consider not merely the elimination of the atomic bomb as a weapon of war, but also the kind of world

D 49590

order which is necessary in an atomic age, if civilization is to survive.

In our deliberations we were seeking to take the first step in an effort to rescue the world from a desperate race in weapons of mass destruction. We were prepared to concede that the progress our three countries had made in the development and use of atomic energy demanded that our countries take the initiative in an international effort to prevent the further use of atomic energy for destructive purposes. We felt an equal obligation on the part of our countries to promote the use of recent and future exchanges of scientific knowledge, particularly in the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful and humanitarian ends. At the same time we sought to make very clear that the responsibility for devising means to ensure that the new discovery should be used for the benefit of mankind, instead of as a means of destruction, rested not on our nations alone, but on the whole civilized world.

The Exchange of Scientific Information.

In the agreed declaration we felt obliged to draw a distinction between the information essential for the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and the information concerning the practical industrial application of atomic energy

Representing, as we did, the three countries which possess the knowledge essential to the use of atomic energy, we declared our willingness, as a first contribution, to proceed with the exchange of fundamental scientific information, and

D 49591

with the interchange of scientists, and scientific literature for peaceful ends, with any nation that would fully reciprocate. We stated our belief that the fruits of scientific research should be made available to all nations, and that freedom of investigation and the free interchange of ideas were essential to the progress of knowledge. The basic scientific processes essential to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes have already been made available to the world. We declared that all further information of this character that might become available from time to time should be similarly treated.

As I have already explained, the use of atomic energy for industrial, commercial and humanitarian purposes is dependent upon the same methods and processes as, up to a certain point, are required for the military exploitation of atomic energy. ~~In other words, the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes cannot be developed without at the same time producing the very material which is used in a bomb.~~ While we were prepared to share the information essential to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, we were not convinced that the spread of the specialized information regarding the practical application of atomic energy in the manufacture of bombs, before it was possible to devise reciprocal and enforceable safeguards acceptable to all nations, would contribute to a constructive solution of the problem of the atomic bomb. On the contrary, we thought it might have the opposite effect. However, we stated our readiness to share, on a reciprocal basis, with others of the United Nations, detailed information concerning

D 49592

the practical industrial application of atomic energy, just as soon as effective and enforceable safeguards against its use for destructive purposes could be devised.

Atomic Energy and the Arts of Peace.

The attention which has so far been directed to the strictly war aspects of atomic energy - that is, to the atomic bomb - should not be allowed to obscure the immense possibilities of development of atomic energy for the arts of peace. The atomic bomb is a weapon of destruction unsurpassed in human experience. But the energy locked up inside the atom, controlled and directed to useful and constructive ends, may make it possible to provide goods and services for people throughout the world on a scale which we cannot now envisage. It may be the means of raising the standard of living; of providing physical comfort against hazards of weather and extremes of heat and cold. It may revolutionize some present-day means of transport and communication, making all countries of the world near neighbours in a more immediate sense than has been made possible even by the development of air transport.

It must never be forgotten, however, that the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes cannot be developed without at the same time producing the very material which is used in a bomb.

D 49593

Commission on Atomic Energy proposed at Washington.

In order to attain the most effective available means of entirely eliminating the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and for promoting its widest use for industrial, commercial and humanitarian purposes, in the Washington Declaration we gave it as our opinion that at the earliest practicable date a Commission should be set up under the United Nations Organization, to prepare recommendations for submission to the Organization. We expressed the view that the Commission should be instructed to proceed with the utmost despatch; and that, in particular, it should make specific proposals (a) for extending, between all nations, the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends; (b) for the control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes; (c) for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction; and (d) for effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means, to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions.

Under the Charter of the United Nations the signatory powers have pledged themselves not to use force except in support of the purposes and principles of the Charter. At

V. Above tasks may well have to be worked forward by separate stages, which the progressive exchange of information will provide

D 49594

Washington, we expressed the view that by whole-hearted support of the United Nations Organization, and by consolidating and extending its authority, thereby creating conditions of mutual trust in which all peoples will be free to devote themselves to the arts of peace, there would be found the most immediately available means of maintaining the rule of law among nations and of banishing the scourge of war from the earth. We declared it to be the firm resolve of our three countries to work without reservation to achieve these ends.

Nothing can be truer than that without unremitting co-operation and the united effort of nations there will be no enduring and effective protection against the atomic bomb. Nor without this co-operation and united effort can there be protection against the indiscriminate use of poison ~~gas~~ against the latest refinements in gas warfare, and no protection against bacteriological warfare, all of which are even more frightful methods of human destruction than the atomic bomb. To ensure civilization from destruction it is not enough to banish atomic or gas or bacteriological warfare, we must banish war itself.

It is intended that the proposals of the Washington Declaration for the establishment of a Commission to prepare recommendations on the means of dealing with the problems raised by the development of atomic energy should be submitted to the first General Assembly of the United Nations. It is expected

D 49595

that the General Assembly will open its first session in London on January 10th. On the exact procedure to be followed in bringing up this vital matter for consideration by the United Nations Organization, I am unable to say anything at present.

Before leaving Washington on Thursday last, December 13th, to take part in the meeting in Moscow of the foreign ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, the Secretary of State of the United States announced that he wished to discuss with the Soviet Government its views on how they would be prepared to co-operate in the establishment of the Commission and on the procedure which should be followed. On these questions, we are in constant consultation with the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom, the other parties to the Washington Declaration on Atomic Energy.

<u>President Roosevelt's Vision</u>.

While I do not wish, at the moment, to attempt to look too far into the future with respect to proceedings of the United Nations Organization, I am pleased to have this opportunity to speak of the past in reference to the creation of the United Nations Organization itself. I recall very well

D 49596

that while the war against Germany and Japan was still in progress, there were many who felt that President Roosevelt was pressing, with undue haste, the establishment of a United Nations Organization. Echoes of this criticism were heard at San Francisco last spring at the time of the United Nations Conference on International Organization. It was not until after the Conference was over, and the Charter of the United Nations Organization had been brought into existence that the world learned of the discovery of the release of atomic energy and of its practical application against Japan. The use of the atomic bomb as a major weapon of military warfare presented, in an instant, to all nations wholly new problems of security. Against ~~its~~ the use of the atomic bomb in war, nothing has thus far been suggested which could be regarded as ~~an adequate~~ a means of defence.

President Roosevelt's prophetic vision had once more come to the aid of Humanity at a time of its greatest need. Had President Roosevelt waited until the war was over to call a United Nations Conference to bring the Charter into being, we should not have had the United Nations Organization at hand today to assist in the solution of the problems which the atomic bomb has brought so conspicuously to the fore. Instead, the countries seeking a solution of its problems would have been more bewildered and baffled than they are. The world is but slowly recognizing what it owes to the late President.

D 49597

Problems of the Atomic Era

If I have made myself clear with respect to the problems of the atomic era with which we are now faced, it will be apparent that they are primarily political problems affecting the relations between men and governments. Fundamentally they are a part of the age old conflict between good and evil. As such their ultimate solution will be found only in the realm of philosophy and morals. One thing is certain; they admit of no mechanistic solution. By themselves, devices for the control of atomic energy are at best but temporary expedients. For this reason, I believe, it is an error to contemplate the control of the use of atomic energy in commodity and police terms, as if atomic energy were some new and dangerous drug. Technical scientific controls of production, processing and final disposition are indispensable, but they are obviously inadequate. It would, I believe, be criminal folly to allow ourselves to imagine that the peace and security of mankind can be attained by any scheme of commodity control.

As political problems affecting the relations of governments, the solution of the problems presented by atomic energy must be sought in the realm of world politics. The more deeply one ponders the problems with which our world

D 49598

is confronted in the light - "the terrible light", as Mr. Attlee said - of the implications of the development of atomic energy, the harder it is to see a solution in anything short of some surrender of national sovereignty. For a limited surrender of national sovereignty, there must be substituted some form of world government, restricted, at least at the outset, to matters pertaining to the prevention of war, and the maintenance of international security.

The United Nations Organization is not a sufficient answer to the problems of peace and security which the world is now seeking. It is a first step, and and all-important step, in the direction of that co-operation between nations which is essential to the survival of civilization. It is not, however, the only, much less the final, step. The United Nations Organization is an indispensable medium and channel and forum through which the peoples of the world can work out new institutions and arrangements which their peace and security now require.

We do well to recall that the United Nations Charter had been signed before the world knew of the existence of the atomic bomb, much less anything about its ghastly military potentialities for mass destruction. The coming of the atomic bomb has opened our eyes to the

D 49599

appalling possibilities which will face the world if the United Nations should fail to achieve effective international co-operation. It is to be hoped that such a prospect may be sufficient to cause every country, in the interests of its own citizens, to recognize that "over all nations is humanity". It is devoutly to be hoped that the nations will not delay too long in welcoming, albeit in the form of some self-denying ordinance upon individual national sovereignties, a measure of world sovereignty sufficiently effective to maintain international security and to end all possibility of war.

If we are agreed on the ultimate necessity of some measure of world government to maintain world security, we should, by every means in our power, support and strengthen every agency of international co-operation and understanding which can help to make the world community a reality. The peoples of all nations must address themselves to the task of helping to devise and shape institutions and relationships which will enable mankind to ensure, if not its salvation, at least its survival. We must work with all our might for a world order under the rule of law. This seems to be our only hope. Humanity is one. We must act in the belief that no nation and no individual liveth to himself alone, and that all are members one of another.

D 49598

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D 49600

HW/AH
December 4th, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL

NOTE FOR THE UNDER-SECRETARY

Here are some comments on Mr. King's outline of his speech which is attached. I have put faint markings in the left-hand margin to which the numbered comments refer.

1 on page 1. I doubt whether anything should be said about the Roosevelt-Churchill discussions except a reference to the agreement at Quebec in 1943 to establish the Combined Policy Committee with Mr. Howe as one of the six members.

2 on page 1. In referring to the U.S. action I think that reference could appropriately be made to the magnitude of their part and to the daring which was shown in starting large scale industrial processes before the project had emerged from laboratory stage.

3 on page 2. Reference to Canada's part would appropriately include some mention of the sources of raw material and to the action of the Government in taking control of the Eldorado Mine.

4 and 5 on page 3. I think it unwise at this stage to say that the elimination of the veto is absolutely essential. If the veto is not eliminated, this would place us in the position that we have gone on record saying that UNO was no good. I think that it could be said that the elimination of the veto was desirable. In fact I have always thought that the importance of the veto controversy was exaggerated. Furthermore, it is most questionable whether the elimination of the veto would go very far towards making UNO an effective agency for controlling atomic energy. What is needed is a "new world order" of some sort.

6 on page 4. This seems to give a different form to the point which I have just mentioned, which can be put as stating that machinery and methods of international cooperation worked out through UNO can provide no effective guarantee of safety although they provide at present the best means of making progress towards supra-national control.

D 49601

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3697

CANADA

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CONTENTS

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Debate continued by:

Mr. Bracken 3704
Mr. MacInnis 3707
Mr. Low 3707
Mr. Rose 3711
Mr. Hansell 3714
Mr. Mackenzie King 3715
Motion, Mr. Mackenzie King, agreed to 3718

Trade and Employment. Canadian representation at International Conference in 1946, Mr. Bracken 3718

House of Commons. Special committee to assist Mr. Speaker in revision of standing orders, Mr. Bracken, Mr. Bridges, Mr. Stewart (Winnipeg North) 3718

Supply—

Fisheries 3718
Labour 3734
Transport 3746
External Affairs 3754
Public Works 3778
Post Office 3779
Reconstruction and Munitions and Supply 3781

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker: The Honourable GASPARD FAUTEUX

MONDAY, December 17, 1945.

The house met at eleven o'clock.

THE PRIME MINISTER

CONGRATULATIONS ON ATTAINMENT OF HIS SEVENTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY

Mr. BRACKEN (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, on the order for motions I would crave the indulgence of the house to mention a matter which I think is of interest to all members. I see by the press this morning and by other evidences in this chamber that one among our number is celebrating an important event; and so before we begin this busy day, I should like to take this opportunity of complimenting the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) upon achieving another anniversary in a very active life.

I do not know whether the Prime Minister welcomes these recurring anniversaries any more than the rest of us, but I suppose there is nothing we can do about it, and so we have to accept them as they come. May I compliment the Prime Minister upon attaining the ripe age of seventy-one years. I am sure that all other hon. members of this house will wish him many happy returns of this day.

Some of us could have hoped that he might have made fewer mistakes in the last half of that busy life and have avoided some of the errors that have come his way; but on an occasion like this we forget those errors and overlook those mistakes, seeing only the bright spots and the attainments of a busy, happy and successful life.

I am pleased to join with others in wishing the Prime Minister many happy returns of the day; and I am sure we all trust that he will have buoyant health so that he may enjoy them all.

Mr. ANGUS MacINNIS (Vancouver East): I am sure the group with which I am associated would wish to join with the leader of the opposition in congratulating the Prime Minister on the achievement of another birthday. It seems to me that we regard the coming years from three points of view. When we are young they do not come around fast enough; then we reach the stage where we feel they are coming too fast; then later we come to the stage where we boast about our old age. I am glad that the Prime Minister is still in the second stage, when he is enjoying life to the extent that he feels the years are going by too fast.

As regards the mistakes he has made in the past, without detracting from anything I have said, or anything that the leader of the opposition has said, I trust that the right hon. gentleman will avoid the opportunities for so many mistakes in the future.

Mr. SOLON E. LOW (Peace River): Mr. Speaker, it gives us in this corner of the house great pleasure to associate ourselves with the congratulations which have been extended to the Prime Minister by the leader of the opposition. We have noted the recurrence of youthful appearance and the resurgence of spirit in the Prime Minister, and we wonder if his trip to the old country, to which we all cheerfully agreed, did not have something to do with it. Since he came back we have noted, sir, the resurgence of which I speak. Perhaps the best evidence of it that I could mention at this time would be the rousing speech he gave in the house the other day, when he upheld the dignity of this parliament and put forth his arguments in behalf of the independence of parliament. I thought it was a splendid speech, and I want to congratulate him upon it.

It is not often, I am sure, that a parliament has the opportunity to extend congratulations to a Prime Minister who has been in service so long as has the Prime Minister of Canada, and who has served with such great distinction. In the circumstances, sir, since he has reached the ripe age—I am not going to say "ripe old age" because I should hate to get into a tussle with him right now—of seventy-one in the service of his country, it seems to me that if anyone is entitled to what is known as the Canada Medal, the Prime Minister is entitled to it. I am just offering the suggestion that some action might be taken at this time to

D 49601

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see that this medal is presented to the Prime Minister, and certainly I would concur in that recognition.

Mr. H. W. HERRIDGE (Kootenay West): I am very happy to extend my personal congratulations to the Prime Minister on this event, and I am also happy to extend best wishes to the right hon. gentleman on behalf of my father, who has been a supporter of the Liberal party for seventy years.

Hon. IAN A. MACKENZIE (Minister of Veterans Affairs): Perhaps I might be permitted by my colleagues here, because for the moment we know no parties in this house, to join in these very happy expressions of congratulations to one of the greatest Canadians of all time. We who have worked with him, who know the great story of his life, who know the promise of the dawn, the fulfilment at noontide and the notable achievements of the mellow afternoon, wish for him, now that he is approaching the twilight, happiness, health, peace, and sweet content.

L'hon. LOUIS-S. ST-LAURENT (ministre de la Justice): Monsieur l'Orateur, je suis certain que tous les membres de cette Chambre dont la langue maternelle est celle des deux langues officielles de ce pays qui n'a pas encore été employée ce matin pour féliciter le très honorable premier ministre (M. Mackenzie King), tous ceux-là désirent que nous lui disions, en français, jusqu'à quel point nous nous réjouissons avec lui en ce jour anniversaire et avec quelle sincérité et quelle affection véritable nous nous associons à tous les autres membres de la Chambre pour le féliciter aussi, non seulement d'avoir atteint l'âge de soixante et onze ans, mais d'avoir accompli les œuvres merveilleuses qui ont illustré toute sa carrière, et pour lui souhaiter de continuer longtemps de jouir d'une santé qui lui permette de réaliser beaucoup d'autres belles actions à l'avantage de la nation canadienne.

Right hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, Your Honour and other hon. members of the house will probably realize why I was so anxious that this house should get through its business in time to permit of prorogation on Saturday night. I do indeed feel, whether or not others have said it, that it is easier to endure adversity than to receive praise in public. However, I should be less than human were I not very deeply touched by the words of friendship and regard which have been expressed this morning by the leaders who have spoken on behalf of all parties and by the member for Kootenay West. I thank my hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. Bracken); my hon. friend from Vancouver East (Mr. MacInnis) who is leading the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation; my hon. friend the leader of the Social Credit party (Mr. Low); and my very dear friends, the minister of veterans affairs (Mr. Mackenzie) who has been house leader during this session, the leader of my party in the province of Quebec (Mr. St. Laurent), and all here assembled who are members of the several parties, for the tributes they have so generously paid to me this morning.

May I take advantage of this opportunity not only to thank hon. members of this house for the good wishes they have extended but also members of the other house of parliament, my friends in the press gallery, officials of my own department and other departments of the service and many others for expressions of good will they have sent to me at this time. I am sorry that thus far I have not had, and I doubt if I shall have this week or perhaps at all, an opportunity to convey my thanks personally, but I shall be happy if this word might be regarded as a very sincere expression of thanks to those in my own country and those in other countries who have been kind enough to send me greetings at this time.

My hon. friend the leader of the opposition has said something about my mistakes in the past, and hopes that I will not make many more in the future. I think the hon. member for Vancouver East also made some reference to my mistakes. Well, I thank the Lord that I have not made as many mistakes as they have made. Though I have lived a longer time I feel pretty sure my mistakes have been fewer than theirs. However, I wish for them what they have wished for me, that they may make fewer mistakes in the future.

May I say a word about the references which have been made to what some have said seems to be an evidence of renewed youth and vigour and strength. I must confess that I do feel in better health than I have felt in many years, despite the fact that I am seventy-one years old to-day. If hon. members will reflect for a moment they will see immediately the reason for this. No man in the position of responsibility I have held during the past six or eight years could possibly expect to feel other than more than burdened by the load of responsibility he was carrying. All during the war I was very concious of the fact that much of my real self was being repressed, and necessarily so, because of an unwillingness to say a word or do any thing which might, however great the provocation, occasion the least strife or increase opposition between parties in this house and in the country. During the period of the war I often wished that I could let

loose on some hon. gentlemen opposite, but at the time I realized that I was the leader of a party government and that there were many parties in this house, so much I should like to have said in answer to what seemed to me most unfair criticisms of the administration, I felt I should refrain from saying, and I had to endure in silence. Repression is not good for anyone, particularly in the matter of speaking one's own mind. I confess that not infrequently I felt a bit ahamed of myself sitting here and listening without retort to some of the very unfair and unjust criticisms which were made from time to time. But if it helped to get through that period as well as we did, then it was all to the good.

However the real burden was not that. It was the thought that was shared by all hon. members and by the people of Canada generally of the terrible suffering being endured and the appalling loss of life incurred by our fellow countrymen and by men and women throughout the world. That burden of thought was great indeed; and to realize that to-day all that is in the past is to be freed of a load the like of which has not had to be borne by anyone at any other time.

I feel particularly happy when I think of what Canada accomplished during the period of the war and by what our country is doing in helping to relieve distress in the world to-day. May I say that the years immediately preceding the war were much harder to endure than the actual war years. Often I felt at that time that something terrible was coming, something in the nature of a colossal catastrophe for mankind, and that one would have to make decisions of a far-reaching nature which might affect the course of events for centuries to come. In those days the load was much heavier than it was when one felt there was an opportunity, as between the contending forces of good and evil, to fight it out.

Now the battle has been fought, and we have won. Canada has won a glorious place among the nations of the world, and our men and women of the armed services have fought a battle unsurpassed by the men and women of any other country. In this outcome one naturally feels great cause to rejoice.

May I at this point avail myself of the opportunity of saying to the members of my own party who have presented me with the beautiful flowers that are before me, that I deeply appreciate the sentiment they have been too modest to express in words, but to which they have given such generous expression in flowers.

Just a word in conclusion. Looking to the future I feel more optimistic to-day than I have at any time. Over the troubled waters of our day, I see on the horizon of the future the beginning of a new world order. There is much to cause alarm and concern; but I believe the heart of mankind is more sensitive to the world's need to-day than it has been at any previous time.

QUESTIONS

(Questions answered orally are indicated by an asterisk.)

NATIONAL REVENUE—OTTAWA, MONTREAL AND QUEBEC—FRENCH SPEAKING EMPLOYEES AT $2,000 OR MORE

Mr. GAGNON:

1. What is the total staff employed in the offices of the Department of National Revenue at (a) Ottawa; (b) Montreal; (c) Quebec?
2. How many (a) French-speaking employees; (b) English-speaking employees are paid $2,000 or more per year in the said offices?

Mr. McCANN:

Customs and Excise Divisions:

1. (a) 556
   (b) 551
   (c) 96

	(a)	(b)
2. Ottawa	26	171
Montreal	61	57
Quebec	43	4

Taxation Division:

1. (a) 1,128
   (b) 1,315
   (c) 211

	(a)	(b)
2. Ottawa	30	186
Montreal	179	121
Quebec	38	36

CIVIL SERVICE—REPLACEMENT AT AGE 65 BY VETERANS

Mr. THATCHER:

Has the government taken any steps since the end of the war to retire civil service employees aged 65 or over, and replace them with service veterans?

Mr. MARTIN: Perhaps I might be permitted to reply orally to this question. Steps are being taken in many instances to effect retirement so as to provide vacancies for veterans.

TAXES ON BEER AND SPIRITS

Mr. BLACK: (Yukon):

Of each dollar paid in purchase of alcoholic liquor and beer from provincial and territorial liquor vendors, how much of that dollar goes to (a) the dominion government in various imposts, taxes and duties; (b) the provincial and territorial governments; (c) the distiller, brewer or manufacturer of said liquor or beer?

Mr. McCANN: It is not possible to give a categorical answer to this question by reason of the variation which exists between the provinces.

A break-down of each dollar paid for the purchase of a well-known brand of spirits in one of the provinces discloses the following distribution, which may perhaps be taken as approximating the average:

(a) To the dominion government for duty and taxes.....41c
(b) To the provincial liquor control board 38c
(c) To the distiller.....21c

Beer is sold at such different prices and under such variable systems of distribution as to make it difficult to strike an average which would represent a fair statement.

SURPLUS WAR ASSETS—TRUCKS, ETC.

Mr. THATCHER:

1. Has the War Assets Corporation received a request from the city of Moose Jaw for fire trucks or other equipment now stored at No. 2 R.E.M.U.?
2. If so, on what date did it receive the request?
3. What action has been taken to date in regard to the request?

Mr. MACKENZIE:

1. Yes, a request has been received from the city of Moose Jaw for fire trucks stored at No. 2 R.E.M.U.
2. October 6, 1945.
3. This enquiry was acknowledged on October 13, 1945. The fire trucks have not been declared surplus to War Assets Corporation to date.

RAILWAY SIDINGS FOR STORAGE OF WAR MATERIALS

Mr. WHITE (Middlesex East):

1. Was any land in the east part of the city of London, or in the riding of East Middlesex acquired, bought or leased for the construction of Canadian Pacific Railway and Canadian National Railway sidings, for the purpose of storing of surplus or outdated war materials?
2. If so, what parcels of land and from whom were they purchased?
3. What price was paid for each?
4. What was the total cost to the government for land and construction?

Mr. MACKENZIE:

1. No. Various properties were leased by the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways for storing Canadian government purchased material, and the railways were reimbursed by the Canadian government.

2 and 3. Answered by No. 1.

4. The cost to the Canadian government was as follows:

Rent of leased property, C.P.R., $975.42; C.N.R., $1,795.00; total, $2,770.42.

Construction, C.P.R., $25,722.84; C.N.R., $45,437.71; total, $71,160.55.

SECOND CANADIAN DIVISION—N.M.R.A. PERSONNEL

Mr. GREEN:

What number and percentage of each unit of the Second Canadian Division returning to Canada were N.M.R.A. personnel?

Mr. ABBOTT:

Royal Canadian Artillery (Field)	Total NRMA	Percentage of NRMA to total
2 Cdn. Fd. Bty.	6	6·74
5 Cdn. Fd. Bty.	4	5·88
13 Cdn. Fd. Bty.	6	4·51
14 Cdn. Fd. Bty.	4	4·49
19 Cdn. Fd. Bty.	4	5·88
21 Cdn. Fd. Bty.	8	8·79
26 Cdn. Fd. Bty.	3	3·16
28 Cdn. Fd. Bty.	2	1·33
73 Cdn. Fd. Bty.	7	9·72
92 Cdn. Fd. Bty.	4	4·34
Anti-Tank		
18 Cdn. Anti-Tank Bty.	9	10·34
20 Cdn. Anti-Tank Bty.	Nil	Nil
23 Cdn. Anti-Tank Bty.	3	7·5
Light Anti-Aircraft		
16 Canadian Light Anti-Aircraft Battery	3	3·33
17 Canadian Light Anti-Aircraft Battery	4	7·01
38 Canadian Light Anti-Aircraft Battery	12	15·78
Royal Canadian Engineers		
2 Cdn. Fd. Coy.	6	2·26
11 Cdn. Fd. Coy.	12	7·79
Canadian Infantry Corps		
Essex Scottish Regiment	110	20·95
Royal Rgt. of Canada	99	18·23
Royal Hamilton Light Infantry	85	18·39
Royal Highlanders of Canada	47	10·65
Calgary Highlanders	170	36·48
Rgt. de Maisonneuve	147	31·61
Camerons of Canada	120	25·64
South Saskatchewan Rgt.	202	36·52
Fusiliers Mount Royal	131	23·18
Toronto Scottish (MG)	44	10·94
8 Cdn. Reconnaissance	24	10·38

PAMPHLET "CANADIAN AFFAIRS"

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North):

1. Has distribution of the pamphlet "Canadian Affairs" been withdrawn from civilian groups and individuals?
2. If so, what reason is given for this step?
3. How many copies of "Canadian Affairs" have been requested by civilian groups and individuals in the past three months?

Mr. CLAXTON:

1. Yes. A notice to this effect appeared in the issue of "Canadian Affairs" (Vol. 2 No. 16) dated October 1st, 1945.
2. P.C. 6300 of September 28, 1945, establishing the Canadian Information Service, authorized it "To provide means and facilities for distributing abroad information concerning Canada". Distribution of "Canadian Affairs" by the Canadian information service is only being made in Canada to civilian groups and individuals from the remaining stock of the former wartime information board. Distribution of current issues outside Canada is continuing.
3. From September 1 to December 11 the following quantities of "Canadian Affairs" have been supplied, on request, to civilian groups and individuals:

	Inside Canada	Abroad
Canadian Affairs.	52,226	6,701
Affaires Canadiennes.	11,103	274
	63,329	6,975

Most of this quantity has been supplied to Canadian groups and individuals who have wished to complete sets of the publication up to the time domestic distribution ceased or from groups wishing quantities of back numbers for winter study programmes.

SOLDIER SETTLEMENT—MORTGAGE FORECLOSURES

Mr. FAIR:

1. Under the Soldier Settlement Board legislation, how many mortgages were secured on land owned by veterans at the time they purchased land from the board?
2. Since the inception of the scheme to date, how many foreclosures on the above-mentioned mortgages took place?
3. What is the name and address of those settlers against whom foreclosure proceedings were instituted and who finally were dispossessed of their land?

Mr. MACKENZIE: Answered by sessional paper 118B tabled on December 13, 1945.

QUESTIONS PASSED AS ORDERS FOR RETURNS

HOUSING—ADMINISTRATION CONVERSION PLAN

Mr. LENNARD:

1. Is the National Housing Administration Conversion plan being extended in Canada
2. If not, when did the extension cease, and why?
3. How many homes were converted in Canada under this plan to December 1, 1945?
4. How many in the area of Hamilton, Ontario?
5. What has been the cost of conversion of such houses in the Hamilton area?
6. How many inspectors, janitors and other persons are or have been employed in connection with the operation of this plan in the Hamilton area?
7. Who are they, and what amount is being or has been paid to each of them in salary and expenses?

FORESTRY ROADS

Mr. WHITE (Middlesex East):

1. Did the federal government make contributions towards the construction costs of provincial projects for construction of forestry roads for any of the years 1936 to 1940 inclusive?
2. If so, what were the total contributions for each year in each province?

CRUMLIN, ONT., AIRPORT

Mr. WHITE (Middlesex East):

1. What lands were acquired for the extension of R.C.A.F. air port at Crumlin, Ontario, other than the then existing London air port?
2. From whom were they purchased?
3. What was the acreage?
4. What was the price paid for the land?
5. Were any of the former owners extended an option of repurchase when not required further by the government?
6. Has any of this property, hangars, or buildings thereon been declared surplus?
7. What will be the ultimate disposal of these properties and buildings?
8. What township or county roads were closed in the extension of this air port?
9. Was reimbursement made (a) to the townships of West Nissouri, London, or the county of Middlesex for closing of roads; (b) to private individuals for damage or inconvenience?
10. If so, to whom?
11. What amounts were paid to each?
12. What properties were purchased for right of way for new road from the third concession, London township to second concession, West Nissouri?
13. From whom were these properties purchased?
14. What price was paid for each?
15. What was the total mileage of new road?
16. What was the total cost of construction?
17. Has the upkeep and maintenance of the new road been assumed by townships interested or by the county of Middlesex?

ATOMIC ENERGY

APPROVAL OF AGREED DECLARATION SIGNED AT WASHINGTON, NOVEMBER 15, 1945

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister) moved:

That it is expedient that the houses of parliament do approve the agreed declaration on atomic energy signed by the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and the Prime Minister of Canada, at Washington on November 15, 1945, and that this house do approve the same.

He said: Mr. Speaker, the House of Commons is being asked by the motion now before it to approve the agreed declaration on atomic energy which was signed at the White House, Washington, on the 15th of November of this year, by the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the Prime Minister of Canada.

The statement which embodies the declaration was read to hon. members of this house by my colleague, the Minister of Justice, on the afternoon of the day on which the declaration was made. Copies of the declaration in English and in French were tabled in pamphlet form on December 1. The declaration has received the widest publicity. I think it may be truly said that it has met with general approval.

As the declaration is one of far-reaching significance and historic interest, it is desirable that it should be formally approved by both houses of our parliament. Apart from other positive advantages, such approval should serve effectively to meet the criticism that the Prime Minister of Canada in joining with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States in the discussions at Washington and in signing the declaration "either assumed that parliament and the Canadian people had no views on the atomic bomb question or that their views didn't matter; that it was within his sole right and power to determine what should be done." I am happy to say that this uncalled for criticism seems to have met only with the rebuke it so obviously deserves.

Research into atomic energy. No discovery, in all time, has equalled in interest that of the release of atomic energy. No discovery has been fraught with possibilities which may prove to be either so baneful or so beneficial to mankind.

It may serve as a helpful introduction to an understanding of the problems which the discovery of atomic energy has created, if I say a word or two concerning the discovery itself, and the circumstances which led to the part the release of atomic energy came to have in military warfare. My introductory words may also help to give some idea of Canada's contribution to atomic research and processes, and to explain the strategic position which Canada, along with the United Kingdom and the United States, has come to hold in working towards a solution of problems to which the use of atomic energy has given rise.

All the world now knows that the sudden termination of the war against Japan was due to the appalling destruction of life and property wrought, in August of the present year, by the use of the atomic bomb against the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Until recently the world believed that the atom was the ultimate indivisible particle of matter; a particle of matter so minute as to admit of no division. When the war began in 1939, scientists of many nations had come to recognize that the release of energy by the "splitting" of the atom, or what is scientifically referred to as "atomic fission" was a possibility. The war gave impetus to research into the means of releasing atomic energy and later to the production of atomic bombs.

At the outset, research was carried on mainly in the universities of the United Kingdom. During 1940 there was an interchange of information on war research between Britain, the United States and Canada. By the summer of 1941 such progress had been made in research in the application of atomic energy that it was felt that full use should be made of university and industrial laboratories in seeking to find, just as rapidly as possible, the means of producing atomic bombs. In October of 1941, upon the suggestion of President Roosevelt, there began a coordination and joint conduct of British and American efforts. In 1942 the United Kingdom authorities proposed that an important section of research into atomic energy should be carried on in Canada as a joint enterprise. The special Montreal laboratory of the national research council was thereafter organized, and staffed by over 300 workers. It was by far the largest organization ever created in Canada to carry out a single research project. Other research projects were undertaken at McMaster, Toronto and McGill universities, and at the national research laboratories in Ottawa.

Developments in the United States and Canada. By the summer of 1942, the expanded program of research seemed to justify a decision to proceed with the construction of large-scale production plants in the United States. The Americans alone were active in large-scale work.

At Quebec, in September 1943, an agreement was signed between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt which bound their two countries to collaborate with the object of producing, as quickly as possible, a military weapon for use in the war. Under this agreement a combined policy committee was set up. Upon the invitation of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, in which I had concurred, Mr. Howe, the Minister of Munitions and Supply, was made a member of the combined policy committee as the representative of Canada.

Up to the present, uranium is the mineral that has been used as basic material for the atomic bomb process. Thorium is a probable second basic material for that purpose, although it is not as yet a proven material. The largest proved deposit of uranium ore is in the Belgian Congo, and the next largest is in Canada. As soon as the significant use of uranium in the atomic bomb process was disclosed to Mr. Howe and myself, we secured the approval of the cabinet of the purchase

of the Eldorado uranium properties in the Great Bear lake area, and reserved for the government control of all such minerals as might be discovered in Canada in the future. This was a strategic factor of high importance, since this second largest known source of raw material thereby became accessible to the large manufacturing plants already built in the United States.

The work of the several research projects has been closely coordinated with the development of a pilot plant at Chalk River for the investigation of atomic energy processes. This work is of considerable importance. It includes the study of the utilization of thorium as a starting point for the production of "active material". This pilot plant is unique in character and is suitable for a field of research that has not been explored elsewhere.

Three governments in partnership. Here may I quote from a statement prepared by Mr. Churchill while he was at the head of the coalition government. It was made public by his successor after Mr. Attlee's assumption of office.

Mr. Churchill's statement is as follows:

In the United States the erection of the immense plants was placed under the responsibility of Mr. Stimson, United States Secretary of War, and the American army administration whose wonderful work and marvellous secrecy cannot be sufficiently admired. The main practical effort and virtually the whole of its prodigious cost now fell upon the United States authorities who were assisted by a number of British scientists.

The relationship of the British and the American contributions was regulated by discussion between me and President Roosevelt, and a combined policy committee was set up. The Canadian government whose contribution was most valuable provided both indispensable raw material for the project as a whole, and also necessary facilities for the work of one section of the project which has been carried out in Canada by the three governments in partnership.

Elsewhere in his statement Mr. Churchill said:

By God's mercy, British and American science outpaced all German efforts. These were on a considerable scale but far behind. The possession of these powers by the Germans, at any time, might have altered the result of the war.

It is worthy of notice that the determination to embark on large-scale undertakings for production of atomic bombs was agreed upon while some details of the project were still in the laboratory stage. The outcome was a most impressive demonstration of the collaboration of scientific skill and technical capacity conducted under conditions of the highest secrecy.

This aspect of the production of the atomic bomb was referred to by Mr. Churchill in the following words:

The whole burden of execution including the setting up of the plants and many technical processes connected therewith in the practical sphere constitutes one of the greatest triumphs of American—or indeed human—genius of which there is record. Moreover, the decision to make these enormous expenditures upon a project which however hopefully established by American and British research remained nevertheless an awful uncertainty stands to the everlasting honour of President Roosevelt and his advisers.

The two uses of atomic energy. What was aimed at in the combined efforts of the scientists was the development of methods for the release of atomic energy, either to produce an explosion, or as a source of power. The immediate purpose of the construction of large-scale production plants, and the work of the combined policy committee, was the use of atomic energy for military purposes.

It is now known that the release of atomic energy can be effected so rapidly that a few pounds of "active material" will produce an explosion equivalent to that of the setting off of several thousands of tons of TNT. On the other hand, the energy released can, it is believed, be so controlled as to produce a steady flow of heat obtainable at a temperature high enough to operate steamdriven electrical generating plants. One ton of "active material" used in this way would generate as much power as about three million tons of coal.

In a passage which will carry its appeal to every human heart, Mr. Churchill has vividly expressed the sentiments to which these amazing facts give rise:

"This revelation of the secrets of nature long mercifully withheld from man should," he said, "arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every being capable of comprehension. We must indeed pray that these awful agencies will be made to conduce to peace among the nations and that, instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe, they may become a perennial fountain of world prosperity."

This is the problem presented by the discovery of the release of atomic energy. Here is the challenge to our day and generation.

Sharing of information. Up to a certain point the processes for releasing atomic energy are the same whether the purpose is an industrial, commercial or humanitarian use, or whether it is that of mass destruction. Up to this point of departure the processes are already quite widely known. The scientific knowledge upon which these processes are based has been shared by a number of nations.

Beyond this point of common development, the construction of atomic bombs consists of a series of highly technical manufacturing

processes which are still very secret. Knowledge of these technical manufacturing processes is popularly referred to as the "know-how". It is this "know-how" which is possessed in whole or in part by Britain, the United States, and Canada, and which has not been made known to other nations. The reason for not imparting to other nations, without certain guarantees and controls, the "know-how" in the production of atomic bombs, is because of the potentialities of vast destruction involved.

It should not be supposed that the control of the raw materials presently enjoyed by Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States will, for any length of time, prevent developments in other countries. Neither should it be imagined that the processes in manufacturing atomic bombs—now secret—will prevent, indefinitely, similar developments in other countries. Even with international measures of supervision and control, it will be but a matter of time before all processes are known to practically all nations. Hence the need for immediate action to seek every available means to end all possibility of war itself.

Preliminary discussions on atomic energy. I come now to the declaration on atomic energy signed at Washington, on November 15th last.

As hon. members are aware, I visited President Truman at the White House on September 30th, the day before I sailed from New York for England. During this visit, matters related to the atomic bomb were referred to in conversation between the President and myself. Mr. Truman invited me to visit him again on my return from abroad. He also told me that he was looking forward to a visit from Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

Upon arrival in London, I learned from Mr. Attlee that, toward the end of September last, he had made known to the President his view on the vital importance to the world of the discovery of atomic energy. He had expressed the opinion that the application of atomic energy to warfare made it essential that those in responsible positions in the countries under whose auspices the development had taken place, should consider the problems to which it had given rise. In conveying to the President the tentative conclusions at which the British government had arrived, Mr. Attlee had suggested that personal discussion might follow.

On October 3, in a message to Congress, President Truman said:

> I therefore propose to initiate discussions, first with our associates in this discovery, Great Britain and Canada, and then with other nations

in an effort to effect agreement on the conditions under which cooperation might replace rivalry in the field of atomic power.

While I was in London, communications were received from President Truman inviting Mr. Attlee and myself to come to Washington at as early a date as could be arranged to discuss with him the problems related to atomic energy.

In his Navy day speech on United States foreign policy, on October 27, President Truman, referring to his message to Congress, added that discussion of the atomic bomb with Great Britain and Canada, and later with other nations, could not wait upon the formal organization of the united nations.

The conference at Washington. Mr. Attlee and I arrived in Washington on the morning of Saturday, November 10th. Mr. Attlee had left London by plane on the afternoon of the previous day. I had left London on Saturday of the previous week to cross by ship. We arrived in Washington at the same hour. During our stay in Washington, every courtesy was extended to Mr. Attlee and myself by the President and the Secretary of State, Mr. Byrnes. From the hour of our arrival to the day of the signing of the declaration, meetings and conversations were held continuously.

In our consideration of the problems discussed, the President and Mr. Byrnes had the assistance of Dr. Vannevar Bush, director of the office of scientific research and development, and scientific adviser to the President's committee on atomic energy. Prime Minister Attlee was accompanied by Sir John Anderson, chairman of the advisory committee in the United Kingdom on atomic energy. Sir John Anderson is perhaps the best informed of anyone in the United Kingdom on the whole subject, and on the circumstances attending the work with the Americans and ourselves in the researches on atomic energy. Mr. Attlee was also assisted by Lord Halifax, the British ambassador. I was joined in Washington by Mr. Howe, the Canadian member of the combined policy committee, and Dr. C. J. Mackenzie, president of our national research council. I was also assisted while in Washington, by the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. L. B. Pearson; by Mr. Norman Robertson, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who had accompanied me to England, and by Mr. Hume Wrong, Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who joined Mr. Robertson and myself on our arrival in Washington.

I should like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance given me by all these gentlemen and by members of our embassy staff in Washington.

The agreed declaration. In asking hon. members to support the motion which is now before the house, approving the Washington declaration on atomic energy, I feel I cannot do better than to set forth essential features of the declaration itself and, in so doing, indicate governing considerations which were constantly in the minds of all who participated in the discussions.

There was recognition at the outset that the vast significance of the discovery of the release of atomic energy was not yet fully comprehended; that very few realized the far-reaching effect of the discovery upon the future of the world. It was agreed that the discovery had placed at the disposal of mankind means of destruction hitherto unknown, and against which there could be no adequate military defence, and in the employment of which no single nation could, in fact, have a monopoly. In a word, it was agreed that civilization could not survive an atomic war. It was also recognized that it was impossible to isolate the problem of the atomic bomb from the problem of the use of other weapons of destruction. The atomic bomb was seen as the latest word in destructiveness, but not necessarily the last.

The truth is that no system of safeguards that can be devised will of itself provide an effective guarantee against production of atomic weapons by a nation bent on aggression. Nor can we overlook the probability of the development of other major weapons of mass destruction, or of new methods of warfare which may constitute an ever greater threat to civilization than the military use of atomic energy. At Washington, we were therefore called upon to consider not merely the elimination of the atomic bomb as a weapon of war, but also the kind of world order which is necessary in an atomic age, if civilization is to survive.

In our deliberations we were seeking to take the first step in an effort to rescue the world from a desperate race in weapons of mass destruction. We were prepared to concede that the progress our three countries had made in the development and use of atomic energy demanded that our countries take the initiative in an international effort to prevent the further use of atomic energy for destructive purposes. We felt an equal obligation on the part of our countries to promote the use of recent and future exchanges of scientific knowledge, particularly in the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful and humanitarian ends. At the same time we sought to make very clear that the responsibility for devising means to ensure that the new discovery should be used for the benefit of mankind, instead of as a means of destruction, rested not on our nations alone, but on the whole civilized world.

The exchange of scientific information. In the agreed declaration we felt obliged to draw a distinction between the information essential for the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and the information concerning the practical industrial application of atomic energy.

Representing, as we did, the three countries which possess the knowledge essential to the use of atomic energy, we declared our willingness, as a first contribution, to proceed with the exchange of fundamental scientic information, and with the interchange of scientists, and scientific literature for peaceful ends, with any nation that would fully reciprocate. We stated our belief that the fruits of scientific research should be made available to all nations, and that freedom of investigation and the free interchange of ideas were essential to the progress of knowledge. The basic scientific processes essential to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes have already been made available to the world. We declared that all further information of this character that might become available from time to time should be similarly treated.

As I have already explained, the use of atomic energy for industrial, commercial and humanitarian purposes is dependent upon the same methods and processes as, up to a certain point, are required for the military exploitation of atomic energy. While we were prepared to share the information essential to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, we were not convinced that the spread of the specialized information regarding the practical application of atomic energy in the manufacture of bombs, before it was possible to devise reciprocal and enforceable safeguards acceptable to all nations, would contribute to a constructive solution of the problem of the atomic bomb. On the contrary, we thought it might have the opposite effect. However, we stated our readiness to share, on a reciprocal basis, with others of the united nations, detailed information concerning the practical industrial application of atomic energy, just as soon as effective and enforceable safeguards against its use for destructive purposes could be devised.

Atomic energy and the arts of peace. The attention which has so far been directed to the strictly war aspects of atomic energy—

that is, to the atomic bomb—should not be allowed to obscure the immense possibilities of development of atomic energy for the arts of peace. The atomic bomb is a weapon of destruction unsurpassed in human experience. But the energy locked up inside the atom, controlled and directed to useful and constructive ends, may make it possible to provide goods and services for people throughout the world on a scale which we cannot now envisage. It may be the means of raising the standard of living; of providing physical comfort against hazards of weather and extremes of heat and cold. It may revolutionize some present-day means of transport and communication, making all countries of the world near neighbours in a more immediate sense than has been made possible even by the development of air transport.

It must never be forgotten, however, that the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes cannot be developed without at the same time producing the very material which is used in a bomb.

Commission on atomic energy proposed at Washington. In order to attain the most effective available means of entirely eliminating the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and for promoting its widest use for industrial, commercial and humanitarian purposes, we gave it as our opinion in the Washington declaration that at the earliest practicable date a commission should be set up under the united nations organization, to prepare recommendations for submission to the organization. We expressed the view that the commission should be instructed to proceed with the utmost despatch; and that, in particular, it should make specific proposals (a) for extending, between all nations, the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends; (b) for the control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes; (c) for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction; and (d) for effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means, to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions. These tasks may well have to move forward by separate stages, building upon the confidence which the progressive exchange of information will provide.

Under the charter of the united nations the signatory powers have pledged themselves not to use force except in support of the purposes and principles of the charter. At Washington we expressed the view that by whole-hearted support of the united nations organization, and by consolidating and extending its authority, thereby creating conditions of mutual trust in which all peoples will be free to devote themselves to the arts of peace, there would be found the most immediately available means of maintaining the rule of law among nations and of banishing the scourge of war from the earth. We declared it to be the firm resolve of our three countries to work without reservation to achieve these ends.

Nothing can be truer than that without unremitting cooperation and the united effort of nations there will be no enduring and effective protection against the atomic bomb. Nor without this cooperation and united effort can there be protection against the indiscriminate use of poison or against the latest refinements in gas warfare, or protection against bacteriological warfare, all of which are even more frightful methods of human destruction than the atomic bomb. To ensure civilization from destruction it is not enough to banish atomic or gas or bacteriological warfare; we must banish war itself.

It is intended that the proposals of the Washington declaration for the establishment of a commission to prepare recommendations on the means of dealing with the problems raised by the development of atomic energy should be submitted to the first general assembly of the united nations. It is expected that the general assembly will open its first session in London on January 10. On the exact procedure to be followed in bringing up this vital matter for consideration by the united nations organization, I am unable to say anything at present.

Before leaving Washington on Thursday last December 13, to take part in the meeting in Moscow of the foreign ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, the Secretary of State of the United States announced that he wished to discuss with the Soviet government its views on how they would be prepared to cooperate in the establishment of the commission and on the procedure which should be followed. On these questions we are in constant consultation with the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom, the other parties to the Washington declaration on atomic energy.

President Roosevelt's vision. While I do not wish at the moment to attempt to look too far into the future with respect to proceedings of the united nations organization, I am pleased to have this opportunity to speak of the past in reference to the creation of the united nations organization itself. I recall very well that while the war against Germany

and Japan was still in progress, there were many who felt that President Roosevelt was pressing, with undue haste, the establishment of a united nations organization. Echoes of this criticism were heard at San Francisco last spring at the time of the united nations conference on international organization. It was not until after the conference was over, and the charter of the united nations organization had been brought into existence, that the world learned of the discovery of the release of atomic energy and of its practical application against Japan. The use of the atomic bomb as a major weapon of military warfare presented, in an instant, to all nations wholly new problems of security. Against the use of the atomic bomb in war, nothing has thus far been suggested which could be regarded as a means of defence.

President Roosevelt's prophetic vision had once more come to the aid of humanity at a time of its greatest need. Had President Roosevelt waited until the war was over to call a united nations conference to bring the charter into being, we should not have had the united nations organization at hand to-day to assist in the solution of the problems which the atomic bomb has brought so conspicuously to the fore. Instead, the countries seeking a solution of its problems would have been more bewildered and baffled than they are. The world is but slowly recognizing what it owes to the late President.

Problems of the atomic era. If I have made myself clear with respect to the problems of the atomic era with which we are now faced, it will be apparent that they are primarily political problems affecting the relations between men and governments. Fundamentally they are a part of the age old conflict between good and evil. As such their ultimate solution will be found only in the realm of philosophy and morals. One thing is certain: they admit of no mechanistic solution. By themselves, devices for the control of atomic energy are at best but temporary expedients. For this reason, I believe, it is an error to contemplate the control of the use of atomic energy in commodity and police terms, as if atomic energy were some new and dangerous drug. Technical scientifiec controls of production, processing and final disposition are indispensable, but they are obviously inadequate. It would, I believe, be criminal folly to allow ourselves to imagine that the peace and security of mankind can be attained by any scheme of commodity control.

As political problems affecting the relations of governments, the solution of the problems presented by atomic energy must be sought in the realm of world politics. The more deeply one ponders the problems with which our world is confronted in the light—"the terrible light", as Mr. Attlee said—of the implications of the development of atomic energy, the harder it is to see a solution in anything short of some surrender of national sovereignty. With a limited surrender of national sovereignty, there must be instituted some form of world government restricted, at least at the outset, to matters pertaining to the prevention of war, and the maintenance of international security.

The united nations organization is not a sufficient answer to the problems of peace and security which the world is now seeking. It is a first step, and an all-important step, in the direction of that cooperation between nations which is essential to the survival of civilization. It is not, however, the only, much less the final step. The united nations organization is an indispensable medium and channel and forum through which the peoples of the world can work out new institutions and arrangements which their peace and security now require.

We do well to recall that the united nations charter had been signed before the world knew of the existence of the atomic bomb, much less anything about its ghastly military potentialities for mass destruction. The coming of the atomic bomb has opened our eyes to the appalling possibilities which will face the world if the united nations should fail to achieve effective international cooperation. It is to be hoped that such a prospect may be sufficient to cause every country, in the interests of its own citizens, to recognize that "over all nations is humanity". It is devoutly to be hoped that the nations will not delay too long in welcoming, albeit in the form of some self-denying ordinance upon individual national sovereignties, a measure of world sovereignty sufficiently effective to maintain international security and to end all possibility of war.

If we are agreed on the ultimate necessity of some measure of world government to maintain world security, we should, by every means in our power, support and strengthen every agency of international cooperation and understanding which can help to make the world community a reality. The peoples of all nations must address themselves to the task of helping to devise and shape institutions and relationships which will enable mankind to ensure, if not its salvation, at least its survival. We must work with all our might for a world order under the rule of law. This seems to be our only hope. Humanity is one. We must act in the belief

that no nation and no individual liveth to himself alone, and that all are members one of another.

Mr. JOHN BRACKEN (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I am sure we have all listened with very great interest to the remarks of the Prime Minister as he outlined Canada's part in achieving the release of atomic energy and the various steps leading up to the agreed declaration which is now before us, and his elaboration of the various clauses in the declaration.

At the outset I wish to compliment the Prime Minister, and all those associated with him, and particularly the scientists of Canada, on their respective parts in bringing about the results of that great discovery. With much of what the Prime Minister has said I am in entire agreement, and I should like to think that in that respect I speak for members in every section of the house.

The question of atomic energy, its production, its control and its use, everyone will agree, is of great importance at this time. The immediate question before this house is the declaration recently issued and signed by the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the Prime Minister of Canada. The resolution before us makes a statement and asks a question. It declares that it is expedient at this time that we approve the statement that has been presented to us. This statement, I am sure the Prime Minister will agree, is one which will have no effect in law at the moment, but is one which may be a guide to public opinion throughout wide areas of the world.

The Prime Minister has dealt with the history and the development of this recent gain in science. My remarks will deal more particularly with the political consequences of that development. The declaration before us contains nine clauses. I propose to analyse these very briefly and to make a brief comment on each as I proceed.

The first clause indicates the recognition of an important fact, perhaps the most important fact of the age in which we live, the fact that the modern developments in physical science are so far in advance of the modern developments in social science as to constitute a grave danger to the human race.

I believe it was Wells who, in one of his books, said that civilization is a race between education and catastrophe. If that were true twenty years ago, it is much more true to-day in the light of the new knowledge that science has given to the world. The question now is whether our growing control over the physical forces around us is to be used for the progress of mankind or for the destruction of mankind. That is the problem that has been dropped into the lap of this generation, and that is what makes this particular time the most interesting and perhaps the most challenging in which any generation of man has ever lived.

The second paragraph sets out that the responsibility arising from this discovery rests upon this generation. It rests upon us to see that all these discoveries are used for the benefit of mankind and not for its destruction. That paragraph indicates one other fact, that the initiative rests with those nations who happen to have been the first to discover the truth of the atomic bomb. But it indicates also, that the responsibility for ultimate success in controlling this new discovery rests with all the nations of the world.

The third paragraph is a statement of fundamental truth. It is in these words: that the only complete protection for the civilized world against the destructive use of scientific knowledge lies in the prevention of war.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that with the statements contained in these three clauses of the declaration no one in this house will be in disagreement.

The fourth paragraph is a statement of proposed policy. In it we are asked to declare our willingness to proceed with the exchange of fundamental scientific information, and the interchange of scientists and scientific literature for peaceful ends, with any nation that will fully reciprocate. Here we face, an immediate question: Are the scientific data and the technological knowledge so far developed to be entrusted by those who have them to those who do not have them?

This is a question to which an answer must be given reasonably soon. If the present attitude of exclusion prevails for an indefinite period, suspicions and distrust will be engendered in those who do not have this knowledge. At the same time there are few who would favour the distribution of the data and the technical processes indiscriminately, without taking every reasonable precaution to preserve world peace. It would seem reasonable that any nation which is to be permitted to have the knowledge we possess, and from it to develop atomic energy on a commercial scale, ought first to be prepared to submit its mines and laboratories to regular inspection. It is difficult to see how this secret can be shared without serious risk until every one of the great powers of the world is prepared to permit the free dissemination of news and the free admittance for observation of representatives of our great news services. I think it is not going too far

to say that to our newspaper men and women we owe our survival in the last half dozen years of war. Had they not been able to find out what our enemies were planning for us and report, as they did, we would have been conquered before waking up to what was going on in the world.

The fifth paragraph contains four statements; one a statement of belief, one a statement of fact, one a statement of intention, and one a satement of hope. The statement of belief is this:

> We believe that the fruits of scientific research should be made available to all nations, and that freedom of investigation and free interchange of ideas are essential to the progress of knowledge.

I think everyone will agree with that statement of belief. The statement of fact is:

> . . . the basic scientific information essential to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes has already been made available to the world.

That is, the "basic" scientific information is widely known. The statement of intention is this:

> It is our intention that all further information of this character that may become available from time to time shall be similarly treated.

But that is it is to be made available under conditions mentioned later on. The statement of hope is this:

> We trust that other nations will adopt the same policy, thereby creating an atmosphere of reciprocal confidence in which political agreement and cooperation will flourish.

All will approve I am sure, of the general attitude expressed in this paragraph. The human race has never yet been denied the fruits of invention by conscious public policy, and denying them now would be unnecessarily holding back material progress. This new knowledge has potentialities for both good and ill. We cannot prevent its development. We must therefore control its use. We must make ourselves capable of turning this and other secrets of nature to constructive use.

Paragraph 6 contains a statement of opinion and an offer to share the scientific knowledge. The opinion is that the spreading of specialized information before it is possible to devise effective safeguards would not contribute to a constructive solution of the problem of the atomic bomb. The second part of the paragraph is an offer, as I have said, to share scientific knowledge on a reciprocal basis. It states:

> We are, however, prepared to share on a reciprocal basis with others of the united nations, detailed information concerning the practical industrial application of atomic energy just as soon as effective enforceable safeguards against its use for destructive purpose can be devised.

This brings us nearer to the nub of the problem we have to face. Is it possible or practical to develop the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and prevent its use for war purposes? We cannot now be certain that explosives produced for one purpose will not be used for the other. The problem of policing the use of this process is a complicated one, much more complicated than any political problem ever undertaken in the past. Can society draw a line of demarcation—and see that the line is observed—between developing atomic energy for peaceful purposes and outlawing it for the purposes of war? That is the challenge. It is a challenge we must accept, and as the lines suggest, we accept it by tying our faith to reciprocal agreements to banish its use in time of war.

The seventh paragraph is another statement of opinion. In effect if says, "We state it as our opinion that a commission should be set up to prepare recommendations aimed at the elimination of the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and to make possible its use for humanitarian purposes". If any member of parliament has any criticism of this clause I suppose it would be in order for those subscribing to the agreement to ask what better solution could have been proposed. Its authors at best see through the glass but darkly. They are only groping their way, with care and hesitation. I hope this clause does not reveal a disposition to try to escape from the responsibilities incumbent upon those who possess the secret. It is practically certain that the bomb will be used if another war breaks out. Unless we are visionaries this must soon be realized. If there is to be war, any nation wanting to live cannot afford to be without a means of defence or retaliation if it is attacked. The secret is ours to-day. Others will have it to-morrow, and many will have more dangerous ones later on.

Paragraph 8 suggests a procedure. It suggests that the proposed commission should proceed by separate stages, and more specifically that it should undertake first a wide exchange of scientists and scientific information; and second, to develop a full knowledge concerning natural resources and raw materials. This clause adds a note of realism to which I think most of us will subscribe. We are dealing with a secret process, at least a process that is now secret. If the secret were no secret at all there would be little use in this elaboration of machinery. If it is still a vital secret in the hands of three nations a terrible responsibility rests upon these nations to devise the best safeguards possible for its use. There is no reason not to believe that some nations will relapse into a passive state, believing

that entrusting the task to some international body will settle everything. The danger is that while the innocent will keep their promises, the aggressors will prepare to break their promises and war will be more likely than if no promises were made at all. A half-baked plan will mean that once more this generation will go to sleep on an inactive but still live volcano. That is what happened prior to the recent war.

Paragraph 9, as I interpret it, is an appeal to rationalism in a world made up of nation states. In that paragraph the necessity of three things is pointed out: the necessity of the rule of law among nations as well as among people within nations; the necessity of active and generous support to the united nations organization as the best means now known to humanity of achieving a world of peace; and the necessity of doing everything that humanity can devise to banish war. The paragraph concludes with this brief but strong resolve:

> It is our firm resolve to work without reservation to achieve these ends.

This clause sets before us a goal, but it does not guarantee that we shall attain it. It states the challenge that faces us. The united nations charter was founded on an agreement of the Big Three. That charter has been elaborated on the foundation of certain basic understandings. But the discovery of how to release atomic energy has shattered our faith in that foundation as it is now laid. The most vital problem, therefore, faces us still. Can the world, organized as it is to-day or as it may be organized in the future, so conduct itself as to save itself from destruction? Are man's own inventions to be the cause of his own destruction? Is the world to remain an age of unreason; or is man, with his new gadgets, to revert to times we thought were passed—times without the controls civilization could provide?

I am not one who feels that we must close this debate on a note of pessimism. I feel that many discussions outside this house have been characterized by too much alarm and despair and by too little hope and optimism. If man is to be destroyed by his own inventions, why weep about it beforehand? Rather, knowing the danger, let us set about with determination to avoid that end. Let us set out to find and to provide the most practical political solution that the collective mind of man is capable of making.

Some say: Let the problem be entrusted to the security council of the united nations organization. That would mean entrusting it to eleven sovereign states, leaving some forty others out of consideration. Let us not forget that warfare has experienced a great transformation in recent years. In the first great war, a country like Belgium could defend itself for weeks or months—this time, only for a matter of days. In future, days will not be allowed us to get ready—only hours, perhaps only minutes, possibly not even that. It is possible that non-aggressors will be less helpless than they have been in the recent past. Aggressors will at least know that if they make war there is every risk that an instrument is in being that may abolish their largest cities in a matter of seconds. That will surely be a restraining influence upon aggressors.

The choice for us seems to be between an association of powers in which it becomes the necessity of nearly all to prevent any one from dominating the scene—either that or a renunciation of some part of our sovereignty, some abridgement of our national sovereignty. If the latter is to be the solution, it ushers in the beginnings of a world state.

The nations of to-day were not built in a day. The national state as we know it has been a thousand years and more in the building. And a new international order will not be built in a day. But it can be started in a day—in fact, it has already been started; and while it is in the building, we must move with caution and with awareness. We are fortunate in being a member of the British commonwealth of nations and in being a neighbour of the United States. We all rejoice that the agreement before us to-day is one made between Britain, the United States and Canada. Thus we in Canada must all feel, as a member of this triumvirate, that while we are in good company we share a terrible responsibility.

What does it all add up to? If my sixty years tell me anything, they tell me that humanity will neither be satisfied nor safe till there is world security against aggressors. Any realist must know that this security will come in one or other of two ways—the way of war, followed by slavery to a dominating state, or the way of understanding, followed by a cooperative world; by force of arms that will result in a world state, in which one part will be dominant, or by force of reason in which nations will live together, each contributing its proper share of the price of discipline, and each bearing the fruits of the consequent peace and progress of mankind.

Our path as Canadians is clear. Collective security for humanity is possible only in international collective agreement. We must pay the price of international collective agreement. That price is the sacrifice of some degree of national sovereignty. That price the nations

will only grudgingly and slowly be willing to pay; but that price we have already commenced to pay. A world state we now living may never see, but the various peace pacts of the past, the international labour organization, the united nations organization, the food and agriculture organization, the Bretton Woods agreement, the proposed international trade conference—all these are steps toward international security. All these give up something, even though it be little, of national sovereignty. What we are enduring to-day is the labour pains of better world understanding, the beginnings of a world of peace and of potential progress such as man has never before witnessed.

We have two things to do, both of which require conscious effort and a degree of international tolerance and understanding never before demonstrated in the world. We must determine to have international peace, and we must determine to be relieved of the shackles that have tied us to war and hunger and disease in the past. We must go forward in faith, conscious that, while we may not reach the goal in our day, we are going at least in the right direction and knowing that we are doing our part in bringing the world nearer to the time when peace and prosperity rather than war will be the inheritance of mankind.

Mr. ANGUS MacINNIS (Vancouver East): Mr. Speaker, I regret that owing to a slight indisposition the leader of this group is not here this morning, and I regret it particularly because I know that he had prepared something on this subject. He has given a great deal of thought to it, and while I, or anyone else who may speak from this group, would express the same views, I am sure we cannot do it as well as he would have done it.

The question before us to-day has to do with approval of the agreement arrived at in Washington by the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the Prime Minister of Canada, in regard to the control and use of atomic energy. I approve, and I believe this group approves, the agreement. It makes provision for passing on information to the other nations as quickly as an understanding can be arrived at as to the proper use of atomic energy.

I believe the proper organization to control this matter is that of the united nations. However, I am sure, and I agree with the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) when he says that what must be done is not only to prohibit the use of atomic energy in war, but rather to abolish war altogether. So long as we have wars, those who make them will use every means they can find to win them. The question which we should put our minds to, then, is not the prevention of the use of atomic energy for war purposes, but the prevention of war itself.

One thing that is disturbing at the present time in connection with atomic energy is the fact that research seems to be in the control of private organizations such as the Duponts in the United States, the Imperial Chemical Industries in the United Kingdom and Canadian Industries Limited in Canada. I believe it is quite improper to leave research of this kind in the hands of private organizations, particularly when those organizations have demonstrated in the past that they are not much concerned with the social uses to which the results of research may be put. These organizations have tremendous vested interests and large aggregations of capital which might easily be rendered obsolete by the development of a new power of this kind. I had hoped that one of the things that would be done would be to bring research in this matter under the full control of the united nations organization, following what has been done by the three nations which at present seem to have the knowledge of this power.

The leader of the opposition (Mr. Bracken) says we have come to the stage in world affairs where cooperation is not only necessary but imperative. Indeed, in my humble opinion the atomic bomb has brought us to the stage where world government at the international level is not only a desirable thing, but a necessity. The choice before us is either world government or world destruction.

Mr. SOLON E. LOW (Peace River): Mr. Speaker, the problem of securing peace on a world scale seems presently to be the responsibility of the United States, Great Britain and Canada. In my consideration of the declaration made by the Prime Minister of Canada, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States, and in my study of the whole problem of the atomic bomb and of the world situation, I have come to several conclusions which I wish to outline briefly to the house.

The first of these is this: If the United States and Canada and Great Britain were to remain in exclusive possession of the secret of the technical production of the atomic bomb for some long period of time, I am satisfied that for that period of time the world would have peace. Of course we must admit that eventually the other countries of the world will discover the technique of manufacturing these terrible weapons, and at

that time the supremacy of the Anglo-American people will disappear and the problem of securing peace for the world will no longer be their exclusive responsibility.

The second conclusion which I have reached from my studies is this: If all the governments of the world and the nations, large and small, were truly democratic, then I am convinced that an international agreement on the production and application of atomic energy and the organization of effective international control for the production of atomic energy in all countries of the world could be made effective. I am satisfied that that would then be possible, because democratic governments are amenable to the influence of public opinion and of parliaments like our own. It would be possible, because in democratic countries secret arming would be out of the question, mainly because in countries like our own and in those having democratic governments money cannot be spent without the approval of parliament.

Let us examine in a realistic way the situation in which one of the parties to an international agreement—particularly an international agreement concerning the atomic bomb—is a dictatorship. In a dictatorship you would find no free press, you would find no opposition to the government, either in the so-called parliament or throughout the country, such as we have in this country; you would find no regard for parliament. There are such totalitarian countries in this world, and I may say that Russia is not the only one. However, I am convinced that Russia is perhaps the most closed and most totalitarian country of all the major powers.

Under such circumstances I ask in all seriousness, of what value would be any international agreement on the atomic bomb? Of what value would be an international control committee? Who would discover and bring to light, let us say, secret armaments plants that might be established in a totalitarian country? Who would uncover preparations for a new war and bring them to light so that the world would know? Lastly, who would uncover the secret production of this outlawed atomic bomb? Those are questions to which we must give serious thought. Those are questions to which answers are not easily found.

On the other hand, if Canada becomes a party to an international agreement on the atomic bomb and obligates herself not to produce the bomb or to use it in case of war, there are a number of important things which it seems to me we ought to be ready to look squarely in the face. Under such circumstances, in the first place we must ask: would the united nations organization be able to ensure the complete fulfilment of Canada's pact?

In the first place we have a comparatively free press in Canada. This free press certainly would publish the facts and the whole facts of what was going on. Sometimes we are irked at the actions of the press, but thank God in these days the press can say what it wishes to say. I uphold them in saying it, even though it may be criticism of me or of my actions or of those of the party that I represent.

We have here a free parliament. My first experience down here has assured me that this is a parliament in which men can and do speak their minds. The members of parliament will find out, or at any rate make a great effort at finding out, just what is going on. The government will daily be confronted with resolutions to place on the table copies of all documents relating to any of the processes concerning the atom bomb that might be going on. Somebody, because of that free parliament, will find out what is going on. In this house we have an opposition to the government, constantly watching to see that the government does not do anything of which the opposition disapproves, and ready always to divulge to the world the things that the government is doing. I have known oppositions to take great glee in divulging such things. I cannot understand how a government in a democratic country could keep very long any secret such as that of the manufacture of the atomic bomb.

We have also throughout the country political parties in opposition to the government, constantly on the watch to find out and divulge what the government is doing. If Canada were signatory to an international pact on the atomic bomb I am satisfied that an international commission could come into our country freely and as often as it wished; and could investigate thoroughly over as widespread a territory as it wished, every plant, every arsenal, every laboratory. This would be in compliance with our solemn pact, and it is what would happen in a country such as ours, and in any other democratic country that can truly be said to be democratic. The commission could talk freely with people anywhere in Canada, and the people would give information to the commission freely because we do preserve in Canada, as in other democratic countries, a good measure at least, of personal freedom. People need not be afraid to talk. There is certainly no such fear in Canada—I have noticed that. No person in our country would be afraid to discuss almost any matter with an international commission, because we have guarantees of personal freedom—and we have no secret police, no death penalties for political offences, or what is often referred to as military espionage.

One must conclude therefore that the united nations organization would come into Canada and other democratic countries and find them fulfilling to the letter the pact and pledges given with respect to the atomic bomb.

Now the question I must face and all of us must face is this. What about Russia or any other totalitarian power? Would it be possible for the united nations organization to secure fulfilment of Russia's pact on the atomic bomb, or that of any other totalitarian country? We must know that in such countries there is no guarantee of personal freedom, and therefore the people cannot talk freely. Every remnant of personal freedom has gone. There is no free press. The press is wholly controlled and muzzled by the government and cannot divulge what is going on. There is no free parliament; there is no opposition to the government either in the so-called parliament or throughout the whole land. They liquidate oppositions in such countries. They do not allow oppositions to work, and no commission for controlling the atomic bomb could possibly have free access to such a country. They would allow the commission to come in, perhaps, but the commission would be allowed to see only what the government wanted them to see. They would be accompanied and guarded. They would be allowed to go into this and that innocent-looking place, but they would have no freedom at all to look into the arsenals and laboratories or to visit the plants and factories. I would point out also that in Russia, as in some other countries, there are vast areas about which foreigners know little or nothing, which have been developing over many years but which are completely fenced around so far as getting information in or out is concerned. Do you suppose for one moment that an international control commission would be allowed to go into such an area? Would it not be possible for plants, any number of them, to be established in such an area for the manufacture of the atomic bomb? Why, of course. It is unthinkable to suppose that an international commission could possibly find out what was being done there, especially in the light of the fact that an international commission for control would be up against the secret police and the threat of death for any who give information and speak their minds freely. There are death penalties in Russia and in all totalitarian countries for "military espionage", a term which is often loosely used to include most innocent observation and discussion. The prohibitions in such countries do not end with death. They often result in deportation of friends and families. These things are a constant threat to the people.

Under all these circumstances I am forced to the conclusion that a country like Russia simply cannot be controlled by an international organization. I am convinced that so long as there are dictatorships amongst the great powers, an effective international solution of the atomic bomb problem is utterly impossible. Now, if the secret technical methods of the manufacture of the atomic bomb are turned over to the united nations organization, it seems inevitable that the secret of this most dangerous weapon in the world's history will be conveyed to the dictatorships without attaining in return, any real and effective guarantees in return that the bomb will not be made and used in a war of aggression. Remember that only a dictatorship—and this I must impress upon hon. members with all the vehemence at my command—could possibly prepare secretly an atomic Pearl Harbour. It could not be done in democracy. Therefore it is absurd to talk of international control so long as Russia and some other totalitarian countries remain as they are.

I have reached another conclusion, of which I must speak briefly. I think it is absurd to talk of government at an international level so long as Russia remains as she is. I should like to hear those who advocate government at the international level tell us exactly what it means. Just what does it mean to Canada, and what does it mean to the other nations of the world? "Government at the international level" has been bandied around freely and loosely. Taking the situation in Canada right now, I wonder if anybody would advocate Canada becoming a party to an international government with representation on a basis of population? I wonder where would Canada's twelve million people stand in relation to the 130 million people in the United States? Suppose we should become party to an international government in which the United States might be the dominant nation, and come in on a basis of population, would Canada be prepared to become the northern share-cropper area for the United States? Has anybody ever taken the pains to study what happened in the southern United States, and how they became the southern share-cropper area for the industrial north of the United States? I say that the people of Canada, if they knew the truth, would not

support for one moment any such thought; and if they would not accept such an attitude towards our friends of the United States, to whom would they subordinate themselves as a nation? Would it be Russia? I am not prepared to grant that, not for one moment. So far as I am concerned, I can see only one end to such a complex as has been developed on this "government on the international level", and that is the destruction of the British commonwealth of nations of which we form a part—the only real security, the only guarantee of international security we have under the present circumstances. The situation may look black, but situations have looked black at various times in the past.

Mr. Speaker, there is a man not far from me the hon. member for Yorkton, who speaks of my being "the worst bloody imperialist"—I do not know what he was going to say further, but I should just like to have him know that I am not going to lend a hand to selling my country down the river for any association with a doubtful international organization which rests upon the balance of a strong totalitarian country.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: There was no reference to the hon. member. He just imagined that.

Mr. LOW: Of course the hon. member for Yorkton is very smooth in getting out of situations of a kind where his tongue runs away from him. I have seen him in those situations before.

Mr. ARCHIBALD: Anybody stirring up hatred in the world the way the hon. member for Peace River does deserves what he gets.

Mr. LOW: I am talking straight to the communists, Mr. Speaker like the one who just cut in. I say to you that God has come to the aid of the United Kingdom and the commonwealth of nations times without number. The only way we can ever explain some of the interesting, important and almost supernatural events which have happened in the past through our history is to recognize that God's hand was in it. There have been times when it looked as though all was lost; times when great men such as Wellington and Pitt have been led to exclaim that all was lost and that there was no hope for the empire or the commonwealth; that we were bound to be defeated and destroyed. Well, Mr. Speaker, men have commonly said such things; they have said them in all ages.

Mr. REID: But it will last a long while yet.

Mr. LOW: Yes, it will last a long while yet if we do our duty and do not sell ourselves and our birthright into slavery.

I say that the spirit of unity which was placed amongst us was put there for the purpose of rallying the various parts of the commonwealth to the aid of each other in times of stress. That spirit has rallied us all many times in the past, and it will do it again if we give it a chance. I should not like to see that spirit destroyed. It can easily be destroyed by such loose talk on "government at the international level" as we hear so often in this house.

Mr. ROSE: It came first from England, did it not?

Mr. LOW: I am convinced that the Prime Minister has set his hand to a fairly wise declaration. I believe history will record that in its main clauses it was wise.

Now, having set its hand to this declaration, the government should, it seems to me, take under serious and earnest advisement the reform of its whole external policy somewhat along the lines which I shall now give and which, I may say, the Social Credit Association of Canada will endorse most heartily.

There have been numerous occasions, Mr. Speaker, on which people in and out of this house have declared that the Social Credit people are narrow nationalists. That is not so; I deny it most vigorously. Just because we are not ready to accede to every request and every suggestion to sell our birthright, to yield our sovereignty completely and become subject to the domination of tremendous forces outside Canada, does not mean to say that we are in any way narrowly nationalistic.

In the first place, the government should be determined to preserve within Canada, the spirit and the practice of true political and economic democracy. I claim that that is the best guarantee of the intentions of any country not to become a dictator or to tolerate anything like a dictatorship. I repeat that we should be careful to preserve all the elements of true democracy, with all that that means, and we shall then have done our best to assure the nations of our peaceful intentions.

The second thing I suggest is that we give every assurance of the fullest international cooperation on the part of Canada, as a sovereign nation, for the achievement of an era of peaceful prosperity throughout the world.

Third, we should be prepared to extend as a nation to all other nations the hand of good will and brotherhood and justice.

Fourth, we should be prepared to send economic aid to all needy nations, if necessary without even expecting repayment. Give them every opportunity to balance their payments with us and I am satisfied we shall thereby convincingly demonstrate our peaceful intentions.

In the fifth place, I plead with the government not to yield to this diabolical doctrine of surrendering our sovereignty to any supranational government. We must be in a position in the next few years to act quickly and unfettered. The speedy action of Canada alone might be a means at some time in the future of saving the world.

Sixth, because it is not possible to devise a foreign policy which will be acceptable to the great majority of Canadians so long as they have no real knowledge and are torn between opposing opinions which are spread through the country, mainly through the propaganda of legions of foreign agents, the government must now provide the people with really accurate information. That is the only way the people can possibly make up their minds —on the basis of facts, conveyed by sound and accurate information about what is going on abroad.

Canada can never have a successful and sound external policy until the people of Canada are informed, and through their possession of accurate information are ready to instruct and to support their government.

Seventh, Canada should meticulously keep the peace, praying God that the Anglo-American people will be true to their great trust. At the same time they should be ready instantly, if necessary—and I emphasize this very particularly—to rain fire on those nations who disregard their solemn pledges and wantonly wage war.

I know that some hon. members, particularly in the group to my right, will declare that in saying this I am a warmonger. That is not so. I am a lover of peace. But the only way to guarantee non-aggression in such a world as we now have is to be strong, and just, and ready to act on a moment's notice if necessary.

Last but not least, I say to the government that their foreign policy as well as their domestic policy should be one of absolute trust in God and keeping our powder dry.

I support the resolution.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: And the brotherhood of man?

Mr. LOW: Yes, sir.

Mr. FRED ROSE (Cartier): We have just heard from the leader of the Social Credit party what is practically a war declaration—in my opinion a very irresponsible way of talking in this atomic period. If he were concerned with his own province of Alberta—because we know against whom he made the war declaration—he would realize that parts of that province would be very much in the area of the war which he was advocating this morning.

Mr. LOW: I was not advocating war. That is just the hon. member's own microbic interpretation.

Mr. ROSE: It is most regrettable that only a few months after the war we should have here a discussion of so serious a problem as the prevention of another war. People throughout the world, and that includes Canada, are disturbed by present events. I have here a letter from a woman in Ottawa, Mrs. Sheila Woodsworth, who writes to me as follows:

> I am afraid of the atomic bomb. Alone I can do nothing about it. I am writing to you in the hope that you will do all in your power to see that this great discovery is not left in the hands of a few countries but is controlled by a world organization. This seems to me the only hope for us and our children.

An hon. MEMBER: Who wrote it?

Mr. ROSE: I gave the name—Mrs. Sheila Woodsworth, of Ottawa. I do not know her. As I said before, it is most disturbing that a few months after the war, people feel impelled to write such letters as this to members of parliament, asking them to do something so that this atomic bomb shall not be used among peoples. The Washington declaration does not reassure me any more than it reassures that person; I do not think it reassures any member of this house. The fact is that the declaration leaves in the hands of those who have it the power to use the atomic bomb at their discretion, and leaves the door open to an atomic armament race. It may sound very harsh, but it is a fact that it has left in the hands of the United States, Great Britain and Canada not only a dangerous weapon of war, but a dangerous weapon of diplomacy.

War simply does not come by itself; someone once said that war is a continuation of politics in a different way. Politics goes on before war, and politics to-day is becoming an atomic diplomacy. We see it going on right now in Washington, more perhaps than anywhere else. And recently we had the example when Ambassador Hurley practically demanded that the United States should use the advantage of the atomic bomb in her diplomatic dealings. Such voices are heard more and more in the United States. Pressure is being exerted on Washington for the United States government to use the atomic bomb as a diplomatic weapon to club everybody.

I follow closely the United States press. I spoke in Boston a week ago Sunday, and there you get the feeling that a new diplomacy is being advocated in the United States. There

is the intervention in China, and Washington practically says: "We will keep those marines there until the situation fits into our pattern." One hon. member spoke about Anglo-American democracy. I would say that this is far from a democratic action. We read daily about the wiping out of Indonesian villages, of people poorly armed fighting for their freedom against British forces, and again we hear about Anglo-American democracy. This is not the type of pattern we had hoped for in the post-war period. It is not the type of pattern that will produce lasting security.

The Prime Minister praised the great work of President Roosevelt, and we all had the greatest respect for the late president, but I would remind hon. members of something that he said in March 1945. He knew that collaboration cannot be Anglo-American but must be collaboration among those powers that made victory possible, the powers that can preserve the peace together. Speaking about the trouble at the time he said:

> It is fruitless to try to place the blame for the situation on one particular nation or another. It is the kind of development which is almost inevitable unless the major powers of the world continue without interruption to work together and assume joint responsibility for the solution of problems which may arise to endanger the peace of the world.

The other day President Truman seemingly forgot these words when he said: "No more conferences of the big three; we don't have to get together any more."

There is no solution but in the continued unity of the big three. Only a few weeks ago when Cordell Hull, that great old statesman, accepted the Nobel prize, he said:

> We must never forget that to achieve the great goal of lasting peace it is imperative that there be continued unity, friendly understanding, and common effort among the people and statesmen of the major united nations who bore the principal burden in the war against the axis.

Unity and understanding among those who bore the burden in the war! But this declaration of Washington has been made by powers outside one great power that bore one of the greatest burdens, and this can only tend to create suspicion and bring about a situation that is not the best at the present time. Some people are always suggesting that the Russians are close-mouthed, that they do not say what they want to say, that they do not say what they mean, that they just keep everything to themselves, and so on. Hon. members who are interested have the same opportunities as I have for acquiring information. They can resort to the New York *Times*, as I do. If they will look at that newspaper in its issue of Wednesday, November 7, 1945, they will find reported therein a speech made by foreign commissar Molotov in which he referred to atomic diplomacy. What he says reflects the feeling of the Soviet people over the fact that they are being kept out, and are being given reason for suspicion. He said:

> A word must be said about the discovery of atomic energy and about the atomic bomb, the colossal destructive force of which was displayed in the war against Japan. Atomic energy has not yet been tried, however, for averting aggression or safeguarding peace, but it is not possible at the present time for a technical secret of any great size to remain the exclusive possession of some one country or some narrow circle of countries. This being so, the discovery of atomic energy should not encourage either a propensity to exploit the discovery and the play of forces in international policy, or an attitude of complacency as regards the future of peace-loving nations.

Plainly and simply, Mr. Molotov says that there are some nations who believe that they have an advantage because they have the bomb, but that it cannot be kept a secret. It shows that there is a good deal of suspicion in his mind. He ends his speech by saying, "We will have atomic energy and many other things." I would say that as a result of the great contribution which the Russians made to victory, it should have been possible for the three nations to get together, making the atomic bomb the possession of all, because we would then know that it would not be used by any one nation.

It has been disclosed that the Germans had some very dangerous type of poison gas but they did not use it because they knew that everyone had it. From the point of view of equilibrium in diplomatic and political relations, it would have been better if the atomic bomb had been placed in the hands of all rather than in the hands of the Anglo-American nations. It is true there is a conference of foreign ministers where the matter is being discussed, but this is taking place after the Washington understanding and agreement. It could have taken place before, and it should have occurred before.

One United States newspaper man, Leland Stowe, referring to the atomic bomb as a diplomatic weapon, gives the following picture, writing in the Montreal *Standard* on November 24, 1945. He is a newspaperman of great repute who has travelled throughout the world and has seen the various countries at war. He knows of their sufferings. He says:

> If the Soviets had the bomb and had followed Washington's precise course since August 6, how would the average American feel? I think the newspapers would be full of explosive condemnation of the "imperialistic power-seeking" Russians—and an awful lot of us would be plenty scared.

We would say: If the Russians don't intend to use the bomb, actually or for blackmail

purposes, why didn't they invite President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee to a conference right away?

We would say: Why is Moscow treating the Americans and British as if they were second-class allies? Military men would be derelict in their duty if they didn't say: We've got to build a bomb of our own in the shortest possible time. Don't trust the Russians. The very fact that they only talk about sharing, after they've had time to make many more bombs themselves shows they can't be trusted.

If I were a Russian I think I should feel exactly like that. But I am not worried about being a Russian. As one member of this house and as a Canadian interested in the peace of Canada and the world, I am afraid that the damage which has been done already will be hard to heal in the coming months, though I hope it may be healed. Scientists who have worked on the bomb have spoken publicly for the first time, and this is all to the good. Scientists who know exactly what is involved in this atomic energy, much better than at least many of us in the house can know, have advised that we hand over the secret to an international committee, not at some future date but right away. A number of scientists were engaged in this work. One very prominent man, Doctor J. R. Oppenheimer, who directed atomic bomb research at Los Alamos, New Mexico, said:

> It has momentarily strengthened us—

Meaning the United States.

> —but not in the long run. Some people apparently have been reluctant to draw this to the attention of the world.

Then he recommends that it be placed in the hands of an international organization. Doctor Curtis, who was one of the leading scientists working on atomic energy at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, said that atomic energy should be turned over to an international organization to control all aspects of atomic power. There are many more. Only the other day Professor Sziland, appearing before the senate committee on atomic energy, said it would appear that we were producing bombs against the soviet union. One of the senators interjected, "No, no; we are friends." Professor Szilard replied, "Well, I assume we are producing them against the Soviet Union," and he was one of those who first thought of the possibility of the bomb. He went on to say: "Well, if we are, we are going to be at a disadvantage." He pointed out that it would take the United States twenty years to decentralize her industries, which would have to be done in the event of atomic war, but he said it would take Russia only two years, and therefore the advantage of having the bomb now would be completely lost. One of the most ridiculous arguments against passing on the "know-how" to other countries was presented by Major General Leslie G. Groves, who was in charge of the whole project of producing the atomic bomb. He gave some reasons why it should not be placed in the hands of an international organization; and do you know what he said: He said it would erase national boundaries, end the sanctity of the home and destroy private commercial enterprise. That was the reason for his opposition to an international organization; that it would destroy the sanctity of the home and destroy private free enterprise. If these are the reasons then I would say that those who oppose handing this over to an international organization are relying on pretty weak arguments. After all, the atomic bomb would definitely destroy the sanctity of the home; everyone will agree with that.

I was not going to speak on this at all, but before I conclude I must say a few words about one group in this house who have been carrying on a most vicious agitation against a country which has been a loyal ally and which has been carrying out all the decisions reached at various conferences. People say you cannot trust the Soviet Union, that they are going to bolshevize the world. Well, right next door to Russia is Finland. We were told that was a country Russia was going to swallow. They had elections in that country. The communists did not come into power. A majority of those elected were neither communists nor socialists. They said Russia would swallow Hungary. Well, Hungary has not been swallowed. They had elections there and the small holders' party came out with the largest group. Then people said, "Aha! now there has been a free election, because the communists did not come out in the majority." In France, of course, the communists came through the election as the largest party and the Red Army is not there. Again, something was said about Austria, but in Austria the Russians actually placed their cards on the table. They recognized the free government at the head of which was Renner, a socialist. They had elections there, and what happened? We all know the results. Then the Soviet Union said they would withdraw from Manchuria, and they are allowing Chinese troops to go into that country. I should like to see the other countries living up to their promises and responsibilities as the Soviet people have been living up to theirs. Let the other countries prove their good faith. Let them prove it in Indonesia, in French Indo-China, in China and everywhere else. They have not done so. The Social Credit group in this house, and

particularly the leader of that group, assisted very ably by the hon. member for Wetaskiwin, have been carrying on a vicious agitation here.

Mr. HANSELL: What about me?

Mr. ROSE: I am sorry; I did not mean to overlook the hon. member for Macleod. They have been carrying on a most vicious agitation against the Soviet Union, actually speaking as though the Soviet people have been our enemies, carrying on the type of agitation which I have said before does not help bring about unity, does not help us when we try to build peace in the world, which will not solve anything but in my opinion will only help create more and more suspicion.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Mr. ROSE: No, it is not going to be carried so quickly; this is one time I am going through with it. I will say that those who have been speaking against the Soviet Union are using the language of the Hitlerites. That is a sharp statement, isn't it? One day they will speak about the Soviet Union. The next day they will speak about bankers, international bankers, and they will mention any Jewish name they can think of in the banking world, forgetting the Mellons, the Chase National Bank, the Royal Bank, the Bank of Montreal—on the board of which there is not a single Jew—and all the rest of them. They are carrying on an agitation anti-soviet, anti-Jewish, anti-Socialist. Why, they even charged the Liberal party with becoming a socialist party. In every sense the sort of agitation they are conducting to-day resembles the agitation of the Hitlerites in the good old days. I have before me their attitude toward foreign affairs. Here in this house, of course, they have to polish it up a bit, but down in the province of Quebec they believe they can sell the people anything they wish. Here is their attitude, for instance, toward San Francisco, from their own paper, *Vers demain*, dated April 15, 1944:

Nous pouvons être sûrs qu'à San-Francisco, il y aura d'autres délégués que les représentants officiels des nations invitées. Ils n'auront pas le droit de vote, mais ils seront là pour inspirer ceux qui auront le droit de vote. Les financiers y seront. Les Juifs y seront. Les socialistes y seront. Toute la bande infernale essayera de canaliser ce concil œcuménique de la matière.

I should like to translate that, because it is too good to be missed by some hon. members:

We can be certain that at San Francisco there will be other delegates than those officially representing the various nations. They will not have the right to vote but they will be there to inspire those who have the right to vote. The financiers will be there, the Jews will be there, the socialists will be there. All that infernal gang will be there to canalize this conference into their own channels.

And, speaking about the peace we want to have, in another edition of the same paper, under date of May 1, 1945, they say:

La dernière paix, au traité de Versailles, fut façonnée par les Juifs internationaux, Schiff, Warburg et consorts: on sait ce qui en est sorti. Le monde chrétien, chrétien mais paganisé, de 1945 est-il en train de passer sous la même coupe?

Then, speaking about the peace after the last war, they say that the last treaty, the treaty of Versailles, was fashioned by international Jews, Schiff, Warburg and Company, and that we know what has come out of it. Then they ask if the Christian world, Christian but paganized in 1945, is to pass through the same status.

Let me say that that was Hitler's argument. I have one extract here which actually uses material I saw in a nazi paper, and which states that the Jews, the Jewish financiers, such as Kuhn, Loeb and Company, had helped the Russians to carry out their revolution. Those are the stories, printed in that paper, which appeared in the nazi press. According to one of these papers the hon. member for Wetaskiwin (Mr. Jaques) was to speak over the air about Shylock and Marx.

Listen to that language. That is language we have not yet forgotten, language that is not yet dead. Here they come to the House of Commons and, while they do not use the same language, that is what they mean. It is language which can only create trouble. If we proceed on the basis of it we can have no peace, no stability.

It is the good fortune, however, of the people of Canada that those people are limited to one province. We understand that we must have peace, and Canada as a neighbour of the Soviet Union and the United States and as a member of the British commonwealth holds great responsibility. We must do everything in our power to cement that degree of unity needed throughout the world, and especially among those who have carried most of the burden in the war. Otherwise we shall have chaos and disaster.

Mr. E. G. HANSELL (Macleod): Mr. Speaker, I shall not take much time this afternoon. I had not intended speaking at all until, as the hon. member for Peace River (Mr. Low) was speaking, I heard certain mumblings in this section of the house. I did not have to strain my ears to hear the last speaker, the hon. member for Cartier (Mr. Rose), and I am not going to answer him.

Mr. ROSE: It is just a debt repaid.

Mr. HANSELL: However, he has attacked some of our supporters in the province of Quebec. All I wish to say is that whether they are our supporters or not, the people of Quebec have the happy faculty of speaking their minds. And they use the freedom Canada gives them as citizens. That is all.

There is no semblance of hatred whatsoever in the minds of hon. members of the Social Credit party; no hatred toward any people or any nation. We disagree with totalitarian dictatorship, and we have been outspoken in our disagreement. We wish no ill, and will fight against anything that will bring ill to any people or any nation anywhere.

May I compliment the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) and the other signatories of the declaration now before us for consideration. I have read it with considerable care and, after reading it, it was my view that it is a magnanimous document, Great Britain, the United States and Canada, represented by the heads of those nations, in that document have offered to the world all the benefits of atomic energy which they have discovered. I repeat that those benefits are offered to the entire world.

For a period of time, for economic reasons those countries could have retained this development of science. They could have brought to the western democracies the greatest standard of living yet dreamed of. But they have shown themselves willing to share this development with the world. The only place they have stopped in extending their gift is when it comes to destruction. And even in that respect, the declaration goes so far as to say that they will let the world have the benefit of their knowledge, when they are sure it is safe to do so.

Surely no nations could be more generous or more magnanimous to the rest of the world than have these three, when dealing with this matter.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I gather from the debate that the house is all but unanimous in support of the resolution, and that at most there is but one member, the hon. member for Cartier (Mr. Rose), who is opposed to it. It will be, I know a source of great satisfaction to all members of parliament—members of all parties—that both in the Senate and in the House of Commons of Canada there has been unanimity in support of the resolution. That will help in all parts of the world.

May I convey to my hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Bracken) my congratulations upon the splendid address he delivered this morning. Clearly, it was one to which much thought had been given, and which will be helpful I am sure to all who are interested in this all-important question.

There was one reference my hon. friend made—I believe it was to paragraph 7 in the declaration—where it seemed to me, if I heard his words aright, that either he had not in mind the true interpretation of the language of the motion, or that he was expressing something that was not wholly what was in his mind. If I heard his words correctly, he said we were relying upon reciprocal agreements to see that the atomic bomb would not be used in future wars. *Hansard* will show whether I have understood my hon. friend correctly.

I noticed the hon. member for Vancouver East (Mr. MacInnis) took up the point and I thought quite rightly, said that the whole purpose of my remarks in interpreting the declaration had been to make clear that we cannot afford to rely upon any agreement anywhere; and that the only security against the use of the atomic bomb is the abolition of war itself. That was the point I wished to make very clear, namely, that so far as a major weapon of warfare of this kind is concerned, agreements amount to nothing at all, unless there can be some way in which apart from agreements an unscrupulous people may be prevented from violating an agreement into which they may enter or from using weapons of mass destruction. I repeat, the only safeguard for the preservation of civilization, now that the world is possessed of a weapon of war so devastating as the atomic bomb, is that matters be so worked out in the course of time, and in the near time, that nations will realize that those who take up weapons of this kind to destroy other nations are going to destroy themselves as well. In this last war the use of the bomb by one country was replied to by the use of the bomb by others, but it was not the atomic bomb. In an atomic age, that same kind of conflict can only bring disaster to all mankind.

I am quite sure that my hon. friend on looking over his notes or *Hansard* will find that while expressing what was in his mind he was in agreement with myself on that particular point.

Mr. BRACKEN: I was not conscious that I was in disagreement; I am trying to find the reference to which my hon. friend alludes but I have not been able to find it as yet.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It may not be there, and I hope it is not, but if it is there I am quite sure my hon. friend did not mean in any way to disagree with what had been said by myself.

May I express also to the hon. member for Vancouver East my appreciation of the manner in which he spoke this morning, and, with one exception, of what he said I shall allude to the exception in a moment. I should like to say that we all regret that the leader of the C.C.F. party (Mr. Coldwell) has been prevented from taking part in this debate, particularly for the reason which has prevented him from being here this morning. Fortunately, he has already spoken elsewhere on this question, and a good deal of publicity has been given to what he has said. I think his remarks have made it clear that he would strongly support of this resolution.

The one remark, if I caught it aright, of my hon. friend the member for Vancouver East to which I wish to take exception was his statement that research into atomic energy for use in war had been in the hands of the Duponts in the United States. Imperial Chemical Industries in Britain and Canadian Industries Limited in Canada. That statement is absolutely untrue, and I want to make the strongest possible denial I can make of the statement. This particular field of research was a matter of the most complete cooperation between the universities and government departments; it was not in the hands of these industrial concerns to which my hon. friend has referred. It is quite true that in the building of some of the plants firms which were possessed of special skills and had been associated with one or other of the industries to which my hon. friend referred were employed to help on the work of construction, but so far as the research work is concerned that was a matter which was kept entirely under the control of Government departments of our three countries and the industries mentioned were not parties to the research work.

Mr. MacINNIS: Have they access to the research and the use of it?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: No, and I wish to make that very clear. Will my hon. friend give the House his reason for believing that they have had such access?

Mr. MacINNIS: If I did not think that I had fairly good reason for saying that, I certainly would not have made the statement. I am very glad to accept the Prime Minister's statement that it is not true, although I do not think that is the best way of saying it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I say to my hon. friend that a thing is either true or untrue. If it is not true, then there is only one way of stating the fact.

Mr. MacINNIS: If I had said that about my right hon. friend, I am sure he would have objected.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I would never have made the statement that my hon. friend made.

Mr. MacINNIS: I would not agree with the right hon. gentleman.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: That is a very serious statement to make, particularly by an hon. member who is leading his party. Unless the hon. member was prepared to give the grounds on which he based a statement of that kind, he should not have made it at all. I must thank my hon. friend and congratulate him upon having accepted unreservedly the correction which I have made in the particular I have.

I also want to thank the leader of the Social Credit party (Mr. Low) for so strongly supporting this resolution. I do not think it is necessary for me at this time to enter into a discussion as to the points of difference between the hon. member and the hon. member for Cartier (Mr. Rose). There is a time and a place for all things. I think a debate on the principles of democracy versus dictatorship might well have been left over for another occasion.

May I say to the hon. member for Cartier, who appears to have felt it necessary for him to speak on behalf of one particular country, that I think it is unfortunate for that country that he has taken the attitude which he has to-day, particularly when at the moment there happens to be in the capital of that country the foreign secretaries of both the United Kingdom and the United States. They have gone there to seek to dismiss altogether any ground of suspicion, and to do their utmost to secure, as respects the course to be taken to prevent the atomic bomb from being used for purposes of destruction, complete accord between the three countries which are represented at that conference.

In conclusion may I say this one word which I feel I should like to say at this time. I do not believe we can survey the past years without realizing that the most dangerous of all things that can happen to any country is that evil men should get control of its affairs. No one can look at what is being brought out at the trial at Nuernberg without realizing that the reason the German people are in the position they are in to-day, the reason we have had this terrible war, is that the government of Germany got into the hands of wicked men. If democracy is to save itself, I do not care what the country is, if any form of government is to save itself, the people must make it their first endeavour to see that the men whom they entrust with the responsibility of power are men who believe in what is right who are honest men, not men, as this group in Germany have been, a lot of gangsters at heart.

Speaking of science, I believe the world has reason to be thankful that men of science have made the great discoveries they have. The progress of the world has come in large part from scientific discoveries. Most things, through the measures in which they are used, have inherent in themselves their opposites something that may be made of great benefit to the world may also be used for diabolical purposes in other ways. It all depends upon who possess the control and what the motive is that lies behind their actions. The greatest of all scientists, so far as being a benefactor of mankind is concerned, was, I believe, that great man, Louis Pasteur. I have before quoted in this house a certain passage from Pasteur, I should like before we conclude this debate to quote it again because it seems to me to go to the very heart of the whole situation we have been discussing to-day. This statement was made by Pasteur over half a century ago. It will be seen to have a much wider application than could never have been dreamt of at the time it was made:

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 battlefield—the other, a law of peace, work and health, ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. The one seeks violent conquests, the other the relief of humanity. The latter places one human life above any victory; while the former would sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to the ambition of one. Which of these two laws shall ultimately prevail, God alone knows.

Mr. MacNICOL: Would the Prime Minister add the name of Doctor Banting?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am very happy to add Doctor Banting's name to the list of scientists who will ever be remembered as among the great benefactors of mankind. In referring to Louis Pasteur, I was quoting from one who so far as the world's record is concerned stands, I believe pre-eminent as a scientist and benefactor of mankind.

I believe that by enabling us to make prevail among nations, the law of peace, work, and health, science will have given us the key to the solution of our world problems. The great scientists are known to be men of wide vision and of large heart. I am sure the motive that actuates them is in most cases, at least, that of service to their fellowmen. Again, in the words of Pasteur, I believe the final verdict upon their researches will be: "Science will have tried by obeying the laws of Humanity extend the frontiers of Life."

Mr. JOHN BRACKEN (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I am not sure that I caught the full significance of the Prime Minister's comments with respect to one of my observations. I am sure there is no difference of any consequence between us, but lest there should be I should like to refer to the matter. I think it was not paragraph 7 but paragraph 6 to which the Prime Minister must have been referring. The last sentence in paragraph 6 of the declaration reads as follows:

We are, however, prepared to share, on a reciprocal basis with others of the united nations, detailed information concerning the practical industrial application of atomic energy just as soon as effective enforceable safeguards against its use for destructive purposes can be devised.

My comment on that was as follows: I said that it was an offer to share scientific knowledge on a reciprocal basis, and I added:

The problem of policing the use of this process is a complicated one, much more complicated than any political problem ever undertaken in the past. Can society draw a line of demarcation and see that the line is observed —between developing atomic energy for peaceful purposes and outlawing it for the purposes of war? That is the challenge. It is a challenge we must accept, and as the lines suggest, we accept it by tying our faith to reciprocal agreements to banish its use in time of war.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: That was the phrase I meant—tying our faith to reciprocal agreements to banish its use in time of war. I do not think we are tying our faith to anything but the abolition of war itself. That is my point.

Mr. BRACKEN: I think the Prime Minister will agree that I was dealing with the clauses as I came to them, and that what I said was not meant to be an all-inclusive statement, but rather an interpretation of the clause itself.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I quite agree.

Mr. BRACKEN: I might have made it more inclusive and said, banish its use in time of war and to banish war itself. But I went on to say that it must be our main effort to banish war itself. Since the Prime Minister has referred to it, and in order that there may be no doubt as to the record, perhaps I might be permitted to repeat what I said with respect to war itself. I said:

What does it all add up to? If my sixty years tell me anything, they tell me that humanity will neither be satisfied nor safe till there is

world security against aggressors. Any realist must know that this security will come in one or other of two ways—

And so forth; I need not repeat it all, but I ended by saying:

What we are enduring to-day is the labour pains of better world understanding, the beginnings of a world of peace and of potential progress such as man has never before witnessed.

We have two things to do, both of which require conscious effort and a degree of international toleranace and understanding never before demonstrated in the world. We must determine to have international peace and we must determine to be relieved of the shackles that have tied us to war and hunger and disease in the past. We must go forward in faith, conscious that, while we may not reach the goal in our day, we are going at least in the right direction, and knowing that we are doing our part in bringing the world nearer to the time when peace and prosperity rather than war will be the inheritance of mankind.

Motion agreed to.

TRADE AND EMPLOYMENT

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN 1946

On the orders of the day:

Mr. JOHN BRACKEN (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I have a question to ask which on two previous occasions I addressed to the Prime Minister, with respect to the proposed international trade conference next summer in the United States. I understood that it was to be answered this morning. I asked whether an invitation had been received by Canada; and, should one be received, would it be accepted and would the Prime Minister consider sending a non-partisan delegation to the conference. Perhaps the Minister of Fisheries would bring the question to the attention of the Prime Minister so that I may have an answer later to-day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO ASSIST MR. SPEAKER IN REVISION OF STANDING ORDERS

On the orders of the day:

Mr. JOHN BRACKEN (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, the Minister of Veterans Affairs is not present, but this will probably be the only opportunity I shall have to ask this question, and I should like to have it brought to his attention. I should like to ask what progress has been made by the special committee, appointed on November 7, to recommend revision of the rules of the house. As the Minister of Mines and Resources is the cabinet representative on the committee, perhaps he would reply. I think it is apparent to all of us that revisions of the rules are urgently needed, and as the committee has not brought in a report at this session, might we have an assurance from the Prime Minister that action will be taken, as soon as parliament reassembles, to appoint another committee which will have ample opportunity to make a thorough study and a full report?

I realize that in the absence of the minister the question cannot be answered at the moment, but perhaps I could be given an answer before the session closes to-day.

Hon. H. F. G. BRIDGES (Minister of Fisheries): I will bring both questions to the attention of the Prime Minister and also of the Minister of Veterans Affairs, and I hope that some statement will be made before the session closes.

Mr. ALISTAIR STEWART (Winnipeg North): This group agreed to sit to-day from eleven o'clock to six o'clock on condition that we knew the order in which the estimates were to come up. We were informed on Saturday night by the Minister of Veterans Affairs that first of all we would have the atomic energy resolution and then the estimates of the Department of External Affairs. Can the minister inform us when the external affairs estimates will come up?

Mr. BRIDGES: I am not in a position to reply at the moment, but I will endeavour to get the information.

Mr. BRACKEN: If it is only information the hon. member wishes, I can pass on to him what I got from the Minister of Veterans Affairs. We understood that the Prime Minister would proceed with his external affairs estimates immediately after the atomic bomb discussion; but earlier to-day the Minister of Veterans Affairs advised us that the Prime Minister would probably come on between four and five o'clock, and that he would proceed in the order indicated last night, except for that change. Does that answer the hon. member's question?

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): Yes; thank you.

SUPPLY

The house in committee of supply, Mr. Macdonald (Brantford City) in the chair.

DEPARTMENT OF FISHERIES

72. Departmental administration, $163,760.

Mr. ARCHIBALD: I should like to say a few words on this general discussion. When the department was before the committee previously I did not get up in time.

I should like to bring to the attention of the minister a problem which will soon arise on the international markets of the world in selling the produce of the sea. Such countries as Venezuela and Chile are going into the building of large cold storage plants, and though the fishing industry is in a healthy condition at the present time it is apt to face in the near future competition which it will be difficult to meet. If we are to keep the fishermen in their independent position they must have a reasonable price for their products. For instance, the halibut fishermen do not want to see the price of halibut go down to two cents a pound, as it did around 1931.

Another problem is that of the boats. During the war the fishing industry had difficulty in getting lumber, as many other industries did, to replace old and outworn equipment. Now the few boats which are being built at the boat yards are having a hard time getting good lumber. It is a disgrace to see the type of lumber which is going into the holds to-day. It is a flat-grained fir. Prior to the war, in such things as decking you could get No. 1 edge grain, but they are not getting it to-day. In British Columbia we are exporting 65 per cent of our total cut, with only 33⅓ per cent being exported from Ontario. Surely the minister could find some way of retaining some No. 1 lumber to put into the boats of the fishermen. There are subsidies of from 50 cents to $3 a cord on such things as cordwood. The minister should be able to get something of the sort for the fishermen on the coast.

A word as to the old halibut boats up in Prince Rupert. Most of them were built in the United States, and they will soon have to be replaced. These boats were built in the United States under subsidies given by the United States government. We in Canada will have to follow the same practice in the future. We talk about free enterprise; the halibut fleet out on the coast is the highest expression of free enterprise. The boats are individually owned. The men who work on these boats work on a share basis, and any new member of the crew who comes on them is not picked by the skipper so much as by the boys. In the interests of the men I should like to see that independence continued.

The equipment which the fishermen have on the coast does not compare, I think, with that which comes up from the United States coast. Not many of our halibut men fish in the No. 3 area because they have not large enough boats. I should like to press on the minister the desirability of subsidizing or helping the fishermen to establish a No. 1 modern fleet.

We know that the fishing season on the Pacific coast in practically all lines is getting shorter. There should be some research in the matter of developing new fields for the fishermen to enter. Take, for example, the tuna fishing. It has been developed just over the past two or three years, and the fishermen have had to go out and test the equipment for themselves. Some boats, because they have had to keep the bait on the deck, have been turned upside down, and lives have been lost, because there has not been research as to the kind of equipment required in this branch of the fishing industry.

Investigation should also be made in the Jap current which lies thirty miles off the northern tip of the Queen Charlotte islands. It is reported that large schools of salmon have been seen, but it may be tuna. The tuna fishing season is very short, and this would fit in nicely with the halibut fishing industry.

Consideration should also be given to helping out the fishermen by modernizing their equipment. In the United States one firm is going into the manufacture of radar equipment for fishing boats. In "Time" magazine it is stated that no up-to-date fishing boat should be without radar. Is Canada going to be one beat behind the United States at all times? We developed radar; now let us see that the fishing fleet get it, because it will be a marvellous help in finding fishing schools and also telling what type of bottom they have where they are fishing.

Mr. WINTERS: Not with radar.

Mr. ARCHIBALD: A word about such places as Langara island and Juskatla. I was caught short because I did not have the names, but I will give them to the minister so that he can bring pressure on the Minister of public works with regard to these points which the northern fishermen want built up. At Massett they need facilities as soon as they can possibly be brought in. Officials of the Department of Fisheries are well aware of the needs of the fishing fleet in northern British Columbia. In Prince Rupert the fishermen through their cooperatives have built a large cooperative cold storage plant, but they have no proper facilities to get down to the plant, and they need a road right along the C.N.R. right of way. If this provision could be made for them it would be much easier for them to get down to the boats with their gear. At the present time they practically have to pack it on their backs if they want to get down to the boats on the roads built by the Department of Public Works.

I bring these points to the attention of the minister so that the fishing industry may be

enabled to maintain its independence and grow and develop with the development of the country.

Mr. WINTERS: In rising to speak for a few minutes on fisheries I would say, as almost everyone else says upon rising in these last days of the session, that I regret taking the time of the committee under the circumstances. I offer by way of justification the fact that I represent Queens-Lunenburg, which is the best fishing constituency on the continent. In other constituencies possibly more fish may be caught, but I know of no other wherein a greater percentage of the population is engaged in fishing or wherein this single basic industry represents a greater proportion of the over-all economy.

This constituency is steeped in the tradition of fishing, involving wooden ships and iron men. There has been a tendency on the part of some hon. members to compare the merits of the west with those of the east. In my opinion competition is always a good stimulant, but it is better when tempered by co-operation. Progress on the east coast will mean betterment on the west coast, and vice versa. On this basis we in the east are pleased with any developments our western friends can achieve, so long as we have adequate opportunities to do a little developing on our own part.

The fishermen on the west coast have been well championed by the hon. member for New Westminster and others. We do not deny that they catch fish of many varieties, and in large quantities. We cannot agree, however, with the hon. member for New Westminster, when he says that British Columbia fisheries are neglected in favour of the maritimes.

To refer again to our good friend the hon. member for New Westminster, he was kind enough to send me a copy of a report entitled International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission Annual Report, 1944. This report sets out in a clear and interesting way the work put into the development of the Fraser river, and the expenditure of money involved in the effort. It is undoubtedly all to the good, and illustrates what could be done, on a much smaller scale of course, to improve such rivers as the Medway in Queens county and La Have in Lunenburg county. Both these rivers are essential to the economic welfare of the communities along their courses, and their development is urgently needed. People who live along these rivers, and read of the developments of British Columbia rivers, find it hard to agree that the Department of Fisheries discriminates against British Columbia in favour of the maritimes.

As I have said previously, the department is well aware of the importance of developing these Nova Scotia rivers, but when I press the issue, I am told by the department that work cannot be proceeded with because the engineers who will eventually be concerned, are occupied in British Columbia.

In Queens-Lunenburg we have been engaged in fishing for a long time. It is of more than secondary importance to us. I can join with my colleague, the hon. member for Shelburne-Yarmouth-Clare, in asserting that, in our adjoining constituencies, fishing is the very core of our economic life. To us it is not difficult to justify the appointment of a minister from the maritimes, and right now we maritimers think we have a pretty good one. His department may be the Cinderella of the government, but it is growing in stature.

It is pretty difficult to sell to maritimers the idea that other departments are more important and require more personnel. I would imagine it is equally difficult to sell the idea to fishermen from British Columbia. What the fishermen want is a fisheries department strong enough and sufficiently well staffed with experts of all kinds, such as researchers, inspectors, guardians and so forth, to provide fishermen with adequate assistance to guarantee them a just share of Canada's wealth. I do not know of any class of people who work harder for what they get in return.

The fishermen in the maritimes are grateful to the government for floor prices under fish. Although this has been a temporary measure, we hope that the government will continue to extend these benefits, which have proved to be such an advantage to so many people.

We have just come through a period of fair prosperity for fishermen, because their entire output could readily be absorbed, at good prices, to feed warring nations. These nations are now at peace, and are bending every effort to restore their own economies. We shall have to look elsewhere for markets and perhaps be prepared to accept lower prices. There is much to be done in developing markets both in Canada and externally. When one realizes that the average consumption of fish per capita per year in Canada is only about twelve pounds, and that during the same period the average meat consumption is 157 pounds, we can see why the fishermen think there is room for improvement.

Externally our big markets used to be the United States and West Indies, and these are still good potential markets if we are given an adequate chance to develop them. The Canada-West Indies treaty operated to the disadvantage of maritime fishermen. We lost good customers because of preferential trade barriers and discriminatory freight rates on Canadian steamship lines which considered it expedient to carry other commodities, and even fish from other countries, at rates considerably less than those charged for our own Canadian fish. These conditions are clearly presented in a report prepared for the Department of Fisheries in 1938 by two well known and authoritative merchants and experts, Messrs O. F. MacKenzie and F. Homer Zwicker. The report is entitled, "Markets for Dried and Pickled Fish."

Another report I would commend to hon. members is entitled "Report of the Royal Commission Investigating the Fisheries of the Maritime Provinces and the Magdalen Islands" presented in 1928. After reading this latter report I gained the impression that the government has given it close study, since many of the recommendations have been implemented already. I cannot urge too strongly, however, that the MacKenzie-Zwicker report be given careful study and that it be acted upon. Maritime fishermen are convinced that the southern markets can be regained by negotiating favourable treaties, but they insist that this must be done without delay. This applies to frozen, fresh and salted fish.

It is most important that the department's programme of development and research be pushed with vigour. There is much to be done. We must find out how to get fish to markets in the best possible condition. This means quality control, scientific methods, more and better inspection, and a full programme of education. We have lost many sales because we were outdone in quality.

The research programme must, of course, embrace shellfish. Lobster and scallop fisheries must not be overlooked. There is still too much illegal fishing of lobsters. This applies particularly to the fishing of lobsters in closed seasons and taking of small lobsters both in closed and open seasons. Greater vigilance is necessary on the part of guardians, and it may well be that their number needs to be increased.

Scallop fishing needs some attention. This used to be a lucrative business, and scallops were taken in large quantities. The supply is fast diminishing. An investigation should be undertaken to locate new beds, and with a view to providing regulations as to the dates of the season, the length of the season and the permissible quantities to be taken.

I would add a few brief remarks in support of all that has been said by the hon. members for Saint John-Albert, New Westminster, Halifax and Shelburne-Yarmouth-Clare, in requesting close cooperation among the departments of fisheries, transportation and public works. It is fundamental that fishermen must have the full advantages of breakwaters, wharves, adequate buoys, direction-finding devices and so forth, if they are to develop to the best advantage.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I would say again that there is much to be done. Fishermen are counting heavily on this government to help them take their rightful place in the Canadian economy. We have full confidence in the minister and his department, and we are hoping for the best.

Mr. GREEN: Could the minister tell the committee what plans his department have in mind for the extension of the fishing industry, more particularly plans in connection with the rehabilitation of the men coming back from the forces? As the estimates of the different departments have come up for consideration I have formed the opinion that the departments are allowing themselves to slide back to the 1939 outlook. They seem to be getting back to normal, whereas there should be some recognition of the fact that we are living in a new era and that there must be expansion and a movement forward. I hope there are some forward-looking plans all ready to be put into effect by the Department of Fisheries.

With regard to the fisheries on the Pacific coast suggestions have been made by very responsible people, which I think would be backed up by the members from British Columbia, to the effect that a great deal could be done in the way of clearing streams so that salmon could get up to spawn and the young fish could get back to the sea, and that there should be a far more carefully organized patrolling and observation of conditions on the various fishing streams. It is suggested that once again fish hatcheries should be established in our province. I do not know how many hatcheries the dominion operates at the present time, but certainly most of them have been closed. Another suggestion is that courses should be established in connection with the rehabilitation of veterans, in which they could study such subjects as biology, zoology, stream control and a certain amount of forestry. Those are typical of the suggestions which have been made about the fishing industry. I see quite a large vote for this department in the supplementary estim-

ates, but the particulars show that the bulk of the money is to be spent on the acquisition of boats, and is not for measures such as those I have suggested. Could the minister make a short statement with regard to the questions I have raised?

Hon. H. F. G. BRIDGES (Minister of Fisheries): We are still on the first item, and it is my intention to make a short statement after all those who wish to speak have done so. At that time I will deal with the matters the hon. gentleman has brought up.

Mr. REID: I have one suggestion to offer to the minister, and I am not going to repeat what I said when we were in committee recently. It is this. Our Canadian fishing fleet on the Pacific coast now is going farther afield. As the inshore fisheries are becoming depleted they are building larger vessels and going out into the open sea. They are also going down south and fishing off the coasts of California, Washington and Oregon. I realize that the minister is new to his position, but I should like him to take serious note of this suggestion, because I believe it would be of great benefit to our fishermen. Back in 1845 a treaty was drawn up between Great Britain and the United States concerning the Columbia river, which begins in the interior of British Columbia and flows to the sea through the state of Washington. In that treaty it was laid down that British subjects would at all times have free access over the river to the sea.

That would be of benefit to us in this way. The Canadian fleet fishing off Washington and Oregon sometimes have to run for cover when a storm comes up. At the present time they have to pick up anchor and move back into Canadian waters, which takes a considerable length of time. It is my opinion, and the opinion of others, that by this treaty our fleet could enter the Columbia river, which would save them a very great deal of time. To those who are not aware of conditions out there this may seem a trivial matter, but to those who know the district and to the fishermen themselves this would be worth thousands of dollars annually. If instead of having to run a hundred miles or more in order to reach Canadian waters they could find safety in the Columbia river, which under the treaty I claim they have a right to do, it would be of great benefit to them. I do not expect the minister to give an answer now, because he has many matters to look into, but this is one thing I would ask him to consider carefully just as soon as the opportunity presents itself.

Mr. STUART (Charlotte): Mr. Chairman, I should like to say a few words in behalf of the fishermen of Charlotte county. Perhaps our fishing industry is not as extensive as that of Nova Scotia, but still we believe it is of considerable importance. The people in that county are hardworking, ambitious men, and all they ask is an opportunity to make a living. It is a hazardous business, as we all know, and in the past the prices of fish have fluctuated to such an extent that at times fishermen have been unable to do more than meet expenses. During the past two years prices have been fair, giving these fishermen an opportunity to purchase new boats and greatly improve their equipment. Even with these improved conditions, however, the breaks many of them got due to war conditions were not so good; and when they did have luck in one season the method of computing income tax left them with very little after paying off their debts incurred during the poor seasons. This condition is being improved to a great extent by legislation now before this parliament.

The hon. member for Saint John-Albert has mentioned my name in connection with lobster hatcheries. I feel this matter to be of vital importance to one of the greatest industries in the maritime provinces; and though reports regarding lobster hatcheries are not so encouraging in Canada, they are still being maintained in the state of Maine and have proved of great value. Several hatcheries are operating in Canada where trout, bass, salmon and other fish are propagated to improve our tourist business and encourage sportsmen to come to this country. I believe that to be a sound business proposition, but in relation to the lobster fisheries there is no comparison in dollars and cents or in the number employed, since in the maritime provinces thousands depend upon these fisheries for their livelihood.

In the past few years this industry has greatly improved. Lobsters are more plentiful than they have been for twenty years, and in some cases the catch has doubled. The cause of this increase has never been explained, but I do know that to-day lobsters three and four inches in length can be found in the bay of Fundy where the oldest resident had never seen a lobster of this size until the past five years. Just where they have came from I cannot say. We were always given to understand that lobsters of this size could not survive owing to the water temperatures. I take it for granted that the water temperatures now are practically the same as they were twenty years ago, yet to-day these lobsters can be found. In my opinion these small lobsters

come from the state of Maine. As the first place to increase their lobster catch in Charlotte county was Grand Manan island, the nearest lobster ground to the Maine coast. I would urge upon the department that they give this matter serious thought. To give you some idea of the value, the Conley Lobster Company, who ship lobsters from the town where I live, will this year sell lobsters to the value of over three million dollars. Ninety-five per cent of these lobsters will be sold in the United States.

We have also in this particular county a valuable sardine industry. Millions of dollars are invested in canneries, sardine weirs, boats and other equipment necessary to carry on this very important fishing. In fact, we have the largest sardine cannery in the British Empire or perhaps the whole world. This is the largest industry in the county, employing directly and indirectly thousands of men and women. Practically all fish are purchased from fishermen within a radius of fifty miles. This cannery in the year 1943 used over 70 million tins which are made in their own can shops. It uses thousands of barrels of cotton-seed oil, when available, when not, soya bean oil is used, and olive oil in the more expensive brands of sardines when it is available. Thousands of tons of salt are also used in curing the fish. Over one hundred brands of different kinds of sea foods are canned by this company. I wish to mention again the fact that seventy-five per cent or more of their finished product is sold outside Canada. In fact, before the war this company shipped goods to over one hundred different countries.

The one thing I wish to impress upon the committee is that about ninety per cent of the sardines caught in Charlotte county are sold outside Canada. The American market takes nearly seventy-five per cent in the fresh state which are canned in the State of Maine. Of the remaining twenty-five per cent canned in Canada, seventy-five per cent is sold in over one hundred countries outside of Canada. In other words, if we depended on Canadian markets for our sardines, ninety per cent of this very important industry would be lost.

The same condition exists regarding lobsters, smelts, scallops, oysters, ground fish, which would mean cod, haddock, pollock, hake, and all other fish that are caught in the province of New Brunswick—even the herring scales, which to-day is a worth-while business, with hundreds employed. This year the value will be, I believe, $200,000 or more. They are sold one hundred per cent in the American market.

The fishermen of the three maritime provinces are all interested in having floor prices established on all kinds of fish. We have heard in this house many discussions as to floor prices for wheat and other farm products. This, I believe, is a wonderful idea. A period of five years with guaranteed floor prices has been discussed, and no doubt will be enforced. We in the maritime provinces are in a different position from the western farmer. As I have pointed out, we are depending on the American markets for our livelihood. Therefore nothing but an international agreement would be sufficient to give us the protection I feel we deserve.

I am personally acquainted with most of the Maine canners and fish buyers, and knowing them as I do, and knowing the friendly feeling that exists on this border, I feel confident this could be done by the two countries agreeably to the fishermen on both sides.

I trust the department realizes the importance, indeed the necessity, of an agreement of this kind, and will work with the fishermen and the fisheries department in the United States to have an international agreement as to floor prices that will meet with the approval of all concerned.

Another great handicap to the fish canning industry during the war was the tax on overtime. It was responsible for cutting production to a great extent. In the canning of fish you have a very perishable article, particularly in the summer months; within a short time of being taken from the water, it must be processed. It is impossible to adjust the quantities needed from day to day, as the supply is never dependable. Therefore, you are in short supply one day and in over-supply the next; consequently, with an over-supply your help are obliged to work overtime, which was gladly done in normal times. However, when taxes were imposed on this work the help refused. This was responsible for loss of production, as the canner was obliged to play safe and usually worked less than a full day. To me this is proof that a regulation that will work in every case is something as yet undiscovered, and adjustments should be made in extraordinary circumstances such as these. I sincerely trust that the government will consider this carefully and also consider tax adjustments on low personal incomes, which I believe fall far short of present requirements and should be eliminated. There should be established a graduated scale for middle income brackets, which would remove more of the tax burden from the small wage earner.

I was in this house a very short time when the name "free trader" was given me by some of my colleagues. They were perfectly justified in doing so, as I still look back to the election of 1911 as the greatest disaster in the history of the maritime provinces. We have always been obliged to sell our products in a competitive market and forced to buy in a highly protected market. This has proved disastrous to the maritime provinces, particularly in the fishing industry. In order for this industry to prosper, a more friendly feeling must be created between the primary producers and the canners on both sides of this border, as the fishermen here have always been obliged to depend upon these canners for a market for their fish.

As I have pointed out, we in the maritime provinces are obliged to depend almost entirely on foreign countries for markets for our fish and fish products, and we are obliged to sell in competitive markets and buy in a highly protected market. Our sardines in the fresh state have always entered the United States free of duty; that market absorbs about 75 per cent of the yearly catch. Lobsters, scallops, oysters, smelts and many other kinds of fish enjoy the same privilege. Ninety per cent of these fish are sold in the United States. If a prohibitive duty were imposed by the United States government, the fishing industry in the maritime provinces would be practically worthless.

Now, how does this country reciprocate? Does the United States fisherman have the same privilege of trying to sell fish in Canada? Absolutely not—except during a very short period. During the first great war—I believe it was the years 1917 and 1918—and for a few months during this last war, the United States sardine fishermen were absolutely barred from any market in Canada. The lobster fishermen in Maine got exactly the same treatment. Why this has been done I cannot explain, and I doubt if any department in Ottawa could give the house a reasonable explanation. If they feel they are protecting the fishermen of the maritime provinces, they are absolutely wrong.

In the seventy-eight years since confederation we in the maritime provinces have earnestly endeavoured to find that market for fish in Canada and have failed. If the United States fishermen can do what we have failed to do, I feel they should be given every opportunity, and the least this government can do is to give them the same consideration we are given; even though it would be of little benefit to them, it would at least create a more friendly feeling on both sides of the border.

Another matter I wish to bring to the attention of the committee is the destruction caused by the storm of November 20 to both private and public property in the maritime provinces. In Charlotte county alone this damage is estimated at one million dollars. A great proportion of this loss was private property. In some cases a life's savings were destroyed in a few hours. These fishermen should receive every consideration from the government, and everything possible should be done to assist them in getting established in business again.

The destruction of wharves and breakwaters is a very serious matter, particularly at this time of year when a large fleet of boats engaged in winter fishing depend on these breakwaters for harbour. The boats used to-day are much larger than were used even ten years ago. The value has increased at least 400 per cent, consequently, a much larger space is necessary to berth them. The number of boats engaged in this particular branch of the industry has also increased to such an extent that breakwaters must be built larger and dredging done to accommodate a valuable fishing fleet.

Another matter I wish to discuss briefly is the wages that are paid fishery guardians. These men are employed temporarily by the fisheries department, usually for a period of a few months, and in many cases they are obliged to live away from home. Guardians are paid $2.50 per day, which is far too little. Returned veterans usually get these appointments. I well remember attending a fisheries conference at Shediac, New Brunswick, in 1941, when an official of this department made the statement that due to the fact these appointments were political appointments, they were getting the wrong type of men. Just what he expected for $2.50 a day I never could undrestand. This condition may exist in some parts of this country but being personally acquainted with the guardians in the county I represent, and working with them for quite some time myself, I feel I am in a position to say they are reliable citizens, doing a fine job for starvation wages. I think the department should consider paying these guardians, who in most cases, as I have said, are returned soldiers, a living wage.

Much can be done to improve this industry by sincere cooperation between this department and the fishermen. If every official from the highest to the lowest could be convinced that he is paid not only to make and enforce

regulations, and I might add that there are plenty, but also to study the problems confronting the fishermen from coast to coast, to associate with them in a friendly manner, imparting knowledge acquired by that study where it would be beneficial and appreciated, then everyone would be benefited. From experience I would say that too many officials see only one part of their obligation, that of enforcing regulations. That may be essential, but it does not require great knowledge of the fishing industry; or it may not prove to be a great credit to the official. I sincerely hope that in the future this department will seriously consider the importance of arming these officers with knowledge of the fishing industry, not with firearms to carry while on official duty as has been done in the past and is being done at the present time. An officer's efficiency cannot always be gauged by the number of infractions of regulations reported, or by the number of prosecutions secured, although this is the yardstick commonly used by this department.

In conclusion may I say that I am personally acquainted with practically every fisherman in the county I represent, having been associated with them during the time I was engaged in this industry myself, for over twenty years, and I feel I have some knowledge of the difficulties they have to contend with. Long hours of exposure and hard work mean nothing to these men if they can make the living which they justly deserve. I have endeavoured to point out the situation regarding markets and the absolute necessity of cooperation between the fishermen and the fisheries departments of these two countries, since we are obliged to look to our neighbours for the markets we have always enjoyed. We are also depedent upon the cooperation of all departments of the government to see to it that those privileges are preserved which mean so much to the fishermen of Charlotte and the maritime provinces. The men who go down to the sea in ships have over a period of years built up a friendly international spirit which might be copied with great benefit and credit by other parts of this dominion.

Mr. GIBSON (Comox-Alberni): Mr. Chairman, I would like to take a few minutes to discuss certain phases of the fisheries industry. I also represent a fishing constituency, that of Comox-Alberni. While perhaps I cannot say that it is the best fishing constituency in Canada, I can say to the hon. member for Queens-Lunenberg that it probably produces the most fish. I welcome the suggestion of the hon. member that we who represent fishing communities should work together and cooperate rather than endeavour to create rivalry between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts. In that I am in complete agreement.

I notice that the agricultural members in the house have achieved great success in, shall I say, assaulting the treasury. They have made an excellent job of this. I notice that every time the agriculture estimates are up those hon. members appear to cooperate whole-heartedly with the Minister of Agriculture in an effort to obtain all the assistance they can for their farmers. I know that the budget for the Department of Fisheries of some $4,200,000 will not appear like a large sum to members representing agricultural districts. I noticed that one hon. member from Saskatchewan made an appeal for his whitefish. I am glad to see him taking care of the fishermen of his constituency, but I am just wondering, in view of the technique displayed by these agricultural members, if we will not find our appropriation going to the province of Saskatchewan. I am a little bit worried about their skill in that regard.

The hon. member for New Westminster has suggested that the British Columbia members were not pressing their fisheries as much as they should. That may be true. We British Columbians are modest people. We never say much about our climate or our peaches or anything like that. We have always found that if you have a real good product or a real good industry it will be something like mother's pies—they will not need too much praise.

I am sorry there has been so much delay in bringing down these estimates. It was unfortunate that so much time was wasted on the speech from the throne in discussing generalities. I hope that next year we will be able to get down to these matters earlier in the session. We are fortunate in having so many British Columbia members still present in the house. They must have been lucky with their train reservations.

The estimates we are discussing are practically all dead and gone now. I notice the supplementary estimates are quite substantial and indicate some expansion, for which I am very glad. I hope next year the minister will bring in even larger estimates, and I can assure him that he will have the support of all maritime members. The Department of Fisheries would be well advised to cooperate closely with the Department of Trade and Commerce in connection with marketing. This has been mentioned already by some hon. members. I should like to see our reentry into the great oriental market in connection with Pacific salted herring and salted salmon.

Speaking of market extension, I think a

good job has been done in British Columbia by the wartime prices and trade board in extending the market for Atlantic coast products. Because of our higher standards of living out there, we must pay higher wages and therefore it costs us more to pack our products. One item I might mention is clams. I happen to be a connoisseur of clams because I was brought up near a clam beach. We always figured that the table was set twice a day when the tide went out. Without wanting to disparage the wonderful shellfish that they have on the Atlantic coast, I must say that they just do not come up to the product of the Pacific coast. We have been pretty well forced to use the product from the Atlantic coast, because the ceiling prices put on by the wartime prices and trade board made it impossible to put our superior product on the market.

I certainly would not have supported Bill 15 if I had thought that the wartime prices controls were to continue into that sphere. What they have done is to send our products in the raw state across to the United States, and there are at least one thousand jobs less in British Columbia because of that. I sincerely trust that by next year we shall have got away from that condition. The wartime prices and trade board has done a wonderful job, but one unfortunate thing they have done is to lump a quality pack with a pack of lesser quality on the same price basis. I do not think that should be done, in view of the fact that the department is carrying on a very worthy work in emphasizing the quality of our fish. If we are putting out a high class product, we should be allowed some extra price in order to take care of the extra expenses.

The vote for fisheries research this year is $541,000. To some hon. members this may not look like a large amount, but it is a lot of money for fisheries research. I sincerely hope that we shall get value for that money. I wish to congratulate the minister and his department upon the excellent research experimental station at Vancouver. They have made a most valuable contribution to the industry out there. The advice they have given to the canning industry has been most valuable, and they have developed some new products which should be very helpful in creating a market in Canada. Canadians are the lowest per capita eaters of fish in the world whereas with the high quality of our products we should have a very large domestic market. Our scientists and research stations have a tremendous job on their hands and if we give them proper direction and tell them what we really need in the fishing industry they can supply us with the information required.

In the brief that was presented to the former minister of fisheries (Mr. Bertrand), early this year, it was suggested that the question should be looked into of reestablishing salmon hatcheries in British Columbia. I know of one area that used to produce one hundred thousand sockeye salmon in one year. Despite the fact that there has been no change made in the stream, no obstructions put in and no logging done nearby, for no apparent reason that run has disappeared so that in one year alone only one thousand salmon were taken out. The value of the fish in that run alone, as it formerly was, would almost equal this appropriation for research.

There is another question which I should like the research board to look into very carefully and do it promptly. There has been a great deal of criticism regarding otter and beam trawling. A large number of fishermen feel that in scraping up the bottom of the ocean bed the spawning grounds for the fish are being ruined. I have seen hundreds of tons of small immature fish brought on to the deck of trawlers and shovelled off again into the water, probably causing polution. That is the kind of thing our scientists can look into. Unfortunately our fishery regulations in Canada seem to have been made on the basis of the number of squawkers. No class, however numerically large it may be, should be able to get the regulations so framed as to do an injustice to our fisheries. I think that rather than yield to pressure from groups we should call in our scientists and experimental stations with a view to passing proper regulations.

I am very glad that the minister is taking into consideration implementing some of the suggestions that were submitted in the Bertrand brief earlier this year. I see by a notice that I have received that a waterways engineer is being sought to clear stream obstructions. I would point out to the minister that British Columbia definitely now has an unemployment problem, and I sincerely hope that his programme of expansion of our fishery service will result in the employment of a large number of war veterans, who I understand are being trained in this work. I hope that that programme will be implemented as soon as possible.

Mr. BLACK (Cumberland): This is one of the most important departments of government so far as the people of Nova Scotia and the maritime provinces are concerned. Fish is one of our great natural resources and deserves more attention than it has had in

previous years. The Duncan commission recommended that fisheries be set up as a separate department, with a special minister placed in charge. I was a member of the provincial government that made this representation to the Duncan commission. We have had some capable ministers in charge of the Department of Fisheries who have made considerable progress. Unfortunately these ministers, I think without exception, have not been practical fishermen, but distinguished members of the legal profession. Many people interested in the fishing industry would have preferred that someone with practical experience and knowledge of the fishing industry be placed in charge of this department. I believe that the present minister has done fairly well in the time that he has been there, considering that he has had very little, if any, practical experience. He has been supported by capable officials in his department—I refer especially to the deputy minister and assistant deputy minister.

The great problem in Nova Scotia has been markets and prices. Our fishermen in former years have had to work at starvation wages over long periods of time. In recent years prices have been more satisfactory, but the fishermen could never understand why there should be such a tremendous spread between the price they were able to get, as low as fifty cents a hundred pounds, and what the consumer had to pay. I hope that the legislation we put through at a previous session providing for floor prices will rectify this.

There is also the matter of the quality and the marketing of the fish. It has been recommended that a special aeroplane service be established in order to market the fish regularly and in the best possible condition. I do not know whether the minister is prepared to make a statement in that regard. I am referring particularly to fish caught in the outlying portions of Nova Scotia, fish caught on the coasts and marketed inland at a considerable distance from where it is caught. The marketing of the fish in first-class condition depends upon better facilities for transport, and in this connection it is desirable that an aeroplane service be established.

I would ask the minister what is his attitude and that of his department with respect to the large merger recently made in Nova Scotia in the fishing industry. I have no reflections to make on those who are at the head of this big organization. If they are going to direct their attention to assisting the actual fishmermen in the marketing of their product, I believe there is no one more capable of doing that than those at the head of that great merger. On the other hand it is giving the fishermen of Nova Scotia a great deal of concern as to whether the merger has been set up with the approval and under the control of the department and has for its object an improvement in the lot of the fishermen, and whether it will be able to achieve that purpose and guarantee them a satisfactory price and a steady market.

There is a good deal more that I should like to say in connection with the work of this department, but I know the committee is anxious to make progress and I shall not delay it.

Mr. MOORE: I have listened with a great deal of interest to the discussion that has taken place this afternoon on fishing. All the speakers have been brief and to the point and the discussion has been really worth while. I happen to come from Manitoba, where the fishing industry is of considerable importance. The statement was made this afternoon that the agriculturists of this country get a great deal of benefit from the federal department of agriculture because of the activities of members of parliament on behalf of agriculture. That may be true, but we must look forward to a much greater expenditure still on agriculture if it is to continue to be the industry it is supposed to be. Saskatchewan, for instance, will require an expenditure of $200,000,000. This is something of extreme importance. I do not think we are asking too much when we ask this. We must remember that prior to the outbreak of the present war over 400 million dollars was spent on Singapore, and the guns of the naval base could not be turned around to fire inland. The enemy came up from behind and the garrison simply had to surrender.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. MOORE: That fact may not be greatly related to these estimates, but I think it may be in point as far as the question of recommendations is concerned. As to fishing, Manitoba has a considerable fishing industry which is gradually extending northward. I recommend that the department lay plans for the building in northern Manitoba of a number of fish filleting plants at places where the fish have to be transported by air. If that were done it would be quite possible to expand the industry considerably. I think we can take a leaf out of the book which Saskatchewan has written in connection with the fishing industry. The Saskatchewan government has done considerable to expand the industry in the northern areas of the province. I suggest also that we investigate

the possibilities of cooperative marketing of fish. Already Nova Scotia has done a great deal in that line.

After looking through the estimates it appears to me that no large amount of money has been allocated to the inland fisheries. How much money, for example, is to be spent in these estimates on fishing in Manitoba?

Mr. BRIDGES: I was most anxious that every hon. member who wished to speak on the fisheries estimates under this item should do so before I made any remarks, and then, as to individual items, I hope there will not be too much delay, since we are so near to the end of the session.

It is not my intention to make any extended remarks. Some fourteen or fifteen persons have already spoken on the estimates and it is impossible for me to reply to all of them, but I will deal with certain salient features of the remarks which have been made this afternoon and the other day. If I happen to overlook some of the matters which have been referred to I hope no hon. member will feel that I am deliberately neglecting to deal with his remarks.

I should like first of all to take this opportunity of thanking hon. members on both sides for the congratulatory and felicitous remarks which they have made on my appointment as Minister of Fisheries. I appreciate them sincerely. While I am a Liberal in politics I have always rejoiced in the fact that I have many personal friends of all political colours. There is nothing I cherish more than personal friendships; and whether my stay in this House of Commons be long or short I hope that I shall enlarge my circle of personal friends no matter what political party they belong to.

I am going to deal first of all with some remarks which were made the other day when the fisheries estimates first came up. I shall deal briefly with them, I hope to the satisfaction of the committee.

The hon. member for New Westminster made certain remarks regarding offshore fisheries and the recent announcement by President Truman. No doubt this matter has been brought to the attention of the Department of External Affairs, and perhaps it would be more appropriate that he direct his question to that department.

As I heard the various speeches which were made here I could not help but feel that sometimes the speakers considered me to be the Minister of Public Works, other times the Secretary of State for External Affairs, other times chairman of the wartime prices and trade board, and after the latest contribution I came to the conclusion that the boundaries of the fisheries department no longer extended from Sydney to Vancouver, but from Sydney to Singapore. I feel that I should deal with each of the criticisms as it affects my own department, and not endeavour to answer criticisms which really should be directed to other departments.

The question of lobster hatcheries in the maritime provinces and the possibility of establishing them was brought up both by the hon. member for Saint John-Albert and the hon. member for Charlotte. I should like to give a little information concerning lobster hatcheries, because apparently some idea prevails that they have never existed in Canada. The first lobster hatchery was built under the jurisdiction of this department at Bayview, Pictou county, in 1891, and fourteen others in connection with Long Beach Pond, Digby county, from 1903 to 1913, so at one time we had a total of fifteen lobster hatcheries in Canada. All fifteen of these were discontinued and disposed of in the year 1917. This, I find from information, was apparently as the result of a recommendation which was made by the fisheries research board, or biological board, as it was then called, to the effect that the lobster hatcheries at that time were not considered to be sufficiently successful in producing lobsters to warrant their continuance. The situation to-day may have changed; I am not saying so, but I assure hon. members who have brought up this question that it will be carefully studied and considered by the department and probably by the fisheries research board as well. I hope that I can make a further statement on the subject when the next session of the house comes around.

The hon. member for Saint John-Albert asked for some information regarding the item of $1,200,000 which appeared in the war appropriation estimates under an item to provide for payment of subsidies in connection with the purchase of Canadian canned salmon. It should first of all be borne in mind that this item in the war appropriation estimates will involve no final expenditure on the part of the federal government; it is simply an estimate of payments to be made pending reimbursement from the British Ministry of Food, the Canadian Red Cross Society, and the Commodity Prices Stabilization Corporation. This salmon was disposed of to the British Ministry of Food, the Canadian Red Cross Society, the armed services and the Canadian domestic market. My friend asked the quantities disposed of in this manner, the names of the persons, and the amounts each received. It is my intention to furnish him now with quantities. It would take some time

to furnish him with the other information; I shall be glad to do it for him privately, or I will write him a letter on the subject.

Regarding the disposal of the canned salmon in the last year: to the British Ministry of Food, 775,557 cases; to the Red Cross, 52,000 cases; to the Canadian domestic market, 250,000 cases; to the armed services, 20,000 cases.

The hon. member also asked for some information regarding an item which appears on the war appropriation under the title, experimental long line fishing vessel. The object and the purpose of this experiment are twofold. The first was to examine the possibilities of using mechanical hauling in place of hand hauling from dories. Fishing was engaged in by one vessel used for this purpose on various parts of the Atlantic coast, and its success may be judged by the fact that fishermen are now installing similar mechanical apparatus on their own boats. The second was to ascertain whether fishing for species little fished in the past could be further exploited. The results in this instance showed that such fisheries as the halibut in various regions of the Atlantic coast could be profitably exploited. As an example, in one area the vessel engaged primarily in halibut fishing in two trips each of seven days fishing duration grossed about $3,000 in each case. In order to expedite matters, it is not my intention at the moment to elaborate on this item, but I have a considerable amount of information available concerning the experiment and I shall be glad to furnish it to any member of the house.

The member for St. John-Albert referred to a certain temporary appointment of a fisheries inspector at Shediac, New Brunswick. When this matter was first mentioned I suggested to him that he put the question on the order paper; I still feel that that would have been the more appropriate course to follow. However, I will say this. This man is at present occupying the position of temporary fisheries guardian and not fisheries inspector. I would advise the committee that all appointments of fisheries inspectors are made by the civil service commission. Apparently the policy at present is this: These positions at the present time are all temporary until the rest of the servicemen get back from overseas. Eventually the job will be advertised, and I am sure that when the commission does make an appointment it will go to a man who has had overseas service. I am sure the commission will carry out the regulations in that regard. Everyone knows, I believe, that I am as much interested as anyone else in seeing that these various appointments are held by men who have had overseas service and experience.

Another question brought up first of all by the member for Royal was whether or not an investigaiton is being made into the possibility of transporting fresh fish from the maritimes to the larger centres of Ontario and Quebec. It gives me great pleasure to inform him that this department has, through the fisheries research board, evolved a new type of refrigerator carrier known as the overhead refrigerator car, which is being manufactured as quickly as possible by the two Canadian railway systems and which is at present in use. The war, of course, halted continued manufacture of these cars.

With regard to transport by plane, it should be borne in mind that the war has been over now only a matter of months, but I can say that the department has a fund of information available for anyone who wishes to make use of it. In other words, it is available to those engaged in the industry who desire to use it. This information concerns several factors which are involved in securing new methods of transportation.

Several hon. members have brought up the question of markets. The member for Royal was the first to do so. With regard to markets such as the South American and West Indian markets, this is a matter that comes within the jurisdiction of the Department of Trade and Commerce. However, I would advise the hon. gentleman that my department is cooperating to the fullest extent with other departments in furthering trade opportunities in this industry.

The member for Queens made some reference to controls. At that time I felt that I was being addressed as chairman of the wartime prices and trade board. However, when I asked him what report he referred to in his remarks he told me it was not a document that had been put out by the fisheries department. It is really not within my competence to discuss the matter of controls, because it does not come within the purview of the Department of Fisheries. There was, however, one remark of the member for Queens which I would comment upon. At page 2838 of *Hansard* I read:

> It has been most annoying to the fishermen that the Department of Fisheries have not cooperated with the packers and the fishermen in an effort to educate them to put out a better article for the market.

May I say that my information from the departmental officials is that a special effort has been devoted to this very problem. This cooperation took the form of courses given at

the Halifax fishermen's experimental station for cannery managers and the preparation and distribution of pamphlets giving a simple description of improved technique and proper processing, and continued and repeated visits by experts of the department to the canneries to assist in various problems, placing at the disposal of the canners engineering and technical advice. Any fair-minded canner, especially the smaller ones, will attest to the truthfulness of that statement, and if the hon. member wishes further information, such as examples of the type of literature available, it will be furnished by my department. The department will be pleased to make such information available to him. One thing which the department has always emphasized and will continue to emphasize, in my tenure of office at any rate, is quality of product.

The member for Nanaimo made certain references to the rehabilitation of streams on Vancouver Island. I am pleased to be able to inform the hon. gentleman that this is being made the subject of special study by the fisheries research board, though the problem is a large one which cannot be tackled all at once. I can assure him that Vancouver Island is included in the study. The hon. member also brought up the question of the utilization of seaweed. This is a matter that is receiving the continuous attention of the research workers.

With regard to whaling, my information is that whales have been threatened with extinction by the operation of competing countries, and there are conventions, to which Canada is a party, under which we have all agreed that, in order to conserve the industry, a definite limit must be placed upon the kill each year. The Canadian government has taken steps to protect the interests of Canada in this regard so that we may be assured of our proper share.

The member for Saskatoon City referred to the fact that in 1944, according to the public accounts, this department spent only $13.08 in his province. In fairness it should be pointed out to the hon. member, and also to the member for Churchill, who spoke a few moments ago, that the prairie provinces are responsible for their own administration of fisheries. I would also direct attention to the fact that the dominion government has established a prairie provinces division and experimental station to assist in the development of the industry and marketing problems of the prairie provinces. This was accomplished by order in council P.C. 4812, to which the member for Saskatoon City referred.

[Mr. Bridges.]

Mr. MacNICOL: Where is the experimental station?

Mr. BRIDGES: In the city of Winnipeg. Other speakers have brought up some other subjects which I wish to assure them are all receiving careful consideration. There is no doubt that I have found most helpful the remarks made by the thirteen or fourteen hon. members who have spoken. I am perfectly frank about the situation. I have not been in charge of the department for much more than three months, but I am in a position to learn; at least I hope so; and it is definitely my intention to learn. I believe I can learn a great deal from many members of the house who have given us some valuable suggestions to-day.

There is one thing to which I think I should reply, and that is to the remarks made by the member for Cumberland, who asked some questions regarding the recent merger of certain companies in Nova Scotia. My reply is that as far as the Department of Fisheries was concerned this merger was accomplished without either its approval or disapproval. The merger was carried out according to the law of the land, and the department had nothing whatever to do with it.

I do not wish to delay the committee any longer; in other words I do not want to make any sort of provocative speech and thereby block my own estimates. The hon. member for Vancouver South did ask something in regard to the future policy of the department. It should be borne in mind that the estimates before us to-day were prepared many months ago, while the war was still on; and that I myself, as I said before, have been in the department for a matter of only three months. So of necessity my remarks concerning policy will be brief. I hope when the next session of the house comes around I will feel in a better position to deal with this question. I would state to my hon. friend, however, that this government hopes to take all possible steps to ensure a favourable position for Canadian fish in the various export markets. Mention might also be made in this connection of the present plans of the Department of Trade and Commerce to extend and improve its trade commissioner service abroad in the interests of Canadian fish exporters. Future trade largely depends upon the quality of our products. Food standards generally became increasingly higher in the pre-war years. The department's emphasis is more and more on quality. The quality of the product must not only be of high calibre in comparison with fish of other countries but also in comparison with other foods.

The present transition period no doubt will bring greater responsibilities both upon the industry and upon the department. Here I might mention that the function of the department is intended always to be in the interests of the industry and these people dependent upon it. At times certain regulations may appear to be irksome and irritating, but from past experience it can be seen that while unpopular at their inception they have been amply justified as time went by.

No doubt the future will entail certain expansion and changes in the department. I cannot go into detail at this time, but we have hopes of producing adequate staff of high calibre and properly trained. In this connection I might mention that we shall be looking for recruits from among those of our young men who have been in the three armed services and who are now returning from overseas. These new recruits will be given proper courses of instruction which it is hoped will make them educationalists as well as police officers.

The fisheries of this country occupy a minor place in dollar volume in comparison with other industries, but one must measure it by the number of people who are dependent upon it for their livelihood. Parliament and the press as a whole throughout Canada quite naturally pay a great deal more attention to agriculture, forestry and mining, because they loom more largely in the dollar bracket; but we are interested in the number of people whose lives depend upon the industry. I regard the fishing industry as one of the most hopeful industries in Canada because, as the hon. member for Queen's-Lunenburg has said, there is so much still to be done.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): For many years I have risen in my place in this house and asked the Minister of Fisheries to see to it that we in Ontario should get our fish from the maritimes. I do not know how much the fishermen get for each class of fish, but I never could quite understand the tremendous spread between what they received and what my people in the city of Toronto have to pay for fish. I believe that for cod, as an example, they get three or four cents a pound; but in Ontario when you want a buy a piece of cod you have to pay thirty or forty cents a pound for it. There must be some reason for that. The minister spoke about our export trade. I think it is time we did something about trade within our own country and brought the fish from the maritime provinces up to Ontario, where we have about three million people who would like to get fish. But we do not believe fish should cost as much as roast beef, and that is about what it does at the present time. At other times of the year we cannot get the fish at all. I wonder if the minister would tell us something about this matter.

Mr. BRIDGES: It is really a complex question the hon. gentleman has brought up at this stage of the proceedings, though of course I am not criticizing him because it is so late in the session. I believe it is a matter which will require a great deal of study. If other ministers, after giving the matter considerable attention, were unable to give the hon. member an answer, I am sure it will require a great deal of study for me to answer his question. However, I can assure my hon. friend I shall endeavour to give him an answer when we meet again next March.

Item agreed to.

76. Fish culture, $199,030.

Mr. GREEN: Can the minister tell us how many hatcheries there are in British Columbia operated by the dominion government at the present time, and how that compares with the number formerly operated?

Mr. BRIDGES: There are no fish hatcheries operating in British Columbia under dominion control.

Mr. GREEN: How many were there previously?

Mr. BRIDGES: I am told there were about twelve.

Mr. GREEN: Has the department any intention of reestablishing dominion hatcheries in that province?

Mr. BRIDGES: The problem is being reexamined, and wherever it is really indicated that it would be of benefit to the industry, every consideration will be given to the possibility of reopening the hatcheries.

Mr. REID: I am glad the minister gave that answer, because for the benefit of the hon. member for Vancouver South I can say that the question of hatcheries is one of our great problems. In the past we had many tragedies in connection with hatcheries, and the matter is not altogether clear. There are two schools of thought; one does not believe in it and the other does. In the state of Washington, for instance, they have had a tragic decline in fisheries in the Columbia river, in spite of the hatcheries.

Mr. ZAPLITNY: I should like to know the situation in Manitoba in regard to hatcheries. Are there any there under dominion control?

Mr. BRIDGES: There are no hatcheries at all under dominion control in Manitoba.

Item agreed to.

77. Oyster culture, $34,430.

Mr. McLURE: I want to say to the minister that this work is well run as a subdepartment of the fisheries department. The late deputy minister, Doctor Found, inaugurated this culture, and started anew a great industry throughout Canada known as aqua farming. In our section of the country the work is being carried on with great success under Doctor Neidhler and Doctor Kerswill at the biological station at Ellerslie, and they are being highly complimented on their work by the fishermen engaged in this branch of the industry. What is the gross revenue the department is receiving from the industry of oyster fishing?

Mr. BRIDGES: Was the question in regard to the gross revenue the department is receiving?

Mr. McLURE: Yes, from the royalties on oyster leases, and so on; not from the industry.

Mr. BRIDGES: I am told the amount is $6,073.28.

Mr. BLACK (Cumberland): I should like to point out to the minister that along Northumberland strait it is generally known that only a fraction of the oysters are raised that this area is capable of producing. There is tremendous scope for a profitable development of this industry. It pleases me to note that there is a small increase in the appropriation, and I join with the hon. member for Queens in pointing out to the minister that there is a tremendous field for further development of this important natural resource.

The productivity per acre of these oyster areas is far above that of any agricultural crop. Looking back over the years it is clear that this branch of the fishing industry has been almost completely neglected. I am pleased therefore to see that the department is giving some additional attention to it.

Item agreed to.

78. Fisheries Research Board of Canada, $487,200.

Mr. REID: I note there is a great increase in the appropriation for this year as compared with last. I know that the government cannot reduce taxation and at the same time enlarge expenditures in certain lines. May I make my position clear; I am not about to criticize either research or scientists, but I must say I have found in nine years' experience with scientists who have been connected with the international Pacific salmon fisheries commission that unless one keeps a close eye on them, and directs and tells them what to do, he will be in difficulties. If one simply hands them a lot of money to play around with, then certainly they will play around with it. That is the experience I have had. I think it is time the minitser told this board, in the words of Chisholm, that Santa Claus is dead, because during the war they increased their expenditures, while the department in general lacked men and equipment.

The increase in this vote over last year's is of considerable importance. I realize they have done some wonderful work in Vancouver in connection with the refrigeration and preservation of fish. However I would ask the minister to look into the situation at Nanaimo, and I would suggest that he do what has been done in connection with the salmon commission. He should have responsible to him a group who will supervise what these experts and scientists are doing. No longer can we turn money over to them, or turn them loose and let them do what they like. I know of one scientist in the state of Washington who spent thirty-five years of his life making investigations in connection with a small insect which was harming the industry. When he retired he said, "Well, it was an interesting time in my life, anyway, but no conclusion was ever reached."

The same would apply to some of the scientific research now going on. There is probably no end to it. It is unfortunate that at this stage of the session we could not have a full-dress debate on the entire question. However I have felt it wise to draw the attention of the minister to this increase in the vote, and I hope that when we come back next year he will be in a position to give a complete answer as to what has been accomplished in British Columbia.

Mr. MOORE: I note that of this vote the sum of $237,127 is for temporary assistance. This seems a large figure under that heading. Of what does it consist?

Mr. BRIDGES: All the employees of the fisheries research board are not civil servants. They are temporarily employed by the board. The amount is large under that heading because the board has expanded to a considerable extent during war years.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: How many are involved in this expenditure?

Mr. BRIDGES: I shall get the information later. I do not have it before me at the present time.

Mr. McLURE: I am pleased to note an increase of about $119,000 in this vote. Will most of this be spent in extra research work?

Mr. BRIDGES: Yes.

Item agreed to.

83. To provide for transportation, dressing and dying, and other expenses incidental to receiving and disposing of fur seal skins accruing to Canada pursuant to provisional fur seal agreement between Canada and the United States by exchange of notes dated December 8 and 19, 1942, $300,000.

Mr. REID: We have had a treaty with the United States since 1911, and have been receiving hundreds of thousands of dollars under that treaty through the sale of fur skins. When the United States built a village in the Pribyloff Islands I understand they built an office, or at least some housing accommodation to take care of a Canadian representative. During all those long years we have never sent a representative to those islands to see what is being done. Surely when we are getting so much from the treaty we should take some interest in the matter, and send someone. I know the United States authorities are not well pleased about this apparent lack of interest.

Mr. McLURE: This item deals with a revenue producer, and at practically no cost. Why is there an increase in the vote? What was our share of the seal skins under the treaty of 1911, or of 1942? Where is the dressing, dyeing and machining of the skins carried out? Where are they marketed, and have we marketed our 1945 take? I understand the Americans have marketed their quantity, and I should like to know the gross amount we received from this industry.

Mr. BRIDGES: The increase in the vote is necessary to provide for a greater take of seals, and also for the payment of duties. The number of skins was 14,000, and the net revenue as to October, $253,260.37.

Mr. McCLURE: Where were they sold?

Mr. BRIDGES: They were all sold in Canada.

Mr. McCLURE: I understand that the total take-off was around 77,000, out of which we received twenty per cent. Formerly we received only fifteen per cent, but the new treaty of 1942 gave Canada twenty per cent and the United States eighty per cent.

Mr. BRIDGES: That is correct.

Mr. McCLURE: Where were the dressing and dying done?

Mr. BRIDGES: Some in St. Louis, United States, and some in London, England.

Mr. McCLURE: What did you receive for the skins machined and dyed in the United States as compared with those machined and dyed in England?

Mr. BRIDGES: I shall have to get the average prices worked out for both places and supply them to the hon. member.

Mr. McCLURE: Perhaps I could give the minister a bit of information he may not have. It may be to his interest to know that when the ceiling price was taken off in the United States prices reached what was almost a peak. If the bulk of our skins had been sold there we would have averaged, that is taking the extra large, large and culls together, $70 a skin. Their skins realized $110 for the large and extra large, $76 for the medium and $51 for the damaged.

Mr. BRIDGES: I thank the hon. member for the information.

Mr. McCLURE: I think we should take into consideration where would be the best place to market these skins as well as the best place to have them machined, dyed and dressed.

Item agreed to.

84. To provide for payment of a bounty for the destruction of harbour seals, $15,000.

Mr. McCLURE: What is the bounty per seal?

Mr. BRIDGES: Five dollars.

Mr. McCLURE: To what provinces is this allocated, and what has been paid out to each province?

Mr. BRIDGES: My information is that it is divided, $7,500 to the east and $7,500 to the west; there is no distinction as between provinces.

Item agreed to.

Special—

85. To provide for the extension of educational work in cooperative production and selling among fishermen, $56,000.

Mr. BURTON: What work is being carried on under this item, and who is carrying it on?

Mr. BRIDGES: This covers extension work carried on on the east coast by St. Francis Xavier and Ste Anne de la Pocatière universities and on the west coast by the university of British Columbia.

Item agreed to.

463. Educational extension service—further amount required, $45,000.

Mr. MacNICOL: I had not intended to say anything on the subject of fisheries, because the people in my riding have little or nothing to do with fishing except to buy fish or to catch them as a sport. However, I should like to ask a question about northern fisheries, and I do so because no one so far has inquired about this matter. If the minister cannot give me an answer right away he can furnish me with this information at a future time. Does the department have anything to do with advancing the sale of the white whales which are caught in Hudson bay? I have seen them so thick that you could almost walk on them, and they must possess some properties for oil or food or something else. Does the department do anything in connection with walrus fishing in the Arctic ocean? There are large numbers of these animals to be caught. What is the department doing to keep up the quality of fish caught in Great Slave lake, Great Bear lake and lake Athabaska? These fish are excellent when they are of good quality. They seem to offer the possibilities of a worthwhile business, because many of them are being sent out at the present time by aeroplane.

Mr. BRIDGES: White whale fishing in Hudson bay and walrus fishing in the Arctic ocean are protected for the native population.

Mr. MacNICOL: Is there any export of what is caught by the native population?

Mr. BRIDGES: I am afraid I have no information on that.

Mr. MacNICOL: The minister is a new minister and I hope he will interest himself in the subject. It would be worth his while to make a trip up there, because I know he would be delighted to see the white whales around Churchill. What about the fish caught in Great Slave lake, Great Bear lake and lake Athabaska?

Mr. BRIDGES: Two surveys were made in two different years. Considerable information was gathered, and the department is deciding just what should be done in the future. I am not in a position to say more than that.

Item agreed to.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

Departmental administration, $526,002.

Mr. MacNICOL: I should like to refer first to one or two of the minister's observations as recorded at pages 3686 and 3687 of *Hansard*.

[Mr. Bridges.]

I am not sure that the minister has been correctly reported where he says, referring to the hon. member for Vancouver East:

As my hon. friend knows, the Department of Labour is a placement agency.

Is that correct?

Mr. MITCHELL: Yes.

Mr. MacNICOL: I am glad to hear that because that is the opinion I have had of the department. I have always maintained that part of the duty of the Department of Labour was to find employment. Am I right in that?

Mr. MITCHELL: Yes.

Mr. MacNICOL: That being so, I am going to suggest to the minister that he and the Minister of Reconstruction collaborate and cooperate and discuss closely and often the problems of supplying labour. I wish to help the minister and the Minister of Reconstruction. It is absolutely necessary that the two departments collaborate and cooperate, because today the biggest job in this country is and will be for some time to come, in spite of what anyone else says, the problem of finding jobs.

On the next page the minister says:

When we realize that during the last four months we have placed over 750,000 people in the employment stream—

I admit that that is a lot of placing, but I am sure that the minister will agree with me that a lot of that was temporary or seasonal employment. Of course a percentage of our people do not want more than temporary or seasonal employment, but the people I am thinking of are those who not only want a job but have aspirations and ambition to work up in the jobs they have. That is the type of men and women with whom I have been associated most of my life, those employed in industry, and I am sure that the minister never at any time meant that during the last four months 750,000 people were placed in jobs in industry.

Mr. MITCHELL: I gave the figure of 750,000, but 783,000 is the correct figure.

Mr. MacNICOL: The figures for the last normal year tabulated in the Canada Year Book, 1937, give the number of business establishments, small and large factories and all institutions that supply labour, as 18,000 odd. In that number of large and small businesses some would employ two or three thousand employees and some as low as two or three employees. The total number employed in those 18,000 odd establishments in 1937 was 660,000. That figure does not correspond at all with the figure of 750,000 given by the minister, which he now says should be 783,000.

Mr. MITCHELL: That figure includes far more than industry. It includes mining, logging and commerce as well as industry.

Mr. MacNICOL: I want the minister to understand that I am trying to help him. My whole life has been in labour and in industry, and I shall not say anything that would cause him grief or interfere with his programme for employment. Anything I say is intended to increase the number of employées. So that when I say that 660,000 were employed in 18,000 plants, large and small, in 1937, I hope that that number will be increased, and I think it can be increased as I hope to show later on. The minister also said:

This is a seasonal country.

That is true, but it is not true of industry. You, Mr. Chairman, from your long experience in your own city, where there are so many manufacturing establishments just as there are in Toronto and in other cities represented by hon. members representing industrial centres, do not want our industries to be seasonal. I know the minister did not mean that, but was referring to logging, harvesting, and so forth. What I am trying to point out is that the men we are in contact with in industry want permanent work with a chance to advance.

The minister also referred to unemployment insurance, and I am going to throw out a warning in that connection. The minister knows that I was one of the first in this house to be concerned with unemployment insurance many years ago. After making a thorough survey and spending a lot of time in England studying the whole problem of unemployment insurance I advocated it here in this house long before it came into effect, and when the Bennett government was in power, I made an address on this subject, as the minister knows.

Mr. MITCHELL: I remember quite well. I was listening.

Mr. MacNICOL: And the minister knows that I always listened to what he had to say. I like listening to men who know what they are talking about.

Mr. MacINNIS: That is why you sit close to me.

Mr. MacNICOL: I have not lost anything by sitting close to my hon. friend. Coming back to unemployment insurance, I remember quite well, following my survey in England, that unemployment insurance had not been in operation for many years following the first great war and it had piled up a fund of hundreds of millions of pounds. But when the soldiers came back and unemployment rose to a high peak the vast number of millions of pounds stored up in that fund by those who had paid into it was quickly dissipated and the fund went back several hundred million pounds. So that I throw out the warning to the minister: Do not depend on unemployment insurance to do the impossible. That was not the intention of those who inaugurated it. It was rather to tide over a period when men were out of employment.

The minister also said that he was not fearful of the future. I am not either if we can only rise to the stature we should have and if we can be assisted by the country and with the will of God. Then we have no reason to fear the future. On the other hand, I think we should be apprehensive if we do not make a study of the problem to see that we shall have no reason to fear the future. I urge the minister not to relax under any circumstances but to look forward and plan and collaborate in every possible way to see that there are jobs, not two jobs for every man, as the Minister of Reconstruction said a few weeks ago. That would be a grand situation, but having been in business all my life and having had a lot to do with employment I know that condition cannot obtain. But if the minister with the help and collaboration of the Minister of Reconstruction and the help of everyone who is willing to help him can bring about a condition where every man and woman will have a job I shall be thoroughly satisfied and I am sure the country will be, too.

In this connection one of the very first things which should be done is to find some means of eliminating strikes. The minister has been making some effort in this direction in collaboration with the labour minister of Ontario and, perhaps, the other provincial labour ministers, all of whom have experience and are able to help. The Windsor strike, which is in all our minds, is typical of many others. I know quite a number of the men who formerly worked in the Ford factory; in fact I have some relations working there. We read that there are approximately ten thousand men and women unemployed in the city of Windsor. Assuming they have received an average of six to eight dollars a day—at any rate a substantial wage—in the ninety-odd days during which they have been unemployed they have lost in wages between six and seven million dollars. That is a tremendous loss, which nobody wants to have continued. From a personal acquaintance with many of the business men of Windsor I am sure that the loss of six or seven million dollars of purchasing power has affected the

city seriously, and the minister and everyone of us should concentrate our best efforts on trying to eliminate the cause of strikes.

Long ago I arrived at the conclusion that the federal Minister of Labour should take the initiative in calling to Ottawa, for conference in the railway committee room or some other suitable place, the country's outstanding employers—I mean men who collectively employ between 100,000 and 150,000 of the 660,000 persons employed in industry in 1937—and also the heads of Canadian labour. The government could bring them here at its own expense, get them around a table and see if they cannot iron out their difficulties. What is the reason that labour and industry cannot get along together? They are all human; their interests should be to work together. I am sure that the employer to-day is the same as I was. He knows that when the wheels are not turning nothing is being produced; one is just adding to the cost of that which will be produced later. As for the labour man, he knows that he is losing his very livelihood. All these should sit around a long table and try to iron out their differences. It was never more necessary than now, when we are entering a period of post-war competition and Canada has a golden opportunity to expand if only we keep our wheels turning and our men working. How can this be done? Perhaps it can be done by calling representative men together.

If we view the matter from another aspect, is our legislation complete to-day? The minister made, in conjunction with the minister of labour of Ontario, a vigorous and honest effort to end the strike at Windsor. I should like to hear something as to why it was not stopped; and if it cannot be stopped, is there any legisation we could bring into effect which would stop it and strikes of a similar nature? While the strike was on, I went one day to Montreal to discuss with some of the biggest labour men in the country how a settlement could be brought about, and it was suggested that perhaps, over and above the machinery which is now at the disposal of the minister, there might be appointed a judicial board, headed by a jurist like Judge Gillanders, with whom could be associated an outstanding labour man like Howard Chase, and one of the minister's capable departmental officials. I do not know whether Bernard Rose, K.C., would be obtainable or not. At any rate there could be a board consisting of men of capacity, similar to the three I have mentioned, with power to say what shall or shall not take place, and with authority above the boards which the minister now has, so that strikes may be eliminated and men will be able to work. I cannot help thinking of the wives and families of the men in Windsor and what they are enduring to-day. They are the last who should have to suffer. So that if the minister, either during the recess or shortly afterwards, can figure out any way to bring in legislation, somewhat along the lines I am suggesting, which would eliminate strikes he would be doing a marvellous thing for this country. Once this problem is solved, we should be assured of some measure of security. We all agree that the man working in the factory is entitled to security. To-day he does not have it. Times without number I have seen the result of men being laid off. I will not enlarge on this at the moment; I have referred to it before.

I want to point out some of the problems which will need specific attention. A great many men in the armed services never had a job before they enlisted. I refer, of course, to the young men. They are untrained. I suggest that special consideration be given to these lads who had no jobs before the war. I pray that they will not come home, after serving for years in the blood and mud of Europe, to the same conditions they were in before they went over there.

Then there are multitudes of young men who went into the war late, because at the time it broke out they were not old enough to enlist. They were young lads who had just started in high school—seventeen, eighteen and nineteen-year olds. These boys, too, have not had any opportunities and I hope consideration will be given to them. Some have suggested that they should be kept temporarily on the payrolls of the country. I have arrived at the same conclusion. If a job is available they ought to take it. If a job is not available they should not be abandoned to the cold mercies of the world, because in this northern climate the world can be pretty cold.

We have also numbers of men who, when the war broke out were between fifty-five and sixty years old. During the war they were engaged in industry at good pay, better probably than they had ever before earned in their lives. These men are too young for the old age pension and too old to be thrown out in the cold. They present another problem.

I wish to offer some suggestions as to how things could be improved. I am convinced that industry will do its part. The minister said as much Saturday night. Nearly every executive I know of—and I know them by the hundred—started as I did at the bottom of the plant and worked to the top of it. The hearts of these men are responsive to appeals to provide employment, and I have great hopes that industry will do everything

it can to re-tool, make what they made before, and undertake new lines to provide for this vast backlog of required employment.

I am convinced that family allowances will help a great deal. I supported the family allowance legislation, because I have seen during the depression so many boys and girls half-starved and half-dressed. Family allowances will eliminate that condition. When mothers are able to buy, nobody can beat the mothers in looking after their young sons and daughters. I see everywhere around me where the money is being used to make purchases for family needs. Perhaps in the odd case the money is squandered, but in the aggregate, I am convinced, Canadian people using the allowance will use it to the best advantage, and thereby in their turn, promote further employment. That, too, will provide a good deal of employment, and that is the reason I voted for it. The corner store, the little shoemaker, and all the small businesses round about will benefit. I am glad to see that the provinces are helping, and I hope the minister will consult with his colleague the Minister of Reconstruction. I say to the Minister of Labour: Do not let that minister put it over you.

Mr. MITCHELL: Take a look at me.

Mr. MacNICOL: I say to the minister: You have determination—so has the Minister of Reconstruction—and when he tells you that you cannot have $50,000,000 for this purpose, double up your fists, stick out your chin a little further, and say to him, "I want something for these men who are unemployed and I am determined to get it." If the Minister of Labour does this I am with him.

I am glad to see that the province of Ontario is going to spend $70,000,000 in connection with hydro development on the Ottawa river. Why could we not extend that programme? There is little hydro development in the west except to some extent in Manitoba and Alberta, and there should be plenty of opportunity all along the line for the minister to urge his colleague to do everything in his power to see that Canadian men and women are given employment.

Then there are the municipalities. The Toronto transportation commission is ready to undertake the spending, I believe, of some twenty or twenty-five million dollars to build a subway throughout the city. But, of course, it will be expected that the Department of Reconstruction and the Department of Labour will assist. Perhaps they plan to do so. The federal government might contribute half the cost, and in any event it should render some assistance. The same applies to Montreal. These are two great Canadian cities; I would call them devoted cities. They have done a great deal for Canada in their subscriptions to the victory loans. They have subscribed to the last dollar in every loan to carry this country through. Other cities, of course, and the Canadian people generally have also played their part, but I mention these two cities because they are entitled to consideration. I am not overlooking other cities when I say that.

Then there are the industrial commissions. The Toronto industrial commission during the last sixteen years has done very good work and now under the leadership of John A. Tory, and formerly under Charles Burton of the Simpson company. Through their efforts they have brought to the city of Toronto 221 plants large and small which have given employment to thousands of people in that length of time. In 1944 they brought in a sufficient number of plants to cover 112 acres of land. I suggest to the minister that he get in touch with every industrial commission in Canada, and where there are no commissions they should be urged to establish such organizations. I might mention Stratford, Peterborough, Brantford, Windsor, Sherbrooke, Quebec, which are only a few of a multitude that might be named. If the minister would get in touch with the various industrial commissions he would obtain invaluable assistance. All I want to do is to help the minister to provide employment.

In the United States they are going in for the construction of roads in a big way. They are going to vote some three billion dollars. Well, goodness knows, Canada is one country where such work can be carried out to advantage. The Minister of Reconstruction and the Minister of Labour should collaborate on a proper road construction policy for Canada. Our distances are too great by the circuitous routes that have to be followed in most cases. Let them introduce a programme that will shorten distances between cities, by straightening out roads, and so cutting down the cost of travelling. If you cut down the cost of travelling and traffic you will cut down correspondingly the cost of production. Everything possible should be done by the Departments of Labour, Reconstruction and Finance to reduce production costs in Canada, because otherwise we cannot hope to compete successfully against all comers. But whatever is done, I am opposed to a reduction in wages. Far from it; I think wages ought to be increased. They are not too high as it is. When one considers the rents that have to be paid, and the cost of living, the workingman's wages have not gone up proportionately.

But it ought to be possible to cut down production costs by providing cheaper power. The Almighty has endowed this country with the cheapest kind of power, hydro electric, and that is an avenue which can well be developed. If we do that and shorten the routes of traffic to bring materials to factories at lower cost we are bound to reduce the cost of production. But do not cut down wages; increase them, so as to bring up the standard of living.

I could speak at greater length on this subject, and no one knows better than you do, Mr. Chairman (Mr. Golding), how important it is, because you have devoted a good deal of your time to industry. My heart is attuned to the interests of the working class, and you cannot do anything to help them unless you pay them good wages.

Mr. MITCHELL: If I might reply briefly to my very good and hon. friend, he said something about not relaxing. Let me say frankly to the committee that the way we have been carrying on since this session began is inhuman, and I say that as Minister of Labour. I do not think any human being should be asked to stand the strain that we have had to bear, in the last two weeks especially, and administer departments at the same time. We talk about a forty-hour week and take-home pay, or arrive-home pay, as it is sometimes called, which is a slightly different thing from take-home pay. In my opinion the time is long overdue for an amendment of the procedure of the House of Commons. To spend hours and hours on estimates in this committee is not right. I say this constructively, because I think that the sooner we adopt the British practice of having estimates studied in committee rooms instead of on the floor of the house, the better it will be for all concerned. When we do that we shall do better work on the basic legislation that comes before parliament every year.

My hon. friend said something about the elimination of strikes, and he mentioned one large industrial dispute that is going on in the dominion. I do not wish to say anything that might influence the decision in that dispute; it would not be wise for me to do so. We all hope that in the course of the next few days it will be terminated. At the same time, I believe that leaders of labour and industry, as well as governments, both federal and provincial, should take some credit for the fact that this country has fewer disputes than any other in the world. At this moment we have only one major dispute, at Windsor, and one or two smaller ones, and this, in a population of 12,000,000 people. I have tried to analyse the situation to find the reason for this.

My hon. friend spoke about the passing of laws. I think you can have too much law. If I may say it without the slightest intention of offending, I think our good friends to the south of us have too much. They think they can solve a thing by the mere passing of a law. I do not think that is the answer; the answer lies in the hearts of men. I am convinced, as I have said before, not in this parliament but in the last one, that character is the basis of trade union agreement. Where you get character on both sides of the table, together with an understanding of the economics of industry and a willingness to give and take, you have what spells for success in trade unionism, as exemplified in this dominion.

My hon. friend spoke of a national meeting. If I may say so with deference, we have a meeting complex. There are so many people running up and down the country that they do not have time to think. I believe it is far better for officials and their principals to go to national conventions and organizations —labour organizations and employer organizations—so as to get not only their official but their off-the-record opinions. I think you get a better understanding of the problems in that way, both from industry and from labour.

Mr. MacNICOL: Could you not get the heads of each together in one room?

Mr. MITCHELL: I have sat in many rooms of various kinds. I say this in a kindly way, but Mr. Truman held one of these meetings the other day, and I do not know that it accomplished a great deal. I would not say that our method of doing business is better than theirs, but if I may say so, the results tell the story.

Then my hon. friend spoke of returned men, and I think I should say a word or two about that. So far, more than three hundred thousand men and women have been discharged from the armed forces, but at the present time only ninteen thousand of these people are registered as having been unemployed for more than fifteen days. My hon. friend spoke of training. We have ample training facilities, in cooperation with the provinces, for any returned men who want it. The Minister of Veterans Affairs has pointed out the educational facilities that are available to any man or women with the necessary qualifications, after discharge from the armed forces.

I think I have gone over pretty well all the ground covered by my hon. friend, but I wish to say that I agree with him that no wage

can be high enough if the production is there. It is the unit of production that counts, and I believe that wages should be paid in proportion to that unit of production.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): On several occasions this session attacks have been made on individual civil servants from a certain position on the government benches. I think any member of parliament who attacks a civil servant by name is indulging in unseemly and ill-becoming behaviour. If anyone has to take responsibility the minister himself should be attacked; he is quite capable of looking after himself.

I mention that as a preface to what I am about to say, because I intend mentioning the name of a civil servant. I cannot avoid doing so, because I am going to quote from a document which has been sent out by the information division of the Department of Labour. This particular copy got into the hands of the Winnipeg labour council. It is dated November 22, 1945, and headed "Jobs, and selected jobs." It goes on to say:

Mr. MacNamara, deputy minister of labour, would appreciate any local publicity that you might get on the following editorial from the Ottawa *Journal*, November 20, 1945.

I am not going to quote the entire editorial, but this is the concluding paragraph:

We hear much these days about "full employment." That (if it is attainable at all, which we doubt) doesn't mean work for everybody at the jobs they like, or a home for everybody in the place they like. Full employment means that people must move to jobs, not jobs to people, and that there must be enough people willing to take all the sort of jobs that are offered. In a collectivist state, towards which we seem to be moving, full employment may even mean that people must work at what they are told to work at, where they are told to work, and at what hours and wages.

This release from the Department of Labour was the cause of much discussion and some alarm among those at the meeting of the Winnipeg labour council. It appears to many that the government subscribes to these policies, or that this is the policy of the government, and I should like some clarification by the minister in that respect.

Mr. MITCHELL: Let me say first, without equivocation, that this does not represent the policy of the government or my own personal opinion. When I was charged with responsibility for selective service on both the military and civilian sides I made this observation to this House of Commons, or words to this effect; that I hoped nothing I had to do would in any way damage the basic principles of freedom that have made the Canadian people what they are. No doubt hon. members have followed our actions with respect to selective service, and they will agree that we went about removing controls perhaps more quickly than any other department in the government. I believe in a free country; I believe that people suffer for their sins if they do the wrong thing. That is basic.

Getting back to this letter, may I tell my hon. friend that I receive the information service from one of the other departments, I forget what it is just now, and sometimes see articles which are critical of myself. That is a government agency. In the Department of Labour we have an information service from which editorial and newspaper comments from all sections of the press are sent to civil servants across the country. The article in question here came from the Ottawa *Journal.* When I speak about the basic principles of freedom, let me say that I know something about Mr. MacNamara, or at least I should; and he thinks exactly as I do in these matters. By that I mean he is a liberal mentally; I do not know what his politics were before he became a civil servant. I wish to say further, Mr. Chairman, that this nation can thank goodness for Arthur MacNamara. I do not care about your O.B.U. or W.C.T.U. or any of the rest of them; let them say what they will. I am not addressing this particularly to my hon. friend, of course; I am speaking in vigorous terms because I believe what I am saying—

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I do not think the W.C.T.U. would care much about it.

Mr. MITCHELL: Well, you cannot tell; sometimes people do silly things, even the W.C.T.U., although I do not wish to cast any reflection upon them. I do not know much about them; I belong on the other side of the fence. But I do resent that attack on Mr. MacNamara, because I know something of the contribution he has made to the life of this country. I know something about his social outlook, naturally, too. No doubt this editorial did appear in the Ottawa *Journal.* I do not know what prompted it, but certainly neither the party of my hon. friend nor the party which is to his left, nor the official opposition nor the government of the day—

Mr. MacINNIS: The party that were to his left.

Mr. MITCHELL: I do not mean the party down in the corner. I stopped right there; I am not fooling myself about these things. None of these parties subscribe by one iota

to any expression of opinion in any newspaper to the effect that we are inevitably drifting toward collectivism. For one thing, the Canadian people are not foolish. When it comes to freedom I know of no nation on earth that has a deeper regard for the basic principles of freedom that have made the British people what they are.

Mr. MacINNIS: At this stage of the session I suppose it is too late to make a speech, which I regret; so that I shall content myself with asking the minister a few questions. I imagine we shall be back here in about two months and a half, and perhaps all we need be concerned about now is that provision is made for situations which may develop in that time. It is too late this session to discuss policy, unless we intend to stay here until after Christmas.

If the minister has the information I should be glad if he would give the committee the latest figures as to applications for employment; placements; the number of those placements which are permanent, by which I mean in occupations which will continue for a period of time and which are not seasonal; the number that are seasonal, together with the number unemployed at the date mentioned, that is the number for which no jobs were available. If the government has any policy for assisting provinces and municipalities where large-scale unemployment takes place, I should like to know what it is.

Mr. MITCHELL: I am sorry we have not the figures respecting seasonal and other kinds of employment. As a matter of fact, it is only since the establishment of unemployment insurance that we have really gone into the statistical feature of the matter. I have before me some figures which I shall have boiled down so as to give some indication of the number of vacancies.

Then, the hon. member asked as to any special arrangements with the provinces. At the present time we have none. However, as he knows, the matter is now under discussion, in connection with the dominion-provincial conference on reconstruction.

Figures which have been handed me just now show that unfilled vacancies at the present time total 88,845 while unplaced applicants number 184,523.

Mr. MacINNIS: I am somewhat disturbed about the unemployment insurance commission, something in which, as a trade unionist for many years, I have been keenly interested. When the measure was introduced I supported it and, along with some other hon. members, most of whom are not in the chamber this afternoon, considered it in the special committee. I believe the feeling at that time was that the bill was not a bad one. At the close of the session I did my best to have the unemployment insurance measure accepted throughout the country. There was some resistance to it, although not very much.

The Unemployment Insurance Act makes provision for administration by three commissioners, the first of whom was to be the chairman, the second to be appointed after consultation with employers, and the third after consultation with trade union organizations. The business of the commission can be carried on only after the vote of a majority of that commission has been secured. At the present time, and for some months past, only one commissioner has been acting. I do not know when the employers' representative resigned, but I understand that it was some time early in the autumn. Then, the term for which the workers' representative was appointed ended in September. Obviously, since that time the commission must have been carrying on without legal authority. If a majority of the commission is required, then that would mean that two would have to be present. When only one is present, clearly it is not functioning properly.

There is a provision in the act which states that if a commissioner is absent, and is not in a position to perform his duties, a substitute may be appointed. This indicates that when the measure was drawn up there was an understanding that there should be a full board at all times. All cases which come before the board present two points of view, namely those of the employers and those of the employees, both of whom are contributors under the act. If decisions are made without representatives from those two groups I suggest that the way is left open for all sorts of suspicion that things are not being done properly.

On what date did Mr. Mitchell resign, and when did Mr. Talon's term expire? How has the commission been carrying on since those dates?

Mr. MITCHELL: The date of Mr. Mitchell's resignation is July 31, and Mr. Talon's term expired on September 23.

As the hon. member knows, when I was in charge of organizing selective service certain powers were turned over to me, namely the powers of direction of the employment service. That order in council is still in operation. Perhaps it is more necessary to-day than it was when we first tried to organize the civilian population for war purposes.

The question of filling vacancies on the commission is under consideration, and in due course after this long session is over, and when we have had some rest, the country will be informed as to the composition of the commission.

Mr. MacINNIS: Did the order in council provide that the minister could function without the unemployment insurance commission? I do not recall having seen any order in council which made provision for disregarding the unemployment insurance commission. If such order in council was not passed, then in my opinion a general order in council does not give the minister the right to dispense with the services of the commission set up under an act of parliament, and to perform the functions of the commission himself. This is a serious matter.

Mr. McMASTER: In what may have been a state of righteous indignation the minister, speaking a short time ago, made use of certain letters some of which sounded familiar to me. I was wondering whether he used only a jumble of letters, or whether he intended those letters to represent any particular organization.

Mr. MITCHELL: No; there was nothing sinister in my mind at the time. I was simply reaching out for letters. In fact, I am not quite sure what the letters W.C.T.U. stand for—although I believe it is a temperance organization. However, I want it clearly understood that I was not casting any reflection on any organization.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: The minister has said that the strike at Windsor is the only labour disturbance of major importance at the present time. That strike has been going on much too long and, in view of the fact that other strikes have been settled more rapidly it seems to me that, had the minister been willing to take the necessary steps, the Windsor strike might have been settled more quickly.

In a strike of this kind between thousands of workers and the owners of a wealthy organization the time element is an important one. The people of Windsor are learning that, to their sorrow, to-day. They are learning, too, that in the type of struggle they are having, in which they seek to establish and maintain certain basic rights—and I believe the minister will agree that they are basic rights, since they include the right of union security—delay assists the owners. The very existence of the workers depends upon work. They are learning the truth of the assertion that those who own the machinery of production own their very way of living, their very lives. If the workers have no control over union security they are entirely at the mercy of those who hire and fire them.

It would appear to me that the delay has been much too long. Whether we say we are taking one side or the other does not make very much difference if the delay works to the disadvantage of one side or the other. The minister has stated several times that this strike is the responsibility of the province, that the province must deal with it. Apparently that was not the attitude taken in connection with other strikes. I remember the threatened strike in the packing industry when the department went ahead and appointed a controller and the matter was settled very quickly.

I should like to know if at the coming conference between the provinces and the dominion the government is going to make definite representations to bring about a decision as to whether these labour matters shall be left in the hands of the dominion or in the hands of the provinces. I think the federal government is right in trying to secure uniformity in these matters.

The Windsor strike is a very serious matter. It is a most unfortunate thing to have happen during our reconversion period. Some decision should be made with regard to legislation, so that this could be settled. I am sure the house and Canada are waiting anxiously to know whether it is possible to reach some settlement in the near future without prejudicing the rights of these people for union security. Probably some mistakes have been made on both sides. I think the union has had some leadership that was in error. I suppose the choice of leadership was their own, but perhaps there was some blame on the other side.

So far as the management is concerned, they did come out with a statement: You pass legislation which grants to people union security, the same as they propose to do on the other side, and we will abide by it. You should not make us obey a certain rule and not make the rest of the manufacturers obey it. Set down your rules with regard to labour and we will follow them, but what is good for us must be good for the other fellow. I think they were right in that regard.

Mr. MITCHELL: I do not really know how to answer the hon. member, but I know from his remarks that he has made a profound study of labour matters. There is no country in the world which recognizes by law the union shop; the only place where that is done is the province of Saskatchewan.

An hon. MEMBER: What is wrong with that?

Mr. MITCHELL: I do not know, but you will learn what is wrong with it. You will probably have to suffer for your sins. I know I would put the judgment of Mr. Phil Murray and Mr. William Green and Mr. John L. Lewis against the judgment of my hon. friend, and even myself, in connection with industrial matters.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: Rackets.

Mr. MITCHELL: My hon. friend says "rackets", but I do not think that is a fair thing to say about Mr. Phil Murray.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: There can be union rackets.

Mr. MITCHELL: I do not think that is a fair thing to say about Mr. Phil Murray. If my hon. friend had the same chivalry toward men in public life that Mr. Phil Murray has—

Mr. CASTLEDEN: I did not say a word about Phil Murray.

Mr. MITCHELL: I mentioned three men and the hon. member said something about rackets. However, that is beside the point; let us get on with the business. At the recent conference on industrial matters with Mr. Truman it was made quite clear by the American Federation of Labor, the C.I.O. and the railroad brotherhoods that they did not want even arbitration by law, let alone some of the things my hon. friend talks about. Do not forget when you put those things into force you are getting almost into that collective state at which my hon. friend and myself take offence; that is what will happen when the government says to a man, "This is the organization you have to belong to."

An hon. MEMBER: Not necessarily.

Mr. MITCHELL: I know of what I speak; that is what it means. The dividing line between freedom and persecution is so thin that trade union leaders, the older trade union leaders, have shown that they have more sense than to talk about compulsion and coercion by law. They have reached a stage of maturity not as yet reached by the younger people who have not had so much experience. My hon. friend spoke about the Ford strike, but at the moment I am not going to say any more about it. I do not think it would be wise for me to do so.

Mr. BRACKEN: The minister has been receiving a great deal of attention from different quarters and has been asked a number of questions about several things. I am neither going to give him advice nor ask him questions, I am just going to make two or three suggestions from one who is a layman. I am not an expert on labour matters. There are several members on this side who have been studying this question; they are not here at the moment and I do not want them to be blamed for what I am going to say.

First, I should like to refer to the comments the minister has just made. He said that we should thank goodness for Arthur MacNamara. I think he is putting that in the wrong way. I think we should thank the province of Manitoba for letting him come here, and I think we should thank one of the outstanding governments of Manitoba for having trained him for twenty years before he came here.

The minister said something about the rules of this house. I believe that every hon. member will agree with what he has said. I suggest that he give the same speech to the cabinet the next time it meets, so that the changes he suggests may be approved and we can avoid these long hours and hurried discussions during the late days of the session.

I have three suggestions to make. The first is in connection with low wages paid in certain places. The second is in connection with wages in relation to shorter work weeks. The third concerns the controls that have been hampering men in seeking the work they desire.

I suggest first, that the wage freezing order be lifted or modified with respect to sub-standard wages. I know the minister will have an answer that perhaps satisfies him, that that can be done by application to certain of his labour boards and so on, but I suggest that at this time there should be a general lifting of that order in so far as those receiving sub-standard wages are concerned.

There are also some industries in provinces which now have a forty-eight hour week regulation, as well as in other provinces, industries which are willing to give the same weekly wage for a forty-eight hour week as they now give for a fifty, fifty-two or fifty-four hour week. Government regulations now prevent that from being done. These men should not have to go through the present red tape to get that benefit. My third suggestion is that there be an abandonment of such controls as hamper men in seeking the work they desire. I do not intend to take more time with these suggestions. I am aware that many controls have been removed, and possibly more have been removed than we know of, but there are still some in effect that should be lifted.

I shall take just a couple of minutes more to amplify this suggestion. Wage control order P.C. 9384, controls sub-standard as well

as other wages. The freezing of those particular wages was widely protested. It does not do any good now to say that one doubted the wisdom of freezing wages that were below standard. We recognize that controls were necessary during the war and possibly could not be avoided, but now that the war is over, my suggestion is that the freezing orders affecting sub-standard wages should be lifted.

My second suggestion is with respect to the 48-hour week. Some of the provinces now provide for that. But there are industries employing men for fifty, fifty-two and fifty-four hours a week which are willing to pay them the same total weekly wage for a 48-hour week. My suggestion is that where industries are willing to do that, no regulation should prevent it from being done.

My third point is with respect to men seeking employment. Prior to the war, men were free to seek employment where they could find it and choose the work that suited them, but during the war regulations were imposed to place men in particular lines of employment. The war is now over. I recognize that, while many of our veterans are still away and for other reasons perhaps, some regulation may still be necessary with respect to preventing men from seeking employment where they can find it. Generally speaking, however, the sooner the regulations which hamper men from finding employment best suited to them are removed, the better.

I am not an expert on these matters, and if I have made any errors I trust the able officers—around the minister, will not point out to him that what I suggested should not be done.

Mr. MITCHELL: The mind of the leader of the opposition I think travels very much along the same line as my own. The wage control order is, at the moment, under review. I would think, or I anticipate that the last vestige of selective service will disappear on the 1st of January. We still have the permit system left. We continued that for two reasons. One was to stop the drift from agriculture. We needed to keep the men in agriculture to get this year's crop out. They were given protection during the war because of the tremendous drift from agriculture into the armed services and into industry, and it was necessary to retain the permit system in order to get off the crop. The other reason was to permit us to give priority to veterans when vacancies occurred in industry and commerce.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: The minister did not reply to my question whether the department was taking action at the dominion-provincial conference to establish a national labour code of uniform procedure dealing with labour disputes.

Mr. MITCHELL: We have one now.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: I mean establishing it on a solid basis.

Mr. MITCHELL: I understand the implication of my hon. friend's question, but, as he knows, we have a constitution in this country known as the British North America Act which gives jurisdiction in these matters to the provinces. The only way in which this government or any other federal government in power can assume responsibility for a national code such as he has in mind is by amendment of the British North America Act. You cannot do it by agreement. You cannot break the law by agreement, as my legal friends will appreciate. I would think we should get back to free collective bargaining in the not too distant future. Then, of course, the constitutional rights enjoyed by the provinces will be assumed by them.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: Is the department making representations in this regard to the dominion-provincial conference?

Mr. MITCHELL: We are discussing it and have discussed it at the conference.

Item agreed to.

105. **Combines Investigation Act, $29,000.**

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): Canadian Industries Limited, as I pointed out some time ago, has a virtual monopoly and stranglehold over many materials used in this country. I shall deal with one only. In western Canada there is a company called Merchants Consolidated Limited, which is made up of a great number of small retailers who got together to purchase their goods wholesale. C.I.L. refuse to sell to Merchants Consolidated sporting ammunition and Merchants Consolidated cannot buy it from any other firm in Canada, although they could import it if they were willing to pay heavy import duties. I think this is a case of monopolistic practice which could very well be investigated. Has the minister any intention of using the Combines Investigation Act to investigate these companies which are monopolistic in tendency, especially C.I.L.?

Mr. MITCHELL: I am very glad to tell my hon. friend that the Combines Investigation Act is no longer under my jurisdiction.

Mr. BENTLEY: Then what is this vote here for?

Mr. MITCHELL: The jurisdiction was transferred about August 1 to the Department of Justice.

Mr. BENTLEY: I am interested in this matter, because it certainly looks as if there was some discrimination on the part of the explosives division of C.I.L. Since this item appears in the estimates of the Department of Labour for 1944-45, I think we are entitled to ask the minister what his department did about this matter when it was under his jurisdiction.

Mr. MITCHELL: It comes under the jurisdiction of the Combines Investigation Act registrar, who upon representations or complaints from a certain number of persons—I have forgotten how many—can investigate any industry that is considered to be a combine. But the over-all controls of the government during the war were so rigid that it was well nigh impossible to operate a combine. Possibly, when we get back to a freer economy, if I may call it that for want of a better word, there will be need for investigations under the act.

Mr. BENTLEY: We have waited until this item came up, thinking it was under the jurisdiction of the minister. I have here a long submission on behalf of Merchants Consolidated Limited and Falcon Hardware Company against the explosives division of C.I.L. I do not want to hold up the committee. If I send it over to the minister will he see that it gets into the right hands because, so far as we who are interested in this matter are concerned, this item still comes under his department.

Mr. MITCHELL: I shall be glad to do that. Will my hon. friend send it with a covering letter?

Mr. BENTLEY: I will send it across the room to the minister now.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: Let me give the minister an instance of the difficulties in which men are placed by the present controls. A man in my own part of the province, fifty-eight years of age, being unemployed, wrote to a packing company in Moose Jaw to find out whether they had the type of work he could do. A man of that age is not capable of doing very heavy work such as carrying around quarters of beef, but there is a certain type of work that he can do. The employment manager of Swift Canadian said that they had such employment for him but that he would have to get permission to go there from his local employment officer. This man interviewed his local officer and said that he had employment in Moose Jaw and would like to get a permit to go. The chap in charge of the Yorkton office said, "Did you get a permit from us to go? Did you ask permission of us to write to this man?" He said. "No". The official said. "Well, we are giving you no permit; you do not go." The man said, "I would like to get work here but I could not find any." That man was compelled to go through the whole winter of 1944-45 looking for work. In the spring of the year he was unemployed, but he went around digging gardens and doing one thing and another. On the 5th of June the following year he received a sort of mimeographed letter. It came in with the rest of the mail and he thought it was of no particular consequence, but it was in actual fact a directive telling him that he was to go from Yorkton to the Swift Canadian Company and take employment there. By this time he had established himself. He was working in the summertime at home, and he was satisfied with conditions. He thought this was merely a permit informing him that he could go if he wanted to; he did not understand its significance.

Mr. MITCHELL: Was this man a farmer?

Mr. CASTLEDEN: No, he was not. He works on a farm in the summertime, and he threshes in the fall. He works in the spring, and in the wintertime likes to get employment such as in the packing plant. He went on getting a living at small jobs around town in June and July, went out threshing in August, came back the first of September, and was met by a police officer who handed him a summons for not having obeyed the directive. He appeared at the police court and was fined some $55 for disobeying the directive. The man was absolutely innocent; he had asked for work, and had been constantly refused by the local officers. Then, receiving this letter and not recognizing that it was a directive, he went on with his employment and was penalized in court to the extent of $50 and costs. That sort of thing has a serious effect on the attitude of some people toward the government.

The other case relates to unemployment insurance and will be brought up under the appropriate item. I bring this matter to the attention of the minister with a suggestion that when these directives are given the man should be notified of the seriousness of the offence in case he fails to obey, because this man was quite innocent of any intention of disobeying the law, and in view of the fact that he had been refused permission when he

needed work he did not think the notice he afterwards received meant anything more than that he could go to this job if he wanted to.

Mr. MITCHELL: I think it can be said that in my department we act with expedition on receiving information of cases like that to which my hon. friend refers; and if I might say this in a kindly way, I think that is better than to bring such cases up on the floor of the House of Commons. I suggest that the telephone is the right way to get answers to a lot of questions which are asked in this chamber. I have been told that it costs $60 a minute to run the House of Commons. If a member rises to make general suggestions on policy or present basic principles, that is different. If my hon. friend will turn this case over to our department, even at this late date, with the other case he has, I will endeavour to see that the men obtain justice.

Item agreed to.

109. Payments to the provinces under agreements, including undischarged commitments of previous years, $750,000.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I do not know whether this is the place to bring up a question I have in mind. Some years ago there was administered a youth training grant. I did some work on that in Mantioba in cooperation with the present deputy minister and with the leader of the opposition, who was then premier of Manitoba, and although the amounts given by the dominion government were niggardly and miserly, the work which could have been done there was tremendous—work along the lines of eduction, teaching youngsters to live with each other and to use their leisure properly—and I think it could well be continued in the future. Could the minister give us any idea whether this plan will start again next year or in some predictable future time?

Mr. MITCHELL: All that my hon. friend has said about the scheme may be true. I was very close to Mr. MacNamara myself in those days as an executive assistant under the Hon. Norman Rogers. I would say that this plan laid the foundation of the war training programme under which we trained, I think, over 400,000 people. We had to build ships and tanks and guns and aeroplanes and other things which had never before been built in this country, with a small base of trained mechanics; and out of the experience we gained in the youth training scheme we used the same organization in cooperation with the provinces and built that tremendous industrial machine and the trained personnel necessary to operate it. The $750,000, I think, is in the estimates this year for that plan. Of course, in addition to that there are much larger amounts for the training of people coming back from the various theatres of war. I shall have the figure looked up in a minute. It runs into the millions, anyway.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I should like to point out that what was done in one place was to take a great number of young teachers and bring them together for a month to study together citizenship and life. It was a profitable experiment for the country.

Item agreed to.

Unemployment Insurance Act, 1940—
112. Government's contribution to unemployment insurance fund, $13,500,000.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): How many applications for benefits under unemployment insurance have been received up to the most recent date of which the minister has record, and how many are now receiving benefits?

Mr. MITCHELL: We will look it up. I think it is around 60,000.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): While it is being looked up, may I ask if the government is giving any consideration to shortening the waiting period for those who receive unemployment benefits?

Mr. MITCHELL: The answer is, no.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): Has the minister given any consideration to including others under unemployment insurance, for instance longshoremen and loggers?

Mr. MITCHELL: That is being done continuously. We have an advisory committee made up of employers' and employees' representatives to advise the commission, who in turn advise me as minister. My own view of unemployment insurance is that I would have everyone, even members of parliament, under unemployment insurance. I think it is absolutely sound. Of course, in operating a big administrative machine like this you have to learn, and it takes time to develop so large an organization. The British scheme started off with seven trades. We started off, I think, with between sixty and seventy per cent of the people engaged in industry in this country. But I agree with my hon. friend that the quicker we can expand it to cover everybody, the better it will be for this dominion.

As to the figures the hon. member was asking for, live claims in October were 61,563; number of insured, two and three-quarter million.

Mr. SKEY: Would the minister include women under the statement he has just made in respect of unemployment insurance?

Mr. MITCHELL: They are already under the act.

Mr. SKEY: What balance has the government in hand at the present time?

Mr. MITCHELL: It is over $300 million.

Mr. PROBE: I should like a short explanation from the minister of the item under administration of Unemployment Insurance Act for temporary assistance; it is somewhere in the neighbourhood of $10,668,000 as compared with a little over one million dollars for the permanent staff. There must be some special reason for the apparent disproportion of temporary to permanent staff. Could we have a brief explanation for the benefit of one who is not so familiar as the minister with the workings of the staff?

Mr. MITCHELL: My hon. friend will appreciate that the unemployment insurance commission was set up during the war, and of course men who have served overseas have a priority in appointments to the civil service. That is basic law. For that reason the great majority of the people employed by the commission are on a temporary basis. That is in keeping with the law.

Mr. PROBE: Is the situation such that this $10,000,000 or any large proportion of it will become a permanent payroll?

Mr. MITCHELL: Yes. I am thinking ahead of my hon. friend.

Mr. PROBE: So long as we get the answer.

Item agreed to.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORT

Railway service—

375. Hudson Bay railway—To provide for the difference between the expenditures for operation and maintenance, and revenue accruing from operations during the year ending March 31, 1946, not exceeding, $500,000.

Mr. JACKMAN: May I ask the minister what he expects will be the financial results of the Hudson Bay railway project; not just the estimate for the present year, which is rapidly coming to a close, but what he expects will be the financial results for the next four or seven year period? I understand that during the brief hearing we had, while the manager was before the railways and shipping committee, it was pointed out that many of the structures and the right of way of the Hudson Bay railway were getting old, and that inasmuch as this railway does not set up any depreciation fund it is necessary to look after these rentals when they occur, so that obviously when the railway is new the rentals are not very costly, whereas, when the railway gets older, they mount up. Will the minister throw some light on anticipations for the next few years?

Hon. LIONEL CHEVRIER (Minister of Transport): The position of the Hudson Bay railway is pretty much the same this year as it was last year. There is a decrease of $64,940 in the deficit and the amount of operating revenues has increased slightly this year as compared with last year, while operating expenses have also increased. I doubt whether any good purpose would be served by going into this matter at any length, because, as the hon. member knows, the manager of the Hudson Bay railway was here during the sitting of the railways and shipping committee and he gave evidence. I was under the impression then that the committee had obtained from him practically all the information that was desired at the time.

Mr. PROBE: With reference to the Hudson Bay railway, I went to the report of the committee, on the recommendation of the minister the other evening, to find out what was contained in that report, because it had slipped by me the last couple of weeks, and while it contains a logical enough explanation for the figures that are before the committee, I consider that we should have a statement from the minister so that in some way we can tie up the future of the Hudson Bay railway with the port of Churchill and the northeast gateway of the prairies. It is thirty-six years now since we started building what we look upon as a more or less natural gateway into and out of the prairies. Because the weight of the House of Commons and of the people of Canada generally is away from that section of the world, those of us who believe that we can improve our economy by making use of the facilities which are at our door, imperfect though they may be in part, believe that we have had neither a complete and fair report on the possibilities of that harbour nor a recent note of optimism from the department as to what we can do with respect to that northeast gateway. Must we just forget about it and consider it a dream, or can the minister give us a constructive hope, shall we say, that "there's gold in them thar waters up there?"

Mr. JACKMAN: Ice anyway.

Mr. CHEVRIER: I went into this whole subject at great length on the discussion of the resolution of the hon. member for Churchill, and at that time I put on *Hansard*

a number of tables and statements having to do with the capital cost of construction of the railway, of the harbour and other matters which I thought were of interest to the house. Apart from that there was the statement made by the manager of the railway before the railways and shipping committee. I can tell the hon. gentleman generally that the railway is being operated as efficiently as it possibly can be, and it is being operated by the Canadian National as agents for the Department of Transport.

Mr. PROBE: That is not what I am getting at. I am not disputing the efficiency of the railway; I am thinking of the future success of that route. We feel in the west that it has not had a chance. I read the report of the committee, and I saw nothing in there that would indicate that the government is going to change its policy with respect to the disuse of the port of Churchill. Yet at the same time the minister himself refers to a resolution that was concurred in by a fairly handsome majority in this house during the session that is now closing. What is to be done?

Mr. CHEVRIER: The hon. gentleman asks me for a statement. I can only say that I have no other statement to make than that which I made on that occasion. If he wishes to know what the policy of the government is, it will depend on the amount of trade that can be taken out of that part of the country. The complaint thus far has been that there is no ingoing cargo. There is wheat to be taken out of Churchill to other parts of the country and other parts of the world, but there is no ingoing cargo. That, as I say, has been the complaint. Hon. gentlemen opposite say: Well, if means were adopted to keep the port open for a longer period, perhaps something could be done. I do not disagree with that, but I say that, according to the experts of the Department of Transport, unfortunately the port can be kept open for only a small portion of the year, and unless that position is changed I am afraid the outlook is not too bright. Again, something was said about assisting shipping interests to go into that port. In that regard I can say that the national harours board and the Canadian shipping board have done a great deal in that direction, and are still working in an attempt to get grain out of Churchill. At this date I think it is too early to make any announcement about possible shipments in the spring.

Mr. PROBE: I do not want this matter closed just yet. With regard to incoming cargoes, surely our trade commissioners in all parts of the world could arrange to have cargoes brought to Churchill, just in the same way that they foster the promotion of international trade generally. This does not look to me at all like an insurmountable problem. Supposing we can operate Churchill for only three months, or for only four months. I do not believe either of these figures is given by any official with finality, and if the government were sincere in operating the port of Churchill and the Hudson Bay route I suggest that it would use the facilities it already has all over the world in connection with bringing imports to this country. I should like the government to say that they will give this thing a trial for at least three or four years, using perhaps what is left of the Park Steamship Company. Run it as a government proposition; let the government take the loss—that agrees with private enterprise principles anyway—and then if it should be profitable turn it over to private enterprise. If not, wash it out and we shall forget about it. We still think it is feasible.

Mr. JACKMAN: I believe that point is well taken. As the matter stands to-day, the country is losing half a million dollars a year on the Hudson Bay railway, and seems destined to lose a great deal more as the line gets older. I believe, with the hon. member for Regina City, that the route should be given a fair trial. Now that the war is over, I believe the minister should see whether it will be possible to send enough grain shipments through Churchill, and perhaps get enough incoming shipments, to give the line a fair trial once and for all, and let us discover whether we have a white elephant on our hands or whether the hopes of many people in the west are justified. Let us discover whether this line will at least carry itself, if not make a profit, and so take a burden off the taxpayers of this country. Could the minister say whether anything can be done by his department or by the government to give this line what might be considered a fair trial in the opinion of those people who come from the west and who know something about the territory there?

Mr. CHEVRIER: I can add nothing to what I have said already.

Item agreed to.

Air service—civil aviation division—

386. Control of civil aviation, including the administration of the Aeronautics Act and regulations issued thereunder, $304,000.

Mr. SKEY: I should like to ask the minister if the licensing of private pilots and transport pilots comes under his department under this item.

Mr. CHEVRIER: No; this part of the department is under the Minister of Reconstruction by virtue of the Transfer of Duties Act. The Minister of Reconstruction controls civil aviation, and the operation of the Aeronautics Act and the regulations thereunder.

Mr. SKEY: Does the minister anticipate that this branch will again come under his jurisdiction as part of the Department of Transport, or will it remain in the other department?

Mr. CHEVRIER: That will be a matter for the governor in council to decide, and the policy will be made known in due course.

Mr. SKEY: Would the minister object if I made an observation on this item?

Mr. CHEVRIER: Certainly not.

Mr. SKEY: During the war many service personnel qualified in many aspects of air transport including pilotage, navigation, wireless operating, meteorology and all the other subjects which any aircrew member had to study. They have qualified under service regulations, but they are still forced by the Department of Transport to try examinations before they have the same privilege of operating aircraft under civil administration that ordinarily they would have under military administration. I refer particularly to their green licence cards which entitle them to fly blind over an airways route. All service pilots with any experience are qualified in the subjects which the Department of Transport now requires them to take in order to requalify for this licence. I have in mind the position in the United Kingdom, whereby the air ministry has control of the licensing of private and transport pilots; and any pilot or other aircrew category qualified under the military regulations is automatically given civil qualification. I should like to bring this point to the consideration of the minister, because even at the present time we have in the service men who are requalifying, wasting their time in studying subjects they have already taken.

Mr. CHEVRIER: The only thing I can say is that I will bring these suggestions to the attention of the Minister of Reconstruction.

Item agreed to.

Air service—radio division—

395. **Radio direction finding stations, radio beacons and radiotelegraph stations, operation and maintenance, $748,375.**

Mr. JACKMAN: May I ask the minister a general question? We find that many of these estimates are for items which are used almost exclusively by Trans-Canada Air Lines, although they would be available to private services if there were such private services in this country.

Mr. CHEVRIER: May I ask the hon. gentleman if he is speaking to item 395?

Mr. JACKMAN: I am just on the general question. Could the minister give the committee the total amount that has been spent on airfields in Canada, including meteorological devices, radar equipment and so on? Perhaps I should divide the question into the amounts spent under civil estimates and out of war expenditures, so that we might have some idea how much is invested on capital account in these various matters of equipment.

Mr. CHEVRIER: Will the hon. gentleman allow the question to stand for the time being? It is a detailed one, part of which was answered by the Minister of Reconstruction on the war estimates. As to the other part, I shall try to get the hon. gentleman a reply as quickly as possible.

Item agreed to.

Air service—radio division—

397. **Issue of radio receiving licences—(transport department only), $216,975.**

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): Would the minister tell us exactly how much it costs to collect the $4,018,000 in radio fees? I have never been able to get this straight. In the radio committee a year ago we were told that something like $230,000 was paid in vendors' commissions and $306,000 in administration costs. Is this $216,000 in addition to all that, as the cost of collecting some $4,000,000?

Mr. CHEVRIER: The total cost of collection of licence fees for the fiscal year 1944-45 is $217,348.60, and it is not included in the amount of fees received.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): The way I figure it out is this: First of all, licence fees collected in those years, amounted to $4,018,000. Vendors' commissions amounted to $230,000, and there was an amount of $306,000 for administration fees. Then we have a further amount of $216,000 on top of that. If that is so, it means that it costs $753,000 to collect $4 million.

Why should we collect licence fees from those who own radios? Everybody listens to the radio and is interested in it. Why should the individual who owns the radio have to pay a nuisance tax of $2.50, when everyone in Canada gets the benefit of radio? The fact that it costs $753,000 to collect $4 million is simply ridiculous. What is the difficulty?

Mr. CHEVRIER: The total cost of the collection of fees is $521,472.75, which is made up of, first, commissions deducted at the source, amounting to $304,124.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): I do not think that can be quite right. There is more involved in it than that. First of all, we have vendors' commissions of $230,000, as was explained in the radio committee, and administrative costs of $306,000. Where does this other figure come into the picture? Let us suppose we take only the first two items of $230,000 and $306,000—and these certainly are in the report—we would have a total of $536,000 which it costs the country to collect $4 million. Why should anyone who owns a radio have to pay for that privilege, in these modern days when everyone enjoys the benefit of radio?

Mr. BOUCHER: How much does it cost to investigate and to prosecute or to threaten prosecution in connection with those who do not buy their licences?

Mr. CHEVRIER: I can give the hon. member for St. Paul's the break-down, as I have it, of the cost of collecting radio licence fees. To the administration is charged $188,211 on account of the radio division and $29,136 on account of the treasury branch, making a total of $217,348.60. Then there are commissions deducted at the source, and not included in gross revenue, of $304,124.15, making a grand total of $521,472.75. That is the break-down of the total cost.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): What was the total amount of commissions collected from the public?

Mr. CHEVRIER: It amounts to $304,124.15.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): And the total amount of revenue was $4 million?

Mr. CHEVRIER: The total revenue was $4,000,801.

An hon. MEMBER. Carried.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): No, it is not carried yet.

Mr. CHEVRIER: I cannot give details as to the cost of investigations or prosecutions. Those figures are not kept separately, but I shall ask if they can be obtained.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): We find that it costs $500,000 to collect $4 million. Does the minister not think that in the interests of economy it would be better to collect the money through the Department of National Revenue, and save that $500,000? Does the minister not think that each individual should contribute to radio, instead of limiting it to those who buy radios?

Mr. MACKENZIE: I completely disagree with my hon. friend, because this is one of the finest form of occupation for those who have served their country in various ways in Canada. This is a very modest amount that they receive, and I say that it is a fine investment to help them along, in their employment.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): I would rather do it in some other way.

Mr. MACKENZIE: You would.

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): I would rather do it in some other way. After all, we have to think about economy in this country. In 1938 we had 44,000 civil servants in Canada, and to-day we have 150,000. While in 1938 we paid $88 million for the conduct of our civil service, to-day we pay $229 million. May I remind the government, which sits opposite, that we must think about economy in this country. That is why I have brought this matter up.

Item agreed to.

Government-owned enterprises—non-active accounts—National harbours board—

420. Advances to national harbours board, subject to the provisions of section 29 of the National Harbours Board Act to meet expenditures applicable to the calendar year 1945 on any or all of the following accounts:

Reconstruction and capital expenditures—

Generally,—unforseen and miscellaneous, $200,000.

Mr. JACKMAN: Is this the item under which the grain elevator at Churchill might be discussed?

Mr. CHEVRIER: No.

Mr. JACKMAN: Is the elevator under the minister's administration?

Mr. CHEVRIER: Yes.

Item agreed to.

Special—Deficits—Prince Edward Island car ferry and terminals—

421. Amount required to provide for the payment during the fiscal year 1945-46 to the Canadian National Railway company (hereinafter called the national company) upon applications approved by the Minister of Transport, made from time to time by the national company to the Minister of Finance, and to be applied by the national company in payment of the deficit certified by the auditors of the national company) in the operation of the Prince Edward Island car ferry and terminals arising in the calender year 1945, $713,000.

Mr. McLURE: When will the new car ferry between Tormentine and Borden be completed?

I probably could have brought up this matter under vote 376, but perhaps it is not too late to bring it up under this item. We have had many answers to our questions about when this new boat would be completed. The S.S. *Charlottetown* was lost in 1941. She was insured for $1,000,000, the first time insurance was carried in the history of the boat. When can we be assured of a ferry? It was not until 1944 that it was announced that the contract was let. We have had different excuses given about this matter. First, they were going to salvage the old boat. Then they were going to complete a causeway, or they were going to think about it. Then there was talk about a tunnel. Finally, the minister, not the one who at present adorns this portfolio, stated in 1944 that a contract had been let to be completed in 1945.

Then came a lot of excuses about shortage of materials or no materials for the construction of such a boat. But different stories leaked our from the yards at Sorel. We found that those yards were not being closed on account of a shortage of materials because they were building many types of vessels. In September, 1945, we had a definite statement from the minister who at present adorns the portfolio, in answer to a question that I submitted, that we could expect this boat in the late summer of 1946, or, as we say in the east in Indian summer, which means that it may never come.

Would the minister give us a full statement about this matter? When I spoke on this matter before I emphasized the fact that we should have a boat at an early day. The S.S. *Charlottetown* was lost in 1941, and if the government intended to live up to the terms of confederation they could have had this boat built in the United States. But that idea was cancelled from some source that I do not know of, and they said, "No, the people of Prince Edward Island can wait." However, I am not going to go into the terms of confederation under which this boat is absolutely due us, because I dealt with that before and I do not wish to hold up the committee any longer.

Every government in Canada has known full well the terms under which my province entered confederation. No government, either Liberal or Conservative has fulfilled the term of that agreement with reference to transportation. I will give credit to the government of the late Robert L. Borden for trying to implement the terms of confederation, but no credit can be given to any other government. When my leader visited Prince Edward Island last year he made a special study of this problem, having had some practical experience with our disadvantages in transportation.

At his opening campaign speech in Charlottetown he promised on behalf of his party that he would give us a full implementing of the terms of confederation having to do with transportation. However, his party was not elected to power. The government that is now in power should solve our transportation problem.

I should like to refer to one matter that I mentioned previously, namely the traffic that goes over the Borden-Tormentine ferry. In 1944—the 1945 figures are not yet available—a total of 42,282 freight, passenger and baggage cars were carried on this ferry. There were 175,662 passengers carried, and 12,052 automobiles. This was only half the number of automobiles carried in 1939 and 1940, because gasoline rationing had had an effect on this traffic. There were 5,858 carloads of potatoes carried, and there would have been at least another thousand cars if shipping conditions had not been interfered with by the ice.

I should like to refer to another matter I mentioned before, and I want the minister to take notice of this because I should like to have it rectified. We are handicapped as no other province is handicapped in connection with truck transportation over the Borden-Tormentine ferry. The department should eliminate the prohibitive rates that we have to pay at the present time. This is what is charged a 5-ton truck going from Borden to Tormentine. First, there is a charge of $10 each way for loading on flat cars, because the tramways and the boat itself are not capable of carrying a 5-ton truck. That totals $20. Five tons of first-class freight at twenty cents per 100 pounds gives a total of $40 both ways. Then the driver's return fare is $5. That makes a grand total of $65. After I made my previous statement, I received a letter from the president of the Prince Edward motor carriers association who stated that I was wrong. Here is his actual experience. In effect the charges on a truck carrying a 5-ton load is, taking it both ways $72, and he says, "You are in error $12 or thereabouts." However, even with the figure I have here of $60.65 it is a prohibitive rate. That is the C.N.R. rate. Why should they make rates over a ferry owned by the government? I want the Minister of Transport to set the rate himself.

Mr. CHEVRIER: The Minister of Transport cannot set the rate.

Mr. McLURE: Does the minister tell this committee that he has no authority over rates?

Mr. CHEVRIER: I said that the minister could not set the rate.

Mr. McLURE: Does the minister mean by that, that the government cannot set the rate?

Mr. CHEVRIER: I will explain what I mean when I answer the hon. gentleman.

Mr. McLURE: Then I do not know just where I stand in this matter. But no matter what rates are set on this ferry owned by the government of Canada, the government of Canada are in duty bound to fulfil their part of the contract and give us a rate which is in proportion to all the other rates on ferries for similar traffic. They are not giving us this rate now and we are the ones who are suffering. I have no complaint to make with reference to the Canadian National Railways. That is their business. If they can extract more money, that is for the benefit of themselves. Their service is all right; but their charge is prohibitive, and without any reason or satisfaction to the people of my province. Imagine a rate of $60.65 for carrying a truck a distance of eighteen miles! According to the transportation laws and the transportation commission which sat a few years ago in Ontario and established the rates for transportation by truck, this is a prohibitive rate to a great degree, and again I say to the minister that before another session of this house I want him to establish the rates on trucks. He may tell me and tell this committee that he has no authority to do that. I disagree, because his department and the government are the owners of this means of transport. I could say a great deal more with reference to these prohibitive rates on the car ferry, but I do not want to delay the committee.

Let me say, in closing, that we expect in our province at least fair treatment. It does not matter to the Canadian National Railways whether the rate is $10.60 or whether it is $60.65, because every dollar that they lose in operating this ferry they bill the government for, and it is paid, and correctly so, according to the terms of agreement under which we entered into confederation. But I want to see an individual who is operating a business so protected by the new rates that he can deal with the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick by truck traffic. I want the Minister of Transport to make a mental reservation regarding this matter and to provide us in the near future with a rate that is at least fair and equitable.

Mr. CHEVRIER: The hon. gentleman has raised a number of questions to which it would take some time to reply. I should like to reply at some length, but I feel that in justice and in fairness to the committee I should not go into any detail. But I wish to reply briefly to some of the questions he raised.

He said that the government should look after the transportation problems in Prince Edward Island. I say to him that the government has looked into those problems; is giving them serious consideration, and is spending a considerable sum of money. My hon. friend is not unmindful of the fact that already we have made commitments for improving the facilities at Tormentine and Borden.

Mr. McLURE: That is under the Minister of Public Works.

Mr. CHEVRIER: It does not matter under whose department it is. At the moment it is under the Department of Transport, but that is aside from the question. We are spending on these facilities somewhere in the neighbourhood of $5,500,000. That is over and above the new ferry boat, which will cost between $4,500,000 and $5,000,000. That is over $11,000,000 for these facilities. So that I am sure the hon. gentleman cannot say that we are not looking with interest into the transportation problems between Prince Edward Island and the mainland.

He also asked with reference to the ferry boat. In my answer to his question on the order paper I stated that it would be late in the summer of 1946 before we could expect the ferry boat to be completed. There are many reasons why this could not be done sooner. I should like to be able to go into those reasons fully, but I feel that I should not take up the time of the committee. I have a long statement here showing just what progress has been made with reference to this Prince Edward Island car ferry, and I should be glad to show it to my hon. friend. It is a progress statement as of November 28, 1945, and shows what progress has been made on the construction of various units of the car ferry. It is an interesting document, but too lengthy for me to read at this stage.

Mr. McLURE: Would the minister put that statement on the record?

Mr. CHEVRIER: With the consent of the committee, Mr. Chairman, I shall be glad to put it on *Hansard*.

The CHAIRMAN: Has the hon. member consent?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Agreed.

Mr. CHEVRIER: The statement follows:

New Prince Edward Island Car Ferry
Progress to November 28, 1945
Hull
(under construction at Marine Industries Limited)

Steel construction in hull up to car deck, including 9 strakes shell plating, floors, 90 per cent erected.

Deck plating, bulkheads and longitudinal stringers, 50 per cent erected.
Structure above car deck, 15 per cent erected.
The loft moulds for remaining shell plating, fenders, rail supports, mezzanine deck plating, top side framing and top side bulkheads, 85 per cent finished.
Stem completed.
Lower portion stern frame machined.
Pattern for shaft brackets completed.

Diesel Engines
(under construction at Dominion Engineering Works)

8 Main Propulsion Units—
Unit No. 1, completed and tests to commence to-night, November 28.
Unit No. 2, practically completed and tests expected to be commenced soon after No. 1 tests have been completed.
Unit No. 3, on erection bed—80 per cent finished.
Unit No. 4, on erection bed—80 per cent finished.
Unit No. 5, on erection bed—70 per cent finished.
Unit No. 6, on erection bed—50 per cent finished.
Unit No. 7, on erection bed—35 per cent finished.
Unit No. 8, on erection bed—20 per cent finished.
(One unit comprises 2-6 cylinder Diesel engines.)
Auxiliary generating units—parts passing through machine shop.

Motors and Generators
(under construction at Canadian General Electric Company)

8—1050 K.W. Main power Generators—
Units No. 1 and No. 2—now ready for test.
Units No. 3 and No. 4—Shop tests completed and units delivered to Dominion Engineering Company.
Units No. 5 and No. 6—Assembled on test beds.
Unit No. 7—75 per cent complete.
Unit No. 8—65 per cent complete.
3—330 K.W. Auxiliary Power Generators—
All 3 armatures completed and field poles being installed—85 per cent complete.
4—3850 H.P. Propulsion Motors—
Unit No. 1—60 per cent complete.
Unit No. 2—50 per cent complete.
Units No. 3 and No. 4—35 per cent complete.
Auxiliary Power Generator Switchboard—
Structural steel case—95 per cent complete.

My hon. friend raised several other questions. He laid stress on truck transportation and the rates paid on these trucks when carried by the ferry. He is of the opinion that the Minister of Transport should eliminate what he calls these prohibitive rates. I say to him that the minister has no authority to do that. The rates are filed with the board of transport commissioners on automobiles and trucks carried by the Canadian National Railways on the ferry between the island and the mainland, and it would appear from the information I have at hand that anyone who wishes to complain about these rates can do so before the board. I am not prepared to disagree with the hon. gentleman upon the amount of these rates. The explanation given before the railways and shipping committee by the president of the Canadian National Railways was that in fixing the rates on the ferry regard had to be had to similar railway rates. He also gave other explanations, which the hon. gentleman can find in the evidence of that committee. For the hon. gentleman's information I am sending over to him three photographs showing the progress of the Prince Edward Island car ferry as it is now in course of construction at Sorel.

Mr. McLURE: With reference to these rates, I understood the minister to say that the commission set these rates, and that he as minister of the Department of Transport did not have the authority to go into them in detail or have them reduced.

Mr. CHEVRIER: To fix the rates.

Mr. McLURE: There is another ferry operating between Woods islands and Cariboo, and the rates on that were fixed by this government, which pays a bonus to the people operating that ferry.

Mr. CHEVRIER: That is right.

Mr. McLURE: The rates on that ferry on small trucks are less than half of what they set on the other, although the distance is twice as far, and I take it from the minister that the only redress we can have is to take the matter before the commission. Unfortunately, or probably fortunately, I was not a member of parliament in time to take this matter up when the railway committee was meeting. Had I done so, I believe that they would have left it to the discretion of the minister to place a proper rate on auto trucks.

Mr. CHEVRIER: The reason for the discrepancy between the two sets of rates is that a subsidy is paid on the Woods ferry, and in the payment of the subsidy it is set out what the rates shall be.

Mr. McLURE: At the same time we are paying a subsidy to the Canadian National here, according to this vote, or $721,000.

Mr. CHEVRIER: We pay $713,000 of a deficit.

Mr. McLURE: Well, that is a subsidy to it for carrying on the service.

Item agreed to.

Special deficits—National harbours board—
422. To provide for payment to national harbours board, of the amount hereinafter set forth, to be applied in payment of the deficit (exclusive of interest on dominion government advances and depreciation on capital structures) arising in the calendar year 1945, in the operation of Churchill harbour, $90,000.

Mr. JACKMAN: If the minister would be agreeable to answering certain questions in connection with the grain elevator at Churchill in the railways and shipping committee, I would defer them until then. I want to inquire about the amount of depreciation, the capital involved and the interest charged as set out there, but we can go into it better, I think, in the railways and shipping committee if that is agreeable to the minister.

Mr. CHEVRIER: I would prefer that.

Item agreed to.

Mr. BRACKEN: Did I understand that there might be a brief discussion later of item 422?

Mr. CHEVRIER: No; that has been passed.

Mr. BRACKEN: A question was raised in connection with No. 422 and the railways and shipping committee.

The CHAIRMAN: No; item 422 was carried.

Mr. BRACKEN: The question I wanted to ask was with respect to the harbour at Churchill.

Mr. CHEVRIER: I understood from the hon. member for Rosedale that he asked if I would prefer to have the discussion before the railways and shipping committee next session. I agreed, and I think the committee did, but if the hon. gentleman wants to ask a question on the item I shall be glad to answer it if I can.

Mr. BRACKEN: The question may be something like the one the hon. member for Rosedale wished to ask. It has not to do directly with the harbour, although I should like to know if the government plans to make any expenditures in connection with that harbour this year or the coming year.

Mr. CHEVRIER: The answer to that question is that the expenditure is set out in these estimates. So far as expenditures for next year are concerned, they will be in the estimates for 1946-47.

Mr. BRACKEN: May I ask if the minister will answer this question—

Mr. CHEVRIER: Perhaps I should answer the question by saying that there is a sort of a floating vote for the Hudson Bay railway on capital construction, which we passed some days ago, for $20,000. That is used for capital construction.

Mr. BRACKEN: Well, in a previous item, No. 375, there appears an item of $500,000 for the Hudson Bay railway. I do not want to keep the minister more than a minute or two, but probably he can answer my question briefly. I should like to know what is the net deficit on that railway. This figure may or may not be the net deficit. This figure probably does not include interest on the investment; it may or may not provide for depreciation. Would the minister let us know what is the real net loss per year in the operation of that railway?

Mr. CHEVRIER: The real net estimated deficit is $500,000. The actual deficit will be a little less than that, because, now that we have reached the month of December, it is possible to know with greater certainty. I cannot tell the hon. gentleman what the amount will be, but it will be less than the estimated amount.

Mr. BRACKEN: But does that include the interest on the investment? I am afraid it does not.

Mr. CHEVRIER: No, it does not.

Mr. BRACKEN: Well, then, that is not the actual deficit. Does it also include provision for depreciation, or would that, too, have to be added to the $500,000 in order to show the actual loss per year from that project?

Mr. CHEVRIER: Yes, it would have to be added to the amount. The hon. gentleman remembers the discussion which took place on the motion of the hon. member for Churchill. I tabled a number of statements showing the deficit on capital, the deficit on interest, and I think there was a reference to depreciation.

Mr. NICHOLSON: It is all on *Hansard.*

Mr. CHEVRIER: The hon. member says, that it is all on *Hansard,* and I believe it is.

Civil aviation division—
600. Airways and airports—construction and improvements, including lighting and radio facilities—capital—further amount required, $178,900.

Mr. GREEN: Can the minister tell the committee whether a policy has yet been decided upon with regard to assistance to municipal airports which are on the feeder lines? For example, there is to be a feeder line running from Vancouver to Penticton, Cranbrook, and then into Lethbridge. There is an airport now at Cranbrook, but I believe they have no hard-surfaced strip, and they have asked the government to give them some assistance in putting down a proper strip. Has any policy been decided upon for assistance of that type?

Mr. CHEVRIER: I am informed that the air transport board is working on the details of the policy all across the country, but they have not materialized to a sufficient extent to enable them to be made public at this time.

Mr. GREEN: Will any assistance be given to these cities where they show that they are willing to assume their fair share of the cost of improving these airports?

Mr. CHEVRIER: I am sure there will be, because before the war we gave these airports assistance, and while I am not in a position to say what it will be, it will not be less than it was then.

Mr. BLACK (Cumberland): Is it the policy of the department to utilize the Debert airport in connection with Trans-Canada Air Lines? More than $3 million has been expended on that airport, and often planes connot make the landing on the eastern passage near Halifax. The service to the central and eastern part of the province is important. Can the minister say whether the airport can be used to a greater extent?

Mr. CHEVRIER: The airport has not been declared surplus to War Assets Corporation; but when it is, consideration will be given the question whether it can be used for the purpose asked.

Item agreed to.

DEPARTMENT OF RECONSTRUCTION

308. Departmental administration, including expenses incidental to organization, $1,500,000.

Mr. CHEVRIER: There are just one or two items of the Minister of Reconstruction and the Minister of Munitions and Supply. This item was discussed at full length on the war appropriation estimates, and the minister said that this amount of $1,500,000 was duplicated in civil estimates as well. There has been ample opportunity therefore for discussion.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I am rather upset by the treatment that the house has received from the government. Several of us had questions on the order paper asking for specific information, and we were told to defer those questions until the war expenditures committee met. We cooperated and deferred the questions and, the war expenditures committee having met, we have not been able to ask the questions in committee. I am not blaming either the chairman or the committee; there happened to be too much work to allow us to get down to the details. I do not like the idea of the minister having such unlimited powers without any check on him until the house meets at the next session, when the committee is set up again. I have suggested before that, on this question of war assets and the realization of moneys therefrom, there should be a continuing committee or a royal commission sitting until the house meets again. There are a number of things we want to know, and many things will be happening while the house is in recess. Dominion Magnesium Limited ought to be thoroughly investigated and so should Research Enterprises plant. The Minister of Reconstruction has power to do whatever he likes under the act, and that power is far too great for any minister, no matter how capable or honest he may be. Already he has sold one building and he has told us that he is going to close the plant. There is also the Cardoza matter that has to be investigated. The government should carefully consider the advisability of setting up the committee I have suggested.

At six o'clock the committee took recess.

After Recess

The committee resumed at eight o'clock.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

39. Departmental administration, $526,085.

Right Hon. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): The leader of the opposition asked a question on Thursday last relating to external affairs, and I might give my hon. friend the answer immediately. He inquired whether the government had received an invitation from the United States government to attend an international trade conference. My hon. friend went on to inquire whether, if such an invitation should be received, the government would give favourable consideration to making its delegation to the proposed conference a non-partisan delegation rather than one representing only the government itself.

The position is that the United States government has proposed that the united nations organization, once it is established, should take steps to convene a general international conference on trade and employment, if possible by the summer of 1946. The Canadian government has warmly welcomed the initiative which the United States government has taken in this matter and will give its full support in the united nations assembly to the proposal that such a conference be held. In the meantime I can only say that no consideration has yet been given to the composition of the Canadian delegation to such a conference.

I should like to take this opportunity of informing the committee that the government of Canada has accepted an invitation from the government of the United States to participate in a preliminary meeting, which will probably be held during the spring, to prepare concrete and concerted measures for the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers, and generally to prepare the way for the successful accomplishment of the general objectives which we hope the united nations conference on trade and employment will be able to realize. I need not emphasize again the importance to Canada of restoring the world trading economy on the fullest and freest basis possible. No country has a greater stake in the attainment and consolidation of these objectives and we must be prepared to take our full part in cooperation with other like-minded nations in this great task.

Mr. GREEN: Is the Prime Minister not making a general statement on this item?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I have not a prepared statement. I rather anticipated that a number of questions might be asked which I would seek to answer. In one way or another at different times during the session there have been extensive references to the more important matters of external affairs, and at this stage of the session I have not had an opportunity to prepare a statement of any length.

Mr. GREEN: There are three questions I should like to place before the Prime Minister having to do with the Department of External Affairs. Before doing so, may I say that I consider it very unfortunate that the debate on external affairs should have come on so late in the session. The Prime Minister has been back from his trip to the United Kingdom and the United States for almost a month, and in the best interests of the country as well as of the house it would have been wiser for him to bring on this debate shortly after his return. The Canadian people have not had many opportunities over the last decade to consider foreign affairs. I think it has been a weakness of this parliament that we have not had enough discussions on these topics, and as a result it has been difficult for public opinion to crystallize. Then, of course, it is particularly unfortunate because so few members of parliament are here this week. Most of them have gone home, and only a comparative few will have had the privilege of listening to the discussions on external affairs which have taken place to-day.

My first question has to do with Canada's position in the key negotiations which take place from time to time. For example, negotiations are now under way in Moscow, and there were similar negotiations in London in the early fall. They are of great importance. They may be settling the peace terms. In any event, there is no doubt that many of the terms will be settled at these conferences, which means that they may involve war or peace in the future. Canada is very deeply concerned with these negotiations, not only because of the part she has played in the recent war but also because of the part she undoubtedly would have to play in any future war, and more particularly because we are now one of the three trustees of atomic force. That has tremendously increased the responsibility of Canada as a nation in external affairs in the last year; I am confident the Prime Minister will agree with that statement. At this time the Canadian people are far more directly involved in the issues that have to be settled between the nations.

I suggest to the Prime Minister and to the committee that some procedure must be established so that Canada can take an active part in reaching these vital decisions. At the present time we are largely confined to complaining about the decisions after they have been reached and to trying to change them, which is a difficult thing to do. Once a decision is reached, it is almost impossible to make any far-reaching changes. The Prime Minister showed that this was Canada's position when he spoke in this house on September 27, referring to his projected visit to Europe. At page 513 of *Hansard* he said:

> In this entire matter the understanding of the Canadian government, as I have already intimated to the house, is that any draft treaty that results from the discussions of the council of foreign ministers will be of a preliminary character and that there will be an opportunity for Canada, as well as for other interested united nations, to express their views at a later stage.

It would be far more satisfactory if some method could be worked out whereby the Canadian house and the Canadian people could have additional knowledge of the facts and of the trends; have the time to consider them, and to hold discussions with the United Kingdom and with other nations of the commonwealth, before decisions are reached. I have no doubt that something along that line is being done at the present time, under present practice; but it must go a great deal farther. I believe that Canada could get whatever procedure she wished; that the United Kingdom and other nations of the commonwealth would follow our lead to a great extent if we suggested a change. So that, I repeat, my first question is for an

explanation of Canada's position in respect of negotiations such as those being carried on at this time in Moscow.

My second question has to do with Canada's policy in the Pacific. I would ask the Prime Minister to explain the attitude of his government toward Pacific affairs. That area has increased greatly in importance. In fact, I think the centre of world activity has now shifted from Europe, certainly to America and perhaps to the Pacific.

During the course of the war against Japan the United States did a great deal to open up areas in the Pacific. Russia has expanded and she is now taking an active interest in Manchuria; she is also very active in the northern part of the Pacific. China, of course, is like a giant just awakening from a long sleep. No one can tell what developments there may be on the mainland of Asia in the next decade or generation, but it is almost certain that they will be very great.

Then, Australia and New Zealand have developed remarkably during the war. They have taken a most aggressive position in Pacific affairs, and have told the rest of the world in no uncertain language just what they think their part should be in that area. What is Canada's policy on such questions as the allied advisory commission on Japan, which has been set up in Washington? Apparently the Russians wanted to have an allied control commission, functioning not in Washington but right in Tokyo. What position is Canada taking on that suggestion?

Are we in favour of a regional council for the Pacific? Some of the nations have been suggesting that there should be a council for that region, and Canada should take some position on the question. It is, of course, of vital interest to those Canadians who live on the Pacific slope. We should like to know what the Canadian government has in mind about a regional council for the Pacific. There is much to be said for such a council, because there are many problems which are peculiar to the Pacific area.

Then, what is Canada's policy with regard to a united nations trusteeship of the former Japanese territories in the Pacific area? That, again, is a most important question; and we should like to know whether or not the government believes that such trusteeship should be established.

My third question has to do with the work of the house itself in connection with external affairs. This year for the first time there was set up an external affairs committee. It is a very good committee, and the members who served on it took their work most seriously. On November 12, when the Prime Minister was away, that committee brought in a report, the last paragraph of which read as follows:

Your committee further recommends that it be empowered to consider matters connected with external affairs and report from time to time any suggestion or recommendation deemed advisable to the House of Commons.

That, of course, was a wide-open recommendation. The committee asked that it be given power to consider anything having to do with external affairs.

A few days later, on November 16, on a motion for concurrence, the Minister of Justice (Mr. St. Laurent) moved in amendment that the words "be now concurred in" at the end of the motion be struck out, and replaced by the following:

That the report be referred back to the said committee and that it have power to reconsider the recommendation expressed in the last paragraph of the report.

In moving that amendment, the Minister of Justice said that he thought the new committee had gone too far and had asked for powers that were much too wide. His suggestion was that they should consider only what was referred to them by the house.

In this matter there is a clear difference of opinion. Perhaps some middle ground can be found. May I suggest to the Prime Minister that the estimates for the Department of External Affairs might very well be referred to the external affairs committee. That is done now in respect of certain items in the Department of Transport which are referred to the special committee on government-owned railways and shipping. If this were done, if these estimates were referred, it would give the committee reasonable scope in the discussion of external affairs, and at the same time would not deprive the house of the right to discuss those estimates subsequently.

This new committee must not be crippled at the outset. There was great hope for it, in the speech of my leader when he proposed that it be set up, in the speech of the Prime Minister when he accepted the proposal, and in the speeches of the leaders of the other parties.

As I said at the opening of my remarks, matters connected with external affairs have not been discussed at any great length in the Canadian parliament. However, they have become more and more important, until now there is nothing much more important which could be discussed either in committee or in the house. The standing committee could get at the various facts in connection with the estimates. It could call officials of the department, and could hear witnesses. It could help to keep the Department of External Affairs more closely in touch with the

Canadian people. There would be valuable training for the members serving on the committee and the result would be to help the people of Canada to understand and to follow external affairs better than they do at the present time. Further, if my suggestions were followed it might be possible to reach unanimity on many questions connected with external affairs. So that I repeat my suggestion that the government adopt the policy of referring estimates of the department to the standing committee on external affairs at the beginning of the session.

Those are the three questions that I have to place before the Prime Minister to-night. It is impossible to overemphasize the importance of external affairs. Twice in twenty-five years young Canadians have sailed from our shores to fight, and in many cases to die, because of issues that arose beyond our boundaries. They have had to do that in order to prevent war from approaching our land. I believe that if the Canadian people are told the facts, if they are given an opportunity to discuss and to understand the various issues, they will reach the right decision. But the leadership must come from the house itself. Therefore I suggest that in another session the Prime Minister see to it that more opportunity is given for a thorough examination of all questions having to do with external affairs.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Mr. Chairman, may I say to the hon. member for Vancouver South that I agree with practically all he has said this evening. Personally I am sorry that it was not possible to have these estimates brought down at an earlier time. I can give him an explanation which, however, he may regard as an excuse. The fact is that when I returned I found there was quite a lot to do. My hon. friend knows that part of the time was taken up with presiding at the dominion-provincial conference and studying questions in relation to it. He knows also that there were a number of very important measures which still had not been considered by the house, or if they had been considered, had been considered only in one stage, and it was desired by the house to have them debated before anything else was taken up, or at least I so gathered. I met with the leaders of the three parties when I came back and we had a discussion as to how the business of the session should be arranged for the remainder of the session in order that we might get through about this time. In that discussion it was clearly emphasized that there were certain measures—for example, the emergency powers bill, the budget resolutions and other matters—which it was felt it was all-important should be dealt with by the house as soon as possible. I agreed to do all I could to see that those measures were brought forward as rapidly as possible. If I am not mistaken, I undertook to see that estimates which it might be requested should be brought down before others would be given priority. I do not recall any particular request that the estimates of external affairs should precede other estimates. I have been holding back, in part, to allow the business of the house to get along as rapidly as possible. I agree with my hon. friend that it is unfortunate that we should be discussing many matters that relate to external affairs.

I agree with my hon. friend that there is perhaps no more important phase of the government's work than that which relates to external affairs. I think he will agree that the importance of external affairs in the work of government have in Canada come to the fore very suddenly. During the period of the war there were strong reasons why we had to follow the course we did in regard to making our voice heard on many questions. I have said to the house that at times we found ourselves in an extremely embarrassing position. Decisions were being made by the Prime Minister of Great Britain associated with the President of the United States. Some of these decisions had to be made very quickly, and in a few instances we did not learn about them until after they had been made. But those cases were very few and there were good reasons for the haste that was required.

I had at that time to make up my mind whether I would protest each time we had been overlooked or whether I would look at the matter in a reasonable light and say, "Everything considered, as we are in a war, we had better allow this to pass without too much in the way of protest." But I can assure my hon. friend that there never was an occasion, while we may not have said much in the way of public protest, that we did not place our position very strongly on record.

Coming to this present period, now that we are out of the war, I did as my hon. friend has read from *Hansard* make a strong protest before I went across the Atlantic at Canada being invited to come for purposes of consultation on matters related to the settlement of the peace, and not invited to come as a principal, to sit as such with others. One reason why I felt it important to go to England was to discuss that very phase of the situation with the prime minister and the minister of foreign affairs there. I thought that matters of the kind could be referred to much better in conversation than to be made an occasion for discussion across the Atlantic.

I would say that I believe that the members of the British government have had and have every desire to see that Canada secures her full representation in important international negotiations, but to some extent the matter has been beyond their control.

My hon. friend has referred to the meeting of foreign ministers that took place in London. If I remember correctly, that meeting was the outgrowth of the conference held at Potsdam. Similarly, there is a conference taking place at Moscow to-day at which are present only the foreign ministers of the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union. That conference is the outcome of the decision reached at Yalta that the foreign ministers of the great powers involved in the war should meet every once in so often, I think it is every three or four months, to become—I do not say better acquainted with each other—better acquainted through conferring with one another, with all aspects of questions as they come up.

President Truman himself has said that he does not think there should be any more peace settlements by the great powers alone. In that connection I am sure the President was referring to a peace conference and the final settlement of peace terms. Canada has made her position very clearly known in that connection. In regard to matters that relate to the peace we expect to have all the powers recognize the great part which Canada played in this war, the great sacrifice of life that has been made, all that has contributed to victory on the part of our armed services, to say nothing of the much lesser but nevertheless very important contributions that Canada has made in the way of furnishing supplies, making loans, in fact giving assistance where it was needed without any consideration. We do expect and will expect that this country shall be given full recognition along with other powers that may have to do with these international matters that affect the future.

May I deal with the last subject to which my hon. friend referred before going on to the other two questions he asked? I think it would be all to the good to have the estimates of the Department of External Affairs referred to the committee on external affairs. That committee was formerly known as the committee on industrial and international relations, but its designation was changed at the beginning of this session. My impression is that I suggested at a previous session that we should refer the estimates of the Department of External Affairs to the committee on industrial and international relations. I know that I did advocate that course in regard to the estimates of different departments, namely, that they should be referred to committees, and I did so for two reasons; first, in order that all members might be better informed on the work of the government in these matters and also because I believe it would involve a real saving in time in taking up the estimates themselves. I agree with my hon. friend that if the committee does go into these matters and takes up the estimates of any department—I am speaking now particularly of External Affairs—that should not preclude the fullest discussion on any of the items for external affairs when the report of the committee comes back to the house. I do think that the committee of supply might well decide that there are a large number of these items which the standing committee had gone into so fully that there was no need of bringing them up again here and taking up the time of the house, but that it would rather pick out the items which it was felt should receive attention here.

The leader of the opposition also asked whether it was the intention to reappoint the committee on the revision of the rules of the house. I would answer him now by saying that that committee will certainly be reappointed, and I hope that it will consider very carefully how time can be saved in the House of Commons by a revision of the rules in some respects along the lines I have already suggested. The recommendation of the committee to which my hon. friend referred was that it be empowered to consider matters connected with external affairs and to report from time to time any suggestions or recommendations to the House of Commons. I think that was construed as being something very broad and as rather a departure from the rules we follow generally in the house; namely, that when matters are referred to committees, they are referred to them specifically. For example, this committee on external affairs in its report referred to certain conventions they approved, and there were also the treaty of extradition and one or two other matters which they considered. I think that is the right way in which to refer matters to a committee.

But with regard to External Affairs there is one very special reason why care must be taken as to the extent to which the committee might be authorized to go in investigating External Affairs generally. My hon. friend knows that in the Department of External Affairs there is a great deal of correspondence with different governments on matters that are under consideration and one thing above everything else that we have to watch is to see that where other governments are concerned their consent is obtained in advance

of the disclosure of information that may be the subject of communication between those governments and our own. The committee might quite unconsciously, unless there was someone watching the situation pretty carefully, be going into some matters about which, if they were brought up in the House of Commons instead of in the committee the minister in charge would have to take responsibility. But I do not press that consideration too far. I think that what my hon. friend has in mind is that if the estimates as a whole were referred to a committee it could bring before it the officials of the External Affairs Department and if they had doubt as to the propriety to certain matters arising in the committee the matter could be considered and dealt with by the minister in the house. I am happy to join with my hon. friend in the move to have the estimates of External Affairs referred to the standing committee and I would hope that that committee might, as I have already suggested, bring down to a few topics the matters which subsequently need to be referred to in the House of Commons. Possibly later, when we call this particular resolution, and the amendment which has been proposed to refer the matter back for consideration the amendment might be allowed to pass as the committee will not be meeting again before another session.

My hon. friend asked me about Canada's position in certain key negotiations. I have touched on that to a limited extent. I cannot emphasize too strongly the right of this country to be one of the principals in any matters that have grown out of the war and relate to the making of the peace. I can assure him that we shall watch the situation carefully and press for our rights in that regard.

My hon. friend has made reference to Canada's policy in the Pacific. I had anticipated that some questions would be asked in regard to the Pacific and I should like to answer his question as follows:

I should like to summarize briefly the situation with respect to the occupation and control of Japan. It will be recalled that, in October, Canada was invited to participate in the work of the far eastern advisory commission, a body convened in Washington to consider political matters connected with the fulfilment by Japan of its obligations under the instrument of surrender. The invitation was accepted, as the house was informed, and the Canadian ambassador in Washington was named as Canadian representative. A number of preliminary meetings have been held which have been chiefly devoted to examining the manifold problems with which the committee will have to deal and discussing the way in which its work can most profitably be arranged. The members taking part in these meetings, in addition to Canada, are the United Kingdom, the United States, China, Australia, France, India, the Philippine commonwealth, the Netherlands and New Zealand.

So far, the Soviet Union has not sent a representative to the commission, but it is my understanding that discussions are now proceeding between the four powers signatory to the Potsdam declaration with a view to reconciling certain differences of opinion which have been expressed over methods of procedure. It is hoped that these discussions will result in the attendance of a Soviet representative, which will be genuinely welcomed by all.

It is premature as yet to attempt to predict, with any exactness, how the far eastern advisory commission will function and what role it will play. The important thing is that machinery has been created which will provide for joint discussions by all the nations directly concerned with the Pacific of the intricate and far-reaching political problems occasioned by the defeat of Japan. An opportunity is thus afforded to the Canadian government to express its views on matters of concern to it and to share in the formulation of the policies that will be applied to Japan. I am hopeful that the far eastern advisory commission will make a worth-while contribution to the problem of creating conditions which will encourage the development by the Japanese people of a peaceful and democratic government.

Canada will be represented on the far eastern advisory commission during its forthcoming visit to Japan by Mr. E. H. Norman, a member of the external affairs service. Mr. Norman served at the Canadian legation in Japan before the war and is a specialist in far eastern affairs. He will act in place of Mr. L. B. Pearson, the official Canadian representative on the commission, who will not be able to leave his post as Canadian ambassador in Washington for the time required for this visit to Japan.

Colonel L. M. Cosgrove of the trade commissioner service, has been appointed as economic consultant to the Canadian representative. Colonel Cosgrave served for many years as a trade commissioner in the far east and has more recently been military attache at Canberra.

May I say a word with respect to China. The sense of relief experienced by all the united nations with the final surrender of Japan was surely nowhere felt more pro-

foundly than in long-suffering China. To that great country it brought not only release from over eight years of war—indeed from fourteen years of continuous resistance—but a removal of the shadow of Japanese domination that had marked many more years of uncertainty and fear. We may well recall at this time the debt of gratitude the world owes to China for her resistance in those early days when she was willing to withstand the might of Japan alone. By a happy coincidence, on the very day when Japan signed the formal surrender terms in Tokyo bay, the Premier of China was the guest of our government, and as Prime Minister I was able to express to Dr. Soong Canada's congratulations and thanks, and to assure him of Canada's continued aid as China addressed herself to her tasks of reconstruction.

Canada with the other united nations looks with expectation and hope to China as she takes up her task of economic reconstruction and political development. Her leaders are fully aware that the task will not be without difficulties. News of recent days indicate a political condition yet unsettled and disturbed. At this stage we can only affirm our confidence that the Chinese people will be able satisfactorily to solve their own internal problems. Good neighbours and far-off friends alike must be united in the hope that she may be completely successful in attaining the unity and strength that will enable her to take her place as a bulwark among the peace-loving and democratic nations of the world.

My hon. friend asks specifically with regard to the regional council in the Pacific. The government's policy has been to keep in touch with all these matters that relate to the Pacific as they have come up for consideration, but we have not thus far decided that it is advisable for us to become members of a regional council. It may be that the developments which will take place within the next short time will show the wisdom of Canada being a member of the regional council, but I think we have much to gain and nothing to lose by not taking too immediate a step in regard to what is most advisable in the intricate situation which exists at the present time in the Pacific.

Mr. GREEN: I also asked the Prime Minister the attitude of the government toward a united nations trusteeship of Japanese possessions.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: There is really nothing I can say at the present time about it, and it is felt that it would be unwise to make any particular statement on that subject at the present time.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

Mr. MacINNIS: I have a few remarks to make on a specific point and, perhaps, a few questions to ask to which, I think, a great many people in Canada would like to get fairly specific answers from the Prime Minister. Before I do that, however, I wish to associate myself with the points made by the hon. member from Vancouver South in regard to the unsatisfactory condition in which we find ourselves with this Department of External Affairs; indeed, it applies also to a great many other departments. We have to go back to our homes without having an opportunity of getting information on many points which we would like to have clarified. Perhaps, however, the blame for this state of affairs does not rest with the government alone. It rests with the government for having failed to take the initiative in arranging the business of this house so that we can deal with matters with more satisfaction and more dispatch; but in my opinion, it must have the support of the opposition side of the house. I hope that when another session comes around, one of the first things we shall do will be so to arrange the work of the house that we shall deal more with practical matters rather than make speeches which in the end to not amount to anything anyway.

The Prime Minister said in another debate the other day that external affairs were of tremendous importance, that almost every subject we discussed to-day touches our affairs with other countries. I agree. May I say here that I was extremely glad when the Prime Minister found time earlier in the session—perhaps he did not find time; he just took it—to go to Great Britain and acquaint himself with many things at first hand. We criticize him, and we are going to continue to do so, but I admit that I felt somewhat relieved when he took that trip, because I considered at that time that international conditions were as bad as they could be without an eruption, and I believe to-day they are somewhat better. I hope that either the Prime Minister or whoever is in charge of external affairs will find time in the future to visit other countries with which we have intimate international relations.

What I wish to touch on more specifically is a matter which was discussed in the session of 1944 under the estimates of the Department of External Affairs. I do not see any item concerning it in the estimates before me; but since this point was discussed and the Prime Minister made a very full statement on it at that time, I am going to bring it up to-night. I refer to the position of our citizens of Japanese origin. Their position has not been satisfactory to them and certainly not satisfactory, I think, to other Canadians, and now that we have come to the stage where the war is over, there must be some final solution in this important matter.

I am sure the Prime Minister has received communications from many organizations across Canada, organizations which are waiting to hear what he has to say on this subject. Had there been more time, I would have quoted at length from the Prime Minister's speech of August 4, 1944, with which in large measure I agree. The fault which I find with it is that that policy, in my opinion, has not been carried out. I will content myself with reading from part of the paragraph which appears on page 5916 of *Hansard*. The Prime Minister said:

> Those who are disloyal must be removed. That is clear. Surely however it is not to be expected that the government will do other than deal justly with those who are guilty of no crime, or even of any ill intention. For the government to act otherwise would be an acceptance of the standards of our enemies and the negation of the purposes for which we are fighting.

I agree with that whole-heartedly; it expresses my point of view absolutely. But I maintain that we have not dealt justly with these people, and it is for that reason that I wish the Prime Minister to-night, if he can, to give an assurance not only to these people themselves but to the people of Canada that democratic principles and the principles of freedom will be observed in our treatment of them. I should like to know if those who signed for repatriation and now wish to reconsider their signatures—

The CHAIRMAN: Order. I do not see anything in the estimates with regard to this matter. In fact it is my recollection that it was discussed previously in this committee under a different department.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I recollect, Mr. Chairman, that there was an understanding that, if we took up these estimates rather hurriedly at the end, considerable latitude would be allowed, and I should hope that this question would be one which we might permit to be discussed. Your ruling is strictly correct as to the particular item, but the understanding was that we would allow considerable latitude. That was the general agreement, and possibly the discussion can be continued.

The CHAIRMAN: If that is the wish of the committee the hon. member may proceed.

Mr. MacINNIS: I wish to thank the Prime Minister. You will recall, Mr. Chairman, that I drew your attention to the fact, when I began to speak, that there was not an item in these estimates under which I might speak. I was going to raise a few points on which I believe the people of Canada would like to have some assurance. First, will those who signed for repatriation and now want to reconsider be given that opportunity? Second, will children under sixteen years of age who are Canadian citizens and who are taken to Japan by their parents have their citizenship rights safeguarded? There is another question. When will the restrictions on the freedom of movement of these people be removed so that they can again take up their lives as free citizens of a free country? On these particular points I should like the Prime Minister to reply if he will.

There is another matter, and I refer to it particularly for the leader of this group, who is not able to be here to-night. It arises out of an item that appeared in a Vancouver newspaper on May 31, 1945. It was a statement made by the hon. member for New Westminster (Mr. Reid) during the election campaign, and it refers to high-ranking members of the Department of External Affairs, who are not named. I quote:

> Tom Reid, Liberal candidate for New Westminster, took issue with Prime Minister Mackenzie King on the Japanese question here Wednesday when he charged:
>
> "Prime Minister Mackenzie King is advised by men who had fine trips to Japan and were bribed by the Japanese previous to the war."
>
> Declaring his policy regarding the Japanese question differed from that of Mr. King, he said:
>
> "These higher up civil servants are putting in a plug for the Japanese on every occasion. When he was asked in the house to name an individual who had been bribed by the Japanese, he refused, but said he would write the name in a letter and send it to Mr. King. He did this and was later summoned to an interview attended by Mr. King and Norman Robertson, Assistant Secretary for External Affairs."
>
> The interview was brief, Mr. Reid said. Mr. King asked Mr. Robertson if the individual named in the letter denied the charge. Mr. Robertson made no reply and the interview was over. Mr. Reid declared his only mistake was in failing to mention two others in the same category.

These are serious charges. The people concerned, although no names were mentioned, feel that they were the ones in question, and if this statement is true, then these people have no business in the Department of External Affairs. They have no business in the service of the Dominion of Canada, and the Prime Minister should remove them from their positions at the earliest possible opportunity. If, however, the statement is not true, then the character of these people should be cleared, and it should be done publicly. I suggest that this is a matter that the Prime Minister cannot leave as it is now. He cannot do so in fairness either to the people of Canada or to the gentlemen concerned.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I expected that my hon. friend or some other hon. member would bring up the question of the present position of the Japanese, and I am glad to have this opportunity to give to the house copies of orders in council which were passed on the fifteenth instant and which I think will in themselves serve to answer the questions my hon. friend has asked.

This is a matter to which the government has been giving very careful attention. It is not an easy matter to settle or to deal with, and as my hon. friend has rightly said, I had mentioned before that we would seek to deal with the whole question justly. May I say that we have sought to deal with it, and in doing so we have followed the ancient precept of doing justly but also loving mercy, and the orders in council which I now table will give expression to that approach.

I have in my hand three orders in council, P.C. 7355, P.C. 7356, and P.C. 7357 of December 15, all of which have been passed under the War Measures Act, to carry out the policy announced by the government on August 4, 1944, and November 21, 1945, with respect to Japanese people in Canada.

It will, I believe, assist in the understanding of these orders if I give a brief explanation of their purpose and effect. With the permission of the house I should like to table the orders before we rise this evening, and in the meantime I will give the substance of them. I will endeavour briefly to review the situation.

The general outline of the government's policy with regard to the Japanese was given in my statement of August 4, 1944, to which I have referred and which my hon. friend has also mentioned. As a first measure in its implementation, the government sought to determine which of the Japanese now in Canada did not wish to remain here after the war. On November 21 the Minister of Labour referred to the number of applications that had been received for movement to Japan. The minister announced that the government intended to order the removal from Canada of Japanese nationals who had applied for repatriation; of naturalized persons of Japanese origin who had similarly applied and who had not revoked their applications prior to midnight on September 1, 1945; and of Canadian-born Japanese who wished to go to Japan and who did not renounce such intention before an order for their deportation was made. The first order in council P.C. 7355, simply provides that the Minister of Labour may carry out this policy. He is not ordered to have the persons deported, but he is given the power to arrange for their movement.

In all cases in which removal from Canada is to be effected, it is provided that the persons involved shall be able to take out their personal property and all cash and other movable assets, and that they shall be able to sell or otherwise dispose of their real property or of anything else they do not wish to take with them. In addition, they are to be assured minimum liquid assets to assist in their resettlement to the extent of $200 for each adult ordered deported, and $50 for each dependent. In cases where the person going to Japan has a certain amount of cash, but less than $200 plus $50 for each dependent, he will be advanced the difference in order to bring his cash assets up to the minimum I have mentioned. In those cases where the persons to whom cash is advanced have assets with the custodian, the minister will recover his advances out of such assets.

The other clauses of the order simply provide the necessary administrative machinery to carry out the terms of the order.

The second order in council, P.C. 7356, provides for the removal of British and Canadian status from any naturalized persons who now leave Canada for residence in Japan, or are deported from Canada pursuant to applications made and orders issued under P.C. 7355. It has, of course, no application to Japanese nationals, nor does it apply to persons born in Canada. Its application is only to persons naturalized in Canada who have expressed a wish to go to Japan and who have not, as I have said, revoked this application, and also to naturalized persons who come under the third order which I shall now describe.

The third order in council, is P.C. 7357. Hon. members will recall that, in my statement to the house on August 4, 1944, I said that the government intended to establish a quasi-judicial commission to investigate the loyalty of certain of the Japanese in Canada "to ascertain those who are not fit persons to be allowed to remain here". The time has now come when this commission should be appointed. We now know with certainty that same persons do not wish to remain here. There is no object in examining them. There are, however, among the Japanese nationals and naturalized Japanese who wish to remain, a number whose behaviour casts doubt upon their loyalty and before deciding what should be done about them, it is proposed to have a full and fair examination of their cases. Some of these are persons who were interned during the war and whose conduct in wartime has been such as to raise question as to whether in the national interest they should not be deported.

In general, the order in council provides that the governor in council shall appoint a commission of three persons to inquire into the loyalty of "Japanese nationals and naturalized persons of the Japanese race in Canada in cases where their names are referred to the commission by the Minister of Labour". It will be noted from this that the commission will examine only Japanese nationals and naturalized persons. It will not examine any persons born in Canada. It will, moreover, have the power, where recommended by the Minister of Labour, to examine the cases of naturalized Japanese who applied to be sent to Japan and who did not renounce such application prior to midnight on September 1, 1945.

The commission will, where it deems fit after examination, have the power to recommend deportation. In such cases, any Japanese national or naturalized Japanese who is ordered deported will be deemed to come within the terms of the two orders in council previously mentioned. The conditions with regard to property and minimum assets will apply and, in the case of naturalized persons, they will be divested of their British and Canadian status as of the time they leave this country.

The problem of dealing with the question of the Japanese is difficult in the extreme. In its solution, the government is endeavouring to avoid unnecessary hardship. The orders that have been passed involve no change in principle from the general provisions that already exist under our statute law. The Immigration Act contains provisions for the deportation of "enemy aliens or persons who have been alien enemies" in certain cases. In general, the deportation of certain "prohibited classes" is a recognized principle. The Naturalization Act similarly recognizes the principle of revocation of the status of a naturalized person who has shown himself by act or speech to be disaffected or disloyal. The circumstances of war and the peculiar character of the present problem require more expeditious and broader action that the present statutes allow. But the orders that have been passed to permit effective action raise no new principles, nor do they depart from any established principles.

My hon. friend spoke of another matter, that is, certain charges against officers of the external affairs department, to which reference was made in a paragraph he read to the committee to-night. May I say that I personally had a talk with the hon. member for New Westminster. I asked him if he could substantiate the statements that had been made. He said that at the time he made the statements he had reason to believe that they were founded on fact, but that he was now quite prepared to say that he would not countenance the statements at all and withdrew what he had said at that time. May I say that I cannot believe we have in any department of government more honourable members of the public service than we have in the Department of External Affairs; and I am sure it was a pleasure to the hon. member for New Westminster, as it was to myself, to have the opportunity of saying that on further examination and consideration he felt that any charge which would in any way discredit an official of that department had not been well founded.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I found it difficult to get the purport of order in council P.C. 7356. As I understand it—and I should like to be corrected if I am wrong—there are two groups of Canadian citizens: those who applied for the revocation of their applications to go to Japan before September 2 and those who did not, who were in the great majority. Can this latter group have the right to appeal to the quasi-judicial commission which is being set up?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Let me repeat what I said about the second order in council. It provides for the removal of British and Canadian status—I do not whether that is the order to which my hon. friend is referring.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): P.C. 7356.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes. It provides for the removal of British and Canadian status from any naturalized persons who now leave Canada for residence in Japan, or are deported from Canada pursuant to applications made and orders issued under P.C. 7355. Naturally we do not wish to have in Japan, in the person of anyone who was deported, a person still carrying the status of a Canadian citizen; I think we will all agree that should not be permitted. This order, however, has no application to Japanese nationals, nor does it apply to persons born in Canada. Its application is only to persons naturalized in Canada who have expressed a wish to go to Japan and who have not, as I have said, revoked this application before September 1, 1945; and also to naturalized persons who come under the third order which I have already quoted.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): For one reason or another a great number of Canadian citizens did not revoke their applications before September 2. Does that mean that automatically they will be deported, or do they have a right to appeal to some body?

Mr. ST. LAURENT: Perhaps I may be permitted to say a word, in view of the fact that I had something to do with the preparation of some of these orders. These orders purport to deal only with those who have asked to be deported, whether they be Canadian born or naturalized in Canada or Japanese nationals. With respect to those born in Canada who may not want to go at the time we can arrange to have them go, no decision has yet been made, because there was nothing in the statutory legislation which permitted of their being dealt with. The only ones who are to be forcibly dealt with under these orders are the naturalized Canadians of the Japanese race, or Japanese nationals. These orders do not purport to deal with Canadians.

Born persons of Japanese ancestry who had expressed a willingness to go, and who had revoked before September 1, nor with those who had expressed a desire to go, and had not revoked before September 1.

It was found upon examining the Immigration Act and the Naturalization Act that if anything was to be done about them. further legislation would be required; and it was not felt that it would be proper for the governor in council to enact that legislation under the War Measures Act or under the Emergency Powers Act, but that, of course, when it is done, should be done by parliament itself.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I should like to pursue this matter further. I am dealing only with Canadian citizens who are naturalized. Those who did not apply to revoke before September 2 are to be deported?

Mr. ST. LAURENT: Yes.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): In other words, there will be a distinction between Canadian-born citizens, and Canadian citizens who took out papers in this country?

Mr. ST. LAURENT: Yes.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I think that is wrong; it is unjust.

Mr. ST. LAURENT: Apparently parliament did not think so when it passed the legislation now on the statute books.

Mr. GIBSON (Comox-Alberni): Would the Prime Minister give the committee the assurance that no persons of Japanese ancestry will be allowed at any time to return to the Pacific coast?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I do not think I can give that statement.

[Mr. Stewart (Winnipeg North).]

Mr. GREEN: What is the Prime Minister's answer?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Does the hon. member wish me to give a statement that persons of Japanese origin will not be permitted to return to the Pacific coast? I cannot give that statement.

Mr. MATTHEWS (Kootenay East): Mr. Chairman, I know the committee is eager to complete its business; yet as a new member I believe I have had as little to say as anyone. I have tried to be a good listener, and I have been gaining impressions every day so that a little later on I would be able to have a clear idea as to what really constitutes our Canadian parliament.

When this matter was being discussed under the estimates for the Department of Labour, the Minister of Labour made two statements which caught my attention. If I understood him correctly, he said, first, that this is no time for sitting on a fence. I understood him to mean that this is the time when people should take a stand on matters of vital interest.

Mr. MITCHELL: I think the hon. member has the dates wrong. I said that when a nation is in jeopardy is no time to sit on the fence—when you have your back to the wall, and when you are hanging on the ropes as we were when we stood alone in 1940 and 1941. That was the time I referred to; but not now. It is easy to sit on the fence now.

Mr. MATTHEWS (Kootenay East): I stand corrected.

The CHAIRMAN: I was afraid there would be reference to a previous debate, and that was why I mentioned to the hon. member for Vancouver East that I had seen no estimate in the Department of External Affairs with respect to Japanese. I was fearful there would be a review of this question and a reference to a debate which took place in the house a few weeks ago. Since it has been agreed that there will be some discussion on the Japanese question, I suggest that there should be as little reference as possible to the debate which has already taken place on this subject.

Mr. MATTHEWS (Kootenay East): I am asking only for the latitude granted at the request of the Prime Minister to the hon. member for Vancouver East.

The CHAIRMAN: I am not trying to circumscribe the hon. member in what he has to say. However, I do not think the hon. member for Vancouver East referred to an earlier debate. If he did, it was only to a limited extent. I would ask hon. members not to revive the debates which have already taken place.

Mr. MATTHEWS (Kootenay East): To the best of my ability I shall keep within those limits.

It seems to me that as a member from British Columbia I should express my views, because I know I hold a view which is shared by a great many people in my province. The impression has gone out that practically all the people of British Columbia are desirous of the deportation of these Japanese. That is not true, because I hold in my hand clippings from the Vancouver *Sun,* which is looked upon as a good Liberal paper. In one of these clippings I notice that the members of the Student Christian Movement, from the campus of the university of British Columbia, urge Ottawa to refrain from sending to Japan those Japanese-Canadians who signed up for return but now wish to remain in Canada. The article goes on to say:

> We urge that the government give due consideration to the conditions of perplexity and despair under which many Japanese-Canadians expressed the wish to be sent to Japan.

And here is another extract:

> Six interior locals of the International Woodworkers of America petitioned Ottawa following a week-end meeting in Kamloops. The union thus goes on record as being the first major organization to demand that Japs be allowed to return here permanently, now that the war is over, and enjoy the franchise.
>
> Harold Pritchett, president of the B.C. district, IWA, said his union has many Japanese members in the interior.
>
> The IWA is of the opinion selective service should establish an appeal board to which loyal Japs would have recourse if they want to stay west of the Cascades.
>
> At present Japanese face deportation to other parts of Canada if they choose to remain in this country.

I should like to make myself quite clear that I hold no brief for the Japanese in Japan, not even for their god-emperor Hirohito. I believe that war criminals must be punished, in whatever country they may be found. But I have great love for justice, and all that I would ask hon. members to keep in mind is that justice should be done.

I came to Canada forty years ago, in the spring of 1905. One of the things that influenced me in chosing Canada as my future home was the fact that it was under the union jack, a flag that has always stood for justice. Hon. members in the debate on the flag spoke strongly and pleaded that nothing should be done now that would jeopardize national unity. Yet I feel that if this question of the Japanese is not handled very wisely it will have a definite effect on empire unity in the days ahead.

I believe that in the past Canada has not acted clearly or wisely so far as racial minorities are concerned. I believe it was in 1914 when we had in Canada what was known as the Komagato Maru question. A Japanese vessel of that name came into Burrard inlet loaded with Hindu men and women seeking entry into Canada. They were refused admission, and the vessel sailed back with that load of people. Remember, these were men and women migrating from one part of the British empire to another. They came to Canada from a country under the union jack. Then sometimes we wonder why to-day India is so antagonistic to the British empire.

Speaking of racial prejudice, we have had a lot of that in British Columbia. I know that for some years, coloured people were refused admission to the Crystal swimming pool in the city of Vancouver, but I am glad to see in the issue of the Vancouver *Sun* of November 8 that the Vancouver parks board have decided to lift the colour ban. That is all to the good, but what is not so good is the fact that the Ottawa *Evening Citizen* of Friday, November 15, tells of the colour ban being applied in Toronto "the good". Let me read this article:

> A Toronto negro, tears in his eyes, told the city board of control to-day that his fifteen-year old son had been refused admission to an ice rink in North Toronto. The negro, Harry Garrey, concluded with an apology for "taking up your valuable time."
>
> "I don't know that we have any work more important than trying to overcome things like this," Mayor Robert Saunders told Garrey. "We assure you this matter will be investigated."
>
> The control board was told by Alderman Norman Freed that young Garrey and five of his white school friends purchased entrance tickets at the rink and when filing through the turnstile to the ice surface the negro lad was told by the manager: "Sorry, no coloured boys allowed here." The other five refused to enter and left the rink with young Garrey.

I know that the situation has now changed considerably with regard to the Japanese people. As a member from British Columbia I have always resented the fact that this question has been allowed to become a provincial one. It should always have been considered as a matter to be decided by the federal authorities. I personally have accepted the Prime Minister's statement of August 4, 1944, as a statesmanlike solution of this problem. I agree with him that not another Japanese should be allowed to come into Canada. I agree with him that those who are in Canada and who are to be allowed to remain should come before a quasi-judicial board so that their

loyalty may be proved, and that those who remain in Canada should be distributed among the various provinces of this dominion. I submit that British Columbia should be willing to take her share of these people, but the other provinces should also stand their share of this particular burden. Oftentimes the impression is left that none of these people are any good. I should like to read a letter from a soldier which appeared under the date line of Esquimalt, British Columbia. It reads:

Lance-Corporal Stewart Ganton of Prince George, who arrived here with other repatriates from Hong Kong, declared that "there was a good Jap in Hong Kong—and he came from Vancouver."

Mr. REID: May I ask the hon. member what newspaper he is reading from?

Mr. MATTHEWS (Kootenay East): The *New Canadian*.

The report stated that Ganton, who was in auxiliary hospital when Hong Kong fell, said the man was formerly of Vancouver who had worked in a city lumber mill.

"He served as interpreter. He liked Canada and apparently had been given what he thought was good treatment over here. So he tried to do the same for us, such as giving us cigarettes," he said.

A few weeks ago I had the privilege of attending a meeting in a church here in Ottawa and listening to Captain U. Laite, a chaplain of the united church who had been released from Hong Kong, recounting some of his experiences in that captured city. He spoke most kindly of some of the Christian Japanese and related their kindnesses to himself and other prisoners in their care. A few weeks ago the hon. member for Fort William said that this is a great time for some forgiving. I would reiterate that statement and repeat that it is a great time for some forgiving. Punish the criminals in Japan. By all means. They have asked for it; they must take it and like it. Punish the criminals in Europe also for that matter, but do not let us punish innocent and helpless people here in Canada and then call it an expression of patriotism. Just before Nurse Cavell faced the firing squad during the first great war for her work in assisting British prisoners to escape, she is reported to have said, "Patriotism is not enough." There is a feeling that goes deeper than patriotism, and I believe that we here in Canada should try to follow the greatest of Christian principles:

Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.

During a previous debate the hon. member for New Westminster asked if we would be willing to allow the soldiers who had been released from Honk Kong to settle this matter of the Japanese. To that question I would say, "no." We in Canada have never been willing to allow any section of the people to settle our national problems. I believe that is a matter for the parliament of Canada to settle and not the soldiers alone. When we start looking back over what happened at Hong Kong we realize that there are two sides. I hold in my hand an editorial which appeared in the Vancouver *Sun* entitled, "The Blackest Page." It reads:

"We were shipped into a trap. It was a mess."

In fewest words, Private Harry Gyselman, of Winnipeg, summarizes the 1941 Hong Kong fiasco. Lack of equipment and too little of everything, men and munitions, spelled defeat even before the arrival of the ill-fated expedition.

The fact that the Japanese would probably have won anyway does not excuse our failure. Why the Canadian high command handled the situation so badly has never been explained.

It will be remembered that the men were here in Vancouver ready to sail, but their heavier equipment was still on its way from eastern Canada, stranded in half a dozen places. There were empty holds in the troopship. General Alexander—

The CHAIRMAN: I must inform the hon. member that this has nothing to do with the estimate under discussion.

Mr. MATTHEWS (Kootenay West): It was stated previously that the soldiers should be allowed to settle this matter of the Japanese. I would ask to be allowed to finish this and then I am through.

The CHAIRMAN: The discussion must be confined to the estimate before the committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS (Kootenay West): Then I can only say that it is the truth that hurts.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The hon. member who has just taken his seat has made a reference which might be misinterpreted and misconstrued and do a great deal of harm if it were not corrected. During the course of his remarks he has referred to the treatment given by Canada to British subjects from other parts of the empire. He referred to the *Komagato Maru* which arrived off the coast of British Columbia in 1914 with a large number of the subjects of India aboard and which was sent back to India without its passengers being permitted to land. It was sent back to India without these persons being permitted to land.

My hon. friend has left the impression that Canada was not treating honourably and properly subjects from another part of the British empire. May I say to him that I used to know a good deal about matters of the kind because at one time I investigated under

royal commission in the province of British Columbia the whole question of immigration from the orient, and subsequently I was sent by Sir Wilfrid Laurier to see Lord Morley in London when he was Secretary of State for India to seek to arrange with him a plan that would avoid anything that could look like discrimination so far as these British subjects of India are concerned. Later I went to India and dealt with this matter with the government of India, and the government of India took the position that Indians under their own law should not be permitted to be taken under indenture to other parts of the British empire—the question came up first in relation to South Africa—and there be exploited by contractors who were responsible for bringing them to other parts of the empire.

In order to keep persons from coming here who were going to become public charges, our law required that anyone who had not a contract of employment or someone responsible for him should have in his possession the sum of at least two hundred dollars, I think it was. None of these men aboard that ship would have been eligible to enter Canada under our Immigration Act, and to the extent they were under indenture, they would be coming to Canada in violation of the laws of India. Far from there being any effort on Canada's part to discriminate against people from another part of the Brtish empire there was an effort on Canada's part to see that the laws both of Canada and of India were observed in a manner which would avoid conflicts of that kind.

May I say that the arrangements made at that time, as long ago as 1908 or 1909 have stood from that day to this, and have helped to lessen what otherwise might have raised a very serious difficulty in our relations with the great empire of India.

Mr. MATTHEWS (Kootenay East): Was as much publicity given to the solution of that difficulty at that particular time as has been given to this?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I say that if my hon. friend had been following matters as closely at that time as he is to-day he would have seen that full publicity was given to it. May I say that I made a report for the government of the day on the whole question of immigration from India. The report exists and is on the files of the Department of Labour and will be found in the sessional papers in the library of parliament. If my hon. friend looks at it he will find that the report covers the very points mentioned to-night. The report was tabled in this House of Commons at that time, and received much publicity at the time.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): Mr. Chairman, I make no apology for holding up the committee at this stage on a matter of fundamental importance to democracy. I want to be absolutely clear in my own mind that I am right before I proceed. The matter has been explained to me, and I think I grasped the gist of it, and I am going to speak on it now. I have no argument against P.C. 7355 or against P.C. 7357; my argument is against P.C. 7356. I do not know why it was brought down so late in the session. The Prime Minister and the committee know that the matter of Japanese Canadians has been exciting interest all over this country, and to bring it down on almost the last day of the session is not fair to this parliament. As I understand it,, every Canadian citizen of Japanese descent who did not apply for cancellation of his repatriation request before the 2nd of September of this year is going to be deported. It that right.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am glad that my hon. friend has brought the matter up anew. May I make the situation perfectly clear?

There were certain naturalized Japanese who, when Japan was doing its utmost to destroy the British empire asked to be returned to Japan. When we were fighting Japan these naturalized Japanese wanted to go back to the enemy country. What the government said was that any man who in time of war wished to go back to the enemy must have believed pretty strongly at the time that the enemy was going to win and wanted to be with them; he was more anxious to be with them than to remain here in Canada. The government's position is this, that anyone who has shown that spirit and that sort of attitude deserves to have his naturalization revoked, and these people are having their naturalization revoked for that reason.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I am sorry I disagree with the Prime Minister. He assumes, as did the Minister of Labour and others, that because the signers of these repatriation requests put their names to these forms, they were all disloyal. That is a *non sequitur*. It does not necessarily follow because, despite statements made to the effect that coercion was not used, I say coercion was used.

Mr. MITCHELL: Let me state—

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): Wait until I have finished. Coercion is not a matter of sticks or bludgeons or clubs.

Mr. CHEVRIER: You are using sticks and bludgeons now.

Mr. MITCHELL: I say without equivocation—

Mr. REID: Say it strongly, too.

Mr. MITCHELL: I am an old country man like my hon. friend, and proud of it, and I know something of the traditions of our people. To say that coercion was used is not a statement of fact, and I say that with all the emphasis of which I am capable. As a matter of fact, the whole thing was looked over by the International Red Cross, which vindicated the position that the Canadian government took. I do not know of any better agency than that. What I get a little tired of is some people trotting out their consciences like a lavaliere worn around a woman's neck. I do not take second place to my hon. friend or anybody else in acting decently toward other people, irrespective of their race or colour or creed. May I say this to my hon. friend—

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): If you are asking a question, all right. If you are making a speech, I have the floor.

Mr. MITCHELL: Well, I am just about fed up with—

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): You will be more fed up after I am through with you.

Mr. MITCHELL: Let me put it clearly to my hon. friend as I did to the hon. member for Kootenay East. When a nation has its back to the wall—

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): On a point of order, Mr. Chairman, is the hon. gentleman asking a question or not?

The CHAIRMAN: I understood that he was to put a question, but if the hon. member for Winnipeg North does not desire a question to be put, he has the floor.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I am willing to have a question asked, but not to have the minister make a speech in the midst of mine.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. member for Winnipeg North.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I have here the Winnipeg *Free Press*, which is not notoriously unsympathetic to this government,

and on the 19th of September of this year it had an editorial headed "We will regret Racialism". The editorial says in part:

> A government spokesman has said that if it can be shown that a Japanese Canadian refuses to move out of British Columbia this may be counted against him.

What is that but mental coercion? There is more than one kind of coercion, I should like the hon. gentleman to understand.

We have had several policies in this matter in the last few years, two or three of them deplorable. We had the policy of the Prime Minister of the 4th of August last year; we had the policy of the Minister of Veterans Affairs last September, which was iniquitous; we had the policy of the Minister of Labour some time ago; and now we have certain amendments made by the Prime Minister to that policy to-night. I assume that the orders in council tabled fit in pretty well with a statement which was in the Ottawa *Citizen* of November 24, in a story by Mr. H. R Hardy that Arthur MacNamara, deputy minister of labour, stated the previous day that preparations to expatriate ten thousand Japanese were being rushed just as fast as possible. The Prime Minister now comes to the conclusion that these people were enemies of the country, but when he spoke on this matter on August 4 of last year he had to admit that not one of them had committed an act of sabotage against Canada.

Mr. GIBSON (Comox-Alberni): They did not get the chance.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): They had plenty of chances. I should like to know why it is that the Japanese are being singled out, why the same action is not being taken against the Germans and against the Italians.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I say to my hon. friend that if there was a naturalized citizen of Canada who had been a German national and he wanted to go back to join the Germans instead of remaining in Canada, I for my part would have done all I could to see that his naturalization was revoked.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I doubt very much whether these citizens who signed these forms did so willingly, knowing how far this Liberal government would go.

Mr. GIBSON (Comox-Alberni): Call your evidence.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I have quoted the Prime Minister. I think the committee know the speech. These people were coerced.

Mr. MITCHELL: They backed the wrong horse; that is all.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I quoted the Winnipeg *Free Press*, and if the government has any greater friend I should like to know who it is.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I hope my hon. friend will make it perfectly clear that we are talking about naturalized persons, men who were accorded by this country the privilege of being naturalized, and while the war was on signed a document to the effect that they wished to go back to Japan, which was fighting this country at that time. I say that is prima facie evidence that their naturalization should be revoked.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): Were naturalized Germans and Italians asked to sign similar documents? They were not asked to do the same thing at all. I want to remind the Prime Minister of a statement which he made in Winnipeg. He said that any man who lends his voice or his pen to the stirring up of racial and religious strife is an enemy of mankind.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Hear, hear.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I suggest that he has some of those men sitting behind him to-night.

Mr. REID: Name them.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): The hon. member for New Westminster is one of the worst.

Mr. REID: You are raising up hatred of class against class, and you know it.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I am raising no hatred. I am pointing out what kind of Liberal government—

Mr. REID: You can't tell me.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I will tell you; I will tell you again.

The CHAIRMAN: Order. May I remind all members of the committee that all remarks must be directed to the Chairman. The hon. member for Winnipeg North.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I should just like to read this statement of policy by the Minister of Veterans Affairs, in direct contradiction to the policy of the Prime Minister as it was announced last year. The minister said, on September 19, 1944:

> Not a single Japanese from the Rockies to the sea.

One can imagine him airing his Highland rhetoric, as he goes on—

Mr. MACKENZIE: Take them into Manitoba, if you want them.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): The minister said:

> I ask my fellow-citizens of Vancouver Centre, and of British Columbia as a whole, to range themselves beside me on this issue and to serve notice of the rest of Canada that we will not have Japanese in this fair province.

Mr. MACKENZIE: That is right.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): What an example of racial intolerance from a Liberal!

Mr. MACKENZIE: You speak for your province; I am speaking for mine.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I am telling the minister what I think of him, and it is not very much. I should like to mention this, too. We have been told on more than one occasion that we follow the traditions of Westminster, not always closely, not always exactly the same traditions, but by and large we do; and there is a tradition there about cabinet solidarity. The theory is this, that in a cabinet, where a minority disagrees with a majority, they accept the verdict of that majority, or they are in honour bound to resign.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: That is not true.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): On the other hand, where a cabinet minister goes out and makes a declaration of policy, unless it is denied, that is the policy of the cabinet.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Where did my hon. friend get the idea that a majority of the cabinet necessarily control?

Mr. MACKENZIE: In the Book of Job.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): How does this government control, except by a majority? That is how it is in control here. I say this, that the policy that is to be carried out as regards these Japanese Canadians is certainly not Liberal.

Mr. GIBSON (Comox-Alberni): It is generous.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): What I would call a Liberal policy would be to have all those who signed their names given an opportunity to revoke their signatures. Where there are those who want to go back to Japan, by all means send them back; where there are those who are proven enemies of Canada, by all means send them back. But every Canadian citizen, be he black, white, or yellow, Catholic or Protestant, believer or unbeliever, should

have exactly the same opportunity in this country. To-day we are singling out one particular group as objects of our hatred.

Mr. MITCHELL: That is playing both ends against the middle.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): The democratic principles which the Liberal government are supposed to hold are being shamefully violated.

Mr. MACKENZIE: May I tell my hon. friend that I fought an election on that issue and I am here on this side, to the right of the Speaker.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): The hon. member may be here, but that reflects no credit on his constituents.

All I want to say is that I regard this policy as a direct negation of Liberalism and of decent, elemental, fundamental democracy. I will go farther and say this, that in carrying through this policy, in deporting these Canadian citizens of Japanese origin, the Liberal government has merely proven itself to be what many of us have long suspected, an organized hypocrisy.

Mr. MACKENZIE: A government which is in office and in power.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I ask that that term be withdrawn. No hon. member has any right to say that any other hon. member or any government is an organized hypocrisy. Those are words which must be withdrawn.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I will withdraw the words if I am out of order. I should have said, the Liberal party.

Mr. MITCHELL: Statements of that kind are all right on a soapbox, but you cannot make them here.

Mr. HACKETT: I ask the Prime Minister if, in the negotiation of the extradition treaty to which he made reference earlier in the evening, full recourse was had to the information and guidance of the department over which he presides.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think it would be correct to say that it was, yes.

Mr. HACKETT: Would the Prime Minister be good enough to say for what reason the treaty was kept a secret or kept away from parliament for three years?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I cannot give my hon. friend the exact reason, but I have had enough experience in watching some of these international negotiations not to be surprised that it took three years. It might have taken four or five. I think the subject itself has been such a complicated one that there has been some delay.

Mr. HACKETT: I am afraid I have not made myself clear. The agreement itself was signed by the high contracting parties on the 29th of April, 1942, and my query is, why was it kept away from parliament during the period which elapsed between the 29th April, 1942 and October, 1945?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I cannot give my hon. friend an answer. I am informed that it was modified once by a protocol. That is all I can say about the—

Mr. HACKETT: It was modified on the 3rd of October of this year. But it would have interfered with so many national undertakings, and with some enterprises in my own constituency, that I have been prompted to be unduly curious about it. I draw to the attention of the Prime Minister that the treaty appears to have been dealt with most expeditiously in the United States. It was signed on April 29, 1942; on May 6, 1942, it was sent by the President to the senate of the United States, the committee on foreign relations dealt with it and made a report in the month of May, 1942. It appears to have been ratified by the senate within a few weeks after it was executed. I am prompted to inquire why Canada delayed in dealing with it. There was nothing in the treaty to be concealed because of the war in which we were engaged. After having seen it, I can understand why there may have been some hesitancy in introducing it to parliament, but I should like to know if there is some high reason for having held it in abeyance away from parliament for such a length of time.

Mr. ST. LAURENT: I think I can satisfy my hon. friend's curiosity, although I cannot agree with all he has said. He said that the treaty had interfered with the operations of firms in his constituency. It cannot have interfered yet, and it will not interfere with anything done in Canada until it becomes effective, and it will not become effective until instruments of ratification have been exchanged between the high contracting parties. But as to the reason for not bringing it to parliament before this year, the fact is that the protocol had not been arranged before this year. The treaty became public and became the subject of objections as soon as it was signed, and those objections were for a very long time under discussion. It was not until October of this year that the protocol was arranged to restrict its application when it did become effective; and after that protocol had been arranged, both the treaty and the

protocol were brought to the houses of parliament for their consideration before the government would undertake to exchange instruments of ratification. When it was brought to this house it was referred to the committee on external affairs. Many of the objections that had been urged against the treaty in its original form were repeated against the treaty as modified by the protocol. The committee on external affairs has reported the evidence and has recommended that both the treaty and the protocol be reconsidered. There has not yet been time to give consideration to that recommendation of the committee on external affairs. Until there has been time to give consideration to that recommendation of the committee, and also to the evidence that was adduced, there will certainly not be any exchange of instruments of ratification, and I would be very much surprised if it did not again come before the committee on external affairs before the government undertook to make the exchange of instruments of ratification.

Mr. HACKETT: I wish to tell the minister that if I said that the treaty had interfered with enterprise in my constituency I said something I did not intend to say, and I do not think I did say it. I said that the treaty was in such terms that, were it ratified in the form in which it now stands, it would have that effect. I should like to ask the minister this question. I understood from the Prime Minister that all the resources of the department had been called into play in the negotiation of the treaty. If that be true, may I, with the utmost respect for the department, suggest that they go a little outside it for inspiration when the document is being redrafted, if it be redrafted, because it is quite evident that those who dealt with the matter were neophytes who had never had anything to do with extradition and were possibly not very much interested in it. I suggest, therefore, that when the matter is taken up afresh, the usual care of the department be exercised in availing itself of all help that can be had to make a treaty which will be in the general interests of Canada.

Mr. MACDONNELL (Muskoka-Ontario): May I ask the Prime Minister a question with regard to the basis on which the number and character of our representatives in different foreign countries are determined. I have in my hand a white paper entitled, "Canadian Representatives Abroad", dated October 1, 1945, and it seems to include both diplomatic and trade representatives. On what basis is our representation determined? Is it on the extent of business generally, or perhaps business anticipated, or the nature and importance of our diplomatic relationship with the respective countries? The reason for the question is that I do not find it immediately apparent why our representation as set out in this document is as it is. For instance, we have one representative in India, a trade commissioner; one representative in Luxembourg, a minister; one in Greenland who is a vice consul; four representatives in Peru, all of whom are diplomatic; twelve representatives in France, who are apparently all diplomatic, although one or two are referred to as commercial attachés, none of them being referred to as trade-commissioners; five diplomatic representatives and three trade commissioners in Australia; in Brazil five representatives; diplomatic, and no trade commissioners. In Sweden we have no trade representatives at all, although we have in Norway. It is not immediately apparent on what basis we selected these. Some of the results seem surprising, and it is a matter of interest to me, and as a matter of public interest I wonder if the Prime Minister would be good enough to explain the basis on which representation abroad is determined.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: A variety of considerations have governed in this matter. As my hon. friend is aware, prior to the war certain legations were opened. Some of them have since become embassies. They were opened in a limited number of countries, but during the war a large number of representatives of other countries came to reside in Canada, and, where opportunity was afforded, the government gave assurances that when the appropriate time came we would reciprocate in the matter of representation. That would account for some of the countries to which representatives have not yet been appointed where they otherwise would have been appointed. In connection with such mission I think there has usually been some special reason why that appointment was made at that particular time. The government has not found it possible to have missions in all countries. We hope we will have them by degrees, but during the war many who would have been excellent persons to represent Canada in different missions were not available; they were serving overseas, and we have been waiting until the war was over in the hope that out of the numbers who served abroad there would be found good candidates for our diplomatic service. The aim of the government is to have representation in all important countries, but it will take time and we have to deal with these matters as circumstances will permit. Take the case

of India, which my hon. friend has mentioned. For some time we have been seeking to make an appointment of a high commissioner to India. I think we should have a high commissioner there but it is much better, I am sure my hon. friend will agree, to defer making an appointment until the most suitable person is available.

I agree it is anomalous that in certain of these countries there should be a larger representation than in others; but as I have said, in many cases representatives have been appointed because of special considerations which it was necessary to take into account at a particular time. With regard to the trade commissioners I may say that in posts where we have diplomatic missions they are listed as commercial attachés. If my hon. friend would ask questions as to any particular representation I would seek to give him a word of explanation. I would make clear that the problem the Department of External Affairs has faced in all these matters of representation is one that has been very hard to solve owing to the extreme difficulty of securing a sufficient number of suitable persons during the period of the war. Perhaps my hon. friend will agree with me that the question of representation is one that might appropriately be discussed by the committee on external affairs. Perhaps the committee could deal with questions of that kind more effectively than they could be dealt with on the floor of parliament.

Mr. MACDONNELL (Muskoka-Ontario): I do not want to press the matter, but I should like to ask one supplementary question. Let us take France, for example; and this raises the whole question of the relative importance of our diplomatic and trade representation. I noted what the Prime Minister said about the commercial secretaries. In France, as far as I can understand, out of twelve people there is only one whose designation suggests that he has anything to do with trade; and by the way I notice there are two newspaper men. I wonder if the Prime Minister would answer this question. What is our objective in a country like France, for example? What do we aim at in the way of relative strength as between commercial representatives and diplomatic representatives? I can quite understand that it has not been possible to cover the whole situation, but will the Prime Minister say a word as to what are the relative objectives, because at the moment it would appear that the commercial side is away under represented?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: With regard to the commercial side, as my hon. friend is aware the situation in regard to trade between France and Canada is still far from normal at present. As business opportunities develop, we would certainly expect to have a larger commercial representation than we have at the present time.

Mr. JAQUES: As a member of the committee on external affairs I should like to make a few remarks; but before doing so, I wish to take this opportunity of saying a word of welcome to the Prime Minister on his return from his travels. We have not seen very much of him in the house this session. I can only hope that we shall see more of him next session, and certainly that the external affairs estimates will come up before the last day of the session.

I wish to make a few remarks about a country that is very much in the news these days; and, since the question is a thorny one, I intend to follow my notes pretty closely. We read and hear a good deal about Palestine, not only in the press and on the air but at organized public dinners and meetings. I have no brief for either Arabs or Jews, but it seems to me that the public hears only the Zionist arguments, never the Arab side of the question. As I have said, I have no brief for either side; my sole concern is to establish the truth, for just as truth and freedom are indivisible, so mutual faith in the given word is the basis of friendship, individual and international. Once that faith is destroyed or even impaired, trust and friendship turn to suspicion and hatred. But instead of historic fact, the Zionists base their case on racial, cultural and commercial superiority. These claims on behalf of a favoured nation and a chosen people are upheld especially by leftists and internationalists, by the very people who denounce racism and nationalism. They also are the people who claim especially to be the world's peacemakers but who, in the face of continued and fatal rioting in Palestine, are going out of their way to embarrass Great Britain in her efforts to maintain peace by encouraging tolerance by both Arab and Jew. Some time early in the session I received a pamphlet issued by the Canadian-Palestine committee. In answer to that, I wrote the director of that committee for a little more information, and received this letter from Mr. Herbert Mowat, executive director of the Canadian-Palestine committee:

Dead Sir:

Your letter of October 25 greeted me on my return to Toronto . . . and I wish to make the following comments.

The Arab population of the middle east totals 16,000,000, not 60,000,000, and the position of Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Egypt is the same in respect to Palestine as is that of Canada—membership in the united nations which is the official authority in regard

to the disposition of Palestine. If the Arabs fight a united nations decison on Palestine it is apparent that they have forfeited their place of good standing in this world organization. Our committee represents the united nations point of view and technique in respect to Palestine. If the Arabs fight what the world agrees should be done about Palestine they fly in the face of world law and order and, so far as the united nations organization is concerned they are outlaws and as such are subject to military measures to be taken by the security council of the united nations, a body which Canada is bound to support in whatever action it takes according to the unanimous adoption of the united nations charter which took place in our Canadian House of Commons and Canadian Senate not long ago. Whatever responsibility rests on Canada through membership in the united nations organization accruing from the situation in Palestine our committee believes should be accepted.

I do not think Arab threats directed at Great Britain, the United States and other members of the united nations organization should be taken too seriously. They are a species of blackmail from a primitive people by which they have profited in gold and various concessions in the past. Threats of violence have been the Arabs' most profitable stock in trade. How much longer are the great powers going to appease them? There is no doubt that a policy on Palestine agreed upon by the United States, Great Britain, and the other united nations will be one to which the Arabs will be forced to adjust themselves. Such adjustment will be achieved with great benefit to the Palestinian Arabs; this has been substantiated clearly in the experience of the Jewish national home project up to now. Our committee believes that the broad humanitarianism which motivates the Jewish national home project in Palestine on the part of both Jews and non-Jews will ultimately vindicate itself by incontestable benefits to both Arabs and Jews in Palestine.

Yours sincerely,

H. A. Mowat.

I maintain that this reply by the Canadian-Palestine committee not only is prejudiced and one-sided, but is not even a true statement of facts, as I shall show. The contemptuous and dictatorial tone adopted by this committee toward the Arab people exhibits an evident and biased partisanship which, in the end, will not advance their cause. The statement shows clearly that the united nations organization is to be regarded as an instrument for clubbing the small states, and of power politics.

Let me refer briefly to the history of the Arab-Zionist question and the Palestinian problem. In the first place, the Arabs have made Palestine their own home for thousands of years, continuously for the past thirteen centuries. However, I shall not refer to anything that happened before the first world war.

Early in 1915 Great Britain needed the help of the Arabs to defend the Suez canal from the German-led Turkish forces; and therefore, on behalf of the British government, Sir Henry McMahon began to netotiate with the Arab leaders. In May, 1915, the Arabs stated their conditions for their aid against the Turks. Their terms were the recognition by Great Britain of Arab independence within certain boundaries. I will not go into detail, but a main point in the dispute is whether Palestine was included in the Arab territory.

The whole situation is complicated by secret pledges and treaties; that is, subsequent agreements which, unknown to the Arabs, were concluded between the great powers: for instance, the Sykes-Picot agreement signed in London in May, 1916. This deals with the disposal of the former Turkish empire between Great Britain, France and Russia. This agreement was made six months after the last note exchanged between Sir Henry McMahon and the Arab leaders. By this agreement, under Zionist pressure, Great Britain broke her pledge for Arab independence.

Next came the Balfour declaration of November, 1917, which reads:

His Majesty's government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

The confusions and misunderstandings of the Palestine question mainly are due to the different interpretations to be put upon the phrase "National home in Palestine". For the political Zionist and for a great many of their leftist fellow travellers and agents a national home has come to mean a national state, with or without consent of the Arabs. Cultural zionism had been spreading slowly in Palestine even before the present century. Probably a Jewish national home is supported by some, though not by a majority of the Arabs. But all of them are opposed to a Jewish state in Palestine.

Confidence in the great powers by the Arab leaders, already shaken by a long chain of broken promises and pledges finally was lost by the decision of the supreme council at St. Remo in 1920, which placed all the Arab territory between the Mediterranean and Persia under mandate to Great Britain and France.

In 1922 the United States congress passed the following resolution:

That the United States favours the establishment in Palestine of a national home for Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christians and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine shall be adequately protected.

Since 1921, there have been from time to time serious troubles in Palestine which have resulted in the publishing of general white

papers, the most important of which was issued in May, 1939. In this the British government proposed that within ten years an independent state be created in Palestine, but it limited Jewish immigration into Palestine to 75,000 for the next five years. After that date Arab consent would be necessary for further immigration; and it provided that land purchased by Jews would be prohibited in some districts and restricted in others.

Zionists and their henchmen in Great Britain, Canada and the United States have maintained terrific propaganda and political pressure to open the doors of Palestine to the fullest possible extent, so that ultimately it may become a free Jewish commonwealth.

In 1920 the Jews formed eight per cent of the people of Palestine. In 1943 they comprised thirty-three per cent, while the rapid development of political zionism and its growing power naturally increased the anxiety of the Arab people.

To sum up:

1. The Zionists claim Palestine is their own, on historical and religious grounds. So do the Arabs, who have been there for many centuries, while the Jews left in A.D. 71. To three hundred millions of Molsems Palestine is a holy land. A Moslem family has been entrusted with the keys of the holy sepulchre for several generations.

2. Zionists claim that the Arabs benefit from the colonization of Palestine. Sir John Hope Simpson's report states:

It ceases to be land from which the Arab can gain any advantage whether now or at any other time in the future. He is deprived forever from employment on that land, nor can any one help him by buying the land and restoring it to common use. The land is in mortmain and inalienable.

3. Zionists claim they brought the benefits of civilization to the Arabs of Palestine. Arabs have not benefited from Jewish education, since the language in Jewish schools is Hebrew. And as to medical facilities, Arabs do not frequent Zionist hospitals. According to the latest report to the league of nations, out of 12,000 patients admitted to Zionist hospitals, only four were Moslems; seven were Christians; nearly 12,000 were Jews.

4. Zionists claim that by industrialization Palestine can support a large Jewish population. Facts are that industry in Palestine is supported by charity and discriminatory tariffs. But the real issue cannot be settled on a material basis. The fundamental question is one of freedom. According to the Atlantic charter we agreed, first, to seek no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned and, second, to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them. It may be replied that the Atlantic charter does not apply to Palestine, but in a letter to King Ibn Saud, dated April 5, 1945, President Roosevelt stated:

Your Majesty will also doubtless recall that during our recent conversation I assured you that I would take no action in my capacity as chief of the executive branch of this government which might prove hostile to the Arab people.

President Truman, in his speech on navy day, October 27, 1945, said:

We believe that all peoples who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own form of government by their own freely expressed choice, without interference from any foreign source. That is true in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, as well as in the western hemisphere.

The story of Palestine is one of broken promises and secret agreements by the great powers—of power politics. The late Colonel T. E. Lawrence—Lawrence of Arabia—whose actions and writings prove him to have been a very great and brilliant Englishman, and an honourable man, led the Arab revolt against the Turks in the first great war. When he heard of the broken pledges to the Arabs he refused all the honours offered by his country, enlisted in the ranks and finally committed suicide.

I submit that the *Pax Britannica* was maintained by faith in British pledges and that Palestine is a graveyard of that peace. Certainly those who are working hardest for Britain's downfall are to be found among the Zionists, their agents and communist cousins.

Mr. WARREN: I submit that on other occasions it has been ruled that members are not permitted to read speeches.

Mr. JAQUES: I stated at the beginning that I was dealing with a thorny subject. If my speech does not please the hon. member, may I suggest that he just go to the other side of the curtains.

The CHAIRMAN: It is not a question of whether or not the speech pleases another hon. member; the only question is whether or not the hon. member is in order.

Mr. JAQUES: I will recall my remark and regret that I made it.

In regard to the objection that has just been raised, I may say that I have been here for ten years, and I do not think any one has ever accused me before of reading a speech. I do not think there are many hon. members who can say that.

The CHAIRMAN: I did not rule that the hon. member was reading his speech.

Mr. JAQUES: Thank you very much. Principles have been sacrified for expediency, for which we have broken faith with our friends and faithful allies, such as the Poles, the Yugoslavs and the Arabs in Europe, Asia and Africa.

Quite recently it was reported that the national leader of the C.C.F. at a public meeting in Washington, "urged the immediate opening of Palestine for Jewish immigration to the fullest possible extent so as to provide a refuge from the terror of their persecutors." In the light of the present critical conditions in Palestine, I would ask the leader of the C.C.F.: Can he assure us in making those demands that he is promoting the interests of world peace? Does he realize that such demands are calculated to embarrass Great Britain and if insisted on may lead to a clash of interests between the British empire, the United States of America and the U.S.S.R.? In the event of war in Palestine and the near east, is he prepared to commit Canadians to active service in such a war? If not, whom would he expect to fight it? The nazis having been destroyed, from what persecutors and terrors does he seek refuge?

About a year ago the C.C.F. leaders were denouncing Great Britain's efforts to protect Greek civilians from communist terrorists, and now they are hindering her efforts to protect Palestinian civilians from Zionist extremists. To show the extent of the propaganda that is being used, may I quote from a pamphlet which was recently sent to me by a business friend in Toronto who told me that he found it pinned to an invoice which he received from another business man. I shall not read the whole thing, but I should like to make one or two quotations. It is headed "Pretend You're a Jew" and reads:

Offhand would you say Jews are entitled to a break now? You say without reservation that these three million surviving Europen Jews deserve to be left alive.

But (and here's where your non-Jewish neighbours are amazed to hear about it), England doesn't think so. England thinks they ought to die as fast as possible. And England is seeing to it that they may really die as fast as possible.

And further down:

England's new Labour government is still barring Palestine to the Jews. And the Jews are desperate. The European Jews are desperate to get in. The Palestine Jews are desperate to get them in.

So there's friction. Friction between Palestine's Jews and the English authorities. Only the English colonial office, being good publicity men, are careful to tell the world that the trouble is between the Jews and the Arabs and that the English are just the poor referee.

And England keeps sending troops into Palestine, and it's not for the troops' health either. She even goes so far as to transport one hundred thousand anti-Russian and anti-Jewish Poles to Palestine. These Poles are afraid to go back to Poland, and England sends them to Palestine instead of to Canada or Australia or New Zealand. England is fixing to have plenty of man-power to quell any revolt of the Jews.

But whether you're interested in more of the story or not, just bear it all in mind when you see those little stickers that the undersigned has been putting on his business correspondence.

And the sticker reads:

As proud and self-respecting Canadians we will buy no goods made in England as long as England bars the Jews from Palestine.

That statement is signed and the name and address of the writer is given. I do not know that I should advertise the author but, if the committee wishes, I will give his name and address.

Mr. PROBE: Certainly; give them the works.

Mr. JAQUES: It is signed by I. M. Gringorten; the address is 272 Van Horne street, Toronto, and it is dated October 1, 1945. You may say that that is an irresponsible individual, but here is a statement that was recently made by Doctor Stephen Wise, president of the World Jewish Congress in a national radio address in the United States. He charged:

The anti-Jewish riots in Tripoli were instigated by the Arab league under the leadership of reprehensible underlings of the British colonial office.

That statement was made by the president of the World Jewish Congress, and these statements are being made to inflame the feelings of millions of people in America and elsewhere, who thus are being taught to become anti-British. There can be no doubt that this biased and misleading propaganda by well-known public men is sowing the seeds of racial, national and religious hatred among people everywhere. Let me quote a statement that was printed in *The Statesman* of Calcutta on April 13, 1944:

The shocking twaddle spoken and written by United States publicists and the press about Palestine contains more than one danger . . .

The more the strongest and more democratic existing nation undertakes permanent responsibilities on peace-loving men's behalf outside the American continent the better we shall be pleased. But if that happens there is already danger that it will have initially to contend with widespread Muslim suspicion.

Owing to American propaganda about the Palestine problems, which is presumed to reflect American general opinion, many Muslims now suppose the U.S.A. to be anti-Islamic. For that reason comments such as have recently come from the U.S.A. on the very delicate and complex problem of Palestine which excites Muslim interest everywhere appear to us to be deplorable.

That statement is from the Calcutta *Statesman*. There is another curious side of this question, which is presented by Doctor Charles Watson, of the American university of Chicago. He wrote in April, 1944:

The reason given for the disturbances at this time is that as soon as Europe is open to a return of now exiled Jews, there will be a mass exodus of Jews from Palestine back to their homes in Europe which will weaken seriously the Zionist cause and support. The time to strike is therefore now.

In the "Reader's Digest" of May, 1944, Frederick C. Painton stated:

The Jewish agency people fear that the skilled refugees who make many of these products (exhibited in Tel Aviv) will return to their native lands when the war is over. The Czech Jews were being absorbed in their nation until the war—they knew no persecution. They look upon themselves as Czechs, not Jews, and want to go home. The Dutch diamond cutter intends to go home to Holland. Strangely enough, scores of the German Jews want to go back to Germany. This failure to sink roots deeply applies to American Jews; of 5,500 such in Palestine less than 100 have given up their American passports. The other Jews in Palestine know this and fear it and it is one reason why the extremists are making the trouble now. Many leading Jews told me they feared they would lose their main argument at war's end by having more emigrants than immigrants.

According to these Zionists the non-Jewish inhabitants have not been injured; they have been benefited. But it is curious that the lucky Arabs should be so blind to their own welfare that they resist the gifts and benefits which the Zionists and their agents of this Palestine committee are so anxious to bestow, even by force if necessary. How would we Canadians appreciate a few million aliens being forced upon us who thereupon proceeded to buy up our land, with the proviso that no Canadian ever again could own the land or even work on it. Would we be primitive and guilty of blackmail if we resisted such an invasion?

The CHAIRMAN: I must remind the hon. member that his time has expired.

Mr. JAQUES: I have just three lines more, Mr. Chairman. Had we known that the united nations would force us to accept such terms, would we have ratified the united nations charter? Let me repeat, my whole object is to establish the truth and so to promote world peace based on international good faith in international promises.

Mr. McLURE: After all these $64 questions put to the Prime Minister, I have but one simple question to put to him. I would ask the Prime Minister, as Minister of External Affairs, this question. I have four personal friends, now good citizens of Canada and good taxpayers in Canada, who owned considerable property in Berlin and who have the deeds to that property at the present time. They have asked me to find out how they can proceed to get recompense for their property taken from them by Hitler. I have written to the Department of External Affairs but have not yet received an answer. I know that the hon. Minister for External Affairs can advise me so that I can advise these people.

The CHAIRMAN: I must remind the hon. member that we are dealing with the Department of External Affairs. I believe the matter to which he refers comes under the Department of the Secretary of State.

Mr. McLURE: No.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I say, Mr. Chairman, that it would be possible for the friends of my hon. friend to file their claims with the Department of External Affairs, and action would be taken on their claims in accordance with the procedure which is being arranged at the present time.

May I answer the hon. member for Wetaskiwin on his question respecting the Arabs in Palestine? It may be that he has served his own purpose better by giving us a speech than by putting any question to which I could reply. But in regard to this question of Palestine, I would say it was, when I was in England, as burning as any other issue which was being considered by the British government. As my hon. friend knows, the British government invited the government of the United States to join with them in appointing a committee of inquiry into the whole question. The government of the United States agreed to accept the invitation of the British government and a committee of inquiry was appointed. I believe that on the 10th of this month the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom announced the personnel of that committee. I could give my hon. friend and the committee a statement of the matters which they have been authorized to examine, but I do not think I need take up time in doing it at this hour of the day. They are comprehensive and they cover, I think, all that is uppermost in the minds of those who are greatly concerned about this question. I take it that the peoples of this continent and of Great Britain feel that the right procedure has been adopted in having the whole matter gone into by this joint Anglo-American committee, which will report, I believe, very soon.

Mr. JAQUES: I thank the Prime Minister for his reply. I only wish to say that my purpose was to do what little I could to

expose the activities of certain organizations which are handicapping the efforts of people of good will, like the governments of the United States and of Great Britain, to promote good feeling and peace in Palestine and elsewhere.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I am not going to refer to what the hon. member for Wetaskiwin said, for the simple reason that, were I to do so, I might imply that he should be taken seriously, and that would be regrettable. What I wish to do is to advance another suggestion to the government, for which I hope to get a more tolerant acceptance than the last one I made. The situation in the Argentine to-day is one which must cause alarm to many people. We see arising in that country what is nothing less than a fascist dictatorship. This is not the time to appease fascism. We have learned our lesson, I hope, from the past. There are hundreds of thousands of loyal democrats in the Argentine who are looking northward for help and for some inspiration; and I would suggest to the Prime Minister that, if we occupy the position we say we do, that of a leader among the middle powers, we should realize the responsibility which goes with it and should show our condemnation of what is happening in the Argentine by withdrawing from that country our ambassador.

Mr. ADAMSON: Before this item carries, I feel that, as a member of the committee of external affairs and as a member of the steering committee which drew the report that was finally adopted by the whole committee and presented to this house, and which report was unfavourable to the ratification of the treaty and protocol and recommended that it be reconsidered, I should at this time give briefly some of the reasons why both committees came to their conclusions.

The conclusions the committee came to were, I think, based on four fundamental points. We—and I speak because I do not see any other members of the steering committee here—felt that while an instrument of extradition was essential, the instrument which was presented was so drawn and violated so many fundamental principles that we could not on the face of it recommend its adoption. Basically the principles which the treaty violated were these. First, it did away with the time-honoured and, I believe, historic principle of duel criminality. In other words, extradition could be sought by the requesting country for an offence which was not an offence under the laws of the requested country. A great deal of evidence and a great deal of learned evidence was produced on this matter. It is all in the record, and I do not propose to go into it at this late hour; but I suggest through you, Mr. Chairman, to the high contracting parties that when they redraw this instrument of extradition they should not disregard the basic principle of dual criminality.

The second fundamental point which the committee felt was determental to the acceptance of this instrument was that the treaty by its various clauses greatly enlarged the offences for which extradition might be sought, and it not only enlarged the offences which time has brought to mean the offences for which extradition could be sought—that is criminal offences—but it enlarged them to include regulations not brought about by legislative bodies but by committees appointed by legislative bodies, and these regulations were considered to be not in the best interests of this country or the best or even good extradition practice.

The third reason—and this was an important one—was that we were not satisfied that the treaty and protocol as drawn were not ultra vires of this parliament with regard to the rights of property and civil rights as vested in the provinces under the British North America Act. We had a degree of learned opinion on this matter, including the attorney general of British Columbia. I am not myself learned in the law, but I venture to suggest to those whose duty it will be to redraw this instrument that that point be carefully and definitely looked into before the treaty is again presented.

Then—and this is not a legal point; it is perhaps a physical point—we felt that the restrictive clauses which were mentioned in the treaty, subsections 26, 31, 32, article III, article IX and article XII, section 1 of the treaty, would definitely restrict the opening up of our great natural resources. May I suggest to the high contracting parties that this is one of the fundamental economic necessities of the entire North American continent, and if our great natural resources are not expanded to the fullest extent not only we but the republic to the south, that great and friendly nation, will suffer. We specifically refrained from mentioning sovereignty. I believe we realize, as the Prime Minister pointed out this morning when discussing atomic energy, that no question of narrow sovereignty can carry real weight at the present time, and we feel that we should reject any appeal to present this adverse report on the treaty and the protocol on a question of sovereignty. I am not going to speak at length on the individual parts of the treaty, but I would suggest—and the report

was a unanimous one—that, when this treaty is redrawn and reconsidered, these fundamental and basic points of international agreement shall not be violated.

Item agreed to.

449. Canada-United States permanent joint board on defence, $2,500.

Mr. GREEN: Will the Prime Minister explain why this vote is so small? Is that the total amount for the board?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This item relates only to incidental travelling expenses.

Mr. GREEN: What is the total vote for the board?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The Department of National Defence and the Department of External Affairs meet the general expenses of the board, and this amount is to supplement what has already been provided.

Mr. GREEN: Is there any intention of doing away with the board?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Oh, no.

Item agreed to.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS

Chief architect's branch—Ontario—

255. Dominion public buildings—improvements and repairs, London public building—repointing masonry, painting and repairs (revote $15,000), Ottawa—hydrogenation laboratory for the Department of Mines and Resources (revote), Ottawa—central experimental farm—water tank and pump house, etc. (revote $22,000), $480,000.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: What is this item?

Hon. ALPHONSE FOURNIER (Minister of Public Works): This is for improvements and repairs to public buildings in Ontario.

Item agreed to.

Chief architect's branch—

551. Public buildings generally—repairs, alterations, fittings and improvements—further amount required, $75,000.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: In the absence of the hon. member for Selkirk (Mr. Bryce) I should like to ask the minister certain questions in regard to Gimli.

Mr. FOURNIER (Hull): Will the hon. member be good enough to wait until we get to item 565, which is for wharf reconstruction and so forth? There is a vote of $10,000 there for Gimli.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: Very well.

Item agreed to.

[Mr. Adamson.]

Chief engineer's branch—dredging—

552. Maritime provinces—further amount required, $46,200.

Mr. BLACK (Cumberland): May I point out the necessity of undertaking dredging at Pugwash. That is a port where no dredging has been done. It is one of the finest ports in all Canada for depth of water, but it requires some dredging to straighten the channel, which is just a natural channel, in order to take larger steamers. At the present time it is able to take steamers with a draft of about twenty-one or twenty-two feet, which are the 4,700-ton boats; it will not take the 10,000-ton cargo boats, of which so many were built in Canada during the war. For these it would require dredging in certain places to a depth of over twenty-eight feet. I am not going to delay the committee further at this time, but I wanted to point this out to the minister, because it is the general wish of the shippers in that part of Nova Scotia—and this port also serves a considerable portion of New Brunswick—that this work be undertaken by the department as soon as possible.

Mr. FOURNIER (Hull): We shall certainly take note of the remarks made by the hon. member.

Item agreed to.

Chief engineer's branch—construction, repairs and improvements—harbours and rivers—Prince Edward Island—

561. Charlottetown—wharf reconstruction and improvements (estimated cost $340,000), $50,000.

Red Head—wharf extension and breakwater (revote $2,900), $3,500.

Rocky Point—wharf reconstruction (estimated cost $42,000), $20,000.

Harbours and rivers generally—for maintenance of services, no new works to be undertaken—further amount required, $10,000.

Mr. McLURE: I notice here an amount for Rocky Point wharf. A peculiar situation exists in reference to this wharf. It is half owned by the dominion government and half by the provincial government, and in repairing it they always have two different crews. They always have more bosses on it than workmen. I have often wondered whether something could not be done to have this wharf owned outright by either the federal government or the provincial government. It has always been in a most unsatisfactory condition. If the dominion government does its repair work, the provincial government does not do its work. It has been repaired from time to time, but they have never made a good job of it. Is there any possibility of the dominion government taking it over entirely?

Mr. FOURNIER (Hull): I shall have the resident engineer prepare a report, and see if we can adopt the hon. member's suggestion.

Item agreed to.

Chief engineer's branch—construction, repairs and improvements—harbour and rivers—Manitoba—

565. Gimli—wharf reconstruction (estimated cost $62,000), $10,000.

Selkirk—wharf reconstruction (estimated cost $148,000), $10,000.

St. Andrews—river breakwater (estimated cost $11,000), $5,000.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: I believe the minister was going to make a statement in connection with Gimli wharf. I notice that the total cost is estimated at $62,000 and that the expenditure this year is to be $10,000. I should like to know whether that includes the extension of the breakwater. Probably the minister has a report on conditions there. The breakwater has collapsed to such an extent that the water is now flooding a large area of the town where they have built a home, and is threatening to move in and destroy a great deal of property in the lower part of the town. The board of trade and the town itself are making strong representations that something be done about the breakwater, but there seems to be no estimate for that here. Could the minister give us a statement?

Mr. FOURNIER (Hull): The proposed work is the reconstruction in sheet steel piling of the 850-foot crib and pile wharf, twenty-two feet wide, largely rock-filled. It is also proposed to widen the outer thirty feet of the wharf to thirty feet. I have a report here from the engineer concerning this wharf. He says that Gimli wharf consists of three sections, or legs, at an angle with each other, having a total length of 743 feet measured along the harbour side. The shore leg is 148 feet; the middle one is 345 feet; and the outer leg is 250 feet long. The shore leg is twenty feet three inches; the middle leg is twenty-one feet two inches, and the outer end is twenty-two feet three inches wide. This wharf, along with a jetty to the south, serves to make a harbour of refuge and also a receiving and shipping point for fish. It is generally in poor condition and repair, but still serviceable, It is proposed to reconstruct the wharf as a post-war project, using as much as possible of the existing wharf as a core. On account of the heavy ice shoves that sometimes occur, it is proposed to widen the outer thirty feet of the wharf to a width of thirty feet.

The type of new construction is sheet-pile work on both sides of the shore leg; on the seaward side of the middle leg, and on both sides and end of the outer leg. Where there is danger of abrasive action from ice; that is, the outermost forty-five feet of the harbour side, the outer end and the seaward sides of the outer and middle legs, it is proposed to use steel sheet piles. That is the report I have concerning this work.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: It is probable that the engineers have arranged in their construction to take care of part of the breakwater. It is intended to spend only $10,000 on that construction this year?

Mr. FOURNIER (Hull): Yes. We could not spend more between now and the end of March, but the total estimate is $62,000. That would be the amount required to finish what we have in mind.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: Then, if we have the minister's word that they will try to complete the wharf, probably the people will be satisfied, if that is being taken care of in the estimates for next year.

Mr. FOURNIER (Hull): I might ask for a report on this part of the project mentioned by the hon. member, and let him know.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: If the minister would forward it to the hon. member for Selkirk he would be pleased.

Mr. FOURNIER (Hull): Very well.

Item agreed to.

Mr. McLURE: If I am in order I just wish to say that I made a mistake when speaking on item 561. I notice there an amount of $50,000, and I want to thank the minister for putting that in the supplementary estimates.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

231. Departmental administration, $811,425.

Mr. BRACKEN: Might I ask the Minister of Veterans Affairs to give us the programme from now until prorogation. I have been canvassing the situation, and I wish to help the government to get through so that we may be sure to have prorogation to-morrow. I wonder if you, Mr. Chairman, would permit the minister to outline the work we have yet to do.

Mr. MACKENZIE: It was my intention before adjournment to-night, slightly before midnight, to ask the house to meet at 10.30 o'clock in the morning. The items still undisposed of are: finance, ninteen items; insurance, two items; legislation, which is a non-controversial matter, about ten items; munitions and supply, just two formal items which are not controversial; national defence,

mostly routine amounts for militia pensions and so on, which are not contentious; national war services, one item; post office, six items, which we are taking up now; reconstruction, three items; national revenue, eight items, and the supplementaries in all departments. That is the whole list.

Mr. BRACKEN: I wonder if the leader of the government would permit my making a suggestion. I have canvassed the situation, and I think there is an inclination on the part of hon. members on this side of the house to try to get through. There may be someone over there who might wish to continue the discussion after to-morrow, but we would like to help the government to get through. I suggest that we go on to-night until 11.30 o'clock; then we come in at eleven o'clock to-morrow morning and plan to take one hour for lunch. I think there is a general disposition to assure the government that we shall be through here not later than five o'clock. One cannot speak for everybody, but I think there is an inclination to do that. Would that be acceptable?

Mr. MACKENZIE: I think that is a most reasonable suggestion. We will adjourn to-night at 11.30 p.m. and come back to-morrow at eleven a.m. We would have only one hour for lunch to-morrow and finish about four or five o'clock in the afternoon for prorogation.

Mr. BRACKEN: Not later than five o'clock. I hope I have not spoken out of turn.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: We will do our best. This group has not any long speeches to make. If government followers do not make long speeches, I think we could get through by that time.

234. Railway mail service, $14,651,279.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I should like to bring to the attention of the minister the case respecting railway mail clerks with which I have no doubt he is already familiar. These men are the highest class of manipulative workers in the post office department, and they consider they are being discriminated against. I should like to place their case before the minister.

On July 1 of last year post office workers who were receiving sub-standard wages quite properly got an increase ranging from $120 to $180 a year, while railway mail clerks got only $60, thus reducing the differential between ordinary post office workers and railway mail clerks.

I am also informed that railway mail clerks got mileage in their salaries, for the purpose of superannuation; but this did not represent any actual increase. I know that representations were made a year ago to the minister asking that the differential be reestablished. The answer always given is that this is in the hands of the civil service commission, and that until the commission reports nothing can be done about it. Could the minister give me a statement on the matter?

Hon. ERNEST BERTRAND (Postmaster General): Of course, I have no more jurisdiction over these salaries than had my predecessor. The civil service commission regulates these things. However, I may tell my hon. friend that representations will be made very shortly on this point and, as soon as this session is over, I intend taking this matter up with my officials to see what we can do. The hon. member may know that we also have to do something about the war bonus.

I am not ready this evening to state exactly what we shall do. However, we want to be reasonable, and we are going to consider the matter.

Mr. STEWART (Winnipeg North): I am glad to hear that the minister will do everything possible to reestablish the differential.

Mr. BENTLEY: The little city of Swift Current from which I come has been anxious for a long time to have a postal delivery service. Is the minister giving this matter serious consideration? If this were looked into, it would be greatly appreciated. Certainly all cities of that size have this service. It is difficult for many people to get down to the post office, and I should like to have a definite answer from the minister.

Mr. BERTRAND (Laurier): We are inclined to give mail delivery to all cities in which the revenue is $40,000 or more. We should like to give it wherever there are a sufficient number of citizens to justify our doing so. However, we have to follow certain rules. We ask that there be a net revenue of $40,000, and that there be at least 2,000 points of call in order to employ our men. If Swift Current comes within these stipulations, I am sure we shall be happy to give the service. However, the streets have to be well marked and the houses numbered. I do not know whether Swift Current has those things.

Mr. BENTLEY: Oh, yes, we are quite civilized.

Mr. BERTRAND (Laurier): Or if there are long streets without many points of call, it would not be possible.

Mr. BENTLEY: That is not the situation, at all.

Item agreed to.

235. Air and land mail services, $19,862,725.

Mr. HERRIDGE: In my constituency there has been quite a controversy in recent weeks owing to the awarding of a rural mail contract to a non-veteran, at a price $200 below that offered by veteran tenderers. This subject is fraught with difficulty. Would the minister give consideration to making it possible to give greater preference to veterans in connection with rural mail delivery?

Mr. BERTRAND (Laurier): This is a quesquestion which at times is embarrassing, but which we should like to settle in accordance with the wishes of the hon. member. However, we must decide whether we can grant contracts to returned men, in preference to civilians, where tenders are asked. If we did that, it would completely destroy the principle behind the tender. If we ask for tenders we have to be fair with the people who submit tenders, and of course we must give the contract to the lowest bidder, provided that he has the necessary equipment to fulfil his contract. If we were to make an exception and give a contract to a returned man, whether he was a lower bidder or not, in our opinion it would destroy the principle behind the tender, and might become a source of collusion.

Very often in towns or villages where we have rural mail delivery there might not be even one returned man who would be ready to take a contract. Some other people, knowing that a returned man would have a 100 per cent preference, might ask him to tender on their behalf. We think the Post Office Department in these circumstances might lose many millions of dollars throughout Canada. We have to abide by the Post Office Act, which is the law in force to-day, and which obliges us to give contracts to the lowest tenderers.

Mr. HERRIDGE: Has the minister given consideration to the proposals of the dominion command of the Canadian Legion, in which they suggest that the whole question be reviewed, and that the delivery of rural mail be put on a mileage basis?

Mr. BERTRAND (Laurier): That would not be possible. It would have to be a base which could be applied to all Canada. The transportation of mail on the plains in western Canada, and the transportation of mails over the mountains in British Columbia, on difficult roads, would not be comparable, and the same base could not be applied. It has to be a tender for every one of these rural mail deliveries, because conditions are not the same.

Mr. McLURE: The minister has told us how these contracts are made and so on, and I should like to say a few words about rural mail delivery. This is a most difficult job, especially in wintertime, and unfortunately it is the most underpaid service of any of the services of the dominion government. It is quite true that during the last four years the government has paid an extra bonus to rural mail carriers, but that is not on an honest-to-goodness basis. Is there any possibility of bringing these men under the civil service, so that they may be paid for their services?

Mr. BERTRAND (Laurier): It is done by tender, and that is the best way we can do it. The minister may award contracts up to $200. The section of the act is the same as it was in 1867. Sometimes people tender for contracts which will take only part of their time, and in an effort to make a few hundred dollars they calculate at too low a rate. At different times we have had to take over these contracts and ask for new tenders. It was my intention this year to ask to have this limit raised from $200 to $400 to protect these people against themselves, but we cannot do it.

Item agreed to.

DEPARTMENT OF RECONSTRUCTION

308. Departmental administration, including expenses incidental to organization, $1,500,000.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: There are a number of things in connection with the Department of Reconstruction which require clarification. War Assets Corporation is under this department, and the people of Canada have been inquiring about what is being done with the billions of dollars worth of war assets which now stand to the credit of the Canadian people. The people of Canada gave freely throughout the period of the war in an effort to bring the war to a successful conclusion. There was scarcely a question raised during the whole period of the war about the granting of money. We were in the full flush of production when the war ended, and there were many war assets in Europe, in the United Kingdom and in other parts of the world.

All these are being disposed of through War Assets Corporation, and the Canadian people would like to know what is happening to them. I am of the opinion that the Minister of Finance is anxious that the treasury should be reimbursed as soon as possible for what value is there. The Canadian people consider that these assets belong to them, and they view with considerable alarm one or two

aspects in connection with their disposal. In the first place, soldiers coming out of the army find it difficult to get the trucks they were driving around during the war. Jeeps and things like that do not seem to be available at all.

Many questions were placed on the order paper with regard to what was happening. They stayed there for weeks, and finally the Minister of Reconstruction asked that they be withdrawn on the promise that they would be answered fully in the committee. We accepted that in good faith and they were withdrawn. The committee held about ten meetings of about an hour and a quarter each. That committee undertook to study the set-up and organization of War Assets Corporation. The steering committee agreed on that, which was all to the good. However, it seemed that War Assets Corporation was in a constant state of flux. Policies which were placed on the paper with regard to their organization seemed to show one thing, while actual operations seemed to show another.

Farmers inquire whether it would be possible for them to get hold of tractors or trucks. Provincial governments would like to get hold of road-making machinery and aeroplanes, but they are having considerable difficulty. Hospitals wish to know if it would be possible for them to get hold of hospital supplies. People need things such as blankets and clothing, and there are tools which the government could use. There are thousands of schools in the different provinces which could use radio material, generators and other things in their construction and science classes. These things would be of very little loss to the government if they were turned over to these schools.

We were quite anxious that this committee which was carrying on an investigation of this work should continue. As I say, the committee had only ten meetings. A report was tabled in the house, which report stated that the committee would be reorganized at the next sitting of parliament to carry on its work. Between now and the time at which the committee could be set up will be at least three months. War Assets Corporation is receiving into its funds $10,000,000 a month. The report which stated that the committee would not sit until the next session was a majority report, but there was opposition.

We have more to say on this matter than can possibly be said to-night, and since it is close to eleven o'clock I think the committee should rise.

Item stands.

Progress reported.

[Mr. Castleden.]

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Mr. MACKENZIE: With the consent of the house, and as a result of the discussion we had a few minutes ago, I would move:

That when the house rises at one o'clock to-morrow there shall be an intermission until two o'clock p.m., notwithstanding the order passed on November 27, 1945.

Mr. BRACKEN: Can the minister say now at what time prorogation will take place?

Mr. MACKENZIE: It will depend, of course, entirely upon the progress made in the house. Generally speaking, the other place requires an hour's notice after we have finished the active business of this chamber. So that if we finished at three or four o'clock, prorogation would be about five o'clock. But I shall be pleased to let my hon. friend know to-morrow.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. MACKENZIE: May I refer to a question asked by the leader of the opposition this morning when I was engaged on other duties outside the chamber. He asked whether the committee on the orders and rules of the house would be set up again next session. It is the intention to set up that committee as soon as possible after the new session is convened.

Mr. CASTLEDEN: In view of the fact that to-morrow is the last day of the session, will the Secretary of State file answers to questions still on the order paper, particularly question No. 1, which has been there since November 12?

Mr. PROBE: I am awaiting a return to an order of the house passed on December 3, after being on the order paper for a long time.

Mr. MACKENZIE: Would my hon. friend indicate the subject matter?

Mr. PROBE: It deals with the staffs on the strength of the various headquarters of the various services.

Mr. BURTON: I am awaiting a return to on order for the production of papers dated October 10, concerning P.F.R.A. water projects southeast of Humboldt.

Mr. MARTIN: I cannot give my hon. friends any assurance, but I will do my best.

Mr. BRACKEN: I was about to ask a question which might have answered all the questions just raised by hon. members on this side, namely, are there any questions still unanswered on the order paper?

Mr. MARTIN: Yes.

Mr. BRACKEN: And are there any returns not yet brought down?

Mr. MARTIN: Yes.

Mr. BRACKEN: Might I ask what is the policy with respect to supplying these answers to questions and returns even after prorogation?

Mr. MACKENZIE: I am afraid that to bring them down after prorogation would not be in conformity with the established rules of the house, but I can assure my hon. friend that during the course of the day to-morrow we shall review unanswered questions and the orders that have not yet been brought down and do everything that is humanly possible to meet the wishes of hon. gentlemen in regard thereto. That is as far as I can go.

I move that the house do now adjourn. The business for to-morrow will be any item on the order paper.

Motion agreed to and the house adjourned at 11.35 p.m.

[The following items were passed in committee of supply]:

DEPARTMENT OF FISHERIES

(Less amounts voted in Interim Supply)

72. Departmental administration, $163,760.

73. Fisheries inspection, including fishery officers and guardians, fisheries patrol and protection services, $968,000.

74. Building fishways and clearing rivers (revote $10,000), $17,000.

75. Educational extension service (formerly development of the deep sea fisheries and the demand for fish), $30,000.

76. Fish culture, $199,030.

77. Oyster culture, $34,430.

78. Fisheries research board of Canada, $487,200.

79. To provide for Canadian share of expenses of the international fisheries commission, appointed under treaty dated March 2, 1923, between Canada and the United States for the preservation of the north Pacific halibut fisheries, $27,100.

80. To provide for Canadian share of expenses of the international Pacific salmon fisheries commission under treaty between Canada and the United States for the protection, preservation and extension of the sockeye salmon fisheries of the Fraser river system, $42,000.

81. To provide for Canadian share of expenses of the international Pacific salmon fisheries commission to overcome obstructions to the ascent of sockeye salmon at Hell's Gate canyon, and for investigating and overcoming obstructions to such salmon at other points on the Fraser river watershed (revote), $750,000.

82. Grant to the United Maritime Fishermen's Association, $3,000.

83. To provide for transportation, dressing and dyeing, and other expenses incidental to receiving and disposing of fur seal skins accruing to Canada pursant to provisional fur seal agreement between Canada and the United States by exchange of notes dated December 8 and 19, 1942, $300,000.

84. To provide for payment of a bounty for the destruction of harbour seals, $15,000.

Special—

85. To provide for the extension of educational work in cooperative producing and selling among fishermen, $56,000.

86. To provide for administrative expenses of the Fisheries Prices Support Act, 1944, $60,000.

87. To provide for improvement of shore facilities for the handling of fisheries products, subject to the approval of the governor general in council, $250,000.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

(Less amounts voted in Interim Supply)

103. Departmental administration, $526,002.

104. Annuities Act, $372,574.

105. Combines Investigation Act, $29,000.

106. Fair wages, conciliation and industrial disputes investigations, $173,580.

107. International labour conference, $20,000.

108. *Labour Gazette* and other publications authorized by Labour Department Act, $63,723.

109. Vocational Training Co-ordination Act, 1942—payments to the provinces under agreements, including undischarged commitments of previous years, $750,000.

110. Expenses of advisory council, $5,000.

Unemployment Insurance Act, 1940—

111. Administration, $6,579,200.

112. Government's contribution to unemployment insurance fund, $13,500,000.

113. Advances to workers under section 91 of the act, $50,000.

Special—

114. To provide for relief projects (undischarged commitments), $50,000.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORT

(Less amounts voted in Interim Supply)

349. Departmental administration, $434,101.

375. Hudson Bay railway—to provide for the difference between the expenditures for operation and maintenance, and revenue accruing from operations during the year ending March 31, 1946, not exceeding, $500,000.

376. To provide for the construction of an icebreaker—railway car—highway vehicle-passenger ferry vessel for the Prince Edward Island car ferry service estimated to cost $4,500,000. Amount required for 1945-46 (revote $875,000) —capital, $2,342,500.

Maritime Freight Rates Act—

377. To hereby authorize and provide for the payment from time to time during the fiscal year 1945-46 to the Canadian National Railway company of the difference (estimated by Canadian National Railway company and certified by the auditors of the said company to the Minister of Transport as and when required by the said minister) occurring on account of the applica-

tion of the Maritime Freight Rates Act, between the tariff tolls and the normal tolls (upon the same basis as set out in section 9 of the said act with respect to companies therein referred to) on all traffic moved during the calendar year 1945 under the tariffs approved on the eastern lines (as referred to in section 2 of the said act) of the Canadian National Railways, $3,500,000.

378. Amount required to provide for payment from time to time during the fiscal year 1945-46 of the difference (estimated by the Board of Transport Commissioners for Canada and certified by the said board to the Minister of Transport, as and when required by the said minister) occurring on account of the application of the Maritime Freight Rates Act, between the tariff tolls and the normal tolls (referred to in section 9 of the said act) on all traffic moved during the calendar year 1945 under the tariffs approved by the following companies: Canada and Gulf Terminal Railway; Canadian Pacific Railway, including: Fredericton and Grand Lake Coal and Railway Company, and New Brunswick Coal and Railway Company; Cumberland Railway and Coal Company; Dominion Atlantic Railway; Maritime Coal, Railway and Power Company; Sydney and Louisburg Railway; Temiscouata Railway Company, $900,000.

379. Administration of the Government Employees' Compensation Act, $28,190.

380. Compassionate allowance to recoup the Workmen's Compensation Board of British Columbia in continuation of a pension granted and to be paid by that board up to the 31st March, 1946 in the sum of $40 per month, to the widow of the late E. J. McCoskrie, who was formerly employed as port warden at Prince Rupert, B.C., and who was killed while in the performance of his duties, $480.

381. Amount required to pay pensions of $300 each to former pilots: Alphonse Asselin, Joseph Pouliot, Raoul Lachance, Jules Asselin, Arthur Paquet,, Adélard Delisle, George Larochelle and Wilhelm Langlois, $2,400.

382. Railway Employees' Provident Fund—to supplement pension allowances under the provisions of the Intercolonial and Prince Edward Island Railway Employees' Provident Fund Act so as to make the minimum payment during the period January 1, 1945 to March 31, 1946, the sum of $30 per month instead of $20 as fixed by the said Act, $22,000.

Special—Railway Service—

383. To provide for the discharge of commitments incurred prior to March 31, 1945, under authority of vote No. 393 schedule "A" to the appropriation Act No. 5, 1944, respecting Highway Crossings of Railways—(revote), $6,300.

Air service—

(Control and supervision vested in the Minister of Reconstruction by orders in council P.C. 7995 of 13th October, 1944 and 8207 of 24th October, 1944.)

384. Air transport board—salaries and office expenses, $188,290.

385. Air service administration, $11,370.

Civil aviation division—

386. Control of civil aviation, including the administration of the Aeronautics Act and regulations issued thereunder, $304,000.

387. Airways and airports—construction and improvements, including lighting and radio facilities—(revote $323,500) capital, $2,400,000.

388. Airways and airports—operation and maintenance—civil aviation services, $995,095.

389. Radio aviation services, $1,000,000.

390. Meteorological aviation services, $505,200.

391. Grants for avanced aeronautical instruction and to aeroplane clubs, including grant of $5,000 to the Canadian Flying Clubs Association, $33,000.

392. Meteorological service, $412,000.

393. Grant to Kingston observatory, $500.

Radio division—

394. Administration of the Radiotelegraph Act and regulations, $151,255.

395. Radio direction finding stations, radio beacons and radiotelegraph stations, operation and maintenance, $748,375.

396. Suppression of local electrical interferences, $164,000.

397. Issue of radio receiving licences—(transport department only), $216,975.

National Harbours Board—

420. Advances to National Harbours Board, subject to the provisions of section 29 of the National Harbours Board Act to meet expenditures applicable to the calendar year 1945 on any or all of the following accounts:

Reconstruction and capital expenditures—generally—unforeseen and miscellaneous, $200,000.

Canadian National (West Indies) Steamships, Limited—Special — Deficits — Prince Edward Island car ferry and terminals

421. Amount required to provide for the payment during the fiscal year 1945-46 to the Canadian National Railway Company (hereinafter called the national company) upon applications approved by the Minister of Transport, made from time to time by the national company to the Minister of Finance and to be applied by the national company in payment of the deficit (certified by the auditors of the national company) in the operation of the Prince Edward Island car ferry and terminals arising in the calendar year 1945, $713,000.

National Harbours Board—

422. To provide for payment to National Harbours Board, of the amount hereinafter set forth, to be applied in payment of the deficit (exclusive of interest on dominion government advances and depreciation on capital structures) arising in the calendar year 1945, in the operation of Churchill harbour, $90,000.

423. Advances to National Harbours Board with interest at a rate to be fixed by the governor in council for such period and upon such terms and conditions as the governor in council may determine, to be applied in payment of deficits resulting from the operations of the Jacques Cartier bridge, $390,863.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

(Less amounts voted in Interim Supply)

39. Departmental administration, $526,085.

40. Passport office—administration, $29,928.

41. Representation abroad—including salaries of high commissioners, ambassadors, ministers plenipotentiary, consuls, secretaries and staff, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the Civil Service Act or any of its amendments, $1,701,060.

42. To provide for hospitality in connection with visitors from abroad, $15,000.

43. Grant to the League of Nations Society in Canada, $3,000.

44. Grant to the International Red Cross Committee, $40,000.

45. Amount required to meet loss on exchange, $64,000.

Canada's Contributions to Maintenance of External Organizations—

46. Expenses of the League of Nations for 1945, including Secretariat, International Labour Organization and Permanent Court of International Justice, $319,005.

47. Portion of expenditure of the Imperial Economic Committee, $1,575.

48. Portion of expenses of International Wheat Council, $4,000.

49. Expenses of the intergovernmental committee on refugees, $3,100.

International Joint Commission—

50. To provide for preliminary studies and surveys of the Columbia river watershed, $130,000.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS

(Less amounts voted in Interim Supply)

231. Departmental administration, $811,425.

Ontario—

255. Dominion public buildings—improvements and repairs, $170,000.

London public buildings—repointing masonry, painting and repairs (revote $15,000). $25,000.

Ottawa—hydrogenation laboratory for the Department of Mines and Resources (revote), $250,000.

Ottawa—central experimental farm—water tank and pump house, etc. (revote $22,000), $35,000.

300. Saskatchewan and Alberta, $12,000.

301. British Columbia—Northern and Yukon district, $17,000.

302. British Columbia—Vancouver island district, $9,000.

General—

303. National Gallery of Canada, $67,405.

304. Miscellaneous works not otherwise provided for, not more than $3,000 to be expended upon any one work, $25,000.

305. To supplement, on approval of treasury board, except where less than $200 is required, any of the appropriations of the Department of Public Works, $100,000.

306. To provide for balances required to complete any projects undertaken in previous fiscal years and for which no specific provision is made in the fiscal year 1945-46, $20,000.

307. Telephone service other than at Ottawa, $8,000.

308. Departmental administration, including expenses incidental to organization, $1,500,000.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

232. Post offices, including salaries and other expenses of headquarters and staff post offices and supplies and equipment for revenue post offices, $22,126,090.

233. Inspection and investigation, $953,750.

234. Railway mail service, $14,651,279.

235. Air and land mail services, $19,862,725.

236. Audit of revenue, money order, postal note and savings bank business; issue of postage stamps and postal notes, $1,876,181.

Pensions and Other Benefits—

237. To provide for the payment of compassionate allowances to employees injured while in the performance of their duties, or to other persons injured while performing duties in any way connected with the postal service, or in protecting His Majesty's mails, or to the dependents of such employees or other persons who may be killed while so engaged; payments to be made only on the specific authority of the governor in council, $5,000.

DEPARTMENT OF MUNITIONS AND SUPPLY

(Less amounts voted in Interim Supply)

(Other than war appropriations)—Office of the Coal controller—coal subsidies and subventions—

179. Dominion fuel board, administration and investigations, $32,120.

180. Payments in connection with the movements of coal under conditions prescribed by the governor in council, $4,500,000.

The following is the English translation of Speeches delivered in French on the date indicated.

Monday, December 17, 1945.

Hon. LOUIS S. ST. LAURENT (Minister of Justice): Mr. Speaker, I am sure that all the hon. members of this house whose mother tongue is that one of the two official languages of this country which has not yet been used this morning for the purpose of congratulating the right honourable the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) are anxious that we should tell him in French how much we share in his joyous feelings on this anniversary, and with what sincerity and true affection we associate ourselves with the other hon. members of the house in complimenting him not only on having reached the age of 71, but also on having achieved the wonderful work which has marked his whole career, and in wishing that he may long continue to enjoy good health so that he may perform many other meritorious deeds in the interests of the Canadian nation.

(Quotation)

Mr. ROSE:

The last peace, brought about by the Versailles treaty, was shaped by international Jews such as Schiff, Warburg and their associates; we all know what came out of it. Is the Christian but paganized world of 1945, about to yield to the same influences?

OFFICIAL REPORT OF DEBATES

The Daily Edition is issued on the morning following each day's sitting, the speeches being reported in the language in which they were delivered. Speeches in French are translated into English and appear in that form as an appendix to the daily issue. Speeches in English are translated and appear in the French edition on the day following delivery.

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Two indexes are issued, one to the Daily Edition, at the close of the session, and the other to the bound edition, published in book form later. The current index is compiled as the session proceeds and may be consulted in the Debates Office. For index inquiries and information as to mailing lists, telephone 2-8211, local 3246.

EARL C. YOUNG,
Editor of Debates, Room 324.

F. W. S. GALBRAITH,
Associate Editor, Room 325.

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L'édition quotidienne, publiée, dans le texte original, paraît le lendemain matin de chaque séance. La version anglaise des discours prononcés en français est publiée en annexe à l'édition quotidienne du texte original.

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Il est publié, pour l'édition anglaise, deux index séparés, l'un pour l'édition quotidienne, après la clôture de la session; l'autre concernant l'édition définitive reliée, paraît un peu plus tard. L'Index se fait en cours de session et peut être consulté au bureau des Débats.

HENRI MACKAY, *LL.L.*,
rédacteur des débats français,
chambre 514.

D 49602

7 on page 4. I think these points are better not made in speech. They are really implicit in the line of argument on page 3 but might carry the interpretation that if we make analogous agreements with the U.S.S.R. we shall have solved the problems of maintaining close and friendly relations. There is in fact not a single issue between Canada and the U.S.S.R. of the sort which has been considered by the International Joint Commission and I do not think that we are likely for a long time to have concrete problems of this nature which could be taken up by a special Soviet-Canadian arbitral body.

1 | publication = no. 5.

W.L.M.K.
9.XII.45

D 49603

1. Introduction - Resolution.

The House of Commons is being asked by the motion now before it to approve the Agreed Declaration on atomic energy which was signed at the White House, Washington, on the 15th of November of this year, by the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the Prime Minister of Canada.

The statement which embodies the Declaration was read to honourable members of this House by the Honourable the Minister of Justice acting as Secretary of State for External Affairs on the afternoon of the day on which the declaration was made at Washington. It will be found at page 2158 of the unrevised Hansard of November 15th. Copies of the declaration in English and in French, in printed form, were tabled by myself on . Wide publicity has been given to the declaration. It may, I think, be truly said that the reception given the declaration by the public generally has been one of cordial approval.

As the statement is one of far-reaching significance and historic interest, it is desirable that it should be formally approved by both Houses of our Parliament. Such approval, apart from its positive advantages, should serve

effectively to remove the criticism to which expression has already been given that the declaration represents a usurpation of power on the part of the Prime Minister of our country, (See Journal article) and does not carry with it the sanction of the elected representatives of the people.

No discovery in all time has created the same interest or been fraught with possibilities so baneful or beneficial to mankind as that of the release of atomic energy.

D 49605

2. History of Research - Canada's Part.

It may serve as a helpful introduction to an understanding of the strategic position which Canada as well as the United Kingdom and the United States have come to hold, working toward a solution of the problems which the discovery of atomic energy has created, if I say a word or two concerning the discovery itself and the circumstances which led to the part it came to play in military warfare.

All the world knows today that the sudden termination of the war against Japan was due more than all else to the appalling destruction of life and property wrought by the use of the atomic bomb against the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August of the present year.

The application of this deadly weapon of mass destruction was the outcome of intensive research pursued by scientists throughout the years of the recent war. When the war began in 1939, scientists of many nations had come to recognize that the release of energy by atomic fission, or what is popularly referred to as the splitting of the atom, was a possibility. The release of atomic energy depends upon the fission of the uranium atom. This phenomenon was discovered at the end of 1938.

D 49606

The war gave impetus to research into the means of releasing atomic energy and later in the production of atomic bombs. At the outset, research was carried on mainly in the Universities of the United Kingdom. There followed a full interchange of ideas between work carried on in the United Kingdom and the United States and a pooling of scientific information.

By the summer of 1941 such progress had been made in research that it was felt that full use should be made of University and industrial laboratories in seeking to reach the desired objective just as rapidly as might be possible. In October of that year, upon the suggestion of President Roosevelt, there began a co-ordination and joint conduct of British and American efforts. By the summer of 1942 the expanded programme of research seemed to justify a decision to proceed with the construction of large-scale production plants in America. The erection of immense plants in the United States was placed under the responsibility of Mr. Stimson, United States Secretary of War.

Here may I quote from a statement prepared by Mr. Churchill while he was still in office, but not made public until after the defeat of the Coalition Government, and Mr. Attlee's assumption of office.

Mr. Churchill's statement is as follows:

"In the United States the erection of the immense plants was placed under the responsibility of Mr. Stimson, United States Secretary of War and the American Army Administration whose wonderful work and marvellous secrecy cannot be sufficiently admired. The main practical effort and virtually the whole of its prodigious cost now fell upon the United States authorities who were assisted by a number of British scientists. The relationship of the British and the American contributions was regulated by discussion between me and President Roosevelt and a Combined Policy Committee was set up. The Canadian Government whose contribution was most valuable provided both indispensable raw material for the project as a whole and also necessary facilities for the work of one section of the project which has been carried out in Canada by the three Governments in partnership."

It was toward the end of 1932 that it was agreed that the British team researching on one section of the project should be moved to Canada so that as a joint Anglo-Canadian establishment, it could work in close co-operation with the corresponding American team in Chicago.

Shortly after that the work in America came under the control of the United States War Department. The interchange of information between Britain and America was restricted to research in which both countries were engaged, and not extended to large-scale work where the Americans alone were active.

In September, 1943, an agreement was signed in Quebec between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, which bound the two countries to collaborate with the object of producing, as quickly as possible, a military weapon for use in the war. The agreement resulted in a supply to the Canadian establishment, which is now a joint British-American-Canadian project, of certain essential materials available in quantity only in America at the present time.

In Canadathe joint project has been concerned with research on a method of making 94 by a variant of the method used in America. Although apparently limited in scope, this work is of considerable importance, as it includes the study of the utilization of thorium as a starting point for the production of active material; a pilot scale plant has been constructed, but is on a laboratory scale only.

Up to the present, there are two materials known to be suitable for use in the atomic bomb process - uranium and thorium. The largest proved deposit of uranium ore is in the

D 49609

Belgian Congo and the next largest is in Canada. The Canadian Government has bought the Canadian mine and reserved for the Government all future discoveries of such minerals.

D 49610

Elsewhere in his statement Mr. Churchill said:

"By God's mercy, British and American science outpaced all German efforts. These were on a considerable scale but far behind. The possession of these powers by the Germans at any time might have altered the result of the war."

Extract from statement of Mr. Churchill:

"This revelation of the secrets of nature long mercifully withheld from man should arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every being capable of comprehension. We must indeed pray that these awful agencies will be made to conduce to peace among thenations and that,instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe, they may become a perrenial fountain of world prosperity."

D 49612

3. The Two Uses.

What was aimed at in the combined efforts of the scientists and the construction of large-scale production plants, and in the work of the combined Policy Committee was the development of methods for the release of atomic energy either to produce an explosion or as a source of power. It is now known that this release can be effected so rapidly that a few pounds of material will produce an explosion equivalent to that of the detonation of several tons of TNT. On the other hand, the energy released can, it is believed, be so controlled as to produce a steady flow of heat obtainable at a temperature high enough to operate steamdriven electrical generating plants. One ton of material used in this way would generate as much as about three million tons of coal.

It is now known that the atomic bomb test was made in Mexico on ; That the test left no doubt as to the potential powers of the bomb for mass destruction. Possessing this knowledge, the United States gave repeated warnings to Japan as to the existence of this new weapon of war and as to what might be expected from its application.

Hiroshima (an important army base), and Nagasaki, were selected as having relatively fewer women and children and persons not concerned withtthe manufacture of war materials than other centres.

Original

D 49614

by the use of the atomic bomb against the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Until recently the world believed that the atom was the ultimate indivisible particle of matter; a particle of matter so minute as to admit of no division. When the war began in 1939, scientists of many nations had come to recognize that the release of energy by the splitting of the atom, or what is scientifically referred to as " atomic fission" was a possibility. The war gave impetus to research into the means of releasing atomic energy and later in the production of atomic bombs.

At the outset, research was carried on mainly in the Universities of the United K ngdom. By the summer of 1941 such progress had been made in research in the application of atomic energy that it was felt that full use should be made of university and industrial laboratories in seeking to find just as rapidly as possible the means of producing atomic bombs. In October of 1941, upon the suggestion of President Roosevelt, there began a co-ordination and joint conduct of British and American efforts. By the summer of 1942, the expanded programme of research seemed to justify a decision to proceed with the construction of large-scale production plants in America. The Americans alone were active in large scale work.

members. It was by far the largest of any class ever created in Canada to carry out a single research project. Other research projects were undertaken at the Montreal, Toronto and Montreal Neurological Laboratories in Ottawa.

Table in #7½ x 10

D 49615

In Canada the joint project has been concerned with research on a method of making 94 by a variant of the method used in America. Although apparently limited in scope, this work is of considerable importance, as it includes the study of the utilization of thorium as a starting point for the production of active material. A pilot scale plant has been constructed, but is on a laboratory scale only.

Up to the present, there are two materials known to be suitable for use in the atomic bomb process - uranium and thorium. The largest proved deposit of uranium ore is in the

D 49616

D 49617

Belgian Congo and the next largest is in Canada. The Canadian Government bought the Canadian mine and reserved for the Government all future discoveries of such minerals. This is a strategic factor of high importance. This second largest known source of raw material is accessible to the large manufacturing centres already built in the United States.

(3)

D 49618

Toronto and McGill universities, as well as at Ottawa.

The work of the several research projects has been closely co-ordinated with the development of a pilot plant for the production of atomic bomb materials at Chalk River, Ontario.

The National Research Council will direct further researches in this plant on the application of atomic energy in war and in industry, and in the use of its products, for example, in medical treatment.

Original + 3 copies

W.L.M.K.
9.XII.45

Brown

D 49619

1. Introduction - Resolution.

1

The House of Commons is being asked by the motion now before it to approve the Agreed Declaration on atomic energy which was signed at the White House, Washington, on the 15th of November of this year, by the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the Prime Minister of Canada.

The statement which embodies the declaration was read to honourable members of this House by ~~the Honourable~~ the Minister of Justice ~~acting as Secretary of State for External Affairs~~ on the afternoon of the day on which the declaration was made at Washington. ~~It~~ The text of the declaration will be found at page 2158 of the unrevised Hansard of November 15th. Copies of the declaration in English and in French, in ~~printed~~ pamphlet form, were tabled by myself on December first. The declaration has been given ~~Wide~~ publicity. ~~has been given to the declaration.~~ It may, I think, be truly said that ~~the reception given~~ the declaration has been generally and heartily approved by the public ~~generally has been one of cordial approval~~.

As the ~~statement~~ declaration is one of far-reaching significance and historic interest, it is desirable that it should be formally approved by both Houses of our Parliament. Such approval, apart from its positive advantages, should serve

D 49620

effectively to remove the criticism to which expression has already been given that ~~the declaration represents a usurpation of power on the part of the Prime Minister of our country. (See Journal article) and does not carry with it the sanction of the elected representatives of the~~

[redacted]

so that it was neither his sole right and power to determine what should be done"

2. History of Research - Canada's Part.

It may serve as a helpful introduction to an understanding of the strategic position which Canada as well as the United Kingdom and the United States have come to hold, working toward a solution of the problems which the discovery of atomic energy has created, if I say a word or two concerning the discovery itself and the circumstances which led to the part it came to play in military warfare.

All the world knows today that the sudden termination of the war against Japan was due more than all else to the appalling destruction of life and property wrought by the use of the atomic bomb against the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August of the present year. The application of this deadly weapon of mass destruction was the outcome of intensive research pursued by scientists throughout the years of the second war. When the war began in 1939, scientists of many nations had come to recognize that the release of energy by atomic fission, or what is popularly referred to as "the splitting of the atom," was a possibility. The release of atomic energy depends upon the fission of the uranium atom. This phenomenon was discovered at the end of 1938.

(1) Until recently it was believed that the atom was the ultimate indivisible particle of matter; a particle of matter so minute as to admit of no division.

D 49622

The war gave impetus to research into the means of releasing atomic energy and later in the production of atomic bombs. At the outset, research was carried on mainly in the Universities of the United Kingdom. There followed a full interchange of ideas between work carried on in the United Kingdom and the United States, and a pooling of scientific information.

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Here may I quote from a statement prepared by Mr. Churchill while he was still in office, but made public after the defeat of the Coalition Government, and Mr. Attlee's assumption of office.

D 49623

Mr. Churchill's statement is as follows:

"In the United States the erection of the immense plants was placed under the responsibility of Mr. Stimson, United States Secretary of War and the American Army Administration whose wonderful work and marvellous secrecy cannot be sufficiently admired. The main practical effort and virtually the whole of its prodigious cost now fell upon the United States authorities who were assisted by a number of British scientists. The relationship of the British and the American contributions was regulated by discussion between me and President Roosevelt, and a Combined Policy Committee was set up. The Canadian Government whose contribution was most valuable provided both indispensable raw material for the project as a whole, and also necessary facilities for the work of one section of the project which has been carried out in Canada by the three Governments in partnership."

~~(It was toward the end of 1942 that it was agreed that the British team researching on one section of the project should be moved to Canada so that as a joint Anglo-Canadian establishment, it could work in close co-operation with the corresponding American team in Chicago.)~~

D 49624

5-1/2

Elsewhere in his statement Mr. Churchill said:

"By God's mercy, British and American science outpaced all German efforts. These were on a considerable scale but far behind.The possession of these powers by the Germans at any time might have altered the result of the war."

D 49625

Shortly after that the work in America came under the control of the United States War Department. (The interchange of information between Britain and America was restricted to research in which both countries were engaged, and not extended to large-scale work where the Americans alone were active.)

In September, 1943, an agreement was signed between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, which bound the two countries to collaborate with the object of producing, as quickly as possible, a military weapon for use in the war. This agreement resulted in a supply to the Canadian establishment, which is now a joint British-American-Canadian project, of certain essential materials available in quantity only in America at the present time.

D49626

Under this agreement a combined policy committee was set up, on which my colleague the Minister of Munitions and Supply was invited to serve as Canadian member. The Committee agreed that there should be complete interchange of information on all aspects of the project between members of the Committee and their immediate technical advisers. It will, therefore, be appreciated that for over two years Canada was a partner in the developments which culminated in the use of atomic bombs against Japan last August.

It is worthy of notice that the determination to embark on large-scale undertakings for production of atomic bombs - subsequently established at several points in the United States - was agreed while some details of the project were still in the laboratory stage. The outcome was the most impressive demonstration of the collaboration of scientific skill and technical capacity conducted under conditions of the highest secrecy.

~~2~~ 8

3. The Two Uses.

D 49627

What was aimed at in the combined efforts of the scientists and the construction of large-scale production plants, and in the work of the combined Policy Committee was the development of methods for the release of atomic energy either to produce an explosion or as a source of power. It is now known that this release can be effected so rapidly that a few pounds of "active material" will produce an explosion equivalent to that of the ~~detonation~~ setting off thousands of several tons of TNT. On the other hand, the energy released can, it is believed, be so controlled as to produce a steady flow of heat obtainable at a temperature high enough to operate steamdriven electrical generating plants. One ton of "active material" used in this way would generate as much lower as about three million tons of coal.

D 49628

In a message which will carry its effect to every human heart

~~Extract from statement~~ of Mr. Churchill ~~vividly expresses~~

"This revelation of the secrets of nature long mercifully withheld from man should arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every being capable of comprehension. We must indeed pray that these awful agencies will be made to conduce to peace among the nations and that, instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe, they may become a perpetual fountain of world prosperity."

This is the problem presented by the discovery of the release of atomic energy

B 49629

(11)

It should not be supposed that the control of the ~~raw~~ materials presently enjoyed by Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States will prevent, for any ~~great~~ length of time, developments in other countries. Neither should it be imagined that the processes ~~now secret involved in developing atomic~~ energy and ~~now secret~~ in manufacturing atomic bombs will prevent, indefinitely similar or alternative developments in other countries. Even ~~supposing no~~ international measures of supervision and control were devised, ~~it would at best be a matter of time.~~ it will be but a matter of time before all processes are known to practically all nations. Hence the need ~~All this emphasizes the necessity of some such inter-~~ for immediate action to bring all nations under such ~~international~~ control as the agreed declaration envi-

10

D 49630

Re: Sharing of Information

Up to a certain point the processes for releasing atomic energy are the same, whether the ~~end product~~ nuclear is ~~to be~~ an industrial, commercial or humanitarian use, or whether it is ~~to be atomic bombs~~ part of known means distribution. Up to this point of departure the ~~technical~~ processes are already quite widely known, ~~and~~ the scientific knowledge upon which ~~the technical~~ Theory processes are based has been ~~quite generally~~ shared by a number of nations.

Beyond this point of common development, the construction of atomic bombs as such is in the nature of a series of highly technical manipulating processes which are ~~is a process still very~~ secret. It is ~~this secret~~ which is ~~known~~ by Britain, the United States, and Canada, and which has not been made known, up to the present, to other nations.

This series of highly technical manipulating processes possessed in whole or in part

This is what is popularly referred to as "know how"

~~This is the only part of the technical information which has been withheld by the countries which have knowledge of it. The reason for point of principle involved in withholding it~~ not imparting the "know how" to other nations in the production of atomic bombs, to them unless ~~and~~ because of the potentialities of destruction involved, ~~it is a principle of the highest importance — is whether it is wise to make a process, now secret, less secret by sharing it with other nations.~~ The principle, as the Washington declaration suggests, ~~is intended to apply only~~ until certain ~~other conditions have been fulfilled.~~ The declaration makes

without certain guarantees and controls

D 49631

Outstanding Features of the Agreement

Hon. members will already be aware of the terms of the agreed declaration signed at Washington on November 15 by the President, Mr. Attlee, and myself. (The text was read to the House on the afternoon of November 15, and a printed copy of the document, which now appears in the Treaty Series, was tabled on December 1.)

The very nature of atomic energy, as the declaration suggests, precludes a monopoly of its use by any single nation. There is, therefore, a clear case for taking action on an international scale to prevent the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and to make possible the fullest use of this same atomic energy for peaceful and humanitarian ends.

In drawing up this declaration we were well aware that there is no final protection against the destructive use of scientific knowledge unless war itself can be prevented and outlawed. It is to this end that our main effort must still be directed. But, partly because we recognized that other means of waging war might be developed - means which may constitute quite as great a threat to civilization as any military use of atomic energy, we declared our willingness to exchange fundamental scientific information with any nation which would fully reciprocate.

I should add that the basic scientific information necessary for the development of atomic energy for peaceful

D 49632

purposes has already been made available to the world. If political agreement is to be reached, and international co-operation to become increasingly useful, there must be freedom of investigation and free interchange of ideas. We are ready to do our part to make known all further information of this kind.

~~...ations and processes already used in...~~
~~exploitation~~ of atomic energy.)

D 49633

It was our view that until it is possible to devise safeguards which would be effective, reciprocal and enforceable, acceptable to all nations, the spreading of specialized information about the atomic bomb might not contribute to a constructive solution of a problem which throughout the past four months has aroused intense interest and concern. But we declared that just as soon as effective and enforceable safeguards against the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes can be devised, we were willing to share the detailed information on a reciprocal basis.

I should like to emphasize, if any further emphasis were required, that the problems posed by both the destructive and the humanitarian uses of atomic energy, are not temporary or transitory problems. We considered it necessary to rule out the destructive uses, and to promote the humanitarian purposes, and we therefore suggested that at the earliest practicable date a commission to prepare recommendations covering the subject should be set up under the United Nations Organization.

The specific proposals on which such a Commission would be expected to make recommendations are:

(a) for extending between all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends,

(b) for control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes,

(c) for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction,

(d) for effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions.

In ratifying the Charter of the United Nations, this House of Commons has already affirmed its determination to help in maintaining the rule of law among nations and in banishing the scourge of war from the earth. The United Nations must have the fullest support of all its members, and it must command a new sense of loyalty in the hearts and minds of freedom-loving people everywhere. Only in this way can we hope to create that great reservoir of confidence and mutual trust upon which all international relationships must rest.

W.L.M.K.
14.xii.45

D 49636

In asking the House to support the motion which is now before us, approving the Washington Declaration on Atomic Energy, I cannot do better than ~~summarize~~ essential features of the declaration itself, ~~indicating~~ in so doing ~~certain~~ governing considerations which were constantly in the minds of all who participated in the conference.

There was ~~first of all the~~ recognition that the ~~full~~ significance of the release of atomic energy had not yet ~~come~~ to be fully comprehended; that few ~~if any had yet~~ been able to evaluate the true impact of the discovery upon the future of the world. It was ~~recognized~~ that ~~it~~ had placed at the disposal of mankind means of destruction hitherto unknown, and against which there could be no adequate military defence, and in the employment of which no single nation could in fact have a monopoly. In a word, it was conceded that ~~the civilized world~~ could not survive an atomic war; that this was the challenge which the discovery of the release of atomic energy had made to our generation. It was also recognized that it was impossible to isolate the problem of the atomic bomb from ~~that~~ of the use of other weapons of destruction. ~~The atom~~ bomb was seen as the latest word in destructiveness, but ~~it may not be~~ the last.

D 49637

It was ~~not~~ therefore, only the elimination of the atom bomb as a weapon of war ~~that was considered,~~ but also the kind of world order which is necessary in an atomic age, if civilization is to survive.

~~What it was~~ sought ~~at Washington to do was~~ to take the first step in an effort to rescue the world from a desperate ~~armament~~ race. ~~It was clearly recognized that~~ the responsibility for devising means to ensure that the new discovery should be used for the benefit of mankind, instead of as a means of destruction, rested not on our nations alone but on the whole civilized world. We were prepared to concede that the progress ~~the~~ three countries had made in the development and use of atomic energy demanded that ~~they~~ take the initiative in an international effort to prevent the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and to promote the use of recent and future exchanges of scientific knowledge, particularly in the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful and humanitarian ends.

~~It was recognized that~~ no system of safeguards that ~~could~~ be devised ~~would~~ of itself provide an effective guarantee against production of atomic weapons by a nation bent on aggression. ~~Nor could there be~~ the possibility

D 49638

of the development of other weapons, or of new methods of warfare which may constitute as great a threat to civilization as the military use of atomic energy.

Representing, as we did, the three countries which possess the knowledge essential to the use of atomic energy, we declared ~~at the outset~~ our willingness, as a first contribution, to proceed with the exchange of fundamental scientific information and the interchange of scientists, and scientific literature for peaceful ends with any nation that would fully reciprocate. We stated our belief that fruits of scientific research should be made available to all nations and that freedom of investigation and free interchange of ideas were essential to the progress of knowledge. ~~In pursuance of this policy~~ the basic scientific process essential to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes has already been made available to the world. We declared that all further information of this character that might become available from time to time should be similarly treated.

As I have already explained, ~~the military exploitation of atomic energy depends in large part~~ the use of atomic energy for industrial, commercial, and humanitarian purposes is dependent upon the same methods and processes as would be required for ~~industrial uses.~~ military exploitation of atomic energy. We were not convinced that the spread of

the specialised information regarding the practical application of atomic energy before it was possible to devise reciprocal and enforceable safeguards acceptable to all nations would contribute to a constructive solution of the problem of the atomic bomb. On the contrary we thought it might have the opposite effect. We ~~stated, however,~~ our readiness to share, on a reciprocal basis, with others of the United Nations, detailed information concerning the practical industrial application of atomic energy, just as soon as effective and enforceable safeguards aginst its use for destructive purposes could be devised.

In order to attain the most effective means of entirely eliminating the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and promoting its widest ~~use~~ for industrial and humanitarian ~~uses~~, we gave it as our opinion that at the earliest practicable date a Commission should be set up under the United Nations Organization, to prepare recommendations for submission to the Organization. We expressed the view that the Commission should be instructed to proceed with the utmost despatch and that, in particular, it should make specific proposals for extending, between all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends; for the control of atomic energy to

D 49640

the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes; (c) for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction; and (d) for effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means, to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions. ~~It was felt that to maintain the rule of law among nations, and to banish the scourge of war from the earth....~~

Under the charter of the United Nations, the signatory powers ~~we~~ have pledged ~~ourselves~~ themselves not to use force except in support of the purposes and principles of the Charter. At Washington, we expressed the view that by whole-hearted support of the United Nations Organization, and by consolidating and extending its authority, ~~thus~~ thereby creating conditions of mutual trust in which all peoples will be free to devote themselves to the arts of peace, there would be found the best available means of maintaining the rule of law among nations and banishing the scourge of war from the earth. We declared it to be the firm resolve of our three countries to work without reservation to achieve these ends. ~~There can be~~ Nothing can be truer than that without united effort and unremitting co-operation of ~~all the~~ nations ~~of the world~~ there will be no enduring and effective protection against the atomic bomb. ~~There~~ can be ~~no~~ protection against there unless there is such co-operation and united effort

W.L.M.K. (2)
14.xii.45

Broadcast Conference

D49641

I come now to the Declaration on Atomic Energy signed at Washington, on November 15th last.

As hon. members are aware, I visited President Truman at the White House on September 30th, the day before I sailed from New York ~~to London~~ for England. ~~At the time of~~ During this visit, matters related to the atomic bomb were referred to in conversation between the President and myself. ~~I was invited by~~ Mr. Truman invited me to visit him again on my return from abroad. ~~While at Washington, I was told by the President~~ He also told me that he was looking forward to a visit ~~in the near future~~ from Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. Upon ~~my~~ arrival in London, I learned from Mr. Attlee that, toward the end of September last, he had made known to the President his view on the vital importance to the world of the discovery of atomic energy. He had expressed the opinion that the application of atomic energy to warfare made it essential that those in responsible positions in the countries under whose auspices the development had taken place, should consider the problems to which it had given rise, ~~and the implications which the emergence of this weapon had on the endeavours all were making to banish war from the world.~~ In conveying to the President the tentative conclusions at which the British government had arrived, Mr. Attlee had suggested that personal discussion

D 49642

might follow. While I was in London, communications were received from President Truman ~~by Mr. Attlee and myself~~ inviting ~~each of us~~ him & Mr. Attlee and myself to come to Washington to discuss with him the problems related to atomic energy, ~~concerning which there had been the earlier exchange of views to which I have just made reference.~~

Mr. Attlee and I arrived in Washington at the same hour on the morning of Saturday, November 10th. Mr. Attlee had left London by plane on the afternoon of the previous day. I had left London on Saturday of the previous week to cross by ship. During our stay in Washington, every ~~possible~~ courtesy was extended to Mr. Attlee and myself ~~and to members of our respective staffs~~ by the President and the Secretary of State, Mr. Byrnes. From the day of our arrival to the day of the signing of the Declaration, we had constant meetings and conversations.

In our consideration of the problems discussed, the President and Mr. Byrnes had the assistance of Dr. Vannevar Bush, ~~Scientific Adviser to the President's~~ Director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, and Committee on Atomic Energy, ~~and officials of the State Department.~~ Prime Minister Attlee was accompanied by Sir John Anderson, Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Atomic Energy in the United Kingdom. Sir John Anderson is perhaps the best informed of anyone in the United Kingdom on the whole

D 49643

subject, and on the circumstances attending the work with the Americans and ourselves in the research on atomic energy. Mr. Attlee was also assisted by Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador, ~~and officials of the British Embassy in Washington~~.

I was joined in Washington by Mr. ~~C.D.~~ Howe, the Canadian member of the combined policy committee, and Dean Mackenzie, President of ~~the~~ our National Research Council. I was also assisted while in Washington by ~~our~~ the Canadian Ambassador ~~in Washington~~, Mr. L.B. Pearson; ~~and members of the Embassy staff~~; by Mr. Norman Robertson, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who had accompanied me to England, and by Mr. Hume Wrong, Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who joined Mr. Robertson and myself on our arrival in Washington.

I should like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance given me by all these gentlemen and by members of the Embassy staff in Washington.

D 49644

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D 49645

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W.L.M.K. (2)
14.xii.45
D 49647

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might follow. While I was in London, communications were received from President Truman by Mr. Attlee and myself inviting each of us to come to Washington to discuss with him the problems related to atomic energy, concerning which there had been the earlier exchange of views to which I have just made reference.

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In our consideration of the problems discussed, the President and Mr. Byrnes had the assistance of Dr. Vannever Bush, Scientific Adviser to the President's Committee on Atomic Energy, and officials of the State Department. Prime Minister Attlee was accompanied by Sir John Anderson, Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Atomic Energy. Sir John Anderson is perhaps the best informed of anyone in the United Kingdom on the whole

D49649

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I should like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance given me by all these gentlemen and by members of the Embassy staff in Washington.

W.L.M.K.
14.xii.45

49650

I come now to the Declaration on Atomic Energy ~~made~~ signed by ~~the President of the United States of America, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the Prime Minister of Canada,~~ at Washington, on November 15th. last.

As hon. members are aware, I visited President Truman at the White House on September 30th ~~which was~~ the day before I sailed from New York to London. At the time of this visit matters related to the atomic bomb were referred to in conversation between the President and myself. I was ~~at that time~~ invited by Mr. Truman to visit him again on my return from abroad. While at Washington I ~~ascertained~~ was glad to learn that the President ~~was also~~ looking forward to a visit in the near future from the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, ~~Mr. Attlee~~. After my arrival in London, I learned from Mr. Attlee that, toward the end of September last, he had made known to the President his view on the vital importance to the world of the discovery of atomic energy, and ~~that its~~ application to warfare made it essential that those in responsible positions in the countries under whose auspices the development had taken place, should consider the problems to which it had given rise, and the implications which the emergence of this weapon had on the endeavours all were making to banish war from the world. In conveying to

D 49651

the President the tentative conclusions at which the British government had arrived, Mr. Attlee had suggested that personal discussion might follow. While I was in London ~~an invitation was~~ received ~~by Mr. Attlee from President~~ Truman to come to Washington to discuss ~~the whole matter~~ with him ~~and the Prime Minister of Canada. While in London I had the advantage of exchanging views with Mr. Attlee.~~

~~As hon. members are aware~~, Mr. Attlee and I arrived in Washington at the same hour on the morning of November 10th, Mr. Attlee ~~having~~ left London by plane on the afternoon of the day ~~before~~, ~~and~~ I ~~having~~ left on Saturday of the previous week to cross by ship. During our stay in Washington Mr. Attlee and myself ~~were most kindly entertained~~ by the President and Mr. Byrnes, Secretary of State, From the day of our arrival ~~we had constant meetings and conversations~~ until the day of the signing of the Declaration ~~and my return to Canada and Mr. Attlee's visit to our capital~~.

D 49352

Headings

Conrad — — Nelson

W. L. M. K.
3.xii.45

Suggested Outline of Speech
on approval of Atomic Bomb Agreement

49653

Speech might begin by a word of explanation of atomic energy,
its nature and possible use for purposes of (a) destruction;
(b) humanitarian, commercial and constructive uses;
a brief account of research in field of atomic energy
making mention of Rutherford of Canada, years ago,
and briefly bringing up to date the discovery of
the fissure of the atom.

do not attempt technical or scientific explanations, just
sufficient for mind of laymen;
note experiments in different countries - in particular
Great Britain, United States and Canada - noting
beginnings of research in Germany.
the effect of the war on trend of research, causing
deliberate effort to construction of bombs.

Outline discussions between Roosevelt and Churchill on the
subject, 1941-2?
approaches to Canada; Canada's experimentation, nature
of object of same;
progress made in U.S. and test in New Mexico;
actual use on Japan - Hiroshima, Nagaski - why chosen,
extent of destruction;

D 49654

Extent of Canada's development in research and her contribution.

How three countries shared research.

Announcement to provincial premiers at Ottawa, Dom.Prov.Conf.

Public slow to appreciatedevelopment.

How three countries came to confer:

Visit of Prime Minister of Canada to Washington;

Interview with President at which mention made of desirability of conference between President, Attlee and self.

Visit to England - communication already sent by Attlee to President; copy given Prime Minister of Canada, later sent other Dominions;

Conference with Attlee - arrangement made for meeting at Washington.

Nature of conference at Washington:

See accounts of interviews with press by President and Secretary Byrnes.

Attlee's statement to British House.

Minister of Justice read agreement to Canadian House.

Outstanding features of agreement -

where the United Nations Organization comes in;

necessity for control where used for destruction;

how far this likely to be effective dependent on co-operation of nations

D 49655

the elimination of the veto absolutely essential ;
complete confidence between nations, co-operation, essential.

This means sharing information in fullest way and permitting knowledge of countries on reciprocal basis.

As to processes, no secret - nature of secret - why not extended to others at this time.

Emphasis upon destructive power of bomb and absolute need for new world order as only security.

Note prophecies by poets - re airforce: Tennyson; Gray, air power; Wordsowrth re atomic energy.

The abolition of national sovereignty and creation of world sovereignty;
Ideal correct but limitations - devlopment of peoples;
doctrine of brotherhood essential;
my own conviction the Christian order.

Might refer to revelations in Germany as illustrating what human nature is capable of doing if government gets into hands of evil forces.

Paragraph from "Industry and Humanity" on angels of light and darkness.

D 49656

Paragraph from Pasteur re conflicting forces.

Stress particularly the danger of relying on United Nations Organization - compare situation with League of Nations;

United Nations Organization came at the right moment as agency to work out methods and machinery -

Stress atomic bomb only one phase of methods of deadly warfare - danger of bacteriological warfare;

Real battle is not getting rid of the bomb, but possibility of getting rid of war itself - down to the basic thing

Humanity has to decide whether it wishes to live or perish members one of another -

Which of these two will come to prevail God alone knows.

Re President Roosevelt's vision in calling San Francisco Conference when he did and the progress that has been made since

The general acceptance with which the agreement has been met,

Note paragraph re self-denying ordinance and reference to years of peace on the Great Lakes

Suggestion of international joint commission between Russia and ourselves.

General, Academic

J. A. G.
7.xii.45

49657

ATOMIC ENERGY

Material for Statement on

1. Development of research
2. Canada's part in atomic bomb development
3. Washington Declaration - main features
4. Proposal made by President Truman, August 6, 1945
5. Peacetime development of atomic energy
6. The war against war itself
7. Statement by Sir Henry Dale (Nov. 30/45)
8. Statement by Mr. Attlee (Nov. 30/45)
9. Two contrary laws (Pasteur, 1888)

W. L. M. K.
3.xii.45

D 49658

Suggested Outline of Speech on approval of Atomic Bomb Agreement

Speech might begin by a word of explanation of atomic energy,
its nature and possible use for purposes of (a) destruction;
(b) humanitarian, commercial and constructive uses;
a brief account of research in field of atomic energy
making mention of Rutherford of Canada, years ago,
and briefly bringing up to date the discovery of
the fissure of the atom.

do not attempt technical or scientific explanations, just
sufficient for mind of laymen;
note experiments in different countries - in particular
Great Britain, United States and Canada - noting
beginnings of research in Germany.
the effect of the war on trend of research, causing
deliberate effort to construction of bombs.

Outline discussions between Roosevelt and Churchill on the
subject, 1941-2?
approaches to Canada; Canada's experimentation, nature
of object of same;
progress made in U.S. and test in New Mexico;
actual use on Japan - Hiroshima, Nagaski - why chosen,
extent of destruction;

D 49659

Extent of Canada's development in research and her contribution.

How three countries shared research.

Announcement to provincial premiers at Ottawa, Dom.Prov.Conf.

Public slow to appreciatedevelopment.

How three countries came to confer:

Visit of Prime Minister of Canada to Washington;

Interview with President at which mention made of desirability of conference between President, Attlee and self.

Visit to England - communication already sent by Attlee to President; copy given Prime Minister of Canada, later sent other Dominions;

Conference with Attlee - arrangement made for meeting at Washington.

Nature of conference at Washington:

See accounts of interviews with press by President and Secretary Byrnes.

Attlee's statement to British House.

Minister of Justice read agreement to Canadian House.

Outstanding features of agreement -

where the United Nations Organization comes in;

necessity for control where used for destruction;

how far this likely to be effective dependent on co-operation of nations

the elimination of the veto absolutely essential ;
complete confidence between nations, co-operation, essential.

This means sharing information in fullest way and permitting knowledge of countries on reciprocal basis.

As to processes, no secret - nature of secret - why not extended to others at this time.

Emphasis upon destructive power of bomb and absolute need for new world order as only security.

Note prophecies by poets - re airforce: Tennyson; Gray, air power; Wordsowrth re atomic energy.

The abolition of national sovereignty and creation of world sovereignty;
Ideal correct but limitations - development of peoples;
doctrine of brotherhood essential;
my own conviction the Christian order.

Might refer to revelations in Germany as illustrating what human nature is capable of doing if government gets into hands of evil forces.

Paragraph from "Industry and Humanity" on angels of light and darkness.

D 49661

Paragraph from Pasteur re conflicting forces.

Stress particularly the danger of relying on United Nations Organization - compare situation with League of Nations;

United Nations Organization came at the right moment as agency to work out methods and machinery -

Stress atomic bomb only one phase of methods of deadly warfare - danger of bacteriological warfare;

Real battle is not getting rid of the bomb, but possibility of getting rid of war itself - down to the basic thing

Humanity has to decide whether it wishes to live or perish members one of another -

Which of these two will come to prevail God alone knows.

Re President Roosevelt's vision in calling San Francisco Conference when he did and the progress that has been made since

The general acceptance with which the agreement has been met.

Note paragraph re self-denying ordinance and reference to years of peace on the Great Lakes

Suggestion of international joint commission between Russia and ourselves.

D 49662

The Real Problem

The War We Must Choose

Stress atomic bomb only one phase of methods of deadly warfare -
danger of bacteriological warfare;

Real battle is not getting rid of the bomb, but possibility of
getting rid of war itself - down to the basic thing
Humanity has to decide whether it wishes to live or perish
members one of another -

D 49663

Which of these two will come to prevail God alone knows.

The war against war itself

D 49664

If we are thinking in terms of war and the recurrence of war, the danger is not from the atomic bomb alone. The war against war itself must go on. So long as there is economic insecurity, physical misery, inadequate production or faulty distribution of the necessities of life, there will be, somewhere in some shape the mentality that thinks of war. So long as there remains unsettled grievances, displaced or dispossessed persons, so long will there be causes of dispute which will require unusual skill and patience to compose. Our knowledge of atomic energy, in short, must be part of a larger concern of the whole company of freedom-loving nations. That knowledge must be used, not to arouse, suspicion and hostility, but to foster confidence and mutual understanding.

We have it in our power to establish the conditions in which enduring peace will be possible, will be a reality. At this moment, when the echoes of victory for the United Nations have scarcely passed away, we owe it to all who have served in battle or have worked at home, and especially to those upon whom the burden of sacrifice has fallen most heavily, to see that we do not hazard our gains for selfish ends. We owe it to them not to allow the conditions to repeat themselves in which war becomes the sinister mechanism of policy in which naked and unrestrained force appears as the only arbiter. There is a better way. That way we must find, and, having found it, cherish it with all the noble impulses and reasoned justment we possess.

D 49665

Documents used in preparation of Hon
Brendan Bracken's statement re - research re
Sir Wm Anderson's statement - re removal of Mr
Nov — Dec
1945

W.L.M.K.
14.xii.45

D 49666

In asking the House to support the motion which is now before us, approving the Washington Declaration on Atomic Energy, I cannot do better than summarize essential features of the declaration itself, indicating in so doing certain governing considerations which were constantly in the minds of all who participated in the conference.

There was first of all the recognition that the full significance of the release of atomic energy had not yet come to be fully comprehended; that few if any had yet been able to evaluate the true impact of the discovery upon the future of the world. It was recognized that it had placed at the disposal of mankind means of destruction hitherto unknown, and against which there could be no adequate military defence, and in the employment of which no single nation could in fact have a monopoly. In a word, it was conceded that the civilized world could not survive an atomic war; that this was the challenge which the discovery of the release of atomic energy had made to our generation. It was also recognized that it was impossible to isolate the problem of the atomic bomb from that of the use of other weapons of destruction. The atom bomb was seen as the latest word in destructiveness, but it may not be the last.

D 49667

It was not, therefore, only the elimination of the atom bomb as a weapon of war that was considered, but also the kind of world order which is necessary in an atomic age, if civilization is to survive.

What it was sought at Washington to do was to take the first step in an effort to rescue the world from a desperate armament race. It was clearly recognized that the responsibility for devising means to ensure that the new discovery should be used for the benefit of mankind, instead of as a means of destruction, rested not on our nations alone but on the whole civilized world. We were prepared to concede that the progress the three countries had made in the development and use of atomic energy demanded that they take the initiative in an international effort to prevent the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and to promote the use of recent and future exchanges of scientific knowledge, particularly in the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful and humanitarian ends.

It was recognized that no system of safeguards that could be devised would of itself provide an effective guarantee against production of atomic weapons by a nation bent on aggression. Nor could there be the possibility

of the development of other weapons, or of new methods of warfare which may constitute as great a threat to civilization as the military use of atomic energy. Representing as we did the three countries which possess the knowledge essential to the use of atomic energy, we declared at the outset our willingness as a first contribution to proceed with the exchange of fundamental scientific information and the interchange of scientists and scientific literature for peaceful ends with any nation that would fully reciprocate. We stated our belief that fruits of scientific research should be made available to all nations and that freedom of investigation and free interchange of ideas were essential to the progress of knowledge. In pursuance of this policy the basic scientific process essential to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes has already been made available to the world. We declared that all further information of this character that might become available from time to time should be similarly treated.

As I have already explained, the military exploitation of atomic energy depends in large part upon the same methods and processes as would be required for industrial uses. We were not convinced that the spread of

the specialised information regarding the practical application of atomic energy before it was possible to devise reciprocal and enforceable safeguards acceptable to all nations would contribute to a constructive solution of the problem of the atomic bomb. On the contrary we thought it might have the opposite effect. We stated, however, our readiness to share, on a reciprocal basis, with others of the United Nations, detailed information concerning the practical industrial application of atomic energy, just as soon as effective and enforceable safeguards aginst its use for destructive purposes could be devised.

In order to attain the most effective means of entirely eli inating the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes and promoting its widest use for industrial and humanitarian uses, we gave it as our opinion that at the earliest practicable date a Commission should be set up under the United Nations Organization, to prepare recommendations for submission to the Organization. We expressed the view that the Commission should be instructed to proceed with the utmost despatch and that in particular it should make specific proposals for extending, between all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends, for the control of atomic energy to

D 49670

the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes; for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction and for effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means, to protect states against the hazards of violation and evasions. It was felt that to maintain the rule of law among nations, and to banish the scourge of war from the earth....

Under the charter of the United Nations we have pledged ourselves not to use force except in support of the purposes and principles of the charter. At Washington we expressed the view that whole-hearted support of the United Nations Organization, and by consolidating and extending its authority thus creating conditions of mutual trust in which all peoples will be free to devote themselves to the arts of peace, would be found the best available means of maintaining the rule of law among nations and banish the scourge of war from the earth. We declared our firm resolve to work without reservation to achieve thise ends. There can be nothing truer than that without united effort and unremitting co-operation of all the nations of the world there will be no enduring and effective protection against the atomic bomb. There can be no protection against

new fields of poison gas, no protection against bacteriological warfare which is an even more frightful method of human destruction. But, as I have said, it is not enough to banish atomic or bacteriological warfare, we must banish war itself.

W.L.M.K.
14.XII.45 D 49672

The problems presented by the development of atomic energy are primarily political problems affecting the relations between men and governments. The solutions we must seek, therefore, are political solutions. For this reason, I believe, it is an error to contemplate the control of the use of atomic energy in commodity and police terms as if it were a new and dangerous drug. Technical scientific controls of production, processing and final dispossition are indispensable but obviously inadequate. It would, I believe, be criminal folly to allow ourselves to believe that peace and security of mankind can be had by some kind of commodity control scheme.

The more deeply one ponders the problems with which our world is confronted in the light - "the terrible light", as Mr. Attlee said, of the implications of the development of atomic energy, the harder it is to see their solution in anything short of an effective world government.

D 49673

When immediately following the first Great War, I published a study in the principles underlying industrial reconstruction under the title of "Industry and Humanity", I sought to stress the fact that it was impossible to separate industrial and international unrest; that the problems of industry and the problems of nationality were alike in that they were essentially human problems but also in fact that they were rapidly becoming world problems and could find their solution ultimately only in some form of world control.

D 49674

The Role of the United Nations Organization

Here and now, we must, all of us, address ourselves to the task of helping to shape and invent appropriate institutions and means which will enable mankind to insure, if not its salvation, at least its survival. These problems of ends and means are the gravest questions confronting the world today.

The United Nations Organization is now, as it stands, the answer to the problem of peace and security which the world is seeking. But it is the indispensable medium and channel and forum through which the peoples of the world can work out new institutions and arrangement which their peace and security requires.

If we are agreed on the ultimate necessity of a world state, we must by every means in our power support and strengthen every agency of international co-operation and understanding which can help to make the world community a reality and prepare the peoples of the world ~~for~~ to help to make the world community a reality.

W.L.M.K. D 49675
14.XII.45

The problems presented by the development of atomic energy are primarily political problems affecting the relations between men and governments. The solutions we must seek, therefore, are political solutions. For this reason, I believe, it is an error to contemplate the control of the use of atomic energy in commodity and police terms as if it were a new and dangerous drug. Technical scientific controls of production, processing and final dispossition are indispensable but obviously inadequate. It would, I believe, be criminal folly to allow ourselves to believe that peace and security of mankind can be had by some kind of commodity control scheme.

The more deeply one ponders the problems with which our world is confronted in the light - "the terrible light", as Mr. Attlee said, of the implications of the development of atomic energy, the harder it is to see their solution in anything short of an effective world government.

When immediately following the first Great War, I published a study in the principles underlying industrial reconstruction under the title of "Industry and Humanity", I sought to stress the fact that it was impossible to separate industrial and international unrest; that the problems of industry and the problems of nationality were alike in that they were essentially human problems but also in fact that they were rapidly becoming world problems and could find their solution ultimately only in some form of world control.

The Role of the United Nations Organization

Here and now, we must, all of us, address ourselves to the task of helping to shape and invent appropriate institutions and means which will enable mankind to insure, if not its salvation, at least its survival. These problems of ends and means are the gravest questions confronting the world today.

The United Nations Organization is now, as it stands, the answer to the problem of peace and security which the world is seeking. But it is the indispensable medium and channel and forum through which the peoples of the world can work out new institutions and arrangement which their peace and security requires.

If we are agreed on the ultimate necessity of a world state, we must by every means in our power support and strengthen every agency of international co-operation and understanding which can help to make the world community a reality and prepare the peoples of the world ~~for~~ to help to make the world community a reality.

research into atomic energy should be carried on in Canada as ajoint enterprise. The special Montreal Laboratory of the National Research Council was therefore organized and staffed by over 300 workers. It was by far the largest organization ever created in Canada to carry out a single research project. Other research projects were undertaken at McMaster, Toronto and McGill Universities and at the National Research Laboratories in Ottawa.

By the summer of 1942, the expanded programme of research seemed to justify a decision to proceed with the construction of large-scale production plants in America. The Americans alone were active in large scale work.

At Quebec, in September 1943, an agreement was signed between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, which bound their two countries to collaborate with the object of producing, as quickly as possible, a military weapon for use in the war. Under this agreement a combined policy committee was set up. Upon the invitation of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, in which I had concurred, Mr. Howe, the Minister of Munitions and Supply, was made a member of the committee as the representative of Canada.

Up to the present, uranium is the mineral that has been used as basic material for the atomic bomb process. Thorium is a probable second basic material for that purpose, although it is not as yet a proven material. The largest proved deposit of uranium ore is in the Belgian Congo and the next largest is in Canada. As soon as the significant use of uranium in the atomic bomb process was disclosed to Mr. Howe and myself, we secured the approval of the Cabinet to the purchase of the Eldorado Uranium properties in the Great Bear Lake area, and reserved for the government control of all such minerals as might be discovered in Canada in the future. This was a strategic factor of high importance since this second largest known source of raw material thereby became accessible to the large manufacturing plants already built in the United States.

The work of the several research projects has been closely co-ordinated with the development of a pilot plant at Chalk River for the investigation of atomic energy progesses. This work is of considerable importance. It includes the study of the utilization of thorium as a starting point for the production of "active" material. This pilot plant is unique in character, and is suitable for a field of research that has not been explored elsewhere.

Revised

D 49680

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It is worthy of notice that the determination to embark on large-scale undertakings for production of atomic bombs - which were established at several points in the United States - was agreed while some details of the project were still in the laboratory stage. The outcome was the most impressive demonstration of the collaboration of scientific skill and technical capacity conducted under conditions of the highest secrecy.

This aspect of the production of the atomic bomb was referred to by Mr. Churchillin the following words:

Rec'd 49681

3. The Two Uses.

What was aimed at in the combined efforts of the scientists was the development of methods for the release of atomic energy either to produce an explosion or as a source of power. The immediate purpose of the construction of large-scale production plants, and the work of the combined Policy Committee was the use of atomic energy for military purposes. It is now known that the release of atomic energy can be effected so rapidly that a few pounds of "active material" will produce an explosion equivalent to that of the setting off of several thousands of tons of TNT. On the other hand, the energy released can, it is believed, be so controlled as to produce a steady flow of heat obtainable at a temperature high enough to operate steamdriven electrical generating plants. One ton of "active material" used in this way would generate as much power as about three million tons of coal.

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Revised

49684

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49684

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REPEAT
REPETITION

Revised

D 49685

3. The Two Uses.

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D 49686

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By the summer of 1942, the expanded programme of research seemed to justify a decision to proceed with the construction of large-scale production plants in America. The Americans alone were active in large scale work.

Up to the present, there are two materials known to be suitable for use in the atomic bomb process - uranium and thorium. The largest proved deposit of uranium ore is in the Belgian Congo and the next largest is in Canada. As soon as the significant use of uranium in the atomic bomb process was disclosed to Mr. Howe and myself, we secured the approval of the Cabinet to the purchase of the Canadian mine and reserved for the government all future discoveries of such minerals in Canada. This was a strategic factor of high importance since this second largest known source of raw material thereby became accessible to the large manufacturing plants already built in the United States.

D 49687

The work of the several research projects has been closely co-ordinated with the development of a pilot plant for the investigation of atomic energy processes at Chalk River. This work is of considerable importance. It includes the study of the utilization of thorium as a starting point for the production of "active material". This pilot plant is ~~The National Research Coucil will direct further researches in this plant on the application of atomic energy in war and in industry~~, and in the use of its products, for ~~example, in medical treatment.~~ Canadian in character, and is suitable for a field of research that has not been explored elsewhere.

D 49688

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At Quebec, in September 1943, an agreement was signed between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, which bound their two countries to collaborate with the object of producing, as quickly as possible, a military weapon for use in the war. Under this agreement a combined policy committee was set up. Upon the invitation of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, in which I had concurred, Mr. Howe, the Minister of Munitions and Supply was made a member of the committee as the representative of Canada.

It is worthy of notice that the determination to embark on large-scale undertakings for production of atomic bombs - which were established at several points in the United States - was agreed while some details of the project were still in the laboratory stage. The outcome was the most impressive demonstration of the collaboration of scientific skill and technical capacity conducted under conditions of the highest secrecy. This aspect of the production of the atomic bomb ~~has been~~ was referred to by Mr. Churchill in the following words:

D 49689

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What was aimed at in the combined efforts of the scientists ~~and~~ the construction of large-scale production plants, and ~~in~~ the work of the combined Policy Committee was the ~~development of methods for the release of atomic energy~~ either to produce an explosion or as a source of power. It is now known that ~~this~~ release can be effected so rapidly that a few pounds of "active material" will produce an explosion equivalent to that of the setting off of several thousands of tons of TNT. On the other hand, the energy released can, it is believed, be so controlled as to produce a steady flow of heat obtainable at a temperature high enough to operate steamdriven electrical generating plants. One ton of "active material" used in this way would generate as much power as about three million tons of coal.

Note prophecies by poets - re airforce: Tennyson; Gray, air power;
Wordsowrth re atomic energy.

D 49690

The abolition of national sovereignty and creation of world sovereignty;

Ideal correct but limitations - devlopment of peoples;
doctrine of brotherhood essential;
my own conviction the Christian order.

Might refer to revelations in Germany as illustrating what human nature is capable of doing if government gets into hands of evil forces.

Paragraph from "Industry and Humanity" on angels of light and darkness.

Not to be delivered until
First Revise
W.I.M.K.
13.xii.45

Washington Declaration on Atomic Energy

Statement by Rt Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King. (with Canada)

House of Commons
December 17, 1945

1. Introduction - ~~Resolution~~

I.

D 49691

The House of Commons is being asked by the motion now before it to approve the Agreed Declaration on Atomic Energy which was signed at the White House, Washington, on the 15th of November of this year, by the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the Prime Minister of Canada.

The statement which embodies the declaration was read to hon. members of this House by my colleague, the Minister of Justice, on the afternoon of the day on which the declaration was made, ~~at Washington. The text of the Declaration will be found at page 2138 of the unrevised Hansard of November 15th.~~ Copies of the Declaration in English and in French, ~~in pamphlet form,~~ in pamphlet form were tabled ~~by myself~~ on December 1st. The Declaration has received ~~been given~~ the widest publicity. I think it may be truly said that ~~the Declaration~~ it has met with general approval.

As the Declaration is one of far-reaching significance and historic interest, it is desirable that it should be formally approved by both Houses of our Parliament. ~~Such approval~~, such approval would apart from its positive advantages, ~~should~~ serve effectively to ~~remove~~ prevent the criticism, to which expression has

D 49692

~~already~~ been given editorially ~~by at least~~ one newspaper that the Prime Minister of Canada "either assumed that Parliament and the Canadian people had no views on the atomic bomb question or that their views didn't matter; that it was ~~neither~~ within his sole right ~~and~~ and power to determine what should be done".

~~Recent~~ Research into Atomic Energy:

~~2. History of Research - Canada's Part~~.

No discovery, in all time, has equalled in interest that of the release of atomic energy. No discovery has been fraught with possibilities ~~so baneful~~ that may prove to be either so baneful or so beneficial to mankind. It may serve as a helpful introduction to an understanding of the problems which the discovery of atomic energy has created, if I say a word or two concerning the discovery itself, and the circumstances which led to the part the release of atomic energy came to ~~play~~ have in military warfare. These introductory words may also help to explain (and some idea of Canada's contribution to the atomic research and progress, and to the strategic position which Canada, along with the United Kingdom and the United States, has come to hold in working towards a solution of problems ~~arising out of the use of atomic energy~~ to which the use of atomic energy has given rise.

All the world now knows that the sudden termination of the war against Japan was due to the appalling destruction of life and property wrought, in August of the present year,

by the use of the atomic bomb against the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Until recently the world believed that the atom was the ultimate indivisible particle of matter; a particle of matter so minute as to admit of no division. When the war began in 1939, scientists of many nations had come to recognize that the release of energy by the "splitting" of the atom, or what is scientifically referred to as "atomic fission" was a possibility. The war gave impetus to research into the means of releasing atomic energy and later the production of atomic bombs.

At the outset, research was carried on mainly in the universities of the United Kingdom. During 1940, there was an interchange of information on war research between Britain, the United States and Canada. By the summer of 1941 such progress had been made in research in the application of atomic energy that it was felt that full use should be made of university and industrial laboratories in seeking to find, just as rapidly as possible, the means of producing atomic bombs. In October of 1941, upon the suggestion of President Roosevelt, there began a co-ordination and joint conduct of British and American efforts. In 1942 the United Kingdom authorities proposed that an important section of

research into atomic energy should be carried on in Canada as a joint enterprise. The special Montreal Laboratory of the National Research Council was ~~therefore~~ after organized, and staffed by over 300 workers. It was by far the largest organization ever created in Canada to carry out a single research project. Other research projects were undertaken at McMaster, Toronto and McGill Universities and at the National Research Laboratories in Ottawa.

developments in the United States and Canada

By the summer of 1942, the expanded programme of research seemed to justify a decision to proceed with the construction of large-scale production plants in ~~America~~ the United States. The Americans alone were active in large scale work.

At Quebec, in September 1943, an agreement was signed between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, which bound their two countries to collaborate with the object of producing, as quickly as possible, a military weapon for use in the war. Under this agreement a combined policy committee was set up. Upon the invitation of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, in which I had concurred, Mr. Howe, the Minister of Munitions and Supply, was made a member of the combined policy committee as the representative of Canada.

Up to the present, uranium is the mineral that has been used as basic material for the atomic bomb process. Thorium is a probable second basic material for that purpose, although it is not as yet a proven material. The largest proved deposit of uranium ore is in the Belgian Congo, and the next largest is in Canada. As soon as the significant use of uranium in the atomic bomb process was disclosed to Mr. Howe and myself, we secured the approval of the Cabinet to the purchase of the Eldorado Uranium properties in the Great Bear Lake area, and reserved for the government control of all such minerals as might be discovered in Canada in the future. This was a strategic factor of high importance since this second largest known source of raw material thereby became accessible to the large manufacturing plants already built in the United States.

The work of the several research projects has been closely co-ordinated with the development of a pilot plant at Chalk River for the investigation of atomic energy progesses. This work is of considerable importance. It includes the study of the utilization of thorium as a starting point for the production of "active" material". This pilot plant is unique in character, and is suitable for a field of research that has not been explored elsewhere.

(5)

three governments in partnership

~~5~~ ~~partnership by three governments~~ D 49696

Here may I quote from a statement prepared by Mr. Churchill while he was at the head of the Coalition Government. It was made public by ~~Mr. Attlee~~ his successor Mr. Attlee after ~~his~~ assumption of office.

Mr. Churchill's statement is as follows:

"In the United States the erection of the immense plants was placed under the responsibility of Mr. Stimson, United States Secretary of War, and the American Army Administration whose wonderful work and marvellous secrecy cannot be sufficiently admired. The main practical effort and virtually the whole of its prodigious cost now fell upon the United States authorities who were assisted by a number of British scientists.

"The relationship of the British and the American contributions was regulated by discussion between me and President Roosevelt, and a Combined Policy Committee was set up. The Canadian Government whose contribution was most valuable provided both indispensable raw material for the project as a whole, and also necessary facilities for the work of one section of the project which has been carried out in Canada by the three Governments in partnership."

Elsewhere in his statement Mr. Churchill said:

"By God's mercy, British and American science outpaced all German efforts. These were on a considerable

D 49697

scale but far behind. The possession of these powers by the Germans, at any time, might have altered the result of the war."

It is worthy of notice that the determination to embark on large-scale undertakings for production of atomic bombs ~~- which were established at several points in the United States -~~ was agreed upon, while some details of the project were still in the laboratory stage. The outcome was the most impressive demonstration of the collaboration of scientific skill and technical capacity conducted under conditions of the highest secrecy.

This aspect of the production of the atomic bomb was referred to by Mr. Churchill in the following words:

D 49698

"The whole burden of execution including the setting up of the plants and many technical processes connected therewith in the practical sphere constitutes one of the greatest triumphs of American - or indeed human - genius of which there is record. Moreover, the decision to make these enormous expenditures upon a project which however hopefully established by American and British research remained nevertheless an awful uncertainty stands to the everlasting honour of President Roosevelt and his advisers."

On the same subject, President Truman said:

"We have spent two billion dollars on the greatest scientific gamble in history, and won."

D 49699

The Two Uses.

What was aimed at in the combined efforts of the scientists was the development of methods for the release of atomic energy, either to produce an explosion, or as a source of power. The immediate purpose of the construction of large-scale production plants, and the work of the combined Policy Committee was the use of atomic energy for military purposes. It is now known that the release of atomic energy can be effected so rapidly that a few pounds of "active material" will produce an explosion equivalent to that of the setting off of several thousands of tons of TNT. On the other hand, the energy released can, it is believed, be so controlled as to produce a steady flow of heat obtainable at a temperature high enough to operate steamdriven electrical generating plants. One ton of "active material" used in this way would generate as much power as about three million tons of coal.

D 49700

In a passage which will carry its appeal to every human heart, Mr. Churchill has vividly expressed the sentiments to which these amazing facts give rise:

"This revelation of the secrets of nature long mercifully withheld from man should," he said, "arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every being capable of comprehension. We must indeed pray that these awful agencies will be made to conduce to peace among the nations and that, instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe, they may become a perennial fountain of world prosperity."

This is the problem presented by the discovery of the release of atomic energy. This is the challenge to our day and generation.

D 49701

Sharing of Information

Up to a certain point the processes for releasing atomic energy are the same whether the purpose is an industrial, commercial or humanitarian use, or whether it is that of mass destruction. Up to this point of departure the processes are already quite widely known. The scientific knowledge upon which these processes are based has been shared by a number of nations.

Beyond this point of common development, the construction of atomic bombs ~~as such is in the nature of~~ consists of a series of highly technical manufacturing processes which are still very secret. ~~This~~ knowledge of these critical manufacturing processes popularly referred to as the "know-how." It is this ~~series of highly technical manufacturing processes~~, which is possessed in whole or in part by Britain, the United States, and Canada, and which has not been made known, to other nations.

The reason for not imparting, without certain guarantees and controls, the "know how" in the production of atomic bombs, to other nations, is because of the potentialities of vast destruction involved.

It should not be supposed that the control of the raw materials presently enjoyed by Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States will ~~prevent~~ prevent, for any length of time, developments in other countries. Neither should it be imagined that the processes in manufacturing atomic bombs -

D 49702

now secret - will prevent, indefinitely, similar ~~or alternative~~ developments in other countries. Even with international measures of supervision and control it will be but a matter of time before all processes are known to practically all nations. Hence the need for immediate action to seek every available means to end all possibility of war itself.

~~8~~ 12

D 49703

~~WASHINGTON CONFERENCE~~

Preliminary discussions on atomic Energy

I come now to the Declaration on Atomic Energy signed at Washington, on November 15th last.

As hon. members are aware, I visited President Truman at the White House on September 30th, the day before I sailed from New York for England. During this visit, matters related to the atomic bomb were referred to in conversation between the President and myself. Mr. Truman invited me to visit him again on my return from abroad. He also told me that he was looking forward to a visit from Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

Upon arrival in London, I learned from Mr. Attlee that, toward the end of September last, he had made known to the President his view on the vital importance to the world of the discovery of atomic energy. He had expressed the opinion that the application of atomic energy to warfare made it essential that those in responsible positions in the countries under whose auspices the development had taken place, should consider the problems to which it had given rise. In conveying to the President the tentative conclusions at which the British government had arrived, Mr. Attlee had suggested that personal discussion might follow. While I was in London, communications were received from President Truman inviting Mr. Attlee and myself to come to Washington to discuss with him the problems related to atomic energy.

visit from mid-Oct

at an early date or could might be arranged convenient

~~a bonfire on October 3~~ and In his ~~War~~ Day Speech on United States foreign policy on October 27 President Truman referring to ~~the~~ memorandum ~~sent~~ dated ~~to~~ discussions of the atomic bomb with Great Britain and Canada, and later with other nations could not await upon the formal organization of the United Nations.

D 49704

~~President Truman~~

On October 3, in a message to Congress, President Truman said: "I therefore propose to initiate discussions, first with our associates in this discovery, Great Britain and Canada, and then with other nations, in an effort to effect agreement on the conditions under which cooperation might replace rivalry in the field of atomic power"

-42

The ~~Washington~~ Conference at Washington

Mr. Attlee and I arrived in Washington ~~at the same hour~~ on the morning of Saturday, November 10th. Mr. Attlee had left London by plane on the afternoon of the previous day. I had left London on Saturday of the previous week to cross by ship. We arrived in Washington at the same hour. During our stay in Washington, every courtesy was extended to Mr. Attlee and myself by the President and the Secretary of State, Mr. Byrnes. From the ~~day~~ hour of our arrival to the ~~hour~~ ~~day~~ day of the signing of the Declaration, ~~we had constant~~ meetings and conversations were held continuously.

In our consideration of the problems discussed, the President and Mr. Byrnes had the assistance of Dr. Vannevar Bush, Director of the office of Scientific Research and Development, and scientific adviser to the President's Committee on Atomic Energy. Prime Minister Attlee was accompanied by Sir John Anderson, Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Atomic Energy in the United Kingdom. Sir John Anderson is perhaps the best informed of anyone in the United Kingdom on the whole subject, and on the circumstances attending the work with the Americans and ourselves in the researches on atomic energy. Mr. Attlee was also assisted by Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador. I was joined in Washington by Mr. Howe, the Canadian Member of the Combined Policy Committee, and Dr. C. J. Mackenzie, President of our

National Research Council. I was also assisted, while in Washington, by the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. L. B. Pearson; by Mr. Norman Robertson, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who had accompanied me to England, and by Mr. Hume Wrong, Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who joined Mr. Robertson and myself on our arrival in Washington.

I should like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance given me by all these gentlemen and by members of ~~the~~ our Embassy staff in Washington.

15

agreed

The Declaration

D 49707

In asking ~~the House~~ hon members to support the motion which is now before ~~it~~ the House, approving the Washington Declaration on Atomic Energy, I feel I cannot do better than to set forth essential features of the declaration itself and, In so doing, ~~I shall~~ indicate governing considerations which were constantly in the minds of all who participated in the ~~conference.~~ discussions.

There was recognition at the outset that the vast significance of the discovery of the release of atomic energy ~~had not~~ was not yet ~~begun to be~~ fully comprehended; that very few realized the far-reaching effect of the discovery upon the future of the world. It was agreed that the discovery had placed at the disposal of mankind means of destruction hitherto unknown, and against which there could be no adequate military defence, and in the employment of which no single nation could, in fact, have a monopoly. In a word, it was ~~conceded~~ agreed that civilization could not survive an atomic war, ~~that this was the challenge which the discovery of the release of atomic energy had made to our generation~~. It was also recognized that it was impossible to isolate the problem of the atomic bomb from the problem of the use of other weapons of destruction. The atomic bomb was seen as the latest word in destructiveness, but not necessarily the last.

The truth is that no system of safeguards that can be devised will of itself provide an effective guarantee against production of atomic weapons by a nation bent on aggression. Nor can we overlook the ~~possibility~~ liability of the development of other major weapons of mass destruction, or of new methods of warfare which may constitute ~~as great~~ an even greater a threat to civilization ~~as~~ than the military use of atomic energy. At Washington, we were therefore called upon to consider not ~~only~~ merely the elimination of the atomic bomb as a weapon of war, but also the kind of world order which is necessary in an atomic age, if civilization is to survive.

In our deliberations we ~~sought~~ more seeking to take the first step in an effort to rescue the world from a desperate race in weapons of mass destruction. We were prepared to concede that the progress our three countries had made in the development and use of atomic energy demanded that ~~we~~ the three countries take the initiative in an international effort to prevent the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, ~~and~~ to promote the use of recent and future exchanges of scientific knowledge, particularly in the utilization of atomic energy for pe ceful and humanitarian ends. At the same time we sought to make very clear that the responsibility for devising means to ensure that the new discovery should be used for the benefit

further

he felt an equal obligation on the part of our countries

of mankind, instead of as a means of destruction, rested not on our nations alone but on the whole civilized world.

The Exchange of Scientific Information

Representing, as we did, the three countries which possess the knowledge essential to the use of atomic energy, we declared our willingness, as a first contribution, to proceed with the exchange of fundamental scientific information, and with the interchange of scientists, and scientific literature for peaceful ends, with any nation that would fully reciprocate. We stated our belief that the fruits of scientific research should be made available to all nations, and that freedom of investigation and the free interchange of ideas were essential to the progress of knowledge. The basic scientific processes essential to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes have already been made available to the world. We declared that all further information of this character that might become available from time to time should be similarly treated.

As I have already explained, the use of atomic energy for industrial, commercial and humanitarian purposes is dependent up to a certain point upon the same methods and processes as ~~would be~~ required for the military exploitation of atomic energy. We were not convinced that the spread of the specialized information regarding the practical applica-

tion of atomic energy in the manufacture of bombs, before it was possible to devise reciprocal and enforeable safeguards acceptable to all nations, would contribute to a constructive solution of the problem of the atomic bomb. On the contrary, we thought it might have the opposite effect. However, we stated our readiness to share, on a reciprocal basis, with others of the United Nations, detailed information concerning the practical industrial application of atomic energy, just as soon as effective and enforceable safeguards against its use for destructive purposes could be devised.

In order to attain the most effective available means of entirely eliminating the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and for promoting its widest use for industrial, commercial and humanitarian purposes, we gave it as our opinion that at the earliest practicable date a Commission should be set up under the United Nations Organization, to prepare recommendations for submission to the Organization. We expressed the view that the Commission should be instructed to proceed with the utmost despatch; and that, in particular, it should make specific proposals (a) for extending, between all nations, the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends; (b) for the control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes;

D 49711

Atomic energy and the arts of peace

The attention which has so far been directed to the strictly war aspects of atomic energy - that is, to the atomic bomb - should not be allowed to obscure the immense possibilities of development of atomic energy for the arts of peace. The atomic bomb is a weapon of destruction unsurpassed in human experience. But the energy locked up inside the atom, controlled and directed to useful and constructive ends, may make it possible to provide goods and services for people throughout the world on a scale which we cannot now ~~comprehend~~ envisage. It may be the means of raising the standard of living; of providing physical comfort against hazards of weather and extremes of heat and cold. It may revolutionize some present-day means of transport and communication, making all countries of the world near neighbours in a more immediate sense than even ~~the rise~~ has been made possible by the development of air transport ~~has made possible.~~

D 49712

(c)for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction; and (d) for effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means, to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions.

Under the Charter of the United Nations the signatory powers have pledged themselves not to use force except in support of the purposes and principles of the Charter. At Washington, we expressed the view that by whole-hearted support of the United Nations Organization, and by consolidating and extending its authority, thereby creating conditions of mutual trust in which all peoples will be free to devote themselves to the arts of peace, there would be found the most immediately ~~best~~ available means of maintaining the rule of law among nations and of banishing the scourge of war from the earth. We declared it to be the firm resolve of our three countries to work without reservation to achieve these ends.

Nothing can be truer than that without unremitting co-operation and the united effort of nations there will be no enduring and effective protection against the atomic bomb. Nor without this co-operation and united effort can there be protection against the ~~use of~~ the latest refinements in ~~poison~~ gas, no protection against bacteriological warfare, all of which are even more frightful methods of human destruction than the atomic bomb. To ensure civilization from ~~total~~ destruction it is not enough to banish atomic or gas or bacteriological warfare, we must banish war itself.

It is intended that the proposals of the Washington Declaration for the establishment ~~by the United Nations Organization~~ of a Commission to prepare recommendations on the means of dealing with the problems raised by the development of atomic energy should be submitted to the first General Assembly of the United Nations, ~~which~~, It is expected, will open its session in London on January 10. ~~I can say no more at present~~ On the exact procedure ~~which will~~ be followed in bringing up this vital matter for consideration by the United Nations Organization, The Secretary of State of the United States announced before leaving Washington on Thursday last, December 13, to take part in the meeting in Moscow of the foreign ministers of the United States, United Kingdom and Soviet Union that he wished to discuss with the Soviet Government its views on how they would be prepared to co-operate in the establishment of the Commission and ~~its~~ on the procedure which should be followed. We are in constant consultation on these questions with the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom, ~~which are~~ the other parties to the Washington Declaration on Atomic energy.

While I do not wish at the moment to look too far into the future ~~with respect~~ to proceedings of the United Nations Organization, I am pleased to have this opportunity to speak of the past in reference to the creation of the Organization itself. I recall very well that while the war against Germany and Japan was still in progress, there were many who felt that President Roosevelt was unduly pressing forward the establishment of the

D 49714

United Nations Organization. Echos of this criticism were heard at San Francisco last spring at the time of the United Nations' Conference ~~of the representatives of the United Nations last spring~~ on International Organization. It was not until after the Conference ~~itself~~ was over, and the Charter of the United Nations Organization had been brought into existence that the world learned of the discovery of the release of atomic energy and its practical application against ~~Hiroshima and Nagasaki~~ Japan & the use of atomic bombs as a major weapon of military warfare, which presents, in an instant, to all nations ~~of the world~~ wholly new problems in ~~world~~ security and the maintenance of peace.

~~Once more~~ President Roosevelt's prophetic vision had once ~~served to~~ come to the aid of humanity at a time of its greatest need. Had President Roosevelt waited until the war was over ~~for bringing into being~~ to bring the Charter ~~of the UNO~~, ~~instead of having that~~ Organization at hand today to assist in the solution of the problems which the atomic bomb has brought to the fore, the countries seeking a solution of its problems would have been more bewildered and baffled than ~~ever~~ they are. The world is but slowly recognizing what it owes to the late President.

If I have made myself clear with respect to the problems of the atomic era with which we are now faced, it will be seen that the problems presented by atomic energy are primarily political problems affecting the relations between men and governments. The solutions we must seek therefore are political solutions. For this reason I believe it is an error to contemplate the control of the use of atomic energy in commodity and

police terms as if it were a new and dangerous drug. Technical scientific controls of production, processing and final disposition are indispensable, but they are obviously inadequate. It would, I believe, be criminal folly to allow ourselves to imagine that the peace and security of mankind can be ~~had~~ attained by some kind of commodity control scheme.

The more deeply one ponders the problems with which our world is confronted in the light - "the terrible light" as Mr. Attlee said,- of the implications of the development of atomic energy, the harder it is to see their solution in anything ~~short~~ short- of an effective world government ~~with authority~~ relation to the enforcement of international security.

The United Nations Organization is not, ~~as it stands, or even as it may become,~~ the answer to the problems of peace and security which the world is seeking. It is, however, an indispensable medium and channel and forum through which the peoples of the world can work out new institutions and arrangements which their peace and security requires.

If we are agreed on the ultimate necessity of a world ~~government in relation to maintain world security state,~~ we must by every means in our power support and strengthen every agency of international co-operation and understanding which can help to make the world community a reality, and prepare the peoples of the world for ~~that~~ life together under the rule law which seems to be our only hope. We are all members one of another and no nation liveth to itself alone.

These problems of ends and means are the greatest question confronting the world today. Here and now, we must,

D 49716

(12) 3

all of us, address ourselves to the task of helping to invent and shape appropriate institutions and means which will enable mankind to ensure, if not its salvation, at least its survival.

D 49717

If I have made myself clear with respect to the problems of the atomic era with which we are now faced, it will be apparent that the problems presented by atomic energy are primarily political problems affecting the relations between men and governments. As such their ultimate solution will be found only in the realm of philosophy and morals. There is no mechanistic solution. By themselves, devices for the control of atomic energy are, at best, but temporary expedients. For this reason, I believe it is an error to contemplate the control of the use of atomic energy in commodity and police terms as if it were some new and dangerous drug. Technical scientific controls of production, processing and final disposition are indispensable, but they are obviously inadequate. It would, I believe, be criminal folly to allow ourselves to imagine that the peace and security of mankind can be attained by any scheme of commodity control.

If I have made myself clear with respect to the problems of the atomic era with which we are now faced, it will be apparent that the problems presented by atomic energy are primarily political problems affecting the relations between men and governments. As such their ultimate solution will be found only in the realm of philosophy and morals. There is no mechanistic solution. By themselves, devices for the control of atomic energy are, at best, but temporary expedients. For this reason, I believe it is an error to contemplate the control of the use of atomic energy in commodity and police terms as if it were some new and dangerous drug. Technical scientific controls of production, processing and final disposition are indispensable, but they are obviously inadequate. It would, I believe, be criminal folly to allow ourselves to imagine that the peace and security of mankind can be attained by any scheme of commodity control.

D 49719

1945

July 26 - Ultimatum issued from Potsdam by Britain, U.S. and China, warning Japan of consequences of failure to surrender and ending any Japanese hope for a negotiated peace.

Aug. 6 - Announcement of dropping of first atomic bomb on Hiroshima.

Aug. 8 - Announcement of Soviet declaration of war against Japan.

Aug. 9 - Second atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki.

Aug. 15 - Announcement of unconditional surrender of Japan. (V-J Day).

Exhibits - 1945:

A. Statement by President Truman, August 6

B. " " Mr. Stimson (Secretary of War), August 6

C. " " Mr. Churchill, August 6

D. " " Mr. Howe, August 6

E. Release by Mr. Howe on Canada's Role in Atomic Bomb Drama (August 13)

F. Text of May-Johnson Bill (S.1463) for development and control of atomic energy (introduced in U.S. Senate on Oct.2)

G. Message to Congress by President Truman on control of atomic energy in U.S.A. (Oct.3)

H. Press Notes of October 30, 31 re Soviet reactions

I. Text of agreed declaration, Washington, Nov. 15

J. Text of address by Mr. Byrnes (Secretary of State), Charleston, S. C., Nov. 16

K. Despatch A. 576 of Nov. 17 from High Commissioner for Canada, London, reporting on U.K. press opinion of Washington Declaration

L. Press Survey of Canadian editorial comment on atomic energy (Nov. 20-26)

M. Canadian Embassy, Washington, C.I.S. Report on U.S. press reaction to Washington declaration

N. Despatch 2768 of Nov. 27 from CanadianEmbassy, Washington, commenting on Byrnes' speech (Exhibit J above) and press conference by President Truman (Nov. 20)

O. Statement by Mr. Coldwell at New York, Dec.1

P. Statement by Dr. Vannemar Bush at Washington, Dec. 3

7

Note paragraph re self-denying ordinance and reference to years of peace on the Great Lakes

Suggestion of international joint commission between Russia and ourselves.

D 49721

4 and 5 on page 3. I think it unwise at this stage to say that the elimination of the veto is absolutely essential. If the veto is not eliminated, this would place us in the position that we have gone on record saying that UNO was no good. I think that it could be said that the elimination of the veto was desirable. In fact I have always thought that the importance of the veto controversy was exaggerated. Furthermore, it is most questionable whether the elimination of the veto would go very far towards making UNO an effective agency for controlling atomic energy. What is needed is a "new world order" of some sort.

D 49722

6 on page 4. This seems to give a different form to the point which I have just mentioned, which can be put as stating that machinery and methods of international cooperation worked out through UNO can provide no effective guarantee of safety although they provide at present the best means of making progress towards supra-national control.

D 49723

Paragraph from Pasteur re conflicting forces.

6 Stress particularly the danger of relying on United Nations Organization - compare situation with League of Nations;

United Nations Organization came at the right moment as agency to work out methods and machinery -

Re President Roosevelt's vision in calling San Francisco Conference
when he did and the progress that has been made since
The general acceptance with which the agreement has been met.

D 49724

Not to be released until delivered

Washington Declaration on Atomic Energy

49725

Statement by The Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King

House of Commons
December 17, 1945

The House of Commons is being asked by the motion now before it to approve the Agreed Declaration on Atomic Energy which was signed at the White House, Washington, on the 15th of November of this year, by the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and the Prime Minister of Canada.

The statement which embodies the declaration was read to hon. members of this House by my colleague, the Minister of Justice, on the afternoon of the day on which the declaration was made. Copies of the Declaration in English and in French were tabled in pamphlet form on December 1st. The Declaration has received the widest publicity. I think it may be truly said that it has met with general approval.

As the Declaration is one of far-reaching significance and historic interest, it is desirable that it should be formally approved by both Houses of our Parliament. Apart from other positive advantages, such approval should serve effectively to meet the criticism that the Prime Minister of Canada in joining with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States in the discussions at Washington and in signing the Declaration "either assumed that Parliament and the Canadian people had no views on

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 49726

the atomic bomb question or that their views didn't matter; that it was within his sole right and power to determine what should be done." I am happy to say that this uncalled for criticism ~~appears to have had very limited expression.~~ seems to have met only with the rebuke it so obviously deserves.

Research into Atomic Energy

No discovery, in all time, has equalled in interest that of the release of atomic energy. No discovery has been fraught with possibilities which may prove to be either so baneful or so beneficial to mankind.

It may serve as a helpful introduction to an understanding of the problems which the discovery of atomic energy has created, if I say a word or two concerning the discovery itself, and the circumstances which led to the part the release of atomic energy came to have in military warfare. My introductory words may also help to give some idea of Canada's contribution to atomic research and processes, and to explain the strategic position which Canada, along with the United Kingdom and the United States, has come to hold in working towards a solution of problems to which the use of atomic energy has given rise.

All the world now knows that the sudden termination of the war against Japan was due to the appalling destruction of life and property wrought, in August of the present year, by the use of the atomic bomb against the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

D 49727

Until recently the world believed that the atom was the ultimate indivisible particle of matter; a particle of matter so minute as to admit of no division. When the war began in 1939, scientists of many nations had come to recognize that the release of energy by the "splitting" of the atom, or what is scientifically referred to as "atomic fission" was a possibility. The war gave impetus to research into the means of releasing atomic energy and later to the production of atomic bombs.

At the outset, research was carried on mainly in the universities of the United Kingdom. During 1940, there was an interchange of information on war research between Britain, the United States and Canada. By the summer of 1941 such progress had been made in research in the application of atomic energy that it was felt that full use should be made of university and industrial laboratories in seeking to find, just as rapidly as possible, the means of producing atomic bombs. In October of 1941, upon the suggestion of President Roosevelt, there began a co-ordination and joint conduct of British and American efforts. In 1942, the United Kingdom authorities proposed that an important section of research into atomic energy should be carried on in Canada as a joint enterprise. The special Montreal Laboratory of the National Research Council was thereafter organized, and staffed by over

D 49728

300 workers. It was by far the largest organization ever created in Canada to carry out a single research project. Other research projects were undertaken at McMaster, Toronto and McGill Universities, and at the National Research Laboratories in Ottawa.

Developments in the United States and Canada.

By the summer of 1942, the expanded programme of research seemed to justify a decision to proceed with the construction of large-scale production plants in the United States. The Americans alone were active in large scale work.

At Quebec, in September 1943, an agreement was signed between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, which bound their two countries to collaborate with the object of producing, as quickly as possible, a military weapon for use in the war. Under this agreement a combined policy committee was set up. Upon the invitation of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, in which I had concurred, Mr. Howe, the Minister of Munitions and Supply, was made a member of the combined policy committee as the representative of Canada.

Up to the present, uranium is the mineral that has been used as basic material for the atomic bomb process. Thorium is a probable second basic material for that purpose,

D 49729

although it is not as yet a proven material. The largest proved deposit of uranium ore is in the Belgian Congo, and the next largest is in Canada. As soon as the significant use of uranium in the atomic bomb process was disclosed to Mr. Howe and myself, we secured the approval of the Cabinet to the purchase of the Eldorado Uranium properties in the Great Bear Lake area, and reserved for the government control of all such minerals as might be discovered in Canada in the future. This was a strategic factor of high importance since this second largest known source of raw material thereby became accessible to the large manufacturing plants already built in the United States.

The work of the several research projects has been closely co-ordinated with the development of a pilot plant at Chalk River for the investigation of atomic energy processes. This work is of considerable importance. It includes the study of the utilization of thorium as a starting point for the production of "active material". This pilot plant is unique in character, and is suitable for a field of research that has not been explored elsewhere.

D 49730

Three Governments in Partnership.

Here may I quote from a statement prepared by Mr. Churchill while he was at the head of the Coalition Government. It was made public by his successor after Mr. Attlee's assumption of office.

Mr. Churchill's statement is as follows:

"In the United States the erection of the immense plants was placed under the responsibility of Mr. Stimson, United States Secretary of War, and the American Army Administration whose wonderful work and marvellous secrecy cannot be sufficiently admired. The main practical effort and virtually the whole of its prodigious cost now fell upon the United States authorities who were assisted by a number of British scientists.

"The relationship of the British and the American contributions was regulated by discussion between me and President Roosevelt, and a Combined Policy Committee was set up. The Canadian Government whose contribution was most valuable provided both indispensable raw material for the project as a whole, and also necessary facilities for the work of one section of the project which has been carried out in Canada by the three Governments in partnership."

Elsewhere in his statement Mr. Churchill said:

D49731

"By God's mercy, British and American science outpaced all German efforts. These were on a considerable scale but far behind. The possession of these powers by the Germans, at any time, might have altered the result of the war."

It is worthy of notice that the determination to embark on large-scale undertakings for production of atomic bombs was agreed upon while some details of the project were still in the laboratory stage. The outcome was ~~the~~ a most impressive demonstration of the collaboration of scientific skill and technical capacity conducted under conditions of the highest secrecy.

This aspect of the production of the atomic bomb was referred to by Mr. Churchill in the following words:

"The whole burden of execution including the setting up of the plants and many technical processes connected therewith in the practical sphere constitutes one of the greatest triumphs of American - or indeed human - genius of which there is record. Moreover, the decision to make these enormous expenditures upon a project which however hopefully established by American and British research remained nevertheless an awful uncertainty stands to the everlasting honour of President Roosevelt and his advisers."

D 49732

The Two Uses of Atomic Energy

What was aimed at in the combined efforts of the scientists was the development of methods for the release of atomic energy, either to produce an explosion, or as a source of power. The immediate purpose of the construction of large-scale production plants, and the work of the combined Policy Committee, was the use of atomic energy for military purposes.

It is now known that the release of atomic energy can be effected so rapidly that a few pounds of "active material" will produce an explosion equivalent to that of the setting off of several thousands of tons of TNT. On the other hand, the energy released can, it is believed, be so controlled as to produce a steady flow of heat obtainable at a temperature high enough to operate steamdriven electrical generating plants. One ton of "active material" used in this way would generate as much power as about three million tons of coal.

In a passage which will carry its appeal to every human heart, Mr. Churchill has vividly expressed the sentiments to which these amazing facts give rise:

"This revelation of the secrets of nature long mercifully withheld from man should," he said, "arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every being capable of comprehension. We must indeed pray that these awful agencies

will be made to conduce to peace among the nations and that, instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe, they may become a perennial fountain of world prosperity."

This is the problem presented by the discovery of the release of atomic energy. ~~This~~ Here is the challenge to our day and generation.

Sharing of Information.

Up to a certain point the processes for releasing atomic energy are the same whether the purpose is an industrial, commercial or humanitarian use, or whether it is that of mass destruction. Up to this point of departure the processes are already quite widely known. The scientific knowledge upon which these processes are based has been shared by a number of nations.

Beyond this point of common development, the construction of atomic bombs consists of a series of highly technical manufacturing processes which are still very secret. Knowledge of these technical manufacturing processes is popularly referred to as the "know-how". It is this "know-how" which is possessed in whole or in part by Britain, the United States, and Canada, and which has not been made known to other nations. The reason for not imparting to other nations, without certain guarantees and controls, the "know how" in the

D 49734

production of atomic bombs, is because of the potentialities of vast destruction involved.

It should not be supposed that the control of the raw materials presently enjoyed by Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States will, for any length of time, prevent developments in other countries. Neither should it be imagined that the processes in manufacturing atomic bombs - now secret - will prevent, indefinitely, similar developments in other countries. Even with international measures of supervision and control, it will be but a matter of time before all processes are known to practically all nations. Hence the need for immediate action to seek every available means to end all possibility of war itself.

Preliminary discussions on Atomic Energy.

I come now to the Declaration on Atomic Energy signed at Washington, on November 15th last.

As hon. members are aware, I visited President Truman at the White House on September 30th, the day before I sailed from New York for England. During this visit, matters related to the atomic bomb were referred to in conversation between the President and myself. Mr. Truman invited me to visit him again on my return from abroad. He also told me that he was looking

D 49735

forward to a visit from Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

Upon arrival in London, I learned from Mr. Attlee that, toward the end of September last, he had made known to the President his view on the vital importance to the world of the discovery of atomic energy. He had expressed the opinion that the application of atomic energy to warfare made it essential that those in responsible positions in the countries under whose auspices the development had taken place, should consider the problems to which it had given rise. In conveying to the President the tentative conclusions at which the British government had arrived, Mr. Attlee had suggested that personal discussion might follow.

On October 3rd, in a message to Congress, President Truman said: "I therefore propose to initiate discussions, first with our associates in this discovery, Great Britain and Canada, and then with other nations, in an effort to effect agreement on the conditions under which co-operation might replace rivalry in the field of atomic power."

While I was in London, communications were received from President Truman inviting Mr. Attlee and myself to come to Washington at as early a date as could be arranged to discuss with him the problems related to atomic energy.

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D 49736

In his Navy Day speech on United States Foreign Policy, on October 27th, President Truman, referring to his message to Congress, ~~said~~ added that discussion of the atomic bomb with Great Britain and Canada, and later with other nations, could not wait upon the formal organization of the United Nations.

The Conference at Washington.

Mr. Attlee and I arrived in Washington on the morning of Saturday, November 10th. Mr. Attlee had left London by plane on the afternoon of the previous day. I had left London on Saturday of the previous week to cross by ship. We arrived in Washington at the same hour. During our stay in Washington, every courtesy was extended to Mr. Attlee and myself by the President and the Secretary of State, Mr. Byrnes. From the hour of our arrival to the day of the signing of the Declaration, meetings and conversations were held continuously.

In our consideration of the problems discussed, the President and Mr. Byrnes had the assistance of Dr. Vannevar Bush, Director of the office of Scientific Research and Development, and scientific adviser to the President's Committee on Atomic Energy. Prime Minister Attlee was accompanied by Sir John Anderson, Chairman of the Advisory Committee in the United Kingdom on Atomic Energy. Sir John Anderson is perhaps the best informed

D 49737

of anyone in the United Kingdom on the whole subject, and on the circumstances attending the work with the Americans and ourselves in the researches on atomic energy. Mr. Attlee was also assisted by Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador. I was joined in Washington by Mr. Howe, the Canadian member of the Combined Policy Committee, and Dr. C. J. Mackenzie, President of our National Research Council. I was also assisted, while in Washington, by the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. L. B. Pearson; by Mr. Norman Robertson, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who had accompanied me to England, and by Mr. Hume Wrong, Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who joined Mr. Robertson and myself on our arrival in Washington.

I should like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance given me by all these gentlemen and by members of our Embassy staff in Washington.

The Agreed Declaration.

In asking hon. members to support the motion which is now before the House, approving the Washington Declaration on Atomic Energy, I feel I cannot do better than to set forth essential features of the Declaration itself and, in so doing, indicate governing considerations which were constantly in the minds of all who participated in the discussions.

There was recognition at the outset that the vast significance of the discovery of the release of atomic energy was not yet fully comprehended; that very few realized the far-reaching effect of the discovery upon the future of the world. It was agreed that the discovery had placed at the disposal of mankind means of destruction hitherto unknown, and against which there could be no adequate military defence, and in the employment of which no single nation could, in fact, have a monopoly. In a word, it was agreed that civilization could not survive an atomic war. It was also recognized that it was impossible to isolate the problem of the atomic bomb from the problem of the use of other weapons of destruction. The atomic bomb was seen as the latest word in destructiveness, but not necessarily the last.

The truth is that no system of safeguards that can be devised will of itself provide an effective guarantee against production of atomic weapons by a nation bent on aggression. Nor can we overlook the probability of the development of other major weapons of mass destruction, or of new methods of warfare which may constitute an even greater threat to civilization than the military use of atomic energy. At Washington, we were therefore called upon to consider not merely the elimination of the atomic bomb as a weapon of war, but also the kind of world

D 49739

order which is necessary in an atomic age, if civilization is to survive.

In our deliberations we were seeking to take the first step in an effort to rescue the world from a desperate race in weapons of mass destruction. We were prepared to concede that the progress our three countries had made in the development and use of atomic energy demanded that our countries take the initiative in an international effort to prevent the further use of atomic energy for destructive purposes. We felt an equal obligation on the part of our countries to promote the use of recent and future exchanges of scientific knowledge, particularly in the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful and humanitarian ends. At the same time we sought to make very clear that the responsibility for devising means to ensure that the new discovery should be used for the benefit of mankind, instead of as a means of destruction, rested not on our nations alone, but on the whole civilized world.

The Exchange of Scientific Information.

Representing, as we did, the three countries which possess the knowledge essential to the use of atomic energy, we declared our willingness, as a first contribution, to proceed with the exchange of fundamental scientific information, and

D 49740

with the interchange of scientists, and scientific literature for peaceful ends, with any nation that would fully reciprocate. We stated our belief that the fruits of scientific research should be made available to all nations, and that freedom of investigation and the free interchange of ideas were essential to the progress of knowledge. The basis scientific processes essential to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes have already been made available to the world. We declared that all further information of this character that might become available from time to time should be similarly treated.

As I have already explained, the use of atomic energy for industrial, commercial and humanitarian purposes is dependent upon the same methods and processes as, up to a certain point, are required for the military exploitation of atomic energy. ~~In other words, the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes cannot be developed without at the same time producing the very material which is used in a bomb.~~ While we were prepared to share the information essential to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, we were not convinced that the spread of the specialized information regarding the practical application of atomic energy in the manufacture of bombs, before it was possible to devise reciprocal and enforceable safeguards acceptable to all nations, would contribute to a constructiv solution of the problem of the atomic bomb. On the contrary, we thought it might have the opposite effect. However, we stated our readiness to share, on a reciprocal basis, with others of the United Nations, detailed information concerning

D 49741

the practical industrial application of atomic energy, just as soon as effective and enforceable safeguards against its use for destructive purposes could be devised.

Atomic Energy and the Arts of Peace.

The attention which has so far been directed to the strictly war aspects of atomic energy - that is, to the atomic bomb - should not be allowed to obscure the immense possibilities of development of atomic energy for the arts of peace. The atomic bomb is a weapon of destruction unsurpassed in human experience. But the energy locked up inside the atom, controlled and directed to useful and constructive ends, may make it possible to provide goods and services for people throughout the world on a scale which we cannot now envisage. It may be the means of raising the standard of living; of providing physical comfort against hazards of weather and extremes of heat and cold. It may revolutionize some present-day means of transport and communication, making all countries of the world near neighbours in a more immediate sense than has been made possible even by the development of air transport.

It must never be forgotten, however, that the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes cannot be developed without at the same time producing the very material which is used in a bomb.

D 49742

Commission on Atomic Energy proposed at Washington.

In order to attain the most effective available means of entirely eliminating the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and for promoting its widest use for industrial, commercial and humanitarian purposes, in the Washington Declaration we gave it as our opinion that at the earliest practicable date a Commission should be set up under the United Nations Organization, to prepare recommendations for submission to the Organization. We expressed the view that the Commission should be instructed to proceed with the utmost despatch; and that, in particular, it should make specific proposals (a) for extending, between all nations, the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends; (b) for the control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes; (c) for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction; and (d) for effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means, to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions.

Under the Charter of the United Nations the signatory powers have pledged themselves not to use force except in support of the purposes and principles of the Charter. At

Washington, we expressed the view that by whole-hearted support of the United Nations Organization, and by consolidating and extending its authority, thereby creating conditions of mutual trust in which all peoples will be free to devote themselves to the arts of peace, there would be found the most immediately available means of maintaining the rule of law among nations and of banishing the scourge of war from the earth. We declared it to be the firm resolve of our three countries to work without reservation to achieve these ends.

Nothing can be truer than that without unremitting co-operation and the united effort of nations there will be no enduring and effective protection against the atomic bomb. Nor without this co-operation and united effort can there be protection against the indiscriminate use of poison or against the latest refinements in gas warfare, and no protection against bacteriological warfare, all of which are even more frightful methods of human destruction than the atomic bomb. To ensure civilization from destruction it is not enough to banish atomic or gas or bacteriological warfare, we must banish war itself.

It is intended that the proposals of the Washington Declaration for the establishment of a Commission to prepare recommendations on the mans of dealing with the problems raised by the development of atomic energy should be submitted to the first General Assembly of the United Nations. It is expected

D 49744

that the General Assembly will open its first session in London on January 10. On the exact procedure to be followed in bringing up this vital matter for consideration by the United Nations Organization, I am unable to say anything at present.

Before leaving Washington on Thursday last, December 13, to take part in the meeting in Moscow of the foreign ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, the Secretary of State of the United States announced that he wished to discuss with the Soviet Government its views on how they would be prepared to co-operate in the establishment of the Commission and on the procedure which should be followed. On these questions, we are in constant consultation with the governments of the United States and the United Kingdom, the other parties to the Washington Declaration on Atomic Energy.

President Roosevelt's Vision.

While I do not wish, at the moment, to attempt to look too far into the future with respect to proceedings of the United Nations Organization, I am pleased to have this opportunity to speak of the past in reference to the creation of the United Nations Organization itself. I recall very well

D 49745

that while the war against Germany and Japan was still in progress, there were many who felt that President Roosevelt was pressing, with undue haste, the establishment of a United Nations Organization. Echoes of this criticism were heard at San Francisco last spring at the time of the United Nations Conference on International Organization. It was not until after the Conference was over, and the Charter of the United Nations Organization had been brought into existence that the world learned of the discovery of the release of atomic energy and of its practical application against Japan. The use of the atomic bomb as a major weapon of military warfare presented, in an instant, to all nations wholly new problems of security. Against ~~its~~ the use of the atomic bombing war, nothing has thus far been suggested which could be regarded as ~~an adequate~~ a means of defence.

President Roosevelt's prophetic vision had once more come to the aid of Humanity at a time of its greatest need. Had President Roosevelt waited until the war was over to call a United Nations Conference to bring the Charter into being, we should not have had the United Nations Organization at hand today to assist in the solution of the problems which the atomic bomb has brought so conspicuously to the fore. Instead, the countries seek ng a solution of its problems would have been more bewildered and baffled than they are. The world is but slowly recognizing what it owes to the late President.

final

D 49746

Problems of the Atomic Era

If I have made myself clear with respect to the problems of the atomic era with which we are now faced, it will be apparent that they are primarily political problems affecting the relations between men and governments. Fundamentally they are a part of the age old conflict between good and evil. As such their ultimate solution will be found only in the realm of philosophy and morals. One thing is certain: they admit of no mechanistic solution. By themselves, devices for the control of atomic energy are at best but temporary expedients. For this reason, I believe, it is an error to contemplate the control of the use of atomic energy in commodity and police terms, as if atomic energy were some new and dangerous drug. Technical scientific controls of production, processing and final disposition are indispensable, but they are obviously inadequate. It would, I believe, be criminal folly to allow ourselves to imagine that the peace and security of mankind can be attained by any scheme of commodity control.

As political problems affecting the relations of governments, the solution of the problems presented by atomic energy must be sought in the realm of world politics. The more deeply one ponders the problems with which our world

D 49747

is confronted in the light - "the terrible light", as Mr. Attlee said - of the implications of the development of atomic energy, the harder it is to see a solution in anything short of some surrender of national sovereignty. For a limited surrender of national sovereignty, there must be substituted some form of world government restricted, at least at the outset, to matters pertaining to the prevention of war, and the maintenance of international security.

The United Nations Organization is not a sufficient answer to the problems of peace and security which the world is now seeking. It is a first step, and and all-important step, in the direction of that co-operation between nations which is essential to the survival of civilization. It is not, however, the only, much less the final, step. The United Nations Organization is an indispensable medium and channel and forum through which the peoples of the world can work out new institutions and arrangements which their peace and security now require.

We do well to recall that the United Nations Charter had been signed before the world knew of the existence of the atomic bomb, much less anything about its ghastly military potentialities for mass destruction. The coming of the atomic bomb has opened our eyes to the

appalling possibilities which will face the world if the United Nations should fail to achieve effective international co-operation. It is to be hoped that such a prospect may be sufficient to cause every country, in the interests of its own citizens, to recognize that "over all nations is humanity". It is devoutly to be hoped that the nations will not delay too long in welcoming, albeit in the form of some self-denying ordinance upon individual national sovereignties, a measure of world sovereignty sufficiently effective to maintain international security and to end all possibility of war.

If we are agreed on the ultimate necessity of some measure of world government to maintain world security, we should, by every means in our power, support and strengthen every agency of international co-operation and understanding which can help to make the world community a reality. The peoples of all nations must address themselves to the task of helping to devise and shape institutions and relationships which will enable mankind to ensure, if not its salvation, at least its survival. We must work with all our might for a world order under the rule of law. This seems to be our only hope. We must act in the belief that no nation and no individual liveth to himself alone, and that all are members one of another.

D 49749

Problems presented by Atomic Era primarily political.

If I have made myself clear with respect to the problems of the atomic era with which we are now faced, it will be apparent that the problems presented by atomic energy are primarily political problems affecting the relations between men and governments. As such their ultimate solution will be found only in the realm of philosophy and morals. There is no mechanistic solution. By themselves, devices for the control of atomic energy are at best but temporary expedients. For this reason, I believe it is an error to contemplate the control of the use of atomic energy in commodity and police terms as if it were some new and dangerous drug. Technical scientific controls of production, processing and final disposition are indispensable, but they are obviously inadequate. It would, I believe, be criminal folly to allow ourselves to imagine that the peace and security of mankind can be attained by any scheme of commodity control. As political problems affecting the relations of governments, we have a duty to seek a solution of problems presented by atomic energy in the realm of world politics.

The more deeply one ponders the problems with which our world is confronted in the light - "the terrible light", as Mr. Attlee said - of the implications of the

D 49750

Problems presented by Atomic Era primarily political.

If I have made myself clear with respect to the problems of the atomic era with which we are now faced, it will be seen that the problems presented by atomic energy are primarily political problems affecting the relations between men and governments. The solutions we must seek therefore are political solutions. For this reason I believe it is an error to contemplate the control of the use of atomic energy in commodity and police terms as if it were a new and dangerous drug. Technical scientific controls of production, processing and final disposition are indispensable, but they are obviously inadequate. It would, I believe, be criminal folly to allow ourselves to imagine that the peace and security of mankind can be attained by some kind of commodity control scheme.

The more deeply one ponders the problems with which our world is confronted in the light - "the terrible light", as Mr. Attlee said, - of the implications of the development of atomic energy, the harder it is to see their solution in anything short of an effective world government with authority in relation to the maintenance of international security.

The United Nations Organization is not the answer to the problems of peace and security which the world is seeking.

D 49751

It is, however, an indispensable medium and channel and forum through which the peoples of the world can work out new institutions and arrangements which their peace and security requires.

If we are agreed on the ultimate necessity of a world government to maintain world security, we must by every means in our power support and strengthen every agency of international co-operation and understanding which can help to make the world community a reality, and prepare the peoples of the world for that life together under the rule which seems to be our only hope. We are all members one of another and no nation liveth to itself alone.

These problems of ends and means are the greatest question confronting the world today. Here and now, we must, all of us, address ourselves to the task of helping to invent and shape appropriate institutions and means which will enable mankind to ensure, if not its salvation, at least its survival.

D 49752

development of atomic energy, the harder it is to see their solution in anything short of some surrender of national sovereignty and the substitution therefor of some form of world government restricted, at least at the outset, to matters pertaining to the prevention of war, and the maintenance of international security.

The United Nations Organization is not a sufficient answer to the problems of peace and security which the world is now seeking. It is a first step and an all-important step in the direction of that co-operation between nations which is essential to the survival of civilization. It is not, however, the only, much less the final step. The United Nations Organization is an indispensable medium and channel and forum through which the peoples of the world can work out new institutions and arrangements which their peace and security now require. The United Nations Charter had been signed before the world knew of the existence of the atomic bomb, much less anything about its ghastly military potentialities for mass destruction. The coming of the atomic bomb has opened our eyes to the appalling possibilities which will face the world if the United Nations should fail to achieve effective international co-operation. It is to be hoped such a

D 49753

prospect may be sufficient to cause every country, in the interests of its own citizens, to recognize that "over all nations is humanity", and to welcome, albeit in the form of some self-denying ordinance upon individual national sovereignities, a measure of world sovereignty sufficently effective to maintain international security and to end all possibility of war.

If we are agreed on the ultimate necessity of some measure of world government to maintain world security, we should, by every means in our power, support and strengthen every agency of international co-operation and understanding which can help to make the world community a reality. Here and now, we must address ourselves to the task of helping to invent and shape institutions and means which will enable mankind to ensure, if not its salvation, at least its survival. We must work with all our might for a world order under the rule of law. This seems to be our only hope. We must live in the belief that no nation and no individual liveth to himself alone, and that all are members one of another.

D 49754

Problems presented by Atomic Era primarily political.

If I have made myself clear with respect to the problems of the atomic era with which we are now faced, it will be apparent that the problems presented by atomic energy are primarily political problems affecting the relations between men and governments. ~~The solutions we must seek therefore are political solutions.~~ For this reason, I believe it is an error to contemplate the control of the use of atomic energy in commodity and police terms as if it were some new and dangerous drug. Technical scientific controls of production, processing and final disposition are indispensable, but they are obviously inadequate. It would, I believe, be criminal folly to allow ourselves to imagine that the peace and security of mankind can be attained by any ~~kind~~ of commodity control ~~scheme~~.

The more deeply one ponders the problems with which our world is confronted in the light - "the terrible light", as Mr. Attlee said - of the implications of the development of atomic energy, the harder it is to see their solution in anything short of ~~some surrender of~~ national sovereignty and the substitution therefor of ~~an effective~~ world government ~~with authority in relation~~ to matters pertaining to the

D 49755

prevention of war, and the maintenance of international security. The United Nations Organization is not ~~the~~ a sufficient answer to the problems of peace and security which the world is now seeking. It is a first step ~~in the direction~~ and an all-important step in the direction of that co-operation between nations which is essential to the survival of ~~our~~ civilization. It is not, however, the only or the final step. The United Nations Organization It is an indispensable medium and channel and forum through which the peoples of the world can work out new institutions and arrangements which their peace and security now requires. The United Nations Charter had been signed before the world knew of the coming of the atomic bomb has opened our eyes to the appalling possibilities which ~~may~~ will face the world if the United Nations should fail to achieve effective international co-operation. It is to be hoped that ~~this dread~~ the possibility of world ~~disaster~~ such a prospect may be sufficient to cause every country, in the interests of its own citizens, to recognize that "over all nations is humanity," and to welcome, albeit in the form of some self-denying ordinance upon individual national sovereignities, ~~sufficient so far as international security is concerned,~~ a measure of world sovereignty, sufficient to maintain international security and to end all possibility of war.

If we are agreed on the ultimate necessity of some measure of world government, ~~sufficiently extensive~~ to maintain world sedurity, we ~~must~~ should by every means in our power support and strengthen

D 49756

every agency of international co-operation and understanding which can help to make the world community a reality. We must ~~prepare the peoples of the world~~ work with all our might for a world order under the rule of law ~~which~~ seems to be our only hope. We must live in the belief ~~and~~ that all members are one of another, ~~and~~ that no nation and no individual liveth to himself alone.

~~These problems of ends and means are the greatest question confronting the world today.~~ Here and now, we must, ~~all of us,~~ address ourselves to the task of helping to invent and shape ~~appropriate~~ institutions and means which will enable mankind to ensure, if not its salvation, at least its survival.

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D 49757

WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

I come now to the Declaration on Atomic Energy signed at Washington, on November 15th last.

As hon. members are aware, I visited President Truman at the White House on September 30th, the day before I sailed from New York for England. During this visit, matters related to the atomic bomb were referred to in conversation between the President and myself. Mr. Truman invited me to visit him again on my return from abroad. He also told me that he was looking forward to a visit from Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

Upon arrival in London, I learned from Mr. Attlee that, toward the end of September last, he had made known to the President his view on the vital importance to the world of the discovery of atomic energy. He had expressed the opinion that the application of atomic energy to warfare made it essential that those in responsible positions in the countries under whose auspices the development had taken place, should consider the problems to which it had given rise. In conveying to the President the tentative conclusions at which the British government had arrived, Mr. Attlee had suggested that personal discussion might follow. While I was in London, communications were received from President Truman inviting Mr. Attlee and myself to come to Washington at as early a date as could be arranged to discuss with him the problems related to atomic energy.

Mr. Attlee and I arrived in Washington ~~at the same hour~~ on the morning of Saturday, November 10th. Mr. Attlee had left London by plane on the afternoon of the previous day. I had left London on Saturday of the previous week to cross by ship. We arrived at Washington at the same hour. During our stay in Washington, every courtesy was extended to Mr. Attlee and myself by the President and the Secretary of State, Mr. Byrnes. From the day of our arrival to the day of the signing of the Declaration, ~~[illegible]~~nt meetings and conversations were held continuously.

In our consideration of the problems discussed, the President and Mr. Byrnes had the assistance of Dr. Vannevar Bush, Director of the office of Scientific Research and Development, and scientific adviser to the President's Committee on Atomic Energy. Prime Minister Attlee was accompanied by Sir John Anderson, Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Atomic Energy in the United Kingdom. Sir John Anderson is perhaps the best informed of anyone in the United Kingdom on the whole subject, and on the circumstances attending the work with the Americans and ourselves in the researches on atomic energy. Mr. Attlee was also assisted by Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador. I was joined in Washington by Mr. Howe, the Canadian Member of the Combined Policy Committee, and Dr. C. J. Mackenzie, President of our

D 49759

National Research Council. I was also assisted, while in Washington, by the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. L. B. Pearson; by Mr. Norman Robertson, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who had accompanied me to England, and by Mr. Hume Wrong, Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who joined Mr. Robertson and myself on our arrival in Washington.

I should like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance given me by all these gentlemen and by members of ~~the~~ Embassy staff in Washington.

15

D49760

The Declaration

In asking the House to support the motion which is now before us, approving the Washington Declaration on Atomic Energy, I feel I cannot do better than to set forth essential features of the declaration itself, and in so doing, I shall indicate governing considerations which were constantly in the minds of all who participated in the conference.

There was recognition at the outset that the vast significance of the discovery of the release of atomic energy ~~had~~ was not yet ~~begun to be~~ fully comprehended; that very few realized the far-reaching effect of the discovery upon the future of the world. It was agreed that the discovery had placed at the disposal of mankind means of destruction hitherto unknown, and against which there could be no adequate military defence, and in the employment of which no single nation could, in fact, have a monopoly. In a word, it was conceded that civilization could not survive an atomic war; that this was the challenge which the discovery of the release of atomic energy had made to our generation. It was also recognized that it was impossible to isolate the problem of the atomic bomb from the problem of the use of other weapons of destruction. The atomic bomb was seen as the latest word in destructiveness, but not necessarily the last.

D 49761

The truth is that no system of safeguards that can be devised will of itself provide an effective guarantee against production of atomic weapons by a nation bent on aggression. Nor can we overlook the possibility of the development of other major weapons of mass destruction, or of new methods of warfare which may constitute as great a threat to civilization as the military use of atomic energy. At Washington, we were therefore called upon to consider not only the elimination of the atomic bomb as a weapon of war, but also the kind of world order which is necessary in an atomic age, if civilization is to survive.

In our deliberations we sought to take the first step in an effort to rescue the world from a desperate race in weapons of mass destruction. We were prepared to concede that the progress our three countries had made in the development and use of atomic energy demanded that ~~we~~ they take the initiative in an international effort to prevent the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and to promote the use of recent and future exchanges of scientific knowledge, particularly in the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful and humanitarian ends. At the same time we sought to make very clear that the responsibility for devising means to ensure that the new discovery should be used for the benefit

D 49762

of mankind, instead of as a means of destruction, rested not on our nations alone but on the whole civilized world.

Representing, as we did, the three countries which possess the knowledge essential to the use of atomic energy, we declared our willingness, as a first contribution, to proceed with the exchange of fundamental scientific information, and with the interchange of scientists, and scientific literature for peaceful ends, with any nation that would fully reciprocate. We stated our belief that fruits of scientific research should be made available to all nations and that freedom of investigation and the free interchange of ideas were essential to the progress of knowledge. The basic scientific processes essential to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes have already been made available to the world. We declared that all further information of this character that might become available from time to time should be similarly treated.

As I have already explained, the use of atomic energy for industrial, commercial and humanitarian purposes is dependent up to a certain point upon the same methods and processes as would be required for the military exploitation of atomic energy. We were not convinced that the spread of the specialized information regarding the practical applica-

tion of atomic energy in the manufacture of bombs, before it was possible to devise recipro al and enforeable safeguards acceptable to all nations, would contribute to a constructive solution of the problem of the atomic bomb. On the contrary, we thought it might have the opposite effect. However, we stated our readiness to share, on a reciprocal basis, with others of the United Nations, detailed information concerning the practical industrial application of atomic energy, just as soon as effective and enforceable safeguards against its use for destructive purposes could be devised.

18½

In order to attain the most effective available means of entirely eliminating the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and for promoting its widest use for industrial, commercial and humanitarian purposes, we gave it as our opinion, in the Washington declaration, that at the earliest practicable date a Commission should be set up under the United Nations Organization, to prepare recommendations for submission to the Organization. We expressed the view that the Commission should be instructed to proceed with the utmost despatch; and that, in particular, it should make specific proposals (a) for extending, between all nations, the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends; (b) for the control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes;

D 49764

The attention which has so far been directed to the strictly war aspects of atomic energy - that is, to the atomic bomb - should not be allowed to obscure the immense possibilities of development of atomic energy for the arts of peace. The atomic bomb is a weapon of destruction unsurpassed in human experience. But the energy locked up inside the atom, controlled and directed to useful and constructive ends, may make it possible to provide goods and services for people throughout the world on a scale which we cannot now comprehend. It may be the means of raising the standard of living; of providing physical comfort against hazards of weather and extremes of heat and cold. It may revolutionize some present-day means of transport and communication, making all countries of the world near neighbours in a more immediate sense than even the rise of air transport has made possible.

(c)for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction; and (d) for effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means, to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions.

Under the charter of the United Nations the signatory powers have pledged themselves not to use force except in support of the purposes and principles of the Charter. At Washington, we expressed the view that by whole-hearted support of the United Nations Organization, and by consolidating and extending its authority, thereby creating conditions of mutual trust in which all peoples will be free to devote themselves to the arts of peace, there would be found the best available means of maintaining the rule of law among nations and of banishing the scourge of war from the earth. We declared it to be the firm resolve of our three countries to work without reservation to achieve these ends.

Nothing can be truer than that without unremitting co-operation and the united effort of nations there will be no enduring and effective protection against the atomic bomb. Nor without this co-operation and united effort can there be protection against the indiscriminate use of the latest refinements in poison gas, against warfare and gas, no protection against bacteriological warfare, all of which are even more frightful methods of human destruction than the atomic bomb. To ensure civilization from total destruction it is not enough to banish atomic or gas or bacteriological warfare, we must banish war itself.

D 49766

WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

I come now to the Declaration on Atomic Energy signed at Washington, on November 15th last.

As hon. members are aware, I visited President Truman at the White House on September 30th, the day before I sailed from New York for England. During this visit, matters related to the atomic bomb were referred to in conversation between the President and myself. Mr. Truman invited me to visit him again on my return from abroad. He also told me that he was looking forward to a visit from Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

Upon arrival in London, I learned from Mr. Attlee that, toward the end of September last, he had made known to the President his view on the vital importance to the world of the discovery of atomic energy. He had expressed the opinion that the application of atomic energy to warfare made it essential that those in responsible positions in the countries under whose auspices the development had taken place, should consider the problems to which it had given rise. In conveying to the President the tentative conclusions at which the British government had arrived, Mr. Attlee had suggested that personal discussion might follow. While I was in London, communications were received from President Truman inviting Mr. Attlee and myself to come to Washington, at as early a date as could be arranged to discuss with him the problems related to atomic energy.

D 49767

Mr. Attlee and I arrived in Washington ~~at the same hour~~ on the morning of Saturday, November 10th. Mr. Attlee had left London by plane on the afternoon of the previous day. I had left London on Saturday of the previous week to cross by ship. We arrived in Washington at the same hour. During our stay in Washington, every courtesy was extended to Mr. Attlee and myself by the President and the Secretary of State, Mr. Byrnes. From the day of our arrival to the day of the signing of the Declaration, ~~we had constant~~ meetings and conversations were held continuously.

In our consideration of the problems discussed, the President and Mr. Byrnes had the assistance of Dr. Vannevar Bush, Director of the office of Scientific Research and Development, and scientific adviser to the President's Committee on Atomic Energy. Prime Minister Attlee was accompanied by Sir John Anderson, Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Atomic Energy in the United Kingdom. Sir John Anderson is perhaps the best informed of anyone in the United Kingdom on the whole subject, and on the circumstances attending the work with the Americans and ourselves in the researches on atomic energy. Mr. Attlee was also assisted by Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador. I was joined in Washington by Mr. Howe, the Canadian Member of the Combined Policy Committee, and Dr. C. J. Mackenzie, President of our

D 49768

National Research Council. I was also assisted, while in Washington, by the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. L. B. Pearson; by Mr. Norman Robertson, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who had accompanied me to England, and by Mr. Hume Wrong, Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who joined Mr. Robertson and myself on our arrival in Washington.

I should like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance given me by all these gentlemen and by members of the Embassy staff in Washington.

D49769

The Declaration

In asking the House to support the motion which is now before us, approving the Washington Declaration on Atomic Energy, I feel I cannot do better than to set forth essential features of the declaration itself, and in so doing, I shall indicate governing considerations which were constantly in the minds of all who participated in the conference.

There was recognition at the outset that the vast significance of the discovery of the release of atomic energy ~~had~~ was not yet ~~begun to be~~ fully comprehended; that very few realized the far-reaching effect of the discovery upon the future of the world. It was agreed that the discovery had placed at the disposal of mankind means of destruction hitherto unknown, and against which there could be no adequate military defence, and in the employment of which no single nation could, in fact, have a monopoly. In a word, it was conceded that civilization could not survive an atomic war; that this was the challenge which the discovery of the release of atomic energy had made to our generation. It was also recognized that it was impossible to isolate the problem of the atomic bomb from the problem of the use of other weapons of destruction. The atomic bomb was seen as the latest word in destructiveness, but not necessarily the last.

The truth is that no system of safeguards that can be devised will of itself provide an effective guarantee against production of atomic weapons by a nation bent on aggression. Nor can we overlook the possibility of the development of other major weapons of mass destruction, or of new methods of warfare which may constitute as great a threat to civilization as the military use of atomic energy. At Washington, we were therefore called upon to consider not only the elimination of the atomic bomb as a weapon of war, but also the kind of world order which is necessary in an atomic age, if civilization is to survive.

In our deliberations we sought to take the first step in an effort to rescue the world from a desperate race in weapons of mass destruction. We were prepared to concede that the progress our three countries had made in the development and use of atomic energy demanded that they take the initiative in an international effort to prevent the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and to promote the use of recent and future exchanges of scientific knowledge, particularly in the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful and humanitarian ends. At the same time we sought to make very clear that the responsibility for devising means to ensure that the new discovery should be used for the benefit

D 49771

of mankind, instead of as a means of destruction, rested not on our nations alone but on the whole civilized world.

Representing, as we did, the three countries which possess the knowledge essential to the use of atomic energy, we declared our willingness, as a first contribution, to proceed with the exchange of fundamental scientific information, and with the interchange of scientists, and scientific literature for peaceful ends, with any nation that would fully reciprocate. We stated our belief that fruits of scientific research should be made available to all nations and that freedom of investigation and the free interchange of ideas were essential to the progress of knowledge. The basic scientific processes essential to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes have already been made available to the world. We declared that all further information of this character that might become available from time to time should be similarly treated.

As I have already explained, the use of atomic energy for industrial, commercial and humanitarian purposes is dependent up to a certain point upon the same methods and processes as would be required for the military exploitation of atomic energy. We were not convinced that the spread of the specialized information regarding the practical applica-

D 49772

tion of atomic energy in the manufacture of bombs, before it was possible to devise recipro al and enforeable safeguards acceptable to all nations, would contribute to a constructive solution of the problem of the atomic bomb. On the contrary, we thought it might have the opposite effect. However, we stated our readiness to share, on a reciprocal basis, with others of the United Nations, detailed information concerning the practical industrial application of atomic energy, just as soon as effective and enforceable safeguards against its use for destructive purposes could be devised.

18½ In order to attain the most effective available means of entirely eliminating the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and for promoting its widest use for industrial, commercial and humanitarian purposes, we gave it as our opinion, in the Washington declaration that at the earliest practicable date a Commission should be set up under the United Nations Organization, to prepare recommendations for submission to the Organization. We expressed the view that the Commission should be instructed to proceed with the utmost despatch; and that, in particular, it should make specific proposals (a) for extending, between all nations, the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends; (b) for the control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use only for peaceful purposes;

D 49773

The attention which has so far been directed to the strictly war aspects of atomic energy - that is, to the atomic bomb - should not be allowed to obscure the immense possibilities of development of atomic energy for the arts of peace. The atomic bomb is a weapon of destruction unsurpassed in human experience. But the energy locked up inside the atom, controlled and directed to useful and constructive ends, may make it possible to provide goods and services for people throughout the world on a scale which we cannot now comprehend. It may be the means of raising the standard of living; of providing physical comfort against hazards of weather and extremes of heat and cold. It may revolutionize some present-day means of transport and communication, making all countries of the world near neighbours in a more immediate sense than even the rise of air transport has made possible.

D 49774

(c)for the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction; and (d) for effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means, to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions.

Under the charter of the United Nations the signatory powers have pledged themselves not to use force except in support of the purposes and principles of the Charter. At Washington, we expressed the view that by whole-hearted support of the United Nations Organization, and by consolidating and extending its authority, thereby creating conditions of mutual trust in which all peoples will be free to devote themselves to the arts of peace, there would be found the best available means of maintaining the rule of law among nations and of banishing the scourge of war from the earth. We declared it to be the firm resolve of our three countries to work without reservation to achieve these ends.

Nothing can be truer than that without unremitting co-operation and the united effort of nations there will be no enduring and effective protection against the atomic bomb. Nor without this co-operation and united effort can there be protection against the indiscriminate use of poison gas, against the latest refinements in ~~poison~~ gas warfare and no protection against bacteriological warfare, all of which are even more frightful methods of human destruction than the atomic bomb. To ensure civilization from ~~total~~ destruction it is not enough to banish atomic or gas or bacteriological warfare, we must banish war itself.

Robertson - Whose return

W.L.M.K.
9.XII.45

D 49775

1. Introduction - Resolution.

The House of Commons is being asked by the motion now before it to approve the Agreed Declaration on atomic energy which was signed at the White House, Washington, on the 15th of November of this year, by the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the Prime Minister of Canada.

The statement which embodies the Declaration was read to honourable members of this House by the Honourable the Minister of Justice acting as Secretary of State for External Affairs on the afternoon of the day on which the declaration was made at Washington. It will be found at page 2158 of the unrevised Hansard of November 15th. Copies of the declaration in English and in French, in printed form, were tabled by myself on December 1 (2827) . Wide publicity has been given to the declaration. It may, I think, be truly said that the reception given the declaration by the public generally has been one of cordial approval.

As the statement is one of far-reaching significance and historic interest, it is desirable that it should be formally approved by both Houses of our Parliament. Such approval, apart from its positive advantages, should serve

effectively to remove the criticism to which expression has already been given that the declaration represents a usurpation of power on the part of the Prime Minister of our country, (See Journal article) and does not carry with it the sanction of the elected representatives of the people.

No discovery in all time has created the same interest or been fraught with possibilities so baneful or beneficial to mankind as that of the release of atomic energy.

D 49777

2. History of Research - Canada's Part.

It may serve as a helpful introduction to an understanding of the strategic position which Canada as well as the United Kingdom and the United States have come to hold, working toward a solution of the problems which the discovery of atomic energy has created, if I say a word or two concerning the discovery itself and the circumstances which led to the part it came to play in military warfare.

All the world knows today that the sudden termination of the war against Japan was due more than all else to the appalling destruction of life and property wrought by the use of the atomic bomb against the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August of the present year.

The application of this deadly weapon of mass destruction was the outcome of intensive research pursued by scientists throughout the years of the recent war. When the war began in 1939, scientists of many nations had come to recognize that the release of energy by atomic fission, or what is popularly referred to as the splitting of the atom, was a possibility. The release of atomic energy depends upon the fission of the uranium atom. This phenomenon was discovered at the end of 1938.

D49778

The war gave impetus to research into the means of releasing atomic energy and later in the production of atomic bombs. At the outset, research was carried on mainly in the Universities of the United Kingdom. There followed a full interchange of ideas between work carried on in the United Kingdom and the United States and a pooling of scientific information.

By the summer of 1941 such progress had been made in research that it was felt that full use should be made of University and industrial laboratories in seeking to reach the desired objective just as rapidly as might be possible. In October of that year, upon the suggestion of President Roosevelt, there began a co-ordination and joint conduct of British and American efforts. By the summer of 1942 the expanded programme of research seemed to justify a decision to proceed with the construction of large-scale production plants in America. The erection of immense plants in the United States was placed under the responsibility of Mr. Stimson, United States Secretary of War.

Here may I quote from a statement prepared by Mr. Churchill while he was still in office, but not made public until after the defeat of the Coalition Government, and Mr. Attlee's assumption of office.

D 49779

Mr. Churchill's statement is as follows:

"In the United States the erection of the immense plants was placed under the responsibility of Mr. Stimson, United States Secretary of War and the American Army Administration whose wonderful work and marvellous secrecy cannot be sufficiently admired. The main practical effort and virtually the whole of its prodigious cost now fell upon the United States authorities who were assisted by a number of British scientists. The relationship of the British and the American contributions was regulated by discussion between me and President Roosevelt and a Combined Policy Committee was set up. The Canadian Government whose contribution was most valuable provided both indispensable raw material for the project as a whole and also necessary facilities for the work of one section of the project which has been carried out in Canada by the three Governments in partnership."

? 1943

It was toward the end of 1932 that it was agreed that the British team researching on one section of the project should be moved to Canada so that as a joint Anglo-Canadian establishment, it could work in close co-operation with the corresponding American team in Chicago.

D 49780

Shortly after that the work in America came under the control of the United States War Department. The interchange of information between Britain and America was restricted to research in which both countries were engaged, and not extended to large-scale work where the Americans alone were active.

In September, 1943, an agreement was signed in Quebec between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt which bound the two countries to collaborate with the object of producing, as quickly as possible, a military weapon for use in the war. The agreement resulted in a supply to the Canadian establishment, which is now a joint British-American-Canadian project, of certain essential materials available in quantity only in America at the present time.

6½

In Canadathe joint project has been concerned with research on a method of making 94 by a variant of the method used in America. Although apparently limited in scope, this work is of considerable importance, as it includes the study of the utilization of thorium as a starting point for the production of active material; a pilot scale plant has been constructed, but is on a laboratory scale only.

Up to the present, there are two materials known to be suitable for use in the atomic bomb process - uranium and thorium. The largest proved deposit of uranium ore is in the

D 49781

Under this agreement a combined policy committee was set up, on which my colleague the Minister of Munitions and Supply was invited to serve as Canadian member. The Committee agreed that there should be complete interchange of information on all aspects of the project between members of the Committee and their immediate technical advisers. It will, therefore, be appreciated that for over two years Canada was a partner in the developments which culminated in the use of atomic bombs against Japan last August.

It is worthy of notice that the determination to embark on large-scale undertakings for production of atomic bombs - subsequently established at several points in the United States - was agreed while some details of the project were still in the laboratory stage. The outcome was the most impressive demonstration of the collaboration of scientific skill and technical capacity conducted under conditions of the highest secrecy.

D 49782

Belgian Congo and the next largest is in Canada. The Canadian Government has bought the Canadian mine and reserved for the Government all future discoveries of such minerals. This is a strategic factor of high importance. This second largest known source of raw material is accessible to the large manufacturing centres already built in the United States.

(It should not be supposed that the control of the raw materials presently enjoyed by Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States will prevent, for any great length of time, developments in other countries. Neither should it be imagined that the processes - now secret - involved in developing atomic energy and in manufacturing atomic bombs will prevent, indefinitely, similar or alternative development in other countries. Even supposing no international measures of supervision or control were devised, it would at best be a matter of time.

All this emphasizes the necessity of some such international control as the agreed declaration envisages.)

During 1940 there was an interchange of information on war research between Britain, the United States and Canada. In 1942 the United Kingdom authorities proposed that an important section of research into atomic energy should be carried on in Canada as a joint enterprise. The special Montreal laboratory of the National Research Council was thereupon organized, and staffed by over 300 trained workers. It is by far the largest organization ever created in Canada to carry out a single research project.

Other research projects were undertaken at McMaster,

D 49783

Toronto and McGill universities, as well as at Ottawa.

The work of the several research projects has been closely co-ordinated with the development of the pilot plant for the production of atomic bomb materials at Chalk River, Ontario.

The National Research Council will direct further researches in this plant on the application of atomic energy in war and in industry, and in the use of its products, for example, in medical treatment.

Belgian Congo and the next largest is in Canada. The Canadian Government has bought the Canadian mine and reserved for the Government all future discoveries of such minerals.

D 49785

Elsewhere in his statement Mr. Churchill said:

"By God's mercy, British and American science outpaced all German efforts. These were on a considerable scale but far behind. The possession of these powers by the Germans at any time might have altered the result of the war."

D 49786

Extract from statement of Mr. Churchill:

"This revelation of the secrets of nature long mercifully withheld from man should arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every being capable of comprehension. We must indeed pray that these awful agencies will be made to conduce to peace among thenations and that,instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe, they may become a perrenial fountain of world prosperity.

D 49787

3. The Two Uses.

What was aimed at in the combined efforts of the scientists and the construction of large-scale production plants, and in the work of the combined Polity Committee was the development of methods for the release of atomic energy either to produce an explosion or as a source of power. It is now known that this release can be effected so rapidly that a few pounds of material will produce an explosion equivalent to that of the detonation of several tons of TNT. On the other hand, the energy released can, it is believed, be so controlled as to produce a steady flow of heat obtainable at a temperature high enough to operate steamdriven electrical generating plants. One ton of material used in this way would generate as much as about three million tons of coal.

D 49788

It is now known that the atomic bomb test was made in New Mexico on July 16, 1945; That the test left no doubt as to the potential powers of the bomb for mass destruction. Possessing this knowledge, the United States gave repeated warnings to Japan as to the existence of this new weapon of war and as to what might be expected from its application.

Hiroshima (an important army base), and Nagasaki, were selected as having relatively fewer women and children and persons not concerned withtthe manufacture of war materials than other centres.

P. Chevrier — Pleas return

W.L.M.K.
9.XII.45

D 49789

1. Introduction - Resolution.

The House of Commons is being asked by the motion now before it to approve the Agreed Declaration on atomic energy which was signed at the White House, Washington, on the 15th of November of this year, by the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the Prime Minister of Canada.

The statement which embodies the Declaration was read to honourable members of this House by the Honourable the Minister of Justice acting as Secretary of State for External Affairs on the afternoon of the day on which the declaration was made at Washington. It will be found at page 2158 of the unrevised Hansard of November 15th. Copies of the declaration in English and in French, in ~~printed~~ pamphlet form, were tabled by myself on December 1. Wide publicity has been given ~~to~~ the declaration. It may, I think, be truly said that the reception given the declaration by the public generally has been one of cordial approval.

2827

As the ~~statement~~ declaration is one of far-reaching significance and historic interest, it is desirable that it should be formally approved by both Houses of our Parliament. Such approval, apart from its positive advantages, should serve

D 49790

effectively to remove the criticism to which expression has already been given that the declaration represents a usurpation of power on the part of the Prime Minister of our country, (See Journal article) and does not carry with it the sanction of the elected representatives of the people.

No discovery in all time has ~~created the same interest or been fraught~~ with possibilities so baneful or beneficial to mankind as that of the release of atomic energy.

D 49791

2. History of Research - Canada's Part.

It may serve as a helpful introduction to an understanding of the strategic position which Canada as well as the United Kingdom and the United States ~~have come to~~ hold, working toward a solution of the problems which the discovery of atomic energy has created, if I say a word or two concerning the discovery itself and the circumstances which led to the part it came to play in military warfare.

All the world knows ~~today~~ that the sudden termination of the war against Japan was due more than all else to the appalling destruction of life and property wrought by the use of the atomic bomb against the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (in August of the present year.)

(4) The application of this deadly weapon of mass destruction was the outcome of intensive research pursued by scientists throughout the years of the recent war. (2) When the war began in 1939, scientists of many nations had come to recognize that the release of energy by atomic fission, or what is popularly referred to as the splitting of the atom, was a possibility. The release of atomic energy depends upon the ~~fission~~ splitting of the uranium atom. ~~This phenomenon was discovered at the end of 1938.~~

The war gave impetus to research into the means of releasing atomic energy and later in the production of atomic bombs. At the outset, research was carried on mainly in the Universities of the United Kingdom. There followed a full interchange of ideas ~~between~~ about work carried on in the United Kingdom and the United States and a pooling of scientific information.

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D 49793

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1943

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Elsewhere in his statement Mr. Churchill said:

"By God's mercy, British and American science outpaced all German efforts. These were on a considerable scale but far behind. The possession of these powers by the Germans at any time might have altered the result of the war."

D 49795

Shortly after that the work in America came under the control of the United States War Department. The interchange of information between Britain and America was restricted to research in which both countries were engaged, and not extended to large-scale work where the Americans alone were active.

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In Canadathe joint project has been concerned with research on a method of making 94 by a variant of the method used in America. Although apparently limited in scope, this work is of considerable importance, as it includes the study of the utilization of thorium as a starting point for the production of active material; a pilot scale plant has been constructed, but is on a laboratory scale only.

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D 49796

Under this agreement a combined policy committee was set up on which ~~my colleague~~ the Minister of Munitions and Supply was invited to serve as Canadian member. The Committee agreed that there should be complete interchange of information on all aspects of the project between members of the Committee and their immediate technical advisers. It will, therefore, be appreciated that for over two years Canada was a partner in the developments which culminated in the use of atomic bombs against Japan last August.

It is worthy of notice that the determination to embark on large-scale undertakings for production of atomic bombs - subsequently established at several points in the United States - was agreed while some details of the project were still in the laboratory stage. The outcome was the most impressive demonstration of the collaboration of scientific skill and technical capacity conducted under conditions of the highest secrecy.

D 49797

- 3/'44

Belgian Congo and the next largest is in Canada. The Canadian Government has bought the Canadian mine and reserved for the Government all future discoveries of such minerals. This ~~is~~ a strategic factor of high importance. This second largest known source of raw material ~~is~~ accessible to the large manufacturing ~~centres~~ already built in the United States.

(It should not be supposed that the control of the raw materials presently enjoyed by Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States will prevent, for any great length of time, developments in other countries. Neither should it be imagined that the processes - now secret - involved in developing atomic energy and in manufacturing atomic bombs will prevent, indefinitely, similar or alternative development in other countries. Even supposing no international measures of supervision or control were devised, it would at best be a matter of time.

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Other research projects were undertaken at McMaster,

D 49798

Belgian Congo and the next largest is in Canada. The Canadian Government has bought the Canadian mine and reserved for the Government all future discoveries of such minerals.

D 49799

Toronto and McGill universities, ~~as well as~~ and at Ottawa.

The work of the several research projects has been closely co-ordinated with the development of the pilot plant for the production of atomic bomb materials at Chalk River, Ontario. (6)

The National Research Council will direct further researches in this plant on the application of atomic energy in war and in industry, and in the use of its products, for example, in medical treatment.

D 49800

Extract from statement of Mr. Churchill:

"This revelation of the secrets of nature long mercifully withheld from man should arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every being capable of comprehension. We must indeed pray that these awful agencies will be made to conduce to peace among thenations and that,instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe, they may become a perrenial fountain of world prosperity."

D 49801

3. The Two Uses.

What was aimed at in the combined efforts of the scientists and the construction of large-scale production plants, and in the work of the combined Polity Committee was the development of methods for the release of atomic energy either to produce an explosion or as a source of power. It is now known that this release can be effected so rapidly that a few pounds of material will produce an explosion equivalent to that of the detonation of several tons of TNT. On the other hand, the energy released can, it is believed, be so controlled as to produce a steady flow of heat obtainable at a temperature high enough to operate steamdriven electrical generating plants. One ton of material used in this way would generate as much as about three million tons of coal.

D 49802

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Hiroshima (an important army base), and Nagasaki, were selected as having relatively fewer women and children and persons not concerned withthe manufacture of war materials than other centres.

I 1st revise

W.L.M.K.
9.XII.45

D 49803

1. Introduction - Resolution.

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The statement which embodies the Declaration was read to honourable members of this House by ~~the Honourable~~ the Minister of Justice, ~~acting as Secretary of State for External Affairs~~ on the afternoon of the day on which the declaration was made at Washington. ~~It~~ The text of the declaration will be found at page 2158 of the unrevised Hansard of November 15th. Copies of the declaration in English and in French, in ~~printed~~ pamphlet form, were tabled by myself on December 1. The wide publicity has been given to the declaration. It may, I think, be truly said that ~~the reception given~~ the declaration ~~by the public generally has been one of cordial approval~~ has met with general approval.

WH p.2827

As the ~~statement~~ declaration is one of far-reaching significance and historic interest, it is desirable that it should be formally approved by both Houses of our Parliament. Such approval, apart from its positive advantages, should serve

D 49804

editorially by at least one newspaper

effectively to remove the criticism to which expression has already been given ~~that the declaration represents a usurpation of power on the part of the Prime Minister of our country. (See Journal article) and does not carry with it the sanction of the elected representatives of the people.~~

2½

No discovery in all time has ~~created the same~~ equalled in interest ~~or been~~ fraught with possibilities so baneful or so beneficial to mankind ~~or~~ that of the release of atomic energy.

No discovery has been

New part p3

to p3

* Canada either assumed that Parliament and the Canadian people have no views on the atomic bomb question, or that their views did not matter; that it was within his sole right and power to determine what should be done x

2. History of Research - Canada's Part.

It ~~may~~ will serve as a helpful introduction to an understanding of the strategic position which Canada ~~as~~ well ~~as~~ the United Kingdom and the United States ~~have come~~ has come ~~to~~ hold, in working toward a solution of the problems which the discovery of atomic energy has created, if I say a word or two concerning the discovery itself and the circumstances which led to the part ~~it~~ the release of atomic energy came to play in military warfare.

All the world now knows ~~today~~ that the sudden termination of the war against Japan was due ~~more than any one thing~~ to the appalling destruction of life and property wrought by the ~~use~~ explosion of the atomic bomb against the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August of the present year.

The ~~application of this deadly~~ production of the atomic bomb as a weapon of mass destruction was the outcome of intensive research pursued by scientists throughout the years of the recent war. When the war began in 1939, scientists of many nations had come to recognize that the release of energy by ~~atomic fission~~, ~~or what is popularly referred to as~~ the splitting of the atom, ~~otherwise known as~~ or atomic fission, was a possibility. ~~The release of atomic energy~~ depends upon the ~~fission~~ splitting of the uranium atom. ~~This phenomenon was discovered in the summer of 1938.~~

The most practicable method yet developed of releasing atomic energy

(1) the world recently believed that the release of energy by splitting the atom was the release of physical matter, or what is scientifically referred to as atomic fission, was a possibility. The release of atomic energy depends upon the splitting of the uranium atom.

(2) The most practicable method yet developed of releasing atomic energy

(3) introductory words may also help to give some idea of Canada's contribution to atomic research and processes, and to explain

(4) along with has come the problems arising out of the use of atomic energy.

D 49806

The war gave impetus to research into the means of releasing atomic energy and later in the production of atomic bombs. At the outset, research was carried on mainly in the Universities of the United Kingdom. There followed a full interchange of ideas between work carried on in the United Kingdom and the United States and a pooling of scientific information.

By the summer of 1941 such progress had been made in research that it was felt that full use should be made of University and industrial laboratories in seeking to reach the desired objective just as rapidly as might be possible. In October of that year, upon the suggestion of President Roosevelt, there began a co-ordination and joint conduct of British and American efforts. By the summer of 1942 the expanded programme of research seemed to justify a decision to proceed with the construction of large-scale production plants in America. The erection of immense plants in the United States was placed under the responsibility of Mr. Stimson, United States Secretary of War.

Here may I quote from a statement prepared by Mr. Churchill while he was still in office, but not made public until after the defeat of the Coalition Government, and Mr. Attlee's assumption of office.

D 49807

Mr. Churchill's statement is as follows:

"In the United States the erection of the immense plants was placed under the responsibility of Mr. Stimson, United States Secretary of War, and the American Army Administration whose wonderful work and marvellous secrecy cannot be sufficiently admired. The main practical effort and virtually the whole of its prodigious cost now fell upon the United States authorities who were assisted by a number of British scientists. The relationship of the British and the American contributions was regulated by discussion between me and President Roosevelt, and a Combined Policy Committee was set up. The Canadian Government whose contribution was most valuable provided both indispensable raw material for the project as a whole and also necessary facilities for the work of one section of the project which has been carried out in Canada by the three Governments in partnership."

It was toward the end of 1942 that it was agreed that the British team researching on one section of the project should be moved to Canada so that as a joint Anglo-Canadian establishment, it could work in close co-operation with the corresponding American team in Chicago.

D 49808

Elsewhere in his statement Mr. Churchill said:

"By God's mercy, British and American science outpaced all German efforts. These were on a considerable scale but far behind. The possession of these powers by the Germans, at any time, might have altered the result of the war."

D 49809

Shortly after that the work in America came under the control of the United States War Department. The interchange of information between Britain and America was restricted to research in which both countries were engaged, and not extended to large-scale work where the Americans alone were active.

at Quebec, In September, 1943, an agreement was signed between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, which bound the two countries to collaborate with the object of producing, as quickly as possible, a military weapon for use in the war. The agreement resulted in a supply to the Canadian establishment, which is now a joint British-American-Canadian project, of certain essential materials available in quantity only in America at the present time.

6 1/2

In Canada the joint project has been concerned with research on a method of making 94 by a variant of the method used in America. Although apparently limited in scope, this work is of considerable importance, as it includes the study of the utilization of thorium as a starting point for the production of active material; a pilot scale plant has been constructed, but is on a laboratory scale only.

to p 7 1/2

Up to the present, there are two materials known to be suitable for use in the atomic bomb process - uranium and thorium. The largest proved deposit of uranium ore is in the

Upon the invitation of Mr Roosevelt & Mr Churchill concurred in which I had concurred, Mr Howe, + Mr Mc + S * became the Canadian Member.

Under this agreement a combined policy committee was set up, ~~on which the Minister of Munitions and Supply was invited to serve as Canadian member.~~ The Committee agreed that there should be complete interchange of information on all aspects of the project between members of the Committee and their immediate technical advisers. ~~It will, therefore, be appreciated that for over two years Canada was a partner in the developments which culminated in the use of atomic bombs against Japan last August.~~ prior to the end of the War as active

It is worthy of notice that the determination to embark on large-scale undertakings for production of atomic bombs - which were ~~subsequently~~ established at several points in the United States - was agreed while some details of the project were still in the laboratory stage. The outcome was the most impressive demonstration of the collaboration of scientific skill and technical capacity conducted under conditions of the highest secrecy.

D 49810

* was made a member of the Committee as the representative of Canada.

~~To quote~~ ~~Of~~ This aspect of the production of the atomic bomb ~~by Mr Churchill~~ has been referred to by Mr Churchill in the following words:

"the whole burden ... and his advisers"

the N—R—laboratories in

D 49811

Toronto and McGill universities, ~~as well as~~ and at Ottawa.

The work of the several research projects has been closely co-ordinated with the development of ~~the~~ a pilot plant for the ~~production~~ investigation of atomic ~~bomb materials~~ processes at Chalk River, ~~Ontario.~~

and from p. 6

The National Research Council will direct further researches in this plant on the application of atomic energy in war and in industry, and in the use of its products, for example, in medical treatment.

D 49812

It is now known that the atomic bomb test was made in New Mexico on July 16, 1945; That the test left no doubt as to the potential powers of the bomb for mass destruction. Possessing this knowledge, the United States gave repeated warnings to Japan as to the existence of this new weapon of war and as to what might be expected from its application.

Hiroshima (an important army base), and Nagasaki, were selected as having relatively fewer women and children and persons not concerned with the manufacture of war materials than other centres.

3. The Two Uses.

D 49813

What was aimed at in the combined efforts of the scientists and the construction of large-scale production plants, and in the work of the Combined Polity Committee, was the development of methods for the release of atomic energy either to produce an explosion or as a source of power. It is now known that this release can be effected so rapidly that a few pounds of "active material" will produce an explosion equivalent to that of the ~~detonation~~ setting off of several thousands of tons of TNT. On the other hand, the energy released can, it is believed, be so controlled as to produce a steady flow of heat obtainable at a temperature high enough to operate steamdriven electrical generating plants. One ton of "active material" used in this way would generate as much power as about three million tons of coal.

In a passage which will carry its appeal to every human heart, Mr Churchill has widely expressed the sentiments to which these amazing facts give rise. ~~Concluding his statement to the House of Commons on Japan, he said,~~

9 follows

D 49814

~~Extract from statement of Mr. Churchill:~~

"This revelation of the secrets of nature long mercifully withheld from man should, the said arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every being capable of comprehension. We must indeed pray that these awful agencies will be made to conduce to peace among thenations and that, instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe, they may become a perrenial fountain of world prosperity."

This is the problem presented by the ~~atom~~ discovery of the release of atomic energy.

D49815

4

Re: Sharing of Information

Up to a certain point the processes for releasing atomic energy are the same, whether the ~~end product~~ purpose is ~~to have~~ an industrial, commercial or humanitarian use or whether it is ~~to be atomic bombs~~ mass destruction. Up to this point the ~~technical~~ processes are quite widely known. ~~and~~ The scientific knowledge upon which the ~~technical~~ processes are based has been ~~with generally~~ shared by a number of nations.

*

Beyond this point of common development, the construction of atomic bombs as such is a process, still very secret. It is this ~~secret~~ which is ~~known~~ by Britain, the United States, and Canada, and which has not been made known, up to the present, to other nations.

This is what is popularly referred to as the "know how" which ~~is~~ has

~~This is the only part of the technical information which has been withheld by the countries which have knowledge of it.~~ The ~~point of~~ principle involved in withholding it because of the potentialities of destruction involved - is whether it is wise to make a process, now secret, less secret by sharing it with other nations. The principle, as the Washington declaration suggests, is intended to apply only until certain other conditions have been fulfilled. The declaration makes

* There are some U.S. processes for developing plutonium not known to Canada at the moment

49817

Belgian Congo and the next largest is in Canada. ~~The Canadian Government has bought the Canadian mine and reserved for the~~ Government all future discoveries of such minerals. This ~~is~~ a strategic factor of high importance, ~~as~~ this second largest known source of raw material ~~is~~ accessible to the large manufacturing ~~centres~~ already built in the United States.

It should not be supposed that the control of the raw materials presently enjoyed by Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States will prevent, for any ~~short~~ length of time, developments in other countries. Neither should it be imagined that the processes - now secret - ~~involved in developing atomic energy and~~ in manufacturing atomic bombs will prevent, indefinitely, similar or alternative developments in other countries. Even ~~supposing no~~ international measures of supervision ~~or~~ control ~~were devised~~, it would ~~at best~~ be a matter of time.

All this emphasizes the necessity of some such international control as the agreed declaration envisages.)

49816

During 1940 there was an interchange of information on war research between Britain, the United States and Canada. In 1942 the United Kingdom authorities proposed that an important section of research into atomic energy should be carried on in Canada as a joint enterprise. The special Montreal laboratory of the National Research Council was thereupon organized, and staffed by over 300 trained workers. It ~~is~~ by far the largest organization ever created in Canada to carry out a single research project.

Other research projects were undertaken at McMaster.

W. L. M. K.
3.xii.45

D 49818

Suggested Outline of Speech on approval of Atomic Bomb Agreement

Speech might begin by a word of explanation of atomic energy,
its nature and possible use for purposes of (a) destruction;
(b) humanitarian, commercial and constructive uses;
a brief account of research in field of atomic energy
making mention of Rutherford of Canada, years ago,
and briefly bringing up to date the discovery of
the fissure of the atom.

do not attempt technical or scientific explanations, just
sufficient for mind of laymen;
note experiments in different countries - in particular
Great Britain, United States and Canada - noting
beginnings of research in Germany.
the effect of the war on trend of research, causing
deliberate effort to construction of bombs.

Outline discussions between Roosevelt and Churchill on the
subject, 1941-2?
approaches to Canada; Canada's experimentation, nature
of object of same;
progress made in U.S. and test in New Mexico;
actual use on Japan - Hiroshima, Nagaski - why chosen,
extent of destruction;

D 49819

Extent of Canada's development in research and her contribution.

How three countries shared research.

Announcement to provincial premiers at Ottawa, Dom.Prov.Conf.

Public slow to appreciatedevelopment.

How three countries came to confer:

Visit of Prime Minister of Canada to Washington;

Interview with President at which mention made of desirability of conference between President, Attlee and self.

Visit to England - communication already sent by Attlee to President; copy given Prime Minister of Canada, later sent other Dominions;

Conference with Attlee - arrangement made for meeting at Washington.

Nature of conference at Washington:

See accounts of interviews with press by President and Secretary Byrnes.

Attlee's statement to British House.

Minister of Justice read agreement to Canadian House.

Outstanding features of agreement -

where the United Nations Organization comes in;

necessity for control where used for destruction;

how far this likely to be effective dependent on co-operation of nations

the elimination of the veto absolutely essential ;
complete confidence between nations, co-operation, essential.

This means sharing information in fullest way and permitting knowledge of countries on reciprocal basis.

As to processes, no secret - nature of secret - why not extended to others at this time.

Emphasis upon destructive power of bomb and absolute need for new world order as only security.

Note prophecies by poets - re airforce: Tennyson; Gray, air power; Wordsowrth re atomic energy.

The abolition of national sovereignty and creation of world sovereignty;
Ideal correct but limitations - development of peoples;
doctrine of brotherhood essential;
my own conviction the Christian order.

Might refer to revelations in Germany as illustrating what human nature is capable of doing if government gets into hands of evil forces.

Paragraph from "Industry and Humanity" on angels of light and darkness.

D 49820

the elimination of the veto absolutely essential ;
complete confidence between nations, co-operation, essential.

This means sharing information in fullest way and permitting knowledge of countries on reciprocal basis.

As to processes, no secret - nature of secret - why not extended to others at this time.

Emphasis upon destructive power of bomb and absolute need for new world order as only security.

Note prophecies by poets - re airforce: Tennyson; Gray, air power; Wordsowrth re atomic energy.

The abolition of national sovereignty and creation of world sovereignty;
Ideal correct but limitations - development of peoples;
doctrine of brotherhood essential;
my own conviction the Christian order.

Might refer to revelations in Germany as illustrating what human nature is capable of doing if government gets into hands of evil forces.

Paragraph from "Industry and Humanity" on angels of light and darkness.

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 49821

Paragraph from Pasteur re conflicting forces.

Stress particularly the danger of relying on United Nations Organization - compare situation with League of Nations;

United Nations Organization came at the right moment as agency to work out methods and machinery -

Stress atomic bomb only one phase of methods of deadly warfare - danger of bacteriological warfare;

Real battle is not getting rid of the bomb, but possibility of getting rid of war itself - down to the basic thing

Humanity has to decide whether it wishes to live or perish members one of another -

Which of these two will come to prevail God alone knows.

Re President Roosevelt's vision in calling San Francisco Conference when he did and the progress that has been made since

The general acceptance with which the agreement has been met.

Note paragraph re self-denying ordinance and reference to years of peace on the Great Lakes

Suggestion of international joint commission between Russia and ourselves.

D 49822

Atomic Energy

The relation between uranium and

heavy water.

Canadian work

D 49823

3

Extent of Canada's development in research and her contribution.

How three countries shared research.

Announcement to provincial premiers at Ottawa, Dom.Prov.Conf.

Public slow to appreciatedevelopment.

49824

HW/AH
December 4th, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL

Prime Minister

NOTE FOR THE ~~UNDER-SECRETARY~~

Here are some comments on Mr. King's outline of his speech which is attached. I have put faint markings in the left-hand margin to which the numbered comments refer.

1 on page 1. I doubt whether anything should be said about the Roosevelt-Churchill discussions except a reference to the agreement at Quebec in 1943 to establish the Combined Policy Committee with Mr. Howe as one of the six members.

2 on page 1. In referring to the U.S. action I think that reference could appropriately be made to the magnitude of their part and to the daring which was shown in starting a large scale industrial processes before the project had emerged from laboratory stage.

3 on page 2. Reference to Canada's part would appropriately include some mention of the sources of raw material and to the action of the Government in taking control of the Eldorado Mine.

W. L. M. K.
3.xii.45

D 49825

Suggested Outline of Speech on approval of Atomic Bomb Agreement

Speech might begin by a word of explanation of atomic energy,
its nature and possible use for purposes of (a) destruction;
(b) humanitarian, commercial and constructive uses;
a brief account of research in field of atomic energy
making mention of Rutherford (of Canada,) years ago,
and briefly bringing up to date the discovery of
the fissure of the atom.

do not attempt technical or scientific explanations, just
sufficient for mind of laymen;
note experiments in different countries - in particular
Great Britain, United States and Canada - noting
beginnings of research in Germany.
the effect of the war on trend of research, causing
deliberate effort to construction of bombs.

Outline discussions between Roosevelt and Churchill on the
subject, 1941-2?
approaches to Canada; Canada's experimentation, nature
of object of same;
progress made in U.S. and test in New Mexico;
actual use on Japan - Hiroshima, Nagaski - why chosen,
extent of destruction;

file re atomic bombs

Re World Situation

D 49826

(a) Not a good outlook anywhere

(1) Britain

(2) Europe

(3) Asia

(4) International Relations

privation, famine, ill-will, distrust;

(b) Revelation of underworld at Nuernberg;

in high places

in seats of mighty

spectacular - nothing like it in world history

(c) Atomic Bomb & bacteriological warfare

new era

Press can do much

foster good-will.

W.L.M.K.
14.XII.45

The cause of world unity

49827

D

The problems presented by the development of atomic energy are primarily political problems affecting the relations between men and governments. The solutions we must seek, therefore, are political solutions. For this reason, I believe, it is an error to contemplate the control of the use of atomic energy in commodity and police terms as if it were a new and dangerous drug. Technical scientific controls of production, processing and final dispossition are indispensable but obviously inadequate. It would, I believe, be criminal folly to allow ourselves to believe that peace and security of mankind can be had by some kind of commodity control scheme.

The more deeply one ponders the problems with which our world is confronted in the light - "the terrible light", as Mr. Attlee said, of the implications of the development of atomic energy, the harder it is to see their solution in anything short of an effective world government.

D 49828

5-2

The Role of the United Nations Organization

Here and now, we must, all of us, address ourselves to the task of helping to shape and invent appropriate institutions and means which will enable mankind to insure, if not its salvation, at least its survival. These problems of ends and means are the gravest questions confronting the world today.

The United Nations Organization is now, as it stands, the answer to the problem of peace and security which the world is seeking. But it is the indispensable medium and channel and forum through which the peoples of the world can work out new institutions and arrangement which their peace and security requires.

If we are agreed on the ultimate necessity of a world state, we must by every means in our power support and strengthen every agency of international co-operation and understanding which can help to make the world community a reality and prepare the peoples of the world ~~for~~ to help to make the world community a reality.

development of Research

D 49829

In the field of atomic research Canada has made many contributions. Some of them date from the years in which the late Lord Rutherford was Professor of Physics at McGill University, and it was there that some of the more recent experiments were conducted.

President Truman has explained that before 1939 it was considered possible to release the energy bound up in individual atoms - an energy the potential destructive force of which it was believed would be without example in the annals of science. No practical method of creating a fissure in the atom had then been found.

From early in 1940 - even before the United States was a belligerent - research into atomic energy was pressed forward under a common pooling of scientific knowledge and experience by scientists of Great Britain, the United States, and Canada. In addition to the technical resources of skill and equipment, this project of atomic research required the expenditure of large sums of money. President Truman said: "We have spent $2,000,000,000 on the greatest scientific gamble in history and won." In comparison with the total cost of the war in money terms, the outlay for atomic research was only a fraction.

The actual development of the atomic bomb under an agreement between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt, was

D 49830

carried on in the United States, in areas free from the danger of enemy attack from the air. The production of atomic bombs involved at one stage the work of 125,000 individuals, some of whom had been at work for two and a half years.

Canadian part in atomic bomb developments

D 49831

Details of Canada's part in atomic bomb developments were given by my colleague the Minister of Munitions and Supply (Mr. Howe) in a statement on August 6th last.

The Government of Canada, in January, 1944, took over the main Canadian source of supply of uranium, the principal raw material upon which production of atomic bombs depended.

A pilot plant for investigating one of the methods for making materials for the bomb was built near Chalk River, Ontario, where a new townsite was developed.

My colleague had throughout these developments been in close contact and association with the National Research Council of Canada, under whose direction a group of trained scientists conducted experiments at McMaster, Toronto and McGill Universities, as well as at Ottawa. Mr. Howe's concern was, ~~understandably~~, with the technical processes involved. I think it right, nevertheless, to emphasize two particular aspects of his statement of August 6th.

Speaking of the importance of the atomic bomb in accomplishing "an almost incredible feat of destruction", Mr. Howe said that the real significance lay rather in that "the basic problems of the release of energy by atomic fission have been solved, and that the unbelievably large amounts of

D 49832

energy which scientists have long believed to be associated with matter can now be made available for practical use."

I call attention also to the concluding paragraph of the Minister's statement, in which he said:

> "The international aspect of this new development, with its possibility both of good and evil, will be foremost in the minds of many, and it is to be hoped that some means will be found to use it for the benefit of mankind, not for our destruction, but for the maintenance of peace."

The agreed declaration signed by President Truman, Mr. Attlee and myself is one of the steps which have since been taken to help towards this end of security and peace.

D 49833

TOP SECRET
HHW/SR
29.10.45

Canada's position in the development of
Atomic Energy.

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1. What is the absolute and relative importance of Canada's part in the development related to the employment of the atomic bomb, specifically:

   (a) as a source of raw materials;

   (b) as a contributor to research, in terms of personnel and results;

   (c) with respect to development, including actual manufacturing operations;

   (d) measured in terms of finance, i.e., expenditures upon personnel, materials, etc.

Answer

(a) The Great Bear Lake development is a sizeable source of material and second only to the properties of Union Miniere in Belgian Congo, which of course are more extensive and the ore of a higher quality. The American project, on the other hand, was not entirely dependent on Canadian ore as they had stock piled a great deal of Belgian Congo material, and while they valued our present and potential supplies greatly on account of obvious advantages I think they might have carried out their immediate plans without our material.

(b) Our contribution to research was tied up with that of the United Kingdom as our scientific group in the Montreal laboratory consisted of about fifty per cent United Kingdom and fifty per cent Canadian personnel. On the research side and from the standpoint of results obtained our contribution, I think, was much greater than the ratio of moneys spent.

(c) Canada's development work was not a major factor in the production of the atomic bombs dropped on Japan, but may have a very great effect on future plans. The development work in Canada using heavy water was not duplicated anywhere else and was one of the several alternative methods tried. Also our Chalk River plant will have the highest density of neutron emissions of any plant. It should also be remembered

that the Canadian development is the only one in the British Empire and that the acceptance of the British scientific personnel in the American plants was largely made possible by the existence of our plant in Canada.

(d) The Americans estimate they have spent over two billions of dollars. The Canadian effort will probably amount to twenty millions by the end of the fiscal year. From the standpoint of research personnel, while we have no firm United States figures I doubt if the same ratio applies to personnel engaged as to dollars spent. I have no exact figures of the United Kingdom expenditures, but while they have talked in rather sizeable amounts of projected expenditures I doubt very much if to date they have spent more than a fraction of what we have.

2. What estimate can be made of Canada's potential importance in the future development of atomic energy for purposes of war and peace, specifically:

(a) as a source of raw materials presently employed or likely to be employed at later stages;

(b) as a possessor of relevant scientific technique and industrial "know how";

(c) as owner and operator of plants and processes.

Answer

(a) I think Canada's present situation as a source of raw material is much stronger than the total amount of ore in sight, as our geographical position as far as the United States is concerned is of very great importance. Uranium, of course, has been found widely in small quantities in many countries of the world but as I have said the Canadian source is the second largest of the developed properties and it is quite possible that still larger ore bodies may be disclosed in the active exploration which is now being carried out. While I have no official information it has come to my ears that considerable ore bodies have been discovered in South Africa, and if this is true it is significant. However, it seems to me that at the present moment Canada's raw material represents a significant asset.

(b) Canada has no advantage in knowledge of relevant scientific technical and industrial "know how" over the United States or Great Britain but definitely has over the rest of the countries of the world. Our scientific knowledge is greater than our present industrial "know how" but within the next year we will be very definitely in possession of valuable general "know how" and particular "know how" in connection with the type of plant we are operating. In addition a great deal of fundamental speculation and planning has been done in connection with possible future industrial applications, but I think that both in the United Kingdom and Canada we are all in the idea stage in this field and it is difficult to know whose ideas are best.

(c) As the owner and operator of the only plant in the British Empire I think we have, at the moment, a rather strong position as far as everyone else excepting the United States is concerned. As mentioned above we have some advantage in being the operators of the only plant using heavy water.

3. To what extent are the U.K. and the U.S. dependent upon Canadian participation in the future development and employment of atomic energy, i.e., to what extent has Canada a peculiar stake in a joint enterprise? What can we give or withhold to those associated with us, whether it be the U.K. and the U.S. only or an alliance or an international organization?

ANSWER

As far as the United States is concerned they have always felt, I think, that they were quite able to carry on alone, and as a matter of fact in the early days they put every conceivable difficulty in the way of cooperative efforts outside the United States, largely I think owing to an honest fear of security leakages. While I think the United States welcomes the Canadian contacts I also think they feel, as they do in the matter of military defence, that they are quite competent to look after themselves. As far as the United Kingdom is concerned it is my conviction that we hold very strong cards at the moment as they have no atomic energy plant whatsoever in England, and it will take them some time to build even an

experimental pile. So, for the moment and for the next year or so they will be dependent entirely on our development in Canada for experience in piles and it will be from our plant that they must obtain any of the byproducts which look so promising in the field of medical research. At the present moment there is much discussion in England as to future plans. One school apparently would like to build large scale plants there and they are talking of capital expenditures of the order of eighty million pounds. The other school of thought, which in my opinion is by far the better informed, feels that the wiser plan would be to establish a large Commonwealth plant in Canada, which could supply the material for the other parts of the Empire, and to the research laboratories of which teams from the various Dominions and Britain could come for research work. Personally I think this latter is by far the wiser scheme unless there are some higher policy considerations unknown to me.

4. What is the present position with respect to the Chalk River plant and the research unit in Montreal and any other related Canadian undertakings? What personnel and money (capital and operating expense) have we committed to these projects? How does this compare with the U.K. and the U.S. qualitatively; quantitatively?

Answer

The scientific research laboratory in Montreal is presently costing about $750,000 per year. It is impossible to make an accurate estimate of future budgets until the question of co-operation with the United Kingdom is determined, but it is felt that a research laboratory budget of about $500,000 per year will be a minimum. Regarding the Chalk River project the capital costs on completion will be in the neighbourhood of twenty million, and again it is very difficult to estimate yearly operating expenses for a type of industrial plant that has no parallel in history. Informed guesses run from two million to one million dollars per year. As far as the United Kingdom is concerned outside of the scientists who are being maintained in our Canadian laboratories and in the stations in the United States there is little money being spent, but as mentioned above from informal discussions going on in England

D 49837

I have learned that capital expenditures of the order of eighty million pounds are being contemplated. As far as the United States is concerned all we know is that the overall cost up to 1945 was in the neighbourhood of two billion dollars but it is certain that operation costs are of an altogether different order of magnitude from those undertaken by Canada.

5. What briefly are the government controls in Canada over

(a) deposits of radio-active raw materials;

(b) production of and refining of radio-active ores;

(c) atomic research and development? Should a comprehensive method of control on a long-term basis be established?

Answer

(a) In the Northwest Territories all rights in connection with future mines of uranium have been reserved to the Government, and similar agreements have been reached with several of the provinces.

(b) As far as I am aware there are no Government controls on refining of radium ores but actually only Eldorado is conducting such an operation.

(c) There are no Government controls in Canada in connection with atomic research and development but in my opinion there certainly should be. Such controls should be established on a long term basis but any legislation should be very carefully framed so that ordinary fundamental scientific work on nuclear physics is not brought under Government control, but only the design, development, construction and operation of atomic energy plants and the distribution of radioactive fission products.

6. What, in outline, are the agencies through which the develop-

ment of the atomic bomb has been directed on a tripartite international basis? In your view, is it desirable to continue these tripartite agencies, perhaps in accordance with a new agreement?

Answer

The Combined Policy Committee, established out of an agreement reached by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill at Quebec, was the control body, but its authority and responsibilities were limited. My understanding is that the body was really not set up on a tripartite basis but was a United Kingdom-United States object with three representatives from the United States (Stimson, Bush and Conant) and three from the British end (Dill, Campbell and Howe). I do not know whether Mr. Howe was nominated by Mr. Churchill or was nominated by our Prime Minister.

In the United States authority and responsibility for the project passed through a series of steps until it reached the Army. At first when the work was on a very limited scale control was in the hands of a scientific committee. Later as interest increased responsibility passed to O.S.R.D. and then when it became evident there was a reasonable chance of dropping a bomb in this war, and when an extraordinarily large sum of money was involved, the project was put under the administrative control of a specially organized unit called Manhattan District, over which General Groves of the United States Army presided.

In England there were various committees working from 1939 on and it was in 1942 that an agreement was made between the British and Canadian Governments to enter a joint project for the establishment of a joint laboratory under the National Research Council administration in Montreal. The Combined Policy Committee was set up in 1943 to have general supervision over the cooperative aspects that were being worked out. For instance, our decision to build a plant at Chalk River was taken after a Joint Policy Committee was formed and that body approved of the programme as a suitable plant to fit into the American programme. The Joint Policy Committee also laid down the general regulations as to how far information could be shared, and took responsibility for other general aspects in connection with world surveys of sources of uranium. The Combined Policy Committee,

D 49839

however, had no executive or administrative control over any of the work in the United States, Canada, or the United Kingdom. All of the information in the United States was certainly not shared with Canada and the United Kingdom. For instance we were not given any details of design but had to work out for ourselves all plans and detailed design of the Chalk River plant. In the case of individual specialists, where disclosures would be of benefit to the scheme as a whole interchange of information took place on a strictly limited scale.

My view is that the whole matter of tripartite agreements should be examined and a new agreement worked out in which Canada's place would be more definitely stated, and in which the actual authority of the Combined Policy Committee would be more clearly defined.

7. Is it likely that denial

(a) of raw materials now controlled by the U.K., U.S., and Canada

(b) of the "secret" of the manufacture of plutonium; or

(c) of information on the construction of the bomb itself

would long prevent its production in other countries?

Answer

(a) The question of where and how much raw materials there are in the world, or even what the raw materials of the future will prove to be is not certain but I do not think that the control of the raw materials in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States would prevent, for any great length of time, developments in other countries.

(b) I think the same answer can be given for both (b) and (c) as everyone is agreed that it is a matter of time. The more theoretical scientists are apt to put a lower limit of three to five years on it. The more experienced engineer industrialists, who in my opinion know more of the actual difficulties to be

D 49840

overcome, place a minimum of five with a probable ten years as the time that it would take countries like Russia, Germany or Japan to do it if they were working under prewar conditions. It is my opinion that even with the knowledge which the United Kingdom scientific and technical staff have, which is very extensive indeed, they could probably not build a large plant in England and get it into production on a sufficient size to really produce material with which to make bombs in useable quantities, under five to seven years.

8. Is it likely that the limits of destructiveness of the atomic bomb can be greatly increased?

Answer

It is certain that the destructiveness of the atomic bomb can be increased but figures of the magnitude of a thousand times are not talked about by those who know most about it. There are two ways in which the increase can take place, first, by increasing the efficiency of the existing materials in the bomb which might double the effectiveness. In connection with the second possibility there is a large question mark, i.e., may fission be possible with other materials? In that field of speculation there is no consensus of opinion. On the other hand there is always available the simple expedient of increased destructiveness by dropping more and more bombs at the same time, i.e. "sticks of bombs".

D 49841

Prayers to the loved ones

D 49842

in which war appears as the only arbiter - it is our clear duty to support in every way we can the work of the new United Nations Organization. Building upon the comprehensive foundation it provides for security and for economic and social betterment, we must progressively remove the spectre of fear which both engenders a war mentality and lingers on after the last shot has been fired. Freedom from fear and freedom from want are essential conditions for any lasting peace. We have it in our power, through honest efforts to use the international agencies now already in action, to build and to maintain this peace.

D 49482-1

the elimination of the veto absolutely essential ;

complete confidence betw

1.

D 49843

It is now known that the atomic bomb test was made in Mexico on ; that the test left no doubt as to the potential powers of the bomb for mass destruction. Possessing this knowledge, the United States gave repeated warnings to Japan as to the existence of this new weapon of war and as to what might be expected from its application.

Hiroshima (an important army base), and Nagasaki, were selected as having relatively fewer women and children and persons not concerned with the manufacture of war materials than other centres.

D 49844

Proposal by President Truman Aug 6, 45

In his first statement on August 6th, President Truman said he would recommend that the Congress of the United States should consider promptly the establishment of a commission to control the production and use of atomic power within the United States. The proposal for a commission under the United Nations Organization - outlined in the agreed declaration of November 15th - is a logical extension of thesame principles of control from the national to the international sphere.

D 49845

Conclusion — Life or death
progress or downfall

Sir Stanhill - Lord Mor. - Lord Talent
Costers

Two contrary laws -

Two soldiers : - obeying laws of Nations
to limit frontiers of Ship

the Lawman court -

Revelation re Rogers -

D 49846

When, immediately following the First Great War, I published a study in the principles underlying industrial reconstruction under the title of "Industry and Humanity", I sought to stress the fact that it was impossible to separate industrial and international unrest; that the problems of industry and the problems of nationality were alike in being human problems and in rapidly becoming world problems. As human problems, I felt their solution could be found only in recognition of the truth that we are all members one of another and in conduct based on that belief.

D 49847

The Petition presented by the Home Rule Deputation

See Lord Lansdowne's Statement re Home Rule

Resolution for extension of franchise

D 49848

The Role of the United Nations Organization

History of - San Francisco - Preamble, London - Dumbarton Oaks.

Political Involvement:

Of most League of Nations
(see Statement re Appeal
to League U.S. Charter

dont fait partie

Re-veto -

D 49849

7 on page 4. I think these points are better not made in speech. They are really implicit in the line of argument on page 3 but might carry the interpretation that if we make analogous agreements with the U.S.S.R. we shall have solved the problems of maintaining close and friendly relations. There is in fact not a single issue between Canada and the U.S.S.R. of the sort which has been considered by the International Joint Commission and I do not think that we are likely for a long time to have concrete problems of this nature which could be taken up by a special Soviet-Canadian arbitral body.

Re: INDUSTRY AND HUMANITY

D49850

When immediately following the first Great War, I published a study in the principles underlying industrial reconstruction under the title of "Industry and Humanity", I sought to stress the fact that it was impossible to separate industrial and international unrest; that the problems of industry and the problems of nationality were alike in that they were essentially human problems but also in fact that they were rapidly becoming world problems and could find their solution ultimately only in some form of world control.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
78		Impressions of Britain & Europe. Speeches in Parliament	20 Nov. 1945	D 49506 - D 49519	
78		Opening Statement of Mr. King to the Dominion-Provincial Conference Reconstruction. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Nov. 1945	D 49520 - D 49533	
78		Washington, Declaration on Atomic Energy. Speeches in Parliament	17 Dec. 1945	D 49534 - D 49850	
79		General Eisenhower, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	Jan. 1946	D 49851 - D 49874	
79		Mr. King's Vote of Thanks to General Dwight D. Eisenhower before the Canadian Club, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Jan. 1946	D 49875 - D 49881	
79		Comments of Mr. King re: Ontario's Proposals at the Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction, 1945-1946, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Jan. 1946	D 49882 - D 49885	
79		Opening Statement to the Co-Ordinating Committee of the Dominion-Provincial Conference, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament, Ottawa	28 Jan. 1946	D 49886 - D 49910	

KING, William Lyon Mackenzie: Speeches Series

MG 26, J 5, Volume 79, pages D 49851 - D 50448

9-I-46

D 49851

Responses or reaction to great power

Lincoln type.

Egotism vs. personal humility
Conceit

Lying pretension) - Clear sighted -
Hypocrisy (honesty

Integrity of
mind and heart -

Devotion to
duty.

Superman - man with God's
natural endowments.

Self glorification -

glorification of others cause -
others.

Self (before glory)

Ostentation

Propaganda - exhibitionist

Destructive vs Constructive

Not personal ambition - buty duty.

Millions of men directed by him -

sense of responsibility.

 D49852

The instrument by which the destinies of nations are decided.

Perfect embodiment in our time of America's national ideal.

A great national figure -

an international hero.

Virtues, etc.

Something that can be shared by all.

Common demomination to which aspirations of all men of good-will can be reduced.

Virtues of tolerance -

a unifying world principle.

Prefer relation of Freedom to Authority.

Prefer relation of Individual to Social Life.

D 49853

S H A E F greatest fact of the war.

" Eisenhower's creature.

Special qualities (

his vital attitudes.

A psychological base for world-wide co-operation.

Tolerance, gradualism, etc.

Attitudes possible to all mankind - ordinary work-a-day effort.

Re: Victory.

Jewelled Order of Victory from Russia June 10.

Millions of eyes fixed on him.

" " ears listened to what he said.

Want common man of all nations to have opportunities we fought to preserve.

One of greatest triumphs ever accorded any man in London.

Spoke of humility - acclaim earned in the blood of his followers and sacrifices of his friends.

D 49854

Came from very heart of America.

Abilene, Kansas.

True kinship = inner things, intangibles.

Preserve freedom of worship, liberty, equality before law, spiritual values.

Re: meeting differences:

"Let us be friends".

America -

triumphal procession across native land.

Joint session of Congress -

a symbol of the things we call the American heritage.

Spoke of no more worthy soldier than the trained American.

Techniques of war =

10-I-46

D 49855

I. Welcome on behalf of the Government and people of Canada.

General of the Army -
Dwight D. Eisenhower,
Chief of the United States Army,
and Mrs. Eisenhower.

People of Canada watched with envious eyes opportunity other countries to pay this tribute to the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Expeditionary Forces.

Like to recall some of the great events your presence revives and lessons your life serves to instil.

2. Unfolding pageant of world events since 1942.

3. Great decision that had to be made the destiny of nations.
Meeting with Churchill.

4. <u>The hours of triumph</u> -
<u>The victor returning from the war</u>
real test:

(a) gift of Russia -
jeweled Order of Victory
Marshal Zukov;

(b) the Freedom of London;

(c) Welcome in New York;

(d) Address to Congress;

(e) Visit to Abilene;

(f) Visit to Canada and Ottawa -
a page to our history.

5. <u>Close of an epoch</u> -

end of years of aggression
and world conquest.

<u>Beginning of a new era</u> -

fulfilment of an ideal.

Dividing line in history.

 D 49857

6. Unity of English-speaking people.

Toast - President and King.

Churchill's visit to President -

Roosevelt's " " Ottawa.

Hands across the sea -

Glances across the table.

Kinship of ideals - freedom.

7. The future - must have peace.

Man not the creature of circumstance

But the architect of circumstance

8. The qualities required

true greatness.

9. Spared to the world -

to help meet the world's need

in peace as in war.

9-I-46

D49858

Honour to Canada and Capital

Welcome also to Mrs. Eisenhower

Glad to have opportunity to pay our tribute

Present revised:

1) Unfolding ~~memories of~~ pageant of world events

N. W. Africa - Sicily-Italy

N.W. Europe - The surrender

The making of history

2) Great decisions that had to be made

Significance of choices - Old Testament

etc., all progress depends on right choices being made

The meeting with Churchill and Eisenhower

The invasion

The great decision --

Something not of the moment but the outcome of years - beginning with childhood.

3) The hours of triumph ~~and~~ the Victory

returning from the wars.

A real test

a) the Freedom of London - notes re Anglo-Saxon
b) the welcome in New York - unity
~~the U. S. citizen~~
c) address to Congress - others
d) the visit to ~~Ottawa~~ Abilene
home and parents

4) Unity of English-speaking peoples

D 49859

4) Unity of English-speaking peoples

The great freedom-loving people

Toasts - President and King
hands across the sea

~~5)~~ Dividing lines in history

(5) The close of an epoch, -

The end of years of aggression and attempt at world conquest

The beginning of a new era

The hope of the fulfilment of an ideal

A new world order

The position Eisenhower now holds

Chief of Staff of U. S.

A world citizen

Great in war - great in peace
Not the creature of circumstances but the architect of circumstances

An example of true greatness

simplicity
humility
spirit of co-operation
complete self control
} human - and human qualities

giving honour where honour is due

he that conquereth his own spirit
mightier than he that ruleth a nation

6) May he be spared in health and strength to enjoy the splendor of glorious ~~summit (?)~~ and the reward of a life of service and sacrifice

Till received into the light of fuller and everlasting day - in what we speak of as the beyond.

See re Foch (Recall meeting in England)

Welcome to Canada -: on behalf of govt. and people

Kindness in arranging for visit

Wish citizens in all parts might meet

" " " " to hear

Reasons for welcome:

As Commander of Allied Forces in war

As General of the Armies in Europe

Distinguished services

characteristics of

weighty decisions

power of co-operative effort in field

ability to inspire co-operation of nations

justice, mercy, fair play

personal chracteristics

modesty

humour

virtues most admired by Anglo-Saxon peoples.

A common denominator - speeches - U.S., U.K. friendship

emphasis on humanity, brotherhood, tolerance, etc.

nationality

contribution to peace.

A North American citizen - pride in Americanism

work for unity

united co-operation to Victory

" " Peace.

9-I-46

D 49861

Honours to Canada and Capital

Welcome also to Mrs. Eisenhower

Glad to have opportunity to pay our tribute

Present revise:

1) Unfolding memories of pageant of world events

N. W. Africa - Sicily-Italy

N.W. Europe - The surrender

The making of history

2) Great decisions that had to be made

Significance of choices - Old Testament

etc., all progress depends on right choices being made

The meeting with Churchill and Eisenhower

at Abiline

The invasion

The great decision --

Something not of the moment but the outcome of years - beginning with childhood.

3) The hours of triumph and the Victory

returning from the wars.

A real test

a) the Freedom of London - notes re Anglo-Saxon
b) the welcome in New York - unity
the U. S. citizen
c) address to Congress - others
d) the visit to Ottawa
home and parents

4) Unity of English-speaking peoples

D 49862

4) Unity of English-speaking peoples

The great freedom-loving people

Toasts - President and King
hands across the sea

5) Dividing lines in history

The close of an epoch -

The end of years of aggression and attempt at world conquest

The beginning of a new era

The hope of the fulfilment of an ideal

A new world order

The position Eisenhower now holds

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6) May he be spared in health and strength to enjoy the splendor of glorious summit (?) and the reward of a life of service and sacrifice

Till received into the light of fuller and everlasting day - in what we speak of as the beyond.

D 49863

See re Foch

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Kindness in arranging for visit

Wish citizens in all parts might meet

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Reasons for welcome:

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A North American citizen - pride in Americanism

work for unity

united co-operation to Victory

" " Peace.

(Recall meeting in England)

See re Foch

Welcome to Canada -: on behalf of govt. and people
Kindness in arranging for visit
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Reasons for welcome:
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D 49865

Vote of Thanks to General Eisenhower

Canadian Club, Ottawa

By Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

The PRESIDENT: May I ask the Prime Minister to extend the thanks of the Club to General Eisenhower.

The PRIME MINISTER: Mr. President, Your Excellency, Ambassadors, Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very much honoured that the President of the Canadian Club should have asked me to extend our thanks to General Eisenhower, who has just addressed us. I accept this invitation with a sense of great responsibility, for I am conscious that no words of mine could possibly express what the Canadian people in their hearts feel most deeply about our distinguished guest.

I am pleased indeed to have this opportunity, on behalf of the Government and of the people of Canada as a whole, to renew the warm welcome which we have already sought to extend to General Eisenhower since his arrival in the Dominion. We have only one regret at this moment. It is that the visit is so short that other citizens of Canada, and particularly the members of our armed forces from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, have not the great privilege which is ours this afternoon, of hearing one to whom the world owes so much, and whom it has, so rightly, greatly honoured. It is, I say, to be regretted

that the Canadian people generally have not this privilege, and the further privilege which we enjoy, of looking upon one on whose decision -- in greater measure than that of any other-- has rested the destinies of mankind.

May I say to General Eisenhower how honoured we are that he has brought Mrs. Eisenhower with him on this visit to Canada. We feel doubly honoured to have the General and Mrs. Eisenhower in our country for a few days, and I hope this is only one of many visits from them which we shall have the pleasure of enjoying as the years go by.

The members of this Club will recognize, I am sure, that to attempt to express due appreciation of what General Eisenhower has said to us today, and particularly of the memories which his speech revives, would entail more or less a review of the momentous events of the last six or seven years.

We are reminded by General Eisenhower's presence of his great part as Supreme Commander of the Allied forces, and of his contribution to the victory of the free forces of the world which has meant the salvation of mankind. His address has recalled to us the invasion of North Africa at which time he was leading the Allied forces, the invasion of Sicily, and again the movement across the Channel into France and on to Belgium and Holland. Above all, his address has reminded us of the supreme task which was his, at headquarters of the Allied Armies, of inspiring

D 49867

hearty cooperation among the several forces that were entrusted to his command. All the Allied forces were brought together each playing its part in a triumph of good over evil on a scale vaster than anything of the kind ever witnessed before in the history of the world.

In the address which General Eisenhower has given this afternoon we realize, I believe, the secret of his genius as a Commander. He has the art of inspiring cooperation in a measure given to few men in this world; he has in his breast the spirit of freedom; and, what is part of the same thing, he has a genuine love for his fellow men which has made itself felt wherever he has gone. I think he has revealed to us the secret of success, not only in war, but also in times of peace. Unless men and women generally learn that secret of cooperation, and of perseverance in good-will, then all the machinery and all the formulae that the human mind may devise will mean very little in the end. If, however, we can follow the example he has given us, that of fostering a spirit of brotherhood among all nations, then we may go forward fully reassured concerning the task which lies ahead.

General Eisenhower, there are many things I should like to say, but the time is short, and you as a man of action, I know, prefer deeds to words. I notice that our good friends in Scotland went about things in the right way. For when they decided

to express their admiration for you, not in words but in visible form, they presented you with an ancient castle. Not only did they give you a castle but they furnished it and provided the wherewithal that you might entertain your former associates at any time they might be fortunate enough to visit you in Scotland. That castle, I understand, is of the Gothic type, built in 1777. It is only twenty miles from Prestwick. So those of your friends who land there will find it an easy journey to the castle. And, after what you have said today, you may be sure that some of us when we land in Scotland will make straight for that ancient site.

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have in my hand. This letter, with your permission, I should now like to read to you in the presence of the guests here assembled.

(The Prime Minister then read the letter to General Eisenhower.)

D 49870

Vote of Thanks to General Eisenhower

Canadian Club, Ottawa

By Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

The PRESIDENT: May I ask the Prime Minister to extend the thanks of the Club to General Eisenhower.

The PRIME MINISTER: Mr. President, Your Excellency, Ambassadors, Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very much honoured that the President of the Canadian Club should have asked me to extend our thanks to General Eisenhower, who has just addressed us. I accept this invitation with a sense of great responsibility, for I am conscious that no words of mine could possibly express what the Canadian people in their hearts feel most deeply about our distinguished guest.

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D 49871

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D 49874

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(The Prime Minister then read the letter to General Eisenhower.)

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The Prime Minister

D 49875

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Canadian Club, Ottawa

By Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

The PRESIDENT: May I ask the Prime Minister to extend the thanks of the Club to General Eisenhower.

The PRIME MINISTER: Mr. President, Your Excellency, Ambassadors, Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very much honoured that the President of the Canadian Club should have asked me to extend our thanks to General Eisenhower, who has just addressed us. I accept this invitation with a sense of great responsibility, for I am conscious that no words of mine could possibly express what the Canadian people in their hearts feel most deeply about our distinguished guest.

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D 49876

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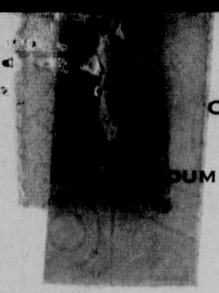
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have in my hand. This letter, with your permission, I should now like to read to you in the presence of the guests here assembled.

(The Prime Minister then read the letter to General Eisenhower.)



OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER D 49880

DUM for the Prime Minister:

As directed, I have sent a corrected copy of your remarks to the Canadian Club for their permanent records, and have also put a corrected copy with the other material submitted by Mr. Glen in connection with the souvenir volume on Mount Eisenhower.

A number of copies were made at the same time for the office files and for Laurier House. A copy -- is attached.

J.W.P.

10-2-46

February 9, 1946.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER D 49880

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister:

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10-2-46

February 9, 1946.

REPEAT
REPETITION

49881

D

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

CANADA

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Dominion-Provincial Conference

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

Sat. 26.1.46

MEMORANDUM

Prime Minister D 49882

re. Ontario Proposals

Attached is the draft of the suggested comment, also suggested questions on Constitutional & Financial aspects. Mr Claxton is working on some further questions on Welfare which will not be ready until tomorrow.

It has been suggested as a possible alternative to your reading them all that you might ask Mr. St Laurent to read the Constitutional, Mr Ilsley the Financial & Mr Claxton the Welfare questions.

Last.

D 49883

DOMINION-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE
CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

~~Suggested~~ Comment on the Ontario ~~brief.~~ submissions

by

The Prime Minister of Canada.

Since the Ontario proposals were submitted to the Economic Committee on January 8th, the Dominion government - and I have no doubt all the provincial governments - have been giving close study to their implications. I am sure ~~of us~~ all appreciate the evidence given in the Ontario ~~brief~~ submissions of prolonged consideration of the problems involved, and the expression ~~it~~ they contain of support for national objectives.

With many points made by the Ontario government, the Dominion government and, I imagine, all other provincial governments, would be in complete or substantial agreement. If I might single out one of the more important, it is the proposal for the formal establishment of a continuing Dominion-Provincial agency of consultation and co-operation at the technical level - the proposed Dominion-Provincial Economic Board. ~~It is, I think, only fair to say that~~ The proceedings of the Economic Committee of the Dominion-Provincial Conference, established at our last meeting, ~~on the motion of the Premier of Ontario,~~ have conclusively proven the value of such an organization. It seems clear that, with the ~~growing~~ increasing complexity of inter-governmental relations, and their growing

impact on national economy as a whole, it would be desirable to provide for the permanent establishment of a body which would facilitate the freest possible exchange of economic and technical information between Dominion and provincial officials.

The proposal for the permanent establishment of a Co-ordinating Committee composed of the Prime Minister of Canada and the premiers of the various provinces raises questions of a quite different order. As proposed by Ontario, this Committee would have power to determine the amount of the adjustment grants to be made to each province and to recommend the amounts to be paid in respect to the timing of public investment projects. The Dominion government is wholly in favour of full consultation and frequent conferences between Dominion and provincial governments. There are, however, implications in the Ontario proposal which would, we believe, involve a radical departure from the existing federal constitution and from the whole scheme of Confederation as it has operated hitherto. In ~~brief~~ a word, the Ontario proposals would ~~appear to~~ provide for establishing a ~~national~~ Dominion-Provincial conference or council of governments with powers which ~~would~~ encroach upon the constitutional jurisdiction of both the Dominion and every individual provincial government and which would

D 49885

not be responsible to the people of Canada.

The Ontario proposals also raise misgivings as to whether they would place the Dominion government and the governments of ~~all~~ the provinces collectively in a position to carry out effectively the high employment, high national income, and social security programme which ~~we have~~ has been set as our objective. The Ontario proposals, moreover, do not appear to make adequate provision for the fiscal needs of the Dominion and other provincial governments. Before ~~the Dominion government expresses any~~ definite views on certain of the Ontario proposals, ~~there are~~ a ~~number of questions which~~ my colleagues and I feel it would be helpful ~~to have answered by~~ the Ontario government in order to give us a clearer appreciation of the implications of its proposals.

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49886

Premier Ministers

Papers which are

re-typed

S W P

D49887

DOMINION-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE
Co-ordinating Committee

~~Suggested draft of~~ Statement by Prime Minister ~~Is opening statement~~ to Committee at opening of proceedings Monday afternoon, August 26th, 1946

In welcoming the Premiers and other representatives of the provincial governments to the sessions of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Dominion-Provincial Conference, I should like, at the outset ~~first~~, to express appreciation of the very serious consideration all the participating governments have given to the problems we are seeking to meet.

The Objective

Since the Conference first met the war has come to an end and we have been in a position to give our full attention to the problems of reconstruction. There is One other advantage we have enjoyed since the Conference had its first session on August 6th last, ~~That advantage has been~~ namely unanimity as to our objectives. We have all been agreed on the objectives, as set forth by the Dominion, that what we are seeking is the maintenance of a high level of employment and national income: the enlargement of opportunities for individual and community development; and the fullest encouragement of enterprise, whether in its appropriate

of these submissions. Other suggestions, of course, are more difficult to reconcile with the Dominion approach. The greatest difference of approach is that made in the brief submitted by the government of Ontario.

Procedure

Since this greatest difference of approach is that made by the Government of Ontario, I would ~~accordingly~~ suggest that when I conclude these introductory ~~my~~ remarks, we turn to an examination of the proposals of the Government of Ontario. The Premier of Ontario would, I am sure, be prepared to make a statement outlining the submission. If this procedure is acceptable, I would propose that, immediately following, the Dominion and then the other provincial representatives should express their views in reference to the Ontario proposals.

While on the question of procedure, might I clarify my understanding of the arrangements in respect to publicity. It was formally agreed by the Co-ordinating Committee that no minutes would be kept of our discussions, and that they would be strictly confidential. ~~I think~~ we all, I believe, still agree that this should continue to be our practice, ~~but~~ I believe, however, that it would be desirable to have the Secretary prepare a press release before the conclusion of each day's meetings which would require to be formally approved ~~by each~~

In North America to-day - and probably in other countries not directly ravaged by war - there tends to be a spirit of false security and of optimism based on favourable immediate business prospects. Looking further into the future, it may well be doubted whether such complacency necessarily rests on particularly strong foundations. How the future will develop depends upon the measures we in Canada and those in other lands adopt and the course we follow. Our problems will not solve themselves.

There is at the present time a keen demand for almost everything which can be produced in Canada - a demand which comes not only from our own people, but is bolstered by the tremendous credits which Canada is extending to other countries to help them in the reconstruction of their affairs and the feeding of their peoples during this period of shortages. The great question which faces the world to-day is how this present high level of demand can be translated into enduring prosperity. One must indeed be optimistic to believe that the problem will be solved without periods during which there are serious threats to national income and employment. ~~If we make~~ Dealing with the best possible arrangements for operation of our public

(continued)

affairs in this country, we shall still need ~~every atom~~ all the ~~of~~ intelligence and efficiency we possess to maintain and improve the living condition of our people. ~~If we fail to make such arrangements, it is hard to see how serious trouble can be avoided.~~ The consequent failure to effect such arrangements would be serious indeed.

It is in the light of these prospects that the Dominion government advances its proposals in the belief that they provide the most practical means of meeting the immediate transitional problem. They can be applied on a temporary basis without amending the constitution or changing the fundamental basis of Confederation.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

Prime Minister

This is the draft you had in Cabinet — Clark and Skelton are still working on re-draft which will, I regret to say, not be ready until this evening

D 49891

25.1.46

D 49892

DOMINION-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

Co-ordinating Committee

Suggested draft of Prime Minister's opening statement.

In welcoming the Premiers and other representatives of the provincial governments to the sessions of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Dominion-Provincial Conference, I should like, first, to express appreciation of the ~~very~~ serious consideration all the participating governments have given to the problems we are seeking to meet.

The Objective

One great advantage we have enjoyed since the Conference had its first session on August 6th last. That advantage has been the unanimity as to our objectives. We have ~~all~~ been agreed that what we are seeking is the maintenance of a high level of employment and national income: the enlargement of opportunities for individual and community development; and the fullest encouragement of enterprise, whether in its appropriate field the enterprise is public or private. It is these which will make possible a rising standard of living and increased social security for the people of Canada in all the provinces of Canada.

We have equally recognized that the Dominion government and the governments of the provinces all have a part to play in reaching those objectives, and that the objectives can only be attained if all governments are in a position to discharge their functions effectively and if, in certain vital respects, all are prepared to work together in harmony.

The Procedure

It might be helpful to review very briefly the procedure which has been followed in our efforts to work towards a firm foundation of Dominion-Provincial co-operation in the achievement of the objectives on which all are agreed. At the

opening sessions of the Conference in August last, the Dominion submitted a comprehensive set of proposals. We made our proposals in no "take-it or leave-it" spirit. We invited the provinces to make proposals as well as to suggest modifications of our proposals. Certain of the provinces submitted proposals of their own at that stage. The Co-ordinating Committee was established and November 26th was set as the date for its next meeting. The purpose of the adjournment was to provide time for the study of the Dominion proposals and the preparation by the provinces of comments, criticisms or alternative proposals. The Co-ordinating Committee met on November 26th. After a useful exchange of views, the Co-ordinating Committee set up an Economic Committee which held meetings between December 4th and 14th and again between January 8th and 17th. By its terms of reference, the Economic Committee was a fact-finding body which made no collective report. Its members all reported to their own governments.

The Economic Committee discussed in detail the Dominion's financial, social security and public investment proposals and some suggested modifications of certain of these proposals. In addition, the governments of Ontario and Saskatchewan submitted briefs which were considered by the Committee. The financial proposals of the Ontario government were examined in detail on the same basis as the financial proposals of the Dominion.

The Co-ordinating Committee is now resuming its sessions to continue ~~our~~ its deliberations in the light of the information and clarification provided by this detailed examination.

Dominion attitude

Before we resume these discussions, may I again recall the approach of the Dominion government to the

D 49894

solution of our common problems. It is the view of the Dominion government that our federal system of government should be preserved and its federal character strengthened. At the plenary session on August 6th last, speaking on behalf of the Dominion Government, I said:

> "We do not believe that unity is to be found in uniformity, in standardization or in centralization. We believe the unity and strength of Canada are equally dependent upon the soundness and strength of the provinces, and their capacity to discharge their functions effectively. We believe that only when the provinces are relatively secure in their own spheres that we achieve the co-operation among all governments so essential to our country's needs."

May I say that my colleagues and I have never deviated from these views, and have scrutinized every aspect of our proposals in the light of the general principles which I have laid down. The changes we have suggested are those we believe will strengthen the position of each government in its respective field.

None of the changes we have suggested in the main Dominion proposals involve constitutional amendments or any fundamental disturbance of the traditional pattern of Confederation. In this unsettled period of world transition, we recognize the necessity of proceeding experimentally and without making or seeking irrevocable commitments. In the hope of securing the greatest possible degree of co-operative effort in this difficult period, we are seeking to proceed only after the fullest and frankest discussion with the provincial governments.

It is in this light that the Dominion government has undertaken to give thorough consideration to all suggestions for modification of its own proposals and any alternative proposals made by the provinces.

<u>Modification of Dominion proposals</u>

Most of the proposals and suggestions of the provinces have had as their starting point the Dominion proposals, ~~and~~ more

D 49895

have been suggested modifications of what we have proposed or supplementary to these proposals. Let me say at once, in this connection, that as a result of the discussion of provincial submissions and of further information and study of the position of the provinces, the Dominion government is prepared to raise the minimum proposed unconditional payments to provinces, and to make certain other modifications which will better meet the needs of the provinces ~~and make possible a sounder and more equitable agreement.~~

(Alternative A:

.....the Dominion Government is prepared to raise the $12 minimum per capita payment to $15 based on 1942 gross national production and population instead of 1941 and to make certain other modifications which will better meet the needs of the provinces and make possible a sounder and more equitable agreement. The proposed revision is outlined on the sheet which has just been circulated. These revisions have been made after most exhaustive consideration of all the factors involved from the point of view of both the provincial and Dominion budgets and represent the extreme limit to which the Dominion government feels it can go in improving the terms of its financial proposals.)

It cannot be said that the Dominion Government has sought to encroach on provincial fields of administration. The Dominion has offered to make certain specific payments to employable unemployed and to people over seventy. ~~For good reasons,~~ the provinces wish the Dominion to assume these ~~burdens.~~ The Dominion feels strongly, however, that it should not become involved in the complex administrative problems of providing welfare services to these and other

groups, and in fact the Dominion proposals suggest no changes in constitutional responsibilities.

Insert pp.5A,5B,5C

The most important, and at the same time perhaps the most controversial of the Dominion proposals is that the provinces should allow the Dominion Government sole jurisdiction in the fields of personal and corporate income taxation, and in the field of succession duties, for a certain period of years. Some may fear that failure of the provinces to reoccupy part of these fields of taxation will hamper provincial activities in years to come by reason of the fact that revenues will not be as large as they would otherwise have been, and that this situation would weaken provincial autonomy and enlarge the Dominion's field of responsibility. Let me say ~~with all the earnestness at my command~~ that if we thought this fear was justified my colleagues and I would not continue to press the Dominion's proposals. In fact we believe that our ~~original~~ suggestions ~~and further proposals~~ in respect of compensation give to the provinces every reasonable assurance that they will ~~not be worse~~ be better off than if they retained the right to levy personal and corporate income taxes and succession duties concurrently with the Dominion. This is the major point on which attention must be concentrated. ~~Surely~~ It is not too much to hope that it is a point on which agreement can be reached.

I should like to remind the Committee that the Dominion Government attaches the ~~very~~ greatest importance to sole occupancy of the fields of taxation to which I have just referred. All the plans which have been put forward for social security, for an improvement in standards of nutrition and of health, for a general betterment in the living conditions of our people, depend for their continued success on a high level of national production, and only under such conditions can the real costs of the programme be met. It cannot be denied that the rates and character of income taxation vitally affect consumption and production. Such

5A

5A From a fiscal point of view, the imposition and collection of ~~these~~ income and corporation and succession duties taxes by the Dominion, and the sharing of their proceeds with the provincial governments is a practical means, of which we have already some experience, of meeting the fiscal requirements of all the provinces efficiently and equitably. It is, moreover, a proposal wholly in line with the original scheme of Confederation. One of the most essential features of Confederation - and one without which it could never have been achieved - was the collection of major sources of revenue taxes by the Dominion and the payments by the Dominion to the provinces, determined on a factual basis.

D 49898

There can be no dispute as to that. At the time of Confederation, the provinces received in subsidies about 60 per cent of their total ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ordinary expenditures.

Since Confederation the inevitable and proper increases in the functions of governments have increased this need for federal subsidies, and the increases have been made from time to time. The depression of the 1930's brought home this need to everyone, and it resulted in the Rowell-Sirois Commission. The heavy unemployment of the 1930's necessitated ~~heavy subsidization of~~ extensive assistance to the provinces, although the ad hoc arrangements then made were most unsatisfactory and failed to meet the needs of the provinces or of the people of Canada. Subsequently, the tremendous demands of war created a financing problem which could only be met by placing income and corporate taxes under one authority - with compensation to the provinces in the form of specified payments from the Dominion. Our wartime taxation and compensation arrangements have worked well. That is recognized by all.

The question now is whether the need of the provinces for additional revenue can best be met by double taxation, by increasing provincial taxes and by distributing from one province to another, or can it best be done by extending and adapting to peacetime conditions the arrangements we found necessary and useful in meeting the needs of war.

The Dominion's proposals for large unconditional payments to provinces ~~do~~ showed not introduce any element of irresponsibility in provincial expenditures: the payments to the provinces are specifically determined sums for value received, and the provincial governments, which must still raise the bulk of their revenues from their own fields of taxation, cannot

escape the responsibility for deciding whether expenditures, in any given case, should be incr[illegible] whether taxes might be reduced. (f. back to p 5)

taxes may either encourage or discourage initiative and new investment. They influence wages as well as employment. Moreover, a given rate and type of income taxation can have different effects at one level of national income and activity as compared with another level. For example, our war-time taxes have made ~~no more than~~ a necessary and vital ~~proper~~ contribution to the prevention of inflation and the payment of war costs. Under normal peace-time conditions, they would have constituted a crushing burden and a potent source of unemployment. Any government which is committed to a policy of high employment must be prepared and able to make swift changes in its taxation policy in the light of changing conditions. I do not think that any Canadian Government could in good conscience commit itself to a policy of high employment, and assume responsibility for the unemployment which may exist if things do not always run smoothly, unless that government could move freely and without impediment in the fields of income and corporation taxation and succession duties.

Since this is a crucial point in the Dominion proposals I might add that when we speak of efficiency of taxation we are referring only incidentally to the question of tax collection costs to governments and taxpayers. These costs are of course an important consideration but we are even more concerned that our Canadian income and corporation tax system should be efficient in the sense that it would impose the least possible discouragement to the incentives of persons and corporations to expand their operations and increase employment.

Forecast of tax policy

The Dominion proposals envisage the pursuit of fiscal policies designed to contribute to the maintenance of a high level of employment and national income. ~~To that end,~~ if the Dominion proposals are accepted, and the risk ~~thereby is~~

removed of having Dominion policies nullified by provincial policies having contrary economic effects, the government intends to make further reductions in the personal income tax and also to reduce the element of double taxation of corporate income which now exists, with its tendency to discourage risk-taking enterprise. It is also proposed that there should be a direct personal contribution, according to means, to the expanded social services proposed by the Dominion.

The Dominion would, in the interests of maintaining high employment, deliberately budget for deficits in some years and pain for a budgetary balance over the business cycle as a whole, rather than for each individual year.

It must, however, be emphasized anew that the successful application of such policies is inevitably dependent upon exclusive control of the main fields of progressive taxation.

The Ontario proposals

In response to the Dominion's invitation, a large number and wide variety of proposals and suggestions have been submitted by the provinces. We shall, I hope, proceed to an orderly consideration of these provincial submissions by this Committee. We wish to give the same full consideration to the proposals and suggestions of the provinces which ~~they~~ the Dominion have given to those put forward by the Dominion. A number of improvements on the Dominion proposals have been suggested and I have already intimated ~~that~~ we are prepared to make certain modifications in the light of these submissions. Other suggestions, of course, are more difficult to reconcile with the Dominion approach. The greatest difference of approach is that made in the brief submitted by the government of Ontario. By this, I do not mean to suggest that there are not points in the Ontario brief with which we are in complete or substantial agreement. The suggestion for the formal establishment of continuing Dominion-Provincial agencies of consultation and co-operation, for instance, is most helpful and constructive. It is a suggestion I hope all the provinces will be ready to consider in our common effort to improve the working of our federal system.

D 49900-1

Certain other of the Ontario proposals do not, however, seem to the Dominion Government to provide practical alternative means of meeting the urgent exigencies of the immediate situation which faces us. In saying this I do not suggest that they are not deserving of the most careful consideration over a period of time, but at least one of the most important of the Ontario recommendations involves so radical a departure from our existing federal constitution and from the whole scheme of Confederation that it is hard to

envisage the possibility of securing a large enough measure of agreement in time to meet the fiscal situation which is already almost upon us.

The proposal that all the provinces should impose taxes to be placed in a fund for distribution to other provinces to meet the fiscal needs of other provinces is a novel and almost revolutionary conception. To say that is ~~, of course,~~ not to condemn it. But will this provide for the legitimate fiscal needs of the other provinces on a determinable and secure basis? Can it be reconciled with the federal system as we have known it and the preservation of real provincial autonomy? These and similar questions suggest need for prolonged and careful study. The same is true of the proposal for the Dominion-Provincial body which is to be charged with the allocation of the Equalization Fund. It involves the creation of something closely approaching a second central government and one which would not, at first sight, seem to be directly answerable to the people, but which would nevertheless, exercise a very important degree of control over individual provinces, at least in the negative sense of some kind of veto. Furthermore the size of the Equalization Fund envisaged would not appear to make adequate or secure provision for the fiscal needs of many of the provinces, except on the assumption that the Dominion would assume a high proportion of the cost of welfare services provided by the provinces. Since no responsible government could conceivably assume such a charge without laying down certain fundamental uniform standards, this proposal would seem to involve a degree of centralization or, at least, of interference by the Dominion Government with provincial welfare services, which it is hard to believe the provinces would be willing to accept. From the point of view of provincial autonomy, the unconditional payments proposed by the Dominion are surely preferable to the conditional grants inevitable in any Dominion assumption of 75% of the cost of provincial welfare services, or the uncertain amounts which provinces would receive from the National Adjustment Fund, as determined by a committee from year to year on criteria

D 49902

which cannot be defined and forecast in advance.

Finally the Ontario proposals would prevent the Dominion from carrying out effectively the broad fiscal and economic policies which depend upon only one set of taxes imposed by only one government, and which we believe are essential to maintenance of a high level of employment and extension of social security.

In setting out frankly the misgivings occasioned by certain features of the Ontario proposals, I am not suggesting that they should not be carefully studied. I feel the Ontario proposals deserve the full consideration to which the care and effort which have gone ~~in~~ into their preparation entitle them. One great advantage of establishing continuing organs of Dominion-Provincial co-operation will be to provide a suitable permanent agency for the consideration of all proposals for the improvement of Dominion-Provincial relations.

But our problem now is urgent. We must seek an immediate practical alternative to the chaotic situation which will otherwise exist when the war time tax agreements expire unless a new agreement can be reached. ~~Some modification of the Ontario proposals which can be applied~~

When I had the privilege of opening the meetings of the Dominion-Provincial Conference in August last, and announced the first use of the atomic bomb, I took occasion to speak of the extraordinarily serious problems facing the world. I see no reason to believe that I over-estimated the complexities and dangers of the situation. In North America to-day - and probably in other countries not directly ravaged by war - there tends to be a spirit of false security and of optimism based on favourable immediate business prospects; but looking to the future, this complacency does not seem to rest on particularly strong foundations. There is at the present time a keen demand for almost everything which can be produced in Canada - a demand which comes not only from

D 49903

our own people, but is bolstered by the tremendous credits which we are extending to other countries to help them in the reconstruction of their affairs and the feeding of their peoples during this period of shortages. The great question which faces the world to-day is how ~~this transitory boom~~ the present high level of demand can be translated into enduring prosperity. One must indeed be optimistic to believe that the problem will be solved without periods during which there are serious threats to national income and employment. If we make the best possible arrangements for operation of our public affairs in this country, we shall still need every atom of intelligence and efficiency we possess to maintain and improve the living condition of our people. If we fail to make such arrangements, I do not see how ~~we can avoid~~ serious trouble can be avoided.

It is in the light of these prospects that we advance our proposals, ~~which~~ they can be applied on a temporary and experimental basis without amending the constitution or changing the fundamental basis of Confederation, in the belief that they provide the ~~only~~ most practical means of meeting the immediate transitional problem. ~~If agreement can now be reached~~ for immediate action on the Dominion proposals - and we think that the time has come when decision on this cannot longer be delayed - there will of course be opportunity, before the period of any agreement expires, for further consideration, as the Ontario government has sought to do in its brief of alternative and more radical changes. But let us not seek hastily to abandon the tried and tested principles of Confederation.

D 49904

DOMINION-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE
Co-ordinating Committee

Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada (Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King) at the opening session, January 28, 1946.

In welcoming the Premiers and other representatives of the provincial governments to the sessions of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Dominion-Provincial Conference, I should like, at the outset, to express appreciation of the very serious consideration all the participating governments have given to the problems we are seeking to meet.

The Objective

Since the Conference first met the war has come to an end, and we have been in a position to give our full attention to the problems of reconstruction. There is one other advantage we have enjoyed since the Conference had its first session on August 6th last, namely unanimity as to our objectives. We have all been agreed on the objectives, as set forth by the Dominion, that what we are seeking is the maintenance of a high level of employment and national income; the enlargement of opportunities for individual and community development; and the fullest encouragement of enterprise, whether in its appropriate field the enterprise is public or private. It is achievement in these particulars which will make possible a rising standard of living, and increased social security for the people of Canada in all the provinces of Canada.

We have equally recognized that the Dominion government and the governments of the provinces all have a part to play in reaching those objectives. We are also agreed that the objectives can only be attained if all governments are in a position to discharge their functions effectively. We know that these objects can be attained only if, in certain vital respects, all are prepared to work together in harmony.

The Procedure

It might be helpful to review very briefly the procedure which has been followed in our efforts to work towards a firm foundation of Dominion-Provincial co-operation in the achievement of the objective on which all are agreed. At the opening sessions of the Conference in August last, the Dominion submitted a comprehensive set of proposals. We made our proposals in no "take-it or leave-it" spirit. We invited the provinces to make proposals as well as to suggest modifications of our proposals. Certain of the provinces submitted proposals of their own at that stage. The other provinces made informal statements. The Co-ordinating Committee was established and November 26th was set as the date for its next meeting. The purpose of the adjournment was to provide time for the study of the Dominion proposals and the preparation by the provinces of comments, criticisms or alternative proposals. The co-ordinating Committee met on November 26th.

D 49905

After a useful exchange of views, the Co-ordinating Committee set up an Economic Committee which held meetings between December 4th and 14th and, again, between January 8th and 17th. By its terms of reference, the Economic Committee was a fact-finding body which made no collective report. Its members all reported to their own governments.

The Economic Committee discussed in detail the Dominion's financial, social security and public investment proposals and some suggested modifications of certain of these proposals. In addition, the governments of Ontario and Saskatchewan submitted briefs which were considered by the Committee. The financial proposals of the Ontario government were examined in detail on the same basis as the financial proposals of the Dominion.

The Co-ordinating Committee is now resuming its sessions to continue its deliberations in the light of the information and clarification provided by the detailed examination made by the Economic Committee.

Dominion attitude

Before we resume these discussions, may I again recall the approach of the Dominion Government to the solution of our common problems. It is the view of the Dominion government that our federal system of government should be preserved and its federal character strengthened. At the plenary session on August 6th last, speaking on behalf of the Dominion Government, I said:

> "We do not believe that unity is to be found in uniformity, in standardization or in centralization. We believe the unity and strength of Canada are equally dependent upon the soundness and strength of the provinces, and their capacity to discharge their functions effectively. We believe that only when the provinces are relatively secure in their own spheres can we achieve the co-operation among all governments so essential to our country's needs."

May I say that my colleagues and I have never deviated from these views, and have scrutinized every aspect of our proposals in the light of the general principles there laid down. The changes we have suggested are those we believe will strengthen the position of each government in its respective field.

None of the changes we have suggested in the main Dominion proposals involve constitutional amendments or any fundamental disturbance of the traditional pattern of Confederation. We are neither proposing nor seeking irrevocable commitments in this unsettled period of world transition. We are seeking rather to meet urgent needs by the simplest and most effective means. In the hope of securing the greatest possible degree of co-operative effort, we are seeking to proceed only after the fullest and frankest discussion with the provincial governments.

D 49906

It is in this light that the Dominion government has undertaken to give thorough consideration to all suggestions for modification of its own proposals and to any alternative proposals made by the provinces.

Modification of Dominion proposals

Most of the proposals of the provinces have had as their starting point the Dominion proposals. They have been, in effect, suggested modifications of what we have proposed. In this connection, let me say at once, that as a result of the discussion of provincial submissions and of further information and study of the position of the provinces, the Dominion government is prepared to raise the minimum proposed unconditional payments to provinces, and to make certain other modifications, which may be considered by the provinces to be necessary to the conclusion of a general agreement.

In its proposals, the Dominion Government has not sought to encroach on provincial fields of administration. The Dominion has offered to make certain specific payments to employable unemployed and to people over seventy. These are obligations which the provinces wish the Dominion to assume. The Dominion feels, however, that it should not become involved in the complex administrative problems of providing welfare services to these and other groups, and, in fact, the Dominion proposals suggest no change in constitutional responsibilities.

In relation to taxation the original Dominion proposals were for a three year vacation by the provinces of the fields of provincial income and corporation taxes and succession duties in return for payments from the Dominion related to the gross national production, but with a guaranteed minimum. The device of a Dominion-Provincial tax agreement is a technique with which we have already had some experience. During the war it proved to be both an effective method of meeting the tremendous national responsibilities with which we were faced and of providing satisfactorily for the fiscal requirements of all the provinces. It is, moreover, a proposal wholly in line with the original scheme of Confederation.

One of the most essential features of Confederation - and one without which Confederation could never have been achieved - was the exclusive occupancy of the major sources of tax revenues by the Dominion, and the payment of subsidies by the Dominion to the provinces, in accordance with a specific formula. At the time of Confederation, the provinces received from the Dominion in subsidies about 60 per cent of their total ordinary expenditures.

Since Confederation the inevitable and proper increases in the functions of government have increased the need for federal subsidies, and increases have been made from time to time. The depression of the 1930's brought home this need to everyone, and it resulted

in the setting up of the Rowell-Sirois Commission. The heavy unemployment of the 1930's necessitated extensive Dominion assistance to the Provinces, although the ad hoc arrangements then made were most unsatisfactory both to the Dominion and the provinces. Subsequently, the tremendous demands of war created a financial problem which could only be met by placing income and corporate taxes under one authority - with compensation to the provinces in the form of specified payments from the Dominion.

Our wartime taxation and compensation arrangements have worked well. That is recognized by all. The financial problem of the Dominion has not vanished with the war. The war, in fact, has left the Dominion with very heavy financial obligations.

The question now is whether the need of the provinces for additional revenue can best be met by double taxation, by increasing provincial taxes and by transferring taxes collected in one province to another, or whether it can best be done by extending and adapting to peacetime conditions the arrangements we found necessary and useful in meeting the needs of war.

The Dominion's proposals for large unconditional payments to provinces should not introduce any element of irresponsibility in provincial expenditures: the payments to the provinces are specifically determined sums for value received. The provincial governments, which must also raise revenues from their own fields of taxation, cannot escape the responsibility for deciding whether expenditures in any given case should be increased, or whether taxes might be reduced.

The most important, and at the same time perhaps the most controversial of the Dominion proposals is that the provinces should allow the Dominion Government sole use, for a certain period of years, of the fields of personal and corporate income taxation and succession duties. Some may fear that failure of the provinces to reoccupy part of these fields of taxation will limit or restrict provincial activities in years to come by reason of the fact that revenues will not be as large as they would otherwise have been. It may be feared that this situation would weaken provincial autonomy and enlarge the Dominion's field of responsibility. Let me say that, if we thought this fear was justified, my colleagues and I would not continue to press the Dominion's proposals.

It is because we believe that the provincial governments will be better off, and also because we believe the taxpayers will be better off, under the Dominion proposals that we ask for the fullest consideration of our proposals and of the alternatives.

The Dominion government put forward its proposals for sole occupancy of the fields of the fields of taxation referred to because we could think of no other way in which our objectives could be effectively attained. All the plans which have been put forward for social

D 49908

security, for an improvement in standards of nutrition and of health, for a general betterment in the living conditions of our people, depend, for their continued success, on a high level of national production. Only with a high level of production and national income can the real costs of the programme be met.

It cannot be denied that the rates and character of income taxation vitally affect consumption and production. Such taxes may either encourage or discourage initiative and new investment. They influence wages as well as employment. Moreover, a given rate and type of income taxation can have different effects at one level of national income and activity as compared with another level. For example, our war-time taxes have made a necessary and vital contribution to the prevention of inflation and to the payment of war costs. Under normal peace-time conditions, they would have constituted a crushing burden and potent source of unemployment. Any government which is committed to a policy of high employment must be prepared and able to make swift changes in its taxation policy in the light of changing conditions.

I do not think that any Canadian Government could in good conscience commit itself to a policy of high employment, and assume the degree of responsibility suggested in the Dominion proposals for the unemployment which may exist if things do not always run smoothly, unless that government could move freely and without impediment in the fields of income and corporation taxation and succession duties.

Since this is a crucial point in the Dominion proposals I might add that, when we speak of efficiency of taxation, we have in mind more than tax collection costs to governments and taxpayers. We are even more concerned that our Canadian income and corporation tax system should be efficient in the sense that it imposes the least possible discouragement to the incentives of persons and corporations to expand their operations and increase employment.

D 49909

Forecast of Tax Policy

The Dominion proposals include a wide extension of social security, the cost of which will be met in part by direct personal contributions. In respect to the general personal income tax, the Government is now prepared to say that, once the Dominion proposals are accepted and the risk of having Dominion policies nullified by provincial policies having contrary economic effects is thereby avoided, the Government intends to make further reductions in the personal income tax. In the same circumstances, the Government also intends to reduce the element of double taxation of corporate income with its tendency to discourage risk-taking enterprise.

The Ontario proposals

In response to the Dominion's invitation, a large number and wide variety of proposals and suggestions have been submitted by the provinces. We shall, I hope, proceed to an orderly consideration of the major points of these provincial submissions by this Committee. We wish to give the same full consideration to the proposals and suggestions of the provinces which they have given to those put forward by the Dominion. A number of improvements on the Dominion proposals have been suggested and I have already intimated we are prepared to make certain modifications in the light of these submissions. Other suggestions, of course, are more difficult to reconcile with the Dominion approach. The greatest difference of approach is that made in the brief submitted by the government of Ontario.

Procedure

Since the greatest difference of approach is that made by the government of Ontario, I would suggest that when I conclude these introductory remarks, we turn to an examination of the proposals of the Government of Ontario. The Premier of Ontario would, I am sure, be prepared to make a statement outlining the submission. If this procedure is acceptable, I would propose that, immediately following, the Dominion and then the other provincial representatives should express their views in reference to the Ontario proposals.

While on the question of procedure, might I clarify my understanding of the arrangements in respect to publicity. It was formally agreed by the Co-ordinating Committee that no minutes would be kept of our discussions, and that they would be strictly confidential. We all, I believe, will agree that this should continue to be our practice. I believe, however, that it would be desirable to have the Secretary prepare a press release before the conclusion of each day's meetings which would require to be generally approved and would be released at the close of that day's sittings. I think the precedent has already been established that any prepared statement by a government setting forth its position, such as that I am now giving on behalf of the Dominion Government, may properly be released by that government to the press at any time. In making these suggestions, I am, of course, not seeking to determine the Committee's procedure, but merely to put forward my own view as to a convenient method of procedure.

D 49910

Conclusion

To return to the problem before us, I wish to emphasize that it is urgent. We must seek an immediate practical alternative to the chaotic situation which will exist unless a new agreement can be reached before the wartime tax agreements expire.

When I had the privilege of opening the meetings of the Dominion-Provincial Conference in August last, and announced the first use of the atomic bomb, I took occasion to speak of the extraordinarily serious problems facing the world. I see no reason to believe that I over-estimated the complexities and dangers of the situation. In North America to-day - and probably in other countries not directly ravaged by war - there tends to be a spirit of false security and of optimism based on favourable immediate business prospects. Looking further into the future, it may well be doubted whether such complacency necessarily rests on particularly strong foundations. How the future will develop depends upon the measures we in Canada and those in other lands adopt and the course we follow. Our problems will not solve themselves.

There is at the present time a keen demand for almost everything which can be produced in Canada - a demand which comes not only from our own people, but is bolstered by the tremendous credits which Canada is extending to other countries to help them in the reconstruction of their affairs and the feeding of their peoples during this period of shortages. The great question which faces the world to-day is how this present high level of demand can be translated into enduring prosperity.

One must indeed be optimistic to believe that the problem of continued prosperity will be solved without periods during which there are serious threats to national income and employment. Even with the best possible arrangements for operation of our public affairs in this country, we shall still need all the intelligence, efficiency and good will we possess to maintain and improve the living condition of our people. The consequence of failure to effect such arrangements would be very serious indeed.

It is in the light of these prospects that the Dominion government advances its proposals in the belief that they provide the most practical means of meeting the immediate transitional problem. They can be applied on a temporary basis without amending the constitution or changing the fundamental basis of Confederation.

D 49909

Forecast of Tax Policy

The Dominion proposals include a wide extension of social security, the cost of which will be met in part by direct personal contributions. In respect to the general personal income tax, the Government is now prepared to say that, once the Dominion proposals are accepted and the risk of having Dominion policies nullified by provincial policies having contrary economic effects is thereby avoided, the Government intends to make further reductions in the personal income tax. In the same circumstances, the Government also intends to reduce the element of double taxation of corporate income with its tendency to discourage risk-taking enterprise.

The Ontario proposals

In response to the Dominion's invitation, a large number and wide variety of proposals and suggestions have been submitted by the provinces. We shall, I hope, proceed to an orderly consideration of the major points of these provincial submissions by this Committee. We wish to give the same full consideration to the proposals and suggestions of the provinces which they have given to those put forward by the Dominion. A number of improvements on the Dominion proposals have been suggested and I have already intimated we are prepared to make certain modifications in the light of these submissions. Other suggestions, of course, are more difficult to reconcile with the Dominion approach. The greatest difference of approach is that made in the brief submitted by the government of Ontario.

Procedure

Since the greatest difference of approach is that made by the government of Ontario, I would suggest that when I conclude these introductory remarks, we turn to an examination of the proposals of the Government of Ontario. The Premier of Ontario would, I am sure, be prepared to make a statement outlining the submission. If this procedure is acceptable, I would propose that, immediately following, the Dominion and then the other provincial representatives should express their views in reference to the Ontario proposals.

While on the question of procedure, might I clarify my understanding of the arrangements in respect to publicity. It was formally agreed by the Co-ordinating Committee that no minutes would be kept of our discussions, and that they would be strictly confidential. We all, I believe, will agree that this should continue to be our practice. I believe, however, that it would be desirable to have the Secretary prepare a press release before the conclusion of each day's meetings which would require to be generally approved and would be released at the close of that day's sittings. I think the precedent has already been established that any prepared statement by a government setting forth its position, such as that I am now giving on behalf of the Dominion Government, may properly be released by that government to the press at any time. In making these suggestions, I am, of course, not seeking to determine the Committee's procedure, but merely to put forward my own view as to a convenient method of procedure.

D 49910

Conclusion

To return to the problem before us, I wish to emphasize that it is urgent. We must seek an immediate practical alternative to the chaotic situation which will exist unless a new agreement can be reached before the wartime tax agreements expire.

When I had the privilege of opening the meetings of the Dominion-Provincial Conference in August last, and announced the first use of the atomic bomb, I took occasion to speak of the extraordinarily serious problems facing the world. I see no reason to believe that I over-estimated the complexities and dangers of the situation. In North America to-day - and probably in other countries not directly ravaged by war - there tends to be a spirit of false security and of optimism based on favourable immediate business prospects. Looking further into the future, it may well be doubted whether such complacency necessarily rests on particularly strong foundations. How the future will develop depends upon the measures we in Canada and those in other lands adopt and the course we follow. Our problems will not solve themselves.

There is at the present time a keen demand for almost everything which can be produced in Canada - a demand which comes not only from our own people, but is bolstered by the tremendous credits which Canada is extending to other countries to help them in the reconstruction of their affairs and the feeding of their peoples during this period of shortages. The great question which faces the world to-day is how this present high level of demand can be translated into enduring prosperity.

One must indeed be optimistic to believe that the problem of continued prosperity will be solved without periods during which there are serious threats to national income and employment. Even with the best possible arrangements for operation of our public affairs in this country, we shall still need all the intelligence, efficiency and good will we possess to maintain and improve the living condition of our people. The consequence of failure to effect such arrangements would be very serious indeed.

It is in the light of these prospects that the Dominion government advances its proposals in the belief that they provide the most practical means of meeting the immediate transitional problem. They can be applied on a temporary basis without amending the constitution or changing the fundamental basis of Confederation.

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79		Dinner for Governor General. Speeches outside Parliament	1 Mar. 1946	D 50013 - D 50014	
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79		Government Dinner in Honour of Governor General and Princess Alice, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	28 Mar. 1946	D 50020 - D 50043	
79		Tribute to Leon Blum, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 Apr. 1946	D 50044 - D 50045	

D 49911

GOVERNMENT POLICY

ON

Price and Wage Control

IN THE

Transition Period

Statement by

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING
PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

OTTAWA, JANUARY 31, 1946

OTTAWA:
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1946

D 49912

Government Policy on Price and Wage Control in the Transition Period

Statement by the Prime Minister

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING

More than six years ago, just after the outbreak of war, the Government of Canada embarked upon a program to prevent soaring prices and to preserve order and efficiency in Canada's economic structure. The Government refused to accept the view that serious inflation and economic disorder were inevitable consequences of war. Our country may justly claim to have pioneered in the field of anti-inflation control. Because the people of Canada have whole-heartedly supported this stabilization program, a sharp rise in the level of prices has been prevented. Orderly economic conditions have been maintained through six years of the most destructive war in the history of mankind. The anti-inflation program has succeeded beyond the most optimistic hopes expressed at the time of its introduction. Canada's record compares more than favourably with that of any other country in the world. In consequence, Canada faces the problems and readjustments of the post-war period in a relatively strong economic position. We have escaped so far the legacy of disruption and discontent which would have been the consequence of inflation.

The need has not yet passed for emergency measures to avert the threat of inflation and dislocation. Shortages both at home and abroad are still widespread and acute. The direct consequences of the war remain evident in many ways. At the same time, the conditions under which the stabilization program now operates have changed in a number of important respects. With hostilities over, the emphasis is on the progressive removal of emergency regulations. It is on the re-establishment, at the earliest feasible time, of a relatively free price and wage system.

The first objective of economic policy is a high level of employment and production. In working toward that objective Canada is seeking to reconstruct her trade on a peacetime basis. This changed atmosphere has its effect on the stabilization program. It is appropriate therefore to review the operation of the program in relation to the needs and circumstances of the readjustment period.

Over two years ago, in December, 1943, the Government announced certain important changes in its anti-inflation policy,

particularly with respect to the relation between price and wage control. At that time, at the very peak of our war effort, it was stated that, should the cost of living rise more than 3% and remain at that level for two consecutive months, the Government would review the whole program of price control and wage control and take appropriate action. Fortunately, there has been no need to review the policy for this reason, since in the intervening period the cost of living has risen by less than one per cent. In view of the changed conditions which we face today, the time has come to take appropriate steps in the direction of readjustment to more normal conditions.

Adjustment of Stabilization Program to Changing Conditions

The steps, which concern both price and wage control, have been thoroughly considered. They represent no weakening in the Government's intention of preventing inflation. They are simply an adaptation of the program to change conditions—an adaptation which has been going on steadily since the end of the war. Indeed, from its very beginning, the stabilization program has been adapted to meet changing needs and circumstances. Thus, at the outset, fiscal policy was not unduly restrictive because there was available for use a surplus of manpower and industrial capacity. Similarly, in the early days, price control was largely of an informal character. It was principally concerned with breaking bottlenecks which tended to restrict supplies and with preventing and discouraging speculation. As Canada approached and finally reached a condition of full employment, and the insatiable demands of war diverted a larger and larger part of our production, the stabilization program was rapidly extended and intensified. Taxation was increased greatly, mainly in the form of progressive taxes on income and of special taxes on luxuries and less essential goods and services. The great Victory Loan drives were launched to pay for the conduct of war, and to siphon off and store for the future the purchasing power which could not then be matched by goods and services. The most striking measure was the introduction of an overall price ceiling, and of wage and salary control. This was the first comprehensive control of this kind to be undertaken by any of the democratic nations. Rationing of necessities was introduced when needed. Various controls over production and distribution were developed and extended. The program was buttressed by other controls over basic materials and manpower. These were introduced primarily for direct war purposes.

As victory approached, and as V-E Day and V-J Day came and passed, the controls over production of a restrictive type were

steadily removed and relaxed. By V-J Day only a few such controls remained. By the beginning of this year a variety of other controls over basic materials, manpower, and distribution had been removed. Corporate and personal income taxes were appreciably reduced in the last Budget. While the recent Victory Loan was larger than ever, it was designed to meet such financing needs for twice as long a period as were the loans which preceded it. Certain special war taxes were reduced or removed. This action had the effect of easing the pressure of price ceilings on a variety of so-called reconversion products. Price control itself has been maintained up to the present.

There has thus already been a gradual and realistic adjustment to the changed atmosphere and to post-war conditions. The Government has acted as promptly as was feasible in removing controls. It has sought, however, to avoid the obvious dangers of hasty and ill-considered removal of regulations still urgently needed. The process of adjustment will continue until all emergency controls are dispensed with.

The Purposes of the Stabilization Program

The purposes of stabilization have not changed. On several occasions since V-E Day the Government has made clear its intention to take every means to prevent the disruption of economic conditions which still threatens to result from the stresses and strains left by the world conflict. Five months have passed since final victory. Reconversion has made substantial progress. Nevertheless we still face conditions of possible inflation which, if not controlled, would unquestionably lead to startling increases in costs and prices, and in the general cost of living. It takes considerable time to change over a productive system from a war basis to a peacetime basis. It takes time for labour and machinery formerly engaged in the armed services and in war industry to produce additional food, housing, automobiles, and so on, in sufficient amounts to meet the high volume of current and accumulated demands. This is true even in countries like Canada and the United States where physical destruction and disorganization have not occurred.

Inflationary conditions are also a direct consequence of the world-wide shortages of necessities of life such as food, clothing, lumber and other building materials. World-wide shortages have resulted in soaring prices abroad. They have increased the urgent and pressing demands of overseas countries on Canadian supplies. In these circumstances, continuing need for a stabilization program

remains clear. The disaster of soaring prices and living costs must be prevented not only because of the injustices and suffering that would result therefrom but because it would arrest progress toward a healthy peacetime economy. Inflation would lay the basis for a severe depression. It would promote industrial strife and social conflict. The preservation of the stable price and cost structure, which we happily possess today, provides a sound basis for expanding peacetime markets both at home and abroad.

The Changed Conditions of Post-war Readjustment

There can be no question of abandoning the stabilization program at this juncture. There must, however, be a clear recognition that the conditions in which it operates are substantially different from those prevailing during actual hostilities. The stabilization controls which are still retained are, apart from fiscal measures, of an emergency character designed to deal with emergency conditions arising from the war. They are in no sense a permanent feature of the Dominion Government's activities. Nor is there any need for their indefinite continuance. It is the Government's declared intention to remove such controls at the earliest moment consistent with the prevention of inflation and the maintenance of a fair division of essential goods in short supply. This explains why the Government requested from Parliament the extension of its war emergency powers for the limited period of approximately one year. The emphasis is on the removal of emergency controls and on continuous examination of the need for those which are retained.

As already stated, the advent of peace has substantially changed the economic environment in which the stabilization program operates. In wartime, Government expenditures practically assured maximum production and employment. Business risks and the risks of unemployment were almost eliminated. Price control could be and, in fact, had to be fairly rigid. Price ceilings did not restrict imports or lead to excessive exports. External purchases and sales were controlled directly and were frequently the subject of inter-governmental contracts. Wage and salary controls were essential to the maintenance of effective price control. They were accepted with understanding and co-operation.

With the disappearance of war production and the consequent decline in Government spending, an expansion in civilian production and investment is being looked to in order to provide the bulk of employment. To provide jobs, there must be an incentive to permit business, large or small, to take the risks involved in expanding operations and in entering on new lines of activity.

Recent reductions in taxation, particularly in the excess profit tax, are a major step in this direction. The continued high level of demand, and the accumulation of deferred needs, combined with the relatively low level of Canadian costs, provide a favourable environment for such expansion. The reduction and removal of excise taxes has provided more leeway for the manufacturers of many "reconversion" goods. The administration of price control must at the same time, necessarily be more flexible than it was in wartime. Wage and salary control should be continued only to the degree essential in combatting inflation.

In reviewing the stabilization program, at this time, a further consideration should be mentioned. Its very success, and our good fortune in escaping the ravages and physical destruction of war, have resulted in our price structure today being substantially lower than the price levels of many of the countries with whom we trade. Especially is this true of the United Kingdom and the countries of Europe. The result is that to the exporters of these countries Canadian price ceilings frequently appear to be relatively low. On the other hand, the prices obtainable in export markets, for a number of Canadian commodities, appear very attractive to Canadian producers. There has never been a general price ceiling on exports. The problem, in this regard, has been largely one of assuring that domestic needs were adequately met. This has required the use of export controls and quota arrangements. For the time being, a number of such controls will have to be retained. On the import side, however, the domestic price ceiling might have restrictive effects, which the Government believes should be avoided, on our purchases from some countries. To date, no appreciable volume of imports from the United Kingdom and liberated countries has been excluded by the operation of the price ceiling. Offerings of such goods have been limited and, in the case of some essential goods, subsidy assistance has been provided. But the time is now arriving when these countries are seeking to re-establish their trade with Canada. While changes in exchange rates, such as that recently made by France, will in some cases, help to re-establish more normal price relationships, there is a continuing problem which must be faced. The importance of this question is emphasized by the fact that if permanent export markets are to be re-established in many of these countries, to which Canada is providing financial assistance, trade must become more of a two-way flow than it is at present.

To these and related questions the Government has given careful study. As a result a number of changes in the operation of the stabilization program have been made. Some of the changes

have already occurred or, as circumstances warranted, have developed gradually. There has been no sudden or widespread adjustment in the program nor is any such change contemplated. The policy of gradual adjustment has been amply justified by events in Canada and abroad. The further adjustments to be made now are additional steps in this process. The time is regarded as appropriate because of the marked progress in reconversion, the advanced stage of demobilization, and the problems in re-establishing external trade.

Flexibility in Price Control

The administration of price control has become, and is becoming, more flexible. From the beginning of reconversion, the Government has been determined that price control should not be allowed to restrict the expansion of peacetime production. In considering applications for price adjustments the distinction which the Prices Board very properly made between essential and non-essential goods during the height of the conflict has not been applied for some time. In wartime, what price adjustments were permitted were confined largely to more essential goods, the supply of which it was vital to maintain. In terms of the needs of peace, and the requirements of high employment, the distinction between essential and non-essential production in "pricing" policy no longer applies.

The Wartime Prices and Trade Board, in considering applications for price increases, has endeavoured and is endeavouring to give due weight to the need for sufficient incentive to allow a prompt expansion in civilian output. In some cases, where an industry *as a whole* can not demonstrate its financial need for a price adjustment, the Board has been and is prepared to allow adjustments for *particular firms* whose financial position warrants such a change. In extreme cases, and in the interest of maintaining needed production, the Board is prepared to consider adjustments on particular products even when the industry or the firm concerned cannot demonstrate that its over-all financial position is such as to warrant price relief. The Government's action in removing and reducing certain war taxes—such as the war exchange tax and the excise taxes on many household appliances and on automobiles—together with the removal of the sales tax on building materials, has eased the pressure of price ceilings on manufacturers of a large variety of reconversion goods. The primary purpose of these tax changes was not connected with price control. They have nonetheless provided flexibility in the

field where reconversion "pricing" problems would otherwise have been most numerous. They have greatly reduced the need for price ceiling adjustments.

So far as imports are concerned, the Prices Board is now administering its control of the prices of goods imported from countries such as the United Kingdom and France, in such a manner as not to exclude imports from the Canadian market. These countries have suffered grave material loss, and their costs and prices have risen seriously as a result of the war. Price control over imports from such countries will still be maintained, but not in a way that will prevent their goods from being offered to Canadian buyers. The exporters of the United Kingdom and liberated countries will, however, still have to meet competition in the Canadian market, if they are to rebuild any large volume of exports to this country.

Price Ceiling Suspensions

As a first step toward removal of price controls, it has been decided to suspend a number of non-staple articles from the provisions of the price ceiling. The list of articles supended includes drugs, cosmetics, tobacco products, jewellery, books, games, novelties, millinery and a number of miscellaneous services. The detailed list will be announced by the Minister of Finance. The production and supply of most of the articles suspended from the price ceiling have improved to the point where material price increases are not anticipated. Expanding production, competition, and self-restraint on the part of the producers and distributors concerned should protect the public from serious price advances. A great many of the suspended items are of minor importance in the budget of the average household. It is now questionable whether the expense and effort of administering effective price control in these cases is in proportion to the benefits derived. Moreover, the Prices Board is finding it increasingly difficult to retain the services of sufficient skilled personnel. It is most desirable that the Board should concentrate its efforts on the more important commodities. For the reasons mentioned, the Government has decided upon this first step in "decontrol" of prices. It is recognized that some price increases may ensue. It is even conceivable that widespread and significant advances might occur. That is why price ceilings have been *suspended* instead of being finally removed. Should widespread and unreasonable increases follow, should unprincipled speculators attempt, for selfish ends, to abuse this latitude, the whole policy will be reconsidered. Where necessary, in such cases, ceilings will be reimposed.

Gradual Removal of Subsidies

In moving toward the period when price control will no longer be necessary, the Government believes that subsidy payments should continue to be kept to a minimum and eliminated as promptly as is feasible. Subsidies have played a vital part in checking the cumulative pressures of inflation. Subsides do, however, result in artificial relationships between the returns received by producers and importers and the prices paid by final consumers. They represent a direct and conscious interference with the operation of the price system. Such interference should be eliminated as more normal relationships between supply and demand are re-established. As already stated, the Government's policy is to reduce and remove subsidies as promptly as is feasible. Following this policy, the Prices Board has already removed a number of less important subsidies. The Board will continue this process just as rapidly as is practicable. The whole structure of import subsidies has been carefully reviewed. As a result, the Government has approved a change in policy which will reduce their number and strictly limit the commodities to which import subsidies may be applied in future. The major subsidies, both import and domestic, such as those paid on important foodstuffs and textiles, are being constantly reviewed. Their reduction and removal will be undertaken step by step subject only to the needs of maintaining reasonable stability in the level of prices and living costs.

More Flexibility in Wage Control

Finally, certain steps are being taken to modify wage and salary control. Wage and salary controls are an essential feature of the stabilization program. Inflationary pressures are such that removal of wage control is not yet feasible. The Government, however, has no intention of interfering with the normal processes of collective bargaining to any greater extent or for any longer than is strictly necessary. In these circumstances, certain changes have been made as the first steps toward the ultimate removal of this form of control. The War Labour Boards, in dealing with applications for wage adjustments will now be guided by comparing wages in one plant or industry with other comparable plants or industries rather than by the former more rigid standard of gross inequalities and injustices. The War Labour Boards may also authorize an employer to vary wage rates on a basis which is otherwise reasonable in the circumstances, and which is consistent with maintenance of existing prices of goods and services. Wage increases granted under the Order will not be recognized as

grounds for price advances. If such were permitted, it would simply invite a series of price increases in line with every advance in wage rates—a process which would set the inflationary spiral in motion. Other changes in wage control permit free collective bargaining over most matters not concerned with basic wage rates, and provide for the eventual return of minimum wage regulation to the Provinces. These changes will provide more latitude for the operation of collective bargaining, and for the exercise of administrative discretion in minimum wage matters and working conditions by the Provinces. They are desirable in themselves. They are not likely to threaten stabilization, provided they are used in a reasonable and responsible manner by all concerned. The changes in wage control are accompanied by corresponding adjustments in the policy of salary control. Details of the changes in the Wage Order and Salary Regulations are being announced by the Ministers of Labour and National Revenue respectively.

Policy of Gradual and Carefully Controlled Readjustment

The measures which have been outlined constitute the first steps in a deliberate and carefully considered plan looking toward the eventual removal of price and wage controls. They are designed to meet the realities of the period of readjustment and, at the same time, to continue to protect The Canadian people from the economic and social disruption of inflation. They should preserve and permit the utilization of the great benefits which orderly economic conditions and stable prices can bring in our progress toward high peacetime employment. They provide for greater flexibility without weakening the essential fabric of the anti-inflation program.

The one satisfactory answer to the danger of inflation is more and more production. Given co-operation and support by the Canadian people, anti-inflation controls will keep prices in check while production, at home and abroad, is catching up with demand. Nothing would restrict a lasting increase in production and employment more than a sharp rise in prices which would cut demand down to the present restricted level of supply. To curtail demand, which is precisely what soaring prices would do, would be to reduce prospective markets and employment opportunities. The present gap between demand and supply must be bridged to the largest feasible extent by increasing supply, by producing more and more, rather than by restricting demand through high prices.

The Government's policy—one of gradual and carefully controlled readjustment—will permit price increases only when they

D 49920-1

are needed. As time goes on, it may not rule out some gradual and moderate increase in wages and salaries, in the price level, and in the cost of living. It is no longer feasible to attempt rigid maintenance of the price level. It is quite conceivable that by the time full "decontrol" is achieved, the level of Canadian prices may be moderately higher than is the case today.

There is a great deal of difference between a gradual and planned policy of adjustment to post-war conditions, which may involve some modest increase in prices, and a policy of rapid removal of anti-inflation controls. The objective of the Government's policy is to continue to protect the people of Canada from a sharp upswing in prices and living costs, and from the inevitable aftermath of deflation, unemployment and distress. Its purpose is to protect the value of wages and wartime savings. It is aimed to help to open larger markets both at home and abroad, and thus hasten progress toward the high level of peacetime production and employment which is our leading economic objective. With the intelligent support of the Canadian people Canada's anti-inflation program will achieve its aim. It will bring our country through the most destructive war in history *and its aftermath* without the economic and social disruption which have been the sorry heritage of past conflicts.

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D49921

Dinner at Government House

February 22, 1946

An occasion of many memories
this evening when my colleagues
in the government and myself
are guests of His Excellency
the Governor General and H.R.H.
The Princess Alice.

Perhaps not easy to recall that
nearly six years have gone by
since His Excellency was sworn in
(at Ottawa - June 21, 1940).

Then full summer in Ottawa;

two very devoted friends of Canada
returning to their homeland i
early spring.

The past six years certainly some of
the most momentous in the history
of freedom:

the terrors and devastation of

the continuing legacy of distre
and suffering.

Looking back over these six years -
often overclouded with doubt,
though never obscured by despair -

One can say that the really heartening and constant influece

was <u>the cheering and kindly light which shone around</u> His Excellency and Her Royal Highness.

Something in themselves -

a very genuine humanity in their heart

great patience and understanding of a nation at war;

constant readiness to help in many ways:

- entertainment of distinguished visitors from abroad;

- ready and generous support of many worthy causes, and the voluntary effort which animated so large a part of the Canadian people.

These are the things specially remembere by my colleagues and myself.

The country at large will have a remembrance of visits by the Governor General and Princess Alice into many parts of Canada near and far -

knowledge of war industries and of the productive resources of Canada-

-- so important in the total war effort,

-- so suggestive of the part Canada will have to play in the world community of the future;

interest in welfare agencies of all kinds:
physical fitness,
leadership training,

(The Princess Alice Foundation)

Here also the cheering and kindly light shone steadily.

Have been recalling events of last 6 yea

- recall also that in June 1914 His Excellecy was appointed by King George V to be Governor General of Canada;

the outbreak of war altered this plan.

His Excellecy will, as we hope, have found that satisfactions delayed have nevertheless been satisfactions abundant.

Recall quite well first acquaintanceship
with His Excellency when he visited
Canada in 1901 with Royal Tour of

Their Royal Highnesses The Duke
and Duchess of Cornwall & Yor

(later King George V and Queen Ma

- was then a young Deputy Minister
(Labour

Recall associations with the Royal Party
of Sir Wilfrid and Lady Laurier -
(Quebec)

Acquaintanceship of 45 years certainly
covers "a long stretch".

Fact is often stranger than fiction -

nearly 40 years later

His Excellency returned to Canada
as personal representative of the
Sovereign;

I was Prime Minister in His
Majesty's Government in Canada.

D 49925

Visit of The King and Queen in 1939 -

(the rainbow in the then still-peaceful sky)

gave many Canadians their first real contact with our King and Queen

- the memory of it still very vivid.

A happy sequence that in following year,

especially amid the stress and urgency of war,

The King should be personally represented by his Uncle

Prince Albert

and a grand-daughter of Queen Victoria.

May be allowed a reference to very pleasant personal relationships -

visits at Kingsmere, Quebec.

No expression of good wishes will perhaps convey all we feel of gratitude;

for the future all will unite in warmest good wishes.

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D 49926

Government Dinner
in honour of
His Excellency and Her Royal Highness
Country Club, February 28, 1946.

Background -

reference to the growth of national and international life of Canada;

United Nations Organization;

Two wars
terrors and devastation of war,
legacy of destruction, suffering,
the gloom of those years.

War - Victory - Peace
nations rise to power & world influence

<u>Their Excellencies' part</u>

Encouraging morale (centre Govt.House)

Travel to many parts:

1. to armed forces, auxiliaries,
2. to factories, plants, war industries,
3. to institutions,
   public health,
   universities,
   welfare agencies,
   leadership training,
   physical fitness.

Princess Alice Foundation - Youth Training.
girl guides, scouts.
support of voluntary effort and worthy causes.

D 49927

Reception of distinguished guests

at Quebec and Ottawa.

Mr.Churchill and Mr.Roosevelt (at bo
Queen Wilhelmina, Madame Chiang Kai S
King George of Greece, King Peter of
Yugoslavia
Crown Prince of Norway;
South Americans.

(Smuts, Fraser, Menzies, Curtin,
Sir Humphry Walwyn (Nfld)
Br.Govt.Ministers - Attlee, etc.e

Speaking (Societies)

The missions created while here

Ambassadors, Ministers, High
Commissioner

The working together (think of both)

The Princess - (Tennyson)

yet each responsibility

H.R.H. - a grandmother
a home & ideal
Christmas
ladies organizations, etc.
(last address - its appeal)

H.E. - with Ministers,
official duties - Parliamen
constitutional representati
close relationship: PM & GG

Energy - Industry, a good Minister of
War Services - not spare themselves
discomforts ?

D 49928

Personal relations

Govt. House - The Citadel - Kingsmere
dinners, lunches, dances, etc.

As Representative of the Crown

StRong & living links with the Crown
association with Royal family

The larger code - Royalty & the Sovreign
Victoria to Princess Alice,
over a century

Dinner at Govt. House

"The years that have been ours"
ties of gratitude & affection

Love for themselves - "great souls"
human sympathy, patience &
understanding,
readiness to help
entertainment of visitors.

As individuals

gracious, kindly - standards
manners (Tennyson) - ideals
home, church, state, social life.

They place they have left or rather won
in our hearts and country
hope for return visit.

Long lives of public service -
enjoy rewards.

Reference to staff at Govt.House.

Government Dinner
in honour of
The Governor General and Her Royal Highness
Country Club - February 28, 1946

D 49929

Introductory -

Official relationship ending.

2 dinners - guests.

Background -

Years in Canada - war and end of.

Help to Ministry -

Years of anxiety.

Help in Canada's war effort -

Practical co-operation.

Travel -

all parts of Canada.

Hospitality -

Many distinguished visitors.

Growth of Diplomatic Corps:

5	Ambassadors	-	19
4	High Commissioners		5
9			24

Glad to include.

D 49930

Departure -

Let King servants depart in peace.

Impressions carried away -

Growth in national and international relatio

World power.

Dawn of a new day and social order.

Remembrance of Canada.

Honour as representative of King -

Royalty

strong and living links;

relationship.

Honour for Themselves - Tennyson.

His Excellency -

all functions strict accordanc with letter and spirit of the Constitution.

Personal Qualities.

Good wishes.

D 49931

Personal relations

Govt. House - The Citadel - Kingsmere
dinners, lunches, dances, etc.

As Representative of the Crown

Strong & living links with the Crown
association with Royal family

The larger code - Royalty & the Sovereign
Victoria to Princess Alice,
over a century

Dinner at Govt. House

"The years that have been ours"
ties of gratitude & affection

Love for themselves - "great souls"
human sympathy, patience & understanding,
readiness to help
entertainment of visitors.

As individuals

gracious, kindly - standards
manners (Tennyson) - ideals
home, church, state, social life.

They place they have left or rather won
in our hearts and country
hope for return visit.

Long lives of public service -
enjoy rewards.

~~Reference to staff at Govt. House.~~

D49932

Government Farewell Dinner H.E. & H.R.H.
Country Club - February 28, 1946

Introductory -

The occasion - Govt. House Dinner - express thanks for -

tonight have pleasure of entertaining H.E. & H.R.H.

representative character of gathering.

Background - years in Canada - no comparable period

entry into war - Europe, Italy, Russia, Japan, U.S.

invasions - of Africa
of Europe, N. & S.

liberation - European countries - defeat unconditional

of Germany, Japan, associated incidents

end of career of Mussolini, Hitler, Emperor of Japan

Help to Ministry during years of anxiety

For H.E. & H.R.H. away from home

for govt. - drawn close together

Government House - light through gloom

Thanks to H.E. for

Help to Canada's War Effort - Morale

ways in which assisted by H.E. and H.R.H.

Canadian Division in England, just beginning effort here

by word & example strengthen morale

D 49933

armed forces - auxiliary services,
war production in factories and on farms,
national appeals for voluntary services; war savings,
support of all worthy causes.
visiting universities, hospitals, training centres
encourage youth & leadership training, public health
(Princess Alice Foundation)

Travel - have not spared themselves

back and forth across Canada - Atlantic to Pacific

to distant frontiers - N.W.T.; Alaska Highway, Yukon

to U.S - Newfoundland - Labrador

Washington - last dinner by President Roosevelt.

Hospitality - at Government House and The Citadel

Kings, Queens and Presidents,

Prime Ministers - other members of state,

Generals, admirals, air marshals
a veritable host of valiant men and women

- enumerate

These welcomings a part of Canada itself

Foreign missions in Canada - growth of - pleasure tonight -

representatives of foreign powers join in good wishes.

Word of staff.

D 49934

Departure - - - War, Victory, Peace.

Pride and relief at having departure under conditions of peace.

Impressions carried away:

Witnesses to growth of national and international life of Canada;

rise to a world power;

their own part a very real one.

Witnesses to birth of new world order -

the building of security - San Francisco, U.N.O.

Seen Canada at work under stimulus of war.

" " also bringing aid and comfort to liberated and distressed countries - credits loans.

Bread cast on waters returning to U.K.

Glimpsed broad expanse and scenic grandeur.

Know Canada as few of our own know it today.

Return to familiar scenes - to home and friends.

Will cherish many happy memories.

Impressions left behind:

Re: Royal Family -

Canada has been brought more closely in touch with the Crown.

D 49935

Memories of visit King and Queen - 1939.

Close relationship -

<u>strong and living links</u> with Crown:

H.E. Uncle of King (brother of Queen Mary)

H.R.H. Granddaughter of Queen Victoria.

"<u>The years that we have known</u>" - portrait sketch
Government House.

H.E. and H.R.H. have exemplified in full measure

<u>devotion to public welfare</u> shown so magnificently

by the King and Queen.

When return, convey greetings loyalty and affection to

King and Queen. (Queen Mary)

<u>As Governor General</u> -

as a constitutional Governor exemplary in all relationships:

(I) with Government
(2) " Parliament
(3) " the people.

<u>Of Themselves</u> - (working together)

Tennyson: "O, we will walk this world,
Yoked in all exercise of noble end" -
et ante.

<u>Au revoir, not goodbye</u>.

D 49936

GOVERNMENT DINNER
TO
HIS EXCELLENCY and HER ROYAL HIGHNESS

Country Club
February 28, 1946

Introductory - the occasion

Your Excellency and Your Royal Highness:

All present have had much in their thoughts the approaching conclusion of your official relationship with Canada.

A few nights ago, I and my colleagues and others were guests of H.E. and H.R.H. at a memorable dinner at Govt. House - leave-taking and farewell.

Tonight my colleagues and I have felt we would like to have an opportunity of saying a few words of farewell, on behalf of the government.

We are fortunate in having present, with their ladies,

Representatives of both Houses of Parliament - opposition, as well as government,

Members of the Judiciary,

Senior officers of the public service,

Diplomatic representatives of foreign countries and the Dominions,

Representatives of the armed forces,

His Worship the Mayor of Ottawa,

The President of the Press Gallery

with a few other distinguished friends, amongst whom are the newly elected judge of the International Court of Justice,

with all of whom Your Excellency and Your Royal Highness have been brought into more or less close association over the years of your sojourn in Canada.

D 49937

SECTION II

Background - years in Canada.

Speaking of years - what years they have been!

Nothing comparable in the history of Canada, or indeed, in the history of the world.

When H.E. and H.R.H. had arrived in Canada in June 1940, the war in Europe had assumed the proportions of a mighty conflict;

Czechoslovakia and Poland had been overrun;

Denmark and Norway, Belgium and the Netherlands invaded;

Fascist Italy had joined with Nazi Germany in an effort to destroy the free countries of Europe, and the British Commonwealth;

The government of France had capitulated.

Within a year of Your Excellency's arrival in Canada

Germany had attacked Russia (June 22, 1941)

six months later (December 1941) Japan had joined the Axis powers in an effort to conquer the world.

Then came the entry of the U.S. into the war:

the invasion of Africa by British and American troops;

the invasion by the Allied forces of Europe across the Mediterranean, and later from the north across the English Channel;

the liberation, one after the other, of the countries of Europe,

Finally the defeat and unconditional surrender of Germany.

Soon after, came the defeat and unconditional surrender of Japan

with all the incidents associated with the capture, suicide and trials of German and Japanese leaders;

the ignominious close of the careers of Mussolini and Hitler and the deposition of the Emperor of Japan.

D 49938

SECTION II (continued):

Help to Ministry during period of anxiety.

These were years of great anxiety to the free world - an anxiety shared in full measure by H.E. and H.R.H. (away from home), and by members of His Majesty's government in Canada.

It is a joy to me to recall tonight that through the gloom of those years there radiated from Government House a constant and cheering light of kindly influence and encouragement. There was throughout unfailing co-operation in the tasks of government. In countless ways, unseen and unknown, my colleagues and I were sustained in our efforts by the help we never failed to receive from H.E. and H.R.H. through this entire period.

SECTION III

D 49939

Canada's War Effort.

By active support and co-operation in yet a wider way, our Administration and Canada's war effort were immeasurably assisted by the practical co-operation of H.E. and H.R.H.

When H.E. and H.R.H. arrived in Canada, the First Division of Canada's Army was in Britain, standing guard in the citadel of the world's freedom.

No one knew exactly how long or how desperate the struggle would be. It was not yet known how many men and women would be called upon to serve, nor what demands would be made upon the material resources, the inventive skill and productive capacity of Canada.

In ways too many to mention, H.E. and H.R.H. have given unsparingly of their time. They did all that lay within their power in support of national appeals for voluntary services and war savings; by word and example, to lend courage and cheer to the armed forces, the auxiliary forces, to the workers in war production, on the farm and in the factories, and to sustain and strengthen the morale of the nation at war.

Later, they helped to prepare and assist in the training of youth;

promotion of public health,
visited universities,
" hospitals,
leadership training,
Princess Alice Foundation,
youth training,
support of voluntary effort and worthy causes.

All have benefitted from their personal interest and concern.

D 49940

SECTION IV

Travel:

H.E. and H.R.H. have not spared themselves

visiting many parts of Canada -

some never visited before by a representative of the Crown.

They have travelled all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific;

and to distant portions of the Northwest Territories;

and over the Alaska Highway, into the Yukon.

United States - Washington;

Atlantic and Pacific coasts;

Newfoundland, and

Labrador.

Guest of President Roosevelt -

President's last dinner.

Their interest and example has helped forward many worthy projects of national importance.

They have come to know Canada as few Canadians have begun to know our own vast country.

They have helped to reveal the resources of our country to Canadians as well as to interested foreigners.

D 49941

SECTION V.

Hospitality.

Throughout the years of war,
and during these succeeding months of peace,

H.E. and H.R.H. have extended hospitality at both Government House and the Citadel, to distinguished visitors from many lands:

Sovereigns and Heads of States,
Prime Ministers,
Foreigh and other Ministers of States,

and a veritable host of valiant men and women engaged in the common task of securing victory for Allied arms and the world's freedom.

Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt (at both),
Queen Wilhelmina,
Madame Chiang Kai-shek,
King George of Greece,
King Peter of Yugoslavia,
General de Gaulle,
~~General Giraud~~,
General Eisenhower,
South American Presidents and Foreign Ministers,
Menzies and Curtin, of Australia,
Fraser, of New Zealand,
Smuts, of South Africa,
Attlee, of United Kingdom,
and many other ministers and their colleagues.

D 49942

SECTION VI.

When His Excellency was sworn into office on June 21, 1940

the circle of our official representation from other nations extended to:

5 Ministers Plenipotentiary
4 High Commissioners.

9

Today, the circle has broadened until it numbers as Heads of Missions:

19 { 11 Ambassadors
8 Ministers
5 High Commissioners.

24

His Excellency will, I know, regard it as a matter of satisfaction that he personally received at Government House the letters of credence by which many of these and other friends of Canada were accredited.

I am particularly pleased that, in bidding farewell to the personal representative of The King, we should this evening be able to include in our united good wishes those of the representatives of the other ~~governments~~ with which, during the six years, such close and cordial relations have been maintained.

Canadas

D 49943

SECTION VII.

Re: Departure : War - Victory - Peace.

The Governor General arrived in the midst of war.

There is some sense of pride and relief in the certainty that His Excellency and Princess Alice can take their departure under conditions of peace.

Impressions carried away:

They have been witnesses of the growth in the national and international life of Canada.

Have seen Canada rise to a world power and world influence.

Their own part in the steady development has been a very real one.

Their interest has been alert and constant.

They have seen the promise of the dawn of a new day:

the founding of the United Nations Organization and the creation of its charter;

the meeting of the First Assembly, and of the and Social Security Council and ~~Social and~~ Economic Council.

~~They have shared in its legacy of destruction and suffering and the trials of the post-war period;~~

They have built on the building of security,
establishing of peace,
comfort and aid to distressed nations and countries,
credits,
financial aid - "bread cast upon waters".

They have ~~witnessed the gamut of~~ War, and Victory, and Peace.

D 49944

SECTION VII (Continued)

In ~~their travels across Canada from east to west,~~
~~and into the great northwest,~~ they have seen Canada
at work under the unusual and tragic stimulus of war,
but they have also glimpsed the broad expanse of our
country. They have found delight in its scenic grandeur.

They will reach England in the spring.
As they lay down their high office,
with its great responsibilities and obligations,
may each of them find "the springtime of enjoyment" in
scenes familiar and dear to them.

D 49945

SECTION VIII

honours as representative of Royalty

Re: Royalty: - The Larger Role

Visit of King and Queen in 1939 -

first real contact.

Memory still vivid.

~~The larger role - Royalty and Sovereign.~~

H.E. and H.R.H. represent strong and living links with the Crown.

Both have exemplified in full measure the devotion to the public welfare shown so magnificently by the King and Queen.

Relationship close :

His Excellency - Uncle of King;

Her Royal Highness - Granddaughter of Queen Victoria.

(See also speeches re departure Governor General)

D 49946

Appointed Governor General June, 1914.

Years of War I.

Years of War II.

Came 26 years later -

all the better for us.

Each special responsibility - personal qualities.

H.R.H. grandmother (all this is lovely in private life).

Home - ideal.

~~Christians~~ - don't spare themselves.

Ladies organizations.

Last address.

Vivacity, energy, ready for discomfort.

His Excellency - with ministers (Crown
) Government
official duties (Parliament

Our sense of gracious part taken by H.E. in duties attending his office.

Zeal and devotion to duty as His Majesty's representative in Canada.

Constitutional representative -
close relationship Governor General and Prime Minister.

Value of services during period of war.

Personal relations -

dinners, luncheons, visits to Kingsmere, Quebec, etc.

D 49947

GOVERNMENT DINNER
TO
HIS EXCELLENCY and HER ROYAL HIGHNESS.

Country Club
February 28, 1946

Introductory - the occasion

Your Excellency and Your Royal Highness:

All present have had much in their thoughts the approaching conclusion of your official relationship with Canada.

A few nights ago, I and my colleagues and others were guests of H.E. and H.R.H. at a memorable dinner at Govt. House - leave-taking and farewell.

Tonight my colleagues and I have felt we would like to have an opportunity of saying a few words of farewell, on behalf of the government.

We are fortunate in having present, with their ladies,

Representatives of both Houses of Parliament - opposition, as well as government,

Members of the Judiciary,

Senior officers of the public service,

Diplomatic representatives of foreign countries and the Dominions,

Representatives of the armed forces,

His Worship the Mayor of Ottawa,

The President of the Press Gallery

with a few other distinguished friends, amongst whom are the newly elected judge of the International Court of Justice,

with all of whom Your Excellency and Your Royal Highness have been brought into more or less close association over the years of your sojourn in Canada.

D 49948

SECTION II

Background - years in Canada.

Speaking of years - what years they have been.

Nothing comparable in the history of Canada, or indeed, in the history of the world.

When H.E. and H.R.H. had arrived in Canada in June 1940, the war in Europe had assumed the proportions of a mighty conflict;

Czechoslovakia and Poland had been overrun;
Denmark and Norway, Belgium and the Netherlands invaded;
Fascist Italy had joined with Nazi Germany in an effort to destroy the free countries of Europe, and the British Commonwealth;
The government of France had capitulated.

Within a year of Your Excellency's arrival in Canada

Germany had attacked Russia (June 22, 1941)
six months later (December 1941) Japan had joined the Axis powers in an effort to conquer the world.

Then came the entry of the U.S. into the war:

the invasion of Africa by British and American troops;
the invasion by the Allied forces of Europe across the Mediterranean, and later from the north across the English Channel;
the liberation, one after the other, of the countries of Europe,

Finally the defeat and unconditional surrender of Germany.

Soon after, came the defeat and unconditional surrender of Japan

with all the incidents associated with the capture, suicide and trials of German and Japanese leaders;

the ignominious close of the careers of Mussolini and Hitler and the deposition of the Emperor of Japan.

D 49949

GOVERNMENT DINNER
TO
HIS EXCELLENCY and HER ROYAL HIGHNESS

Country Club
February 28, 1946

Introductory - the occasion.

A few nights ago, colleagues and other guests
of H.E. and H.R.H. at Government House -
leave-taking and farewell.

This evening, somewhat nearer the day of departure -
approaching conclusion official relationship
with Canada.

With representatives of
Legislative, Administrative and Judicial
life of Parliament,
Diplomatic Corps and High Commissioners,
and the civic life of the national capital,
representatives of the armed forces,
the Press Gallery, and others,
there have been close association over the
years of H.E. and H.R.H. in Canada.

D 49950

SECTION II

Background - years in Canada.

Speaking of years - what years they have been.

Nothing comparable in the history of Canada or, indeed, in the history of the world.

When H.E. and H.R.H. left England in late spring 1940, the war in Europe had assumed the proportions of a might conflict;

Czechoslovakia and Poland had been overrun;
Denmark and Norway invaded;
Belgium and the Netherlands had likewise felt the brutal might of the Nazi aggressors;
Fascist Italy had joined with Nazi Germany in an effort to destroy the free countries of Europe and of the British Commonwalth;
France was on the verge of collapse.

Within a year of H.E.'s stay in Canada -

Germany had attacked Russia;

six months later (December 1941) Japan had joined the Axis powers in an effort to conquer the world.

Then came the entry of the U.S. into the war:

the invasion of Africa by British and American troops;
the invasion by the Allied forces of Europe from the south, and later from the North across the British channel;
the liberation, one after the other, of the countries of Europe, and finally
the defeat and unconditional surrender of Germany.

Soon after, came the defeat and unconditional surrender of Japan, with all the incidents associated with the suicides, capture, and trials of German and Japanese leaders.

The ignominious close of the careers of Mussolini and Hitler and the deposition of the Emperor of Japan.

D 49951

SECTION II (continued):

Help to Ministry during period of anxiety.

These were years of great anxiety to the free world - an anxiety shared in full measure by H.E. and H.R.H. (away from home), and by members of His Majesty's government in Canada.

It is a joy to me to recall tonight that through the gloom of those years there radiated from Government House a constant and cheering light of kindly influence and encouragement. There was throughout unfailing co-operation in the tasks of government. In countless ways, unseen and unknown, my colleagues and I were sustained in our efforts by the help we never failed to receive from H.E. and H.R.H. through this entire period.

D 49952

SECTION III

Canada's War Effort.

By active support and co-operation in yet a wider way, our Administration and Canada's war effort were immeasurably assisted by the practical co-operation of H.E. and H.R.H.

When H.E. and H.R.H. arrived in Canada, the First Division of Canada's Army was in Britain, standing guard in the citadel of the world's freedom.

No one knew exactly how long or how desperate the struggle would be. It was not yet known how many men and women would be called upon to serve, nor what demands would be made upon the material resources, the inventive skill and productive capacity of Canada.

In ways too many to mention, H.E. and H.R.H. have given unsparingly of their time. They did all that lay within their power in support of national appeals for voluntary services and war savings; by word and example, to lend courage and cheer to the armed forces, the auxiliary forces, to the workers in war production, on the farm and in the factories, and to sustain and strengthen the morale of the nation at war.

Later, they helped to prepare and assist in the training of youth;

promotion of public health,
visited universities,
" hospitals,
leadership training,
Princess Alice Foundation,
youth training,
support of voluntary effort and worthy causes.

All have benefitted from their personal interest and concern.

SECTION IV

Travel:

H.E. and H.R.H. have not spared themselves

visiting many parts of Canada -

some never visited before by a representative of the Crown.

They have travelled all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific;

and to distant portions of the Northwest Territories;

and over the Alaska Highway, into the Yukon.

United States - Washington;

Atlantic and Pacific coasts;

Newfoundland, and

Labrador.

Guest of President Roosevelt -

President's last dinner.

Their interest and example has helped forward many worthy projects of national importance.

D 49954

SECTION V.

Hospitality.

Throughout the years of war,
and during these succeeding months of peace,

H.E. and H.R.H. have extended hospitality at both Government House and the Citadel, to distinguished visitors from many lands:

Sovereigns and Heads of States,
Prime Ministers,
Foreigh and other Ministers of States,

and a veritable host of valiant men and women engaged in the common task of securing victory for Allied arms and the world's freedom.

Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt (at both),
Queen Wilhelmina,
Madame Chiang Kai-shek,
King George of Greece,
King Peter of Yugoglavia,
General de Gaulle,
General Giraud,
General Eisenhower,
South American Presidents and Foreign Ministers,
Menzies and Curtin, of Australia,
Fraser, of New Zealand,
Smuts, of South Africa,
Attlee, of United Kingdom,
and many other ministers and their colleagues.

D 49955

SECTION VI.

When His Excellency was sworn into office on June 21, 1940 the circle of our official representation from other nations extended to:

5 Ministers Plenipotentiary
4 High Commissioners.

Today, the circle has broadened until it numbers as Heads of Missions:

11 Ambassadors
8 Ministers
5 High Commissioners.

His Excellency will, I know, regard it as a matter of satisfaction that he personally received at Government House the letters of credence by which many of these and other friends of Canada were accredited.

I am particularly pleased that, in bidding farewell to the personal representative of The King, we should this evening be able to include in our united good wishes those of the representatives of the other governments with which, during the six years, such close and cordial relations have been maintained.

D 49956

SECTION VII.

Re: Departure : War - Victory - Peace.

The Governor General arrived in the midst of war.

There is some sense of pride and relief in the certainty that His Excellency and Princess Alice can take their departure under conditions of peace.

Impressions carried away:

They have been witnesses of the growth in the national and international life of Canada.

Have seen Canada rise to a world power and world influence.

Their own part in the steady development has been a very real one.

Their interest has been alert and constant.

They have seen the promise of the dawn of a new day:

the founding of the United Nations Organization and the creation of its charter;

the meeting of the First Assembly, and of the Security Council and Social and Economic Council.

They have shared in its legacy of destruction and suffering and the trials of the post-war period;

building of security,
establishing of peace,
comfort and aid to distressed nations and countries,
credits,
financial aid - "bread cast upon waters".

They have witnessed the gamut of War, and Victory, and Peace.

SECTION VVI (Continued)

In their travels across Canada from east to west,
and into the great northwest, they have seen Canada
at work under the unusual and tragic stimulus of war,
but they have also glimpsed the broad expanse of our
country. They have found delight in its scenic grandeur.

They will reach England in the spring.
As they lay down their high office,
with its great responsibilities and obligations,
may each of them find the springtime of enjoyment in
scenese familiar and dear to them.

D 49958

SECTION VIII

Re: Royalty:

Visit of King and Queen in 1939 -

first real contact.

Memory still vivid.

The larger role - Royalty and Sovereign.

H.E. and H.R.H. represent strong and living links with the Crown.

Both have exemplified in full measure the devotion to the public welfare shown so magnificently by the King and Queen.

Relationship close :

His Excellency - Uncle of King;

Her Royal Highness - Granddaughter of Queen Victoria.

(See also speeches re departure Governor General)

D 49959

Appointed Governor General June, 1914.

Years of War I.

Years of War II.

Came 26 years later -

all the better for us.

Each special responsibility - personal qualities.

H.R.H. grandmother (all this is lively in private life).

Home - ideal.

Christians - don't spare themselves.

Ladies organizations.

Last address.

Vivacity, energy, ready for discomfort.

His Excellency - with ministers (Crown) Government
official duties (Parliament

Our sense of gracious part taken by H.E. in duties attending his office.

Zeal and devotion to duty as His Majesty's representative in Canada.

Constitutional representative - close relationship Governor General and Prime Minister.

Value of services during period of war.

Personal relations -

dinners, luncheons, visits to Kingsmere, Quebec, etc.

D 49960

Their Excellencies will take away from Canada the heartfelt good wishes of all its citizens.

As we say farewell,

we say it only in the sense of expectation which the prospect of some early visit from H.E. and H.R.H. arouses. It will be strange indeed if, in their future travels to and fro, they are not able to include Canada once again. They will be well aware of the warmth of welcome which will assuredly be theirs.

Safe and pleasant journey homeward.

No expression of good wishes fully adqquate.

For the future all will unite in warmest good wishes.

Carry message of loyalty and devotion to King and Queen.

D 49960

Their Excellencies will take away from Canada the heartfelt good wishes of all its citizens.

As we say farewell,

we say it only in the sense of expectation which the prospect of some early visit from H.E. and H.R.H. arouses. It will be strange indeed if, in their future travels to and fro, they are not able to include Canada once again. They will be well aware of the warmth of welcome which will assuredly be theirs.

Safe and pleasant journey homeward.

No expression of good wishes fully adequate.

For the future all will unite in warmest good wishes.

Carry message of loyalty and devotion to King and Queen.

REPEAT
REPETITION

D E 49961

GOVERNMENT DINNER
TO
HIS EXCELLENCY and HER ROYAL HIGHNESS

Country Club
February 28, 1946

Introductory - the occasion

Your Excellency and Your Royal Highness:

All present have had much in their thoughts the approaching conclusion of your official relationship with Canada.

A few nights ago, I and my colleagues and others were guests of H.E. and H.R.H. at a memorable dinner at Govt. House - leave-taking and farewell.

Tonight my colleagues and I have felt we would like to have an opportunity of saying a few words of farewell, on behalf of the government.

We are fortunate in having present, with their ladies,

Representatives of both Houses of Parliament - opposition, as well as government,

Members of the Judiciary,

Senior officers of the public service,

Diplomatic representatives of foreign countries and the Dominions,

Representatives of the armed forces,

His Worship the Mayor of Ottawa,

The President of the Press Gallery

with a few other distinguished friends, amongst whom are the newly elected judge of the International Court of Justice,

with all of whom Your Excellency and Your Royal Highness have been brought into more or less close association over the years of your sojourn in Canada.

D 49962

SECTION II

Background - years in Canada.

Speaking of years - what years they have been.

Nothing comparable in the history of Canada, or indeed, in the history of the world.

When H.E. and H.R.H. had arrived in Canada in June 1940, the war in Europe had assumed the proportions of a mighty conflict;

Czechoslovakia and Poland had been overrun;

Denmark and Norway, Belgium and the Netherlands invaded;

Fascist Italy had joined with Nazi Germany in an effort to destroy the free countries of Europe, and the British Commonwealth;

The government of France had capitulated.

Within a year of Your Excellency's arrival in Canada

Germany had attacked Russia (June 22, 1941)

six months later (December 1941) Japan had joined the Axis powers in an effort to conquer the world.

Then came the entry of the U.S. into the war:

the invasion of Africa by British and American troops;

the invasion by the Allied forces of Europe across the Mediterranean, and later from the north across the English Channel;

the liberation, one after the other, of the countries of Europe,

Finally the defeat and unconditional surrender of Germany.

Soon after, came the defeat and unconditional surrender of Japan

with all the incidents associated with the capture, suicide and trials of German and Japanese leaders;

the ignominious close of the careers of Mussolini and Hitler and the deposition of the Emperor of Japan.

D 49963

SECTION II (continued):

Help to Ministry during period of anxiety.

These were years of great anxiety to the free world - an anxiety shared in full measure by H.E. and H.R.H. (away from home), and by members of His Majesty's government in Canada.

It is a joy to me to recall tonight that through the gloom of those years there radiated from Government House a constant and cheering light of kindly influence and encouragement. There was throughout unfailing co-operation in the tasks of government. In countless ways, unseen and unknown, my colleagues and I were sustained in our efforts by the help we never failed to receive from H.E. and H.R.H. through this entire period.

D 49964

SECTION III

Canada's War Effort.

By active support and co-operation in yet a wider way, our Administration and Canada's war effort were immeasurably assisted by the practical co-operation of H.E. and H.R.H.

When H.E. and H.R.H. arrived in Canada, the First Division of Canada's Army was in Britain, standing guard in the citadel of the world's freedom.

No one knew exactly how long or how desperate the struggle would be. It was not yet known how many men and women would be called upon to serve, nor what demands would be made upon the material resources, the inventive skill and productive capacity of Canada.

In ways too many to mention, H.E. and H.R.H. have given unsparingly of their time. They did all that lay within their power in support of national appeals for voluntary services and war savings; by word and example, to lend courage and cheer to the armed forces, the auxiliary forces, to the workers in war production, on the farm and in the factories, and to sustain and strengthen the morale of the nation at war.

Later, they helped to prepare and assist in the training of youth;

promotion of public health,
visited universities,
" hospitals,
leadership training,
Princess Alice Foundation,
youth training,
support of voluntary effort and worthy causes.

All have benefitted from their personal interest and concern.

D 49965

SECTION IV

Travel:

H.E. and H.R.H. have not spared themselves

visiting many parts of Canada -

some never visited before by a representative of the Crown.

They have travelled all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific;

and to distant portions of the Northwest Territories;

and over the Alaska Highway, into the Yukon.

United States - Washington;

Atlantic and Pacific coasts;

Newfoundland, and

Labrador.

Guest of President Roosevelt - last guests

President's last dinner.

Their interest and example has helped forward many worthy projects of national importance.

They have come to know Canada as few Canadians have begun to know their own country. They have helped to reveal ~~Canada's~~ the extent of the resources of the country to Canadians as well as something of their own ~~characteristics and~~ potential powers

D 49966

SECTION V.

Hospitality.

Throughout the years of war,
and during these succeeding months of peace,

H.E. and H.R.H. have extended hospitality at both Government House and the Citadel, to distinguished visitors from many lands:

Sovereigns and Heads of States,
Prime Ministers,
Foreigh and other Ministers of States,

and a veritable host of valiant men and women engaged in the common task of securing victory for Allied arms and the world's freedom.

Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt (at both),
Queen Wilhelmina,
Madame Chiang Kai-shek,
King George of Greece,
King Peter of Yugoslavia,
General de Gaulle, and
~~General Giraud,~~
General Eisenhower,
South American Presidents and Foreign Ministers,
Menzies and Curtin, of Australia,
Fraser, of New Zealand,
Smuts, of South Africa,
Attlee, of United Kingdom,
and many other ministers and their colleagues.

They have helped us to know more of foreign countries and of other Dominions of the Commonwealth.

Growth of Representation

SECTION VI.

D 49967

When His Excellency was sworn into office on June 21, 1940

the circle of our official representation from other nations extended to:

5 Ministers Plenipotentiary
4 High Commissioners. 9

Today, the circle has broadened until it numbers as Heads of Missions:

11 Ambassadors
8 Ministers
5 High Commissioners. 24

His Excellency will, I know, regard it as a matter of satisfaction that he personally received at Government House the letters of credence by which many of these and other friends of Canada were accredited.

I am particularly pleased that, in bidding farewell to the personal representative of The King, we should this evening be able to include in our united good wishes those of the representatives of the other governments with which, during the past six years, such close and cordial relations have been maintained.

SECTION VII.

D 49968

Re: Departure : War - Victory - Peace.

The Governor General arrived in the midst of war.

There is some sense of pride and relief in the certainty that His Excellency and Princess Alice can take their departure under conditions of peace.

Impressions carried away:

They have been witnesses of the growth in the national and international life of Canada.

Have seen Canada rise to a world power and world influence.

Their own part in the steady development has been a very real one.

Their interest has been alert and constant.

They have seen the promise of the dawn of a new day:

the founding of the United Nations Organization and the creation of its charter;

the meeting of the First Assembly, and of the Security Council and ~~Social and~~ Economic and Social Council of the

~~They have shared in its legacy of destruction and suffering and the trials of the post-war period;~~

The building of security,
establishing of peace,
comfort and aid to distressed nations and countries,
credits,
financial aid - "bread cast upon waters".

They have witnessed ~~the~~ ~~[illegible]~~ of War, and Victory, and Peace.

On a world scale they have witnessed the fulfilling of the precept of ——

SECTION VVI (Continued)

In their travels across Canada from east to west,
and into the great northwest, they have seen Canada
at work under the unusual and tragic stimulus of war,
but they have also glimpsed the broad expanse of our
country. They have found delight in its scenic grandeur.

They will reach England in the spring.
As they lay down their high office,
with its great responsibilities and obligations,
may each of them find the springtime of enjoyment in
scenes familiar and dear to them.

D 49970

SECTION VIII

Re: Royalty:

Visit of King and Queen in 1939 -

first real contact.

Memory still vivid.

The larger role - Royalty and Sovereign.

H.E. and H.R.H. represent strong and living links with the Crown.

Both have exemplified in full measure the devotion to the public welfare shown so magnificently by the King and Queen.

Relationship close :

His Excellency - Uncle of King;

Her Royal Highness - Granddaughter of Queen Victoria.

(See also speeches re departure Governor General)

We honour them as the representatives of royalty but we also honour them for themselves +

D 49971

Appointed Governor General June, 1914.

Years of War I.

Years of War II.

Came 26 years later -

all the better for us.

+ Themselves

a great gentleman

Each special responsibility - personal qualities.

H.R.H. grandmother (all this is lovely in private life).

Home - ideal.

~~Christians~~ - don't spare themselves.

indefatigable

Ladies organizations.

Last address.

Vivacity, energy, ready for discomfort.

His Excellency - with ministers (Crown) Government
official duties (Parliament

Our sense of gracious part taken by H.E. in duties attending his office.

Zeal and devotion to duty as His Majesty's representative in Canada.

Constitutional representative -
close relationship Governor General and Prime Minister.

performed all functions in strict accordance with the letter and the spirit of the Constitution

Value of services during period of war.

~~last~~ at end

Personal relations -

dinners, luncheons, visits to Kingsmere, Quebec, etc.

D 49972

Their Excellencies will take away from Canada the heartfelt good wishes of all its citizens.

As we say farewell,

we say it only in the sense of expectation which the prospect of some early visit from H.E. and H.R.H. arouses. It will be strange indeed if, in their future travels to and fro, they are not able to include Canada once again. They will be well aware of the warmth of welcome which will assuredly be theirs.

Safe and pleasant journey homeward.

No expression of good wishes fully adequate.

For the future all will unite in warmest good wishes.

Carry message of loyalty and devotion to King and Queen.

and of affectionate remembrance ~~to~~ to Queen Mary

D 49972

Their Excellencies will take away from Canada the heartfelt good wishes of all its citizens.

As we say farewell,

we say it only in the sense of expectation which the prospect of some early visit from H.E. and H.R.H. arouses. It will be strange indeed if, in their future travels to and fro, they are not able to include Canada once again. They will be well aware of the warmth of welcome which will assuredly be theirs.

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For the future all will unite in warmest good wishes.

Carry message of loyalty and devotion to King and Queen.

and of affectionate remembrance to Queen Mary

REPEAT
REPETITION

Country Club,
February 28, 1946.

D 49973

GOVERNMENT DINNER TO HIS EXCELLENCY AND HER ROYAL HIGHNESS

Introductory - the occasion.

A few nights ago, colleagues and other guests of H.E. and H.R.H. at Government House -

leave-taking and farewell.

This evening, somewhat nearer the day of departure.

With representatives of Legislative, administrative and judicial life of Parliament, and the civic life of the national capital, representatives of the armed forces, the PressGallery, and others, there have been close association over the years of H.E. and H.R.H. in Canada.

When H.E. was sworn into office on June 21, 1940 the circle of our official representation from other nations extended to:

5 Ministers Plenipotentiary
4 High Commissioners.

Today the circle has broadened until it numbers as Heads of Missions:

11 Ambassadors
8 Ministers
5 High Commissioners.

H.E. will, I know, regard it as a matter of satisfaction that he personally received at Government House the letters of credence by which many of these and other friends of Canada were accredited.

D 49974

I am particularly pleased that in bdding farewell to the personal representative of The King, we should this evening be able to include in our united good wishes those of the representatives of the other governments with which, during the past six years, such close and cordial relations have been maintained.

Share in leave-taking - which we hope may be but "au revoir" - which is a source of deep regret to us all.

After nearly six years of association, we should have been pleased to have H.E. and H.R.H. remain permanently with us. Indeed, sometime ago, I expressed to H.E. the hope he would allow his term to be extended indefinitely.

D 49975

SECTION II

Background - years in Canada.

Speaking of years - what years they have been.

Nothing comparable in the history of Canada or, indeed, in the history of the world.

When H.E. and H.R.H. left England in late spring 1940, the wariin Europe had assumed the proportions of a mighty conflict:

Czechoslovakia and Poland had been overrun;
Denmark and Norway invaded;
Belgium and the Netherlands had likewise felt the brutal might of the Nazi aggressors,
the forces of France were on the verge of collapse;
Fascist Italy had joined with Nazi Germany in an effort to destroy the free countries of Europe and of the British Commonwealth.

Within a year of H.E.'s stay in Canada, Germany had attacked Russia and in December 1941 Hapan had joined the Axis powers in an effort to conquer the world.

Then came the entry of the U.S. into the war:

the invasion of Africa by British and American troops;
the invasion by the Allied forces of Europe from the south, and later from the North across the British channel;
the liberation, one after the other, of the countries of Europe, and finally
the defeat and unconditional surrender of Germany.

Soon after came the defeat and unconditional surrender of Japan, with all the incidents associated with the suicides, capture, and trials of German and Japanese leaders.

The ignominious close of the careers of Mussolini and Hitler and the deposition of the Emperor of Japan.

These were years of great anxiety to the free world - an anxiety shared in full measure by members of His Majesty's government in Canada.

D 49976

It is a joy to me to recall tonight that through the gloom of those years there radiated a constant and cheering light of kindly influence and consideration, also of unfailing co-operation in the tasks of government.

In countless ways, unseen and unknown, my colleagues and I were sustained in our efforts by the help we never failed to receive from H.E. and H.R.H. through this entire period.

D 49977

SECTION III

Canada's war effort.

By active support and co-operation in yet a wider way, our Administration and Canada's war effort were immeasurably assisted by the practical co-operation of H.E. and H.R.H.

In ways, too many to mention, H.E. and H.R.H. did all that lay within their power, by word and example, to lend courage and cheer to the armed forces, to the workers in war production, on the farm and in the factories, and to sustain and strength the morale of the nation at war.

When H.E. and H.R.H. arrived in Canada, the first Division of Canada's army was in Britain, standing guard in the citadel of the world's freedom.

No one knew exactly how long or how desperate the struggle would be. It was not yet known how many men and women would be called upon the serve, nor what demands would be made upon the material resources, the inventive skill and productive capacity of Canada.

In the war effort of Canada, both have given unsparingly of their time - not only in support of national appeals for voluntary servies and war savings, but also in visiting many parts of Canada - some never visited before by a representative of the Crown. They have travelled all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the Alaska Highway, into the Yukon, and distant portions of the Northwest Territories.

They have given unstinted personal encouragement to many activities throughout the land. Their interest and example has helped forward many worthy projects of national importance.

The auxiliaries of the armed forces,
the war production industries,
public health organizations and groups,
encouraging the training of youth --

have all benefitted from their personal interest

D 49978

SECTION IV

Hospitality.

Throughout the years of war, and during these succeeding months of peace, H.E. and H.R.H. have extended hospitality at both Government House and the Citadel, to distinguished visitors from many lands;

Sovereigns and Heads of States,
Prime Ministers,
Foreign Ministers,
and other Ministers of States,

and a veritable host of valiant men and women engaged in the common task of securing victory for Allied arms and the world's freedom.

These welcomings became a part of Canada itself to many valourous defenders of this world's freedom.

In one sense this has reflected the place of Canada in the world community; in another it has been a measure of the obligation which rests upon Canada to aid in the building of security, the establishing of peace, and the bringing of comfort and aid to a distressed but never despairing humanity.

SECTION V

D 49979

Re: Departure:

The G.G. arrived in the midst of war.
There is some sense of relief in the certainty that he and Princess Alice can take their departure under conditions of peace. They have been wittnesses of the growth in the national and international life of Canada. Their own part in the steady development has been a very real one. Their interest has been alert and constant.

In their travels across Canada from east to west, and into the great northwest, they have seen Canada at work under the unusual and tragic stimulus of war, but they have also glimpsed the broad expanse of our country. They have found a light in its scenic grandeur.

They will reach England in the s pring.
As they lay down their high office, with its great responsibilities and obligations, may each of them find the springtime of enjoyment in scenes familiar and dear to them.

They will take away from Canada the heartfelt good w ishes of all its citizens.

As we say farewell,
we say it only in the sense of expectation which the prospect of s ome early visit from H.E. and H.R.H. arouses. It will be strange indeed if, in their future travels to and fro, they are not abàà to include Canada once again. They will be well aware of the warmth of welcome which will assuredly be theirs.

D 49980

SECTION VI

Re: Royalty.

H. E. and H.R.H. represent strong and living links of the Crown; both of them have exemplified in full measure the devotion to the public welfare shown so magnificently by the King and the Queen.

Wishes for safe and pleasant journey homeward.

The years ahead.

D 49981

SECTION VII

His Excellency's acquaintance with the office of Governor General was not entirely new, for in the summer of 1914, he had been appointed to this office by the late King George V. The onset of the first Great War prevented Lord Athlone's coming to Canada then; and the fortunes of time and circumstance brought him back to Canada, 26 years later, in the midst of a second and even more terrible war.

His Excellency has had a lengthy career of public service in many forms. For half a century, he has been a soldier, and before he came to Canada he had served for nearly eight years as Governor General of the Union of South Africa. We have known of his long connection with the University of London as its Chancellor; and his interest in public education has been demonstrated by his visits to Canadian universities which have honoured him. We have known too of His Excellency's interest in many agencies for social service and the advancement of the public welfare.

JAG/Z

Second Draft
24-2-46

D 49982

Your Excellency,
Your Royal Highness,
Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

This is an unusual occasion and one, I need not say, which evokes many memories. My colleagues in the Government of Canada and I had wished to have the honour of entertaining The Governor General and the Princess Alice to dinner before their departure from Canada, and to have an opportunity, in company with members of the diplomatic corps and representatives of the political and civic life of the national capital, to say "au revoir" ~~to two very devoted and charming friends of Canada~~.

I am delighted that so many have been able to accept our invitation. I am reminded that when His Excellency was sworn into office on June 21, 1940, the circle of our official representation from other nations extended to five Ministers plenipotentiary, and four High Commissioners from nations of the British Commonwealth. Today, the circle has been broadened until it numbers, as heads of missions, eleven Ambassadors, eight Ministers, and five High Commissioners. His Excellency will, I hope, always regard it as a matter of satisfaction that he personally received at Government House

D 49983

the letters of credence by which many of these other friends of Canada were accredited; and I am particularly pleased that in bidding farewell to the personal representative of The King, we should this evening be able to include in our united good wishes those of the representatives of other Governments with which, during the past six years, such close and cordial relations have been maintained and developed.

These same six years have been, perhaps, the most momentous years in all our history as a free nation. The Earl of Athlone, as Governor General-designate, and the Princess Alice, left England in the summer of 1940, at a moment when the war in Europe was assuming the proportions of a mighty conflict. Norway and Denmark had been invaded; Belgium and the Netherlands had likewise felt the brutal might of the Nazi aggressors, and the forces of France were on the verge of collapse. The First Division of Canada's Army was in Britain, standing guard in the citadel of the world's freedom. No one knew, exactly, how long or how desperate the struggle would be. It was not yet known how many men and women would be called upon to serve, nor what demands would be made upon the material resources, the inventive skill and the productive capacity of Canada.

bring this part up
first draft

Not used
Abroad

A.

→ the Self Governing Nations

D 49984

Very nearly one hundred years ago, an illustrious predecessor of Lord Athlone dipped into the problems of British North America and suggested as a guiding principle a concept of free government which even today has a fresh and realistic ring to it.

> "Let the forms and the substance of our Constitution (he wrote) come to maturity in this part of America. (The provinces of British North America) should stand in conscious strength and in the full equipment of self-government as a free people bound by the ties of gratitude and affection."

His Excellency and Her Royal Highness have been the witnesses of the way in which this "full equipment of self-government" enabled Canada, as a free people, to mobilise and make effective a great effort in the fight for the world's freedom. They have seen how a united Canada was able to take its part in this world-encircling conflict and to emerge with a new strength, not to be exerted in any arbitrary or arrogant use of power, but as a nation strong to meet the grim needs of war and ever stronger to share in the burdens which follow in the wake of war; the alleviation of distress, the relief of suffering, the provision of mutual aid in material shapes - far beyond the vision of any one of us a few brief years ago.

D 49985

His Excellency and Her Royal Highness will allow me to say, because I believe it is true, that in the humanitarian virtues of this conscious strength, and with the ties of affection and gratitude which link us to the King, his Throne and his person, we have been able to discover a revived sense of our own history as a nation. The things which have seemed to make our own sense of nationality the stronger have been at the same time the things which have enabled our participation in some of the new agencies of the United Nations to be useful and consistent with the stature of Canada herself in the larger world of international relationships.

His Excellency and Her Royal Highness have been, as I suggested, wittnesses of this growth in the national and international life of Canada. They will also, I hope, allow me to say how important their own part has been in this steady development. Their interest has been alert and constant. In their travels across Canada from east to west, and into the great north-west, they have seen Canada at work under the unusual and tragic stimulus of war. But they have also glimpsed the broad expanse of our country, they have found delight in its scenic grandeur, and they have entered into the spell which many of our storied places weave about those who come as seekers after knowledge.

D 49986

D 49987

The Governor General and Princess Alice have likewise given unstinted personal encouragement to many activities throughout the land. Their interest and example has helped forward many worthy projects of national importance: war savings, voluntary agencies for social service and the public welfare, physical fitness, and the training of leaders for Canadian youth - all of these have benefitted from a kindly personal concern; and Canada will not soon forget what this labour of love - for it has involved time and thought and energy beyond any thought for themselves - will mean through succeeding years.

In still another direction my colleagues and I have had especial reason to be grateful for the ready support and unfailing understanding of The Governor General and the Princess Alice. Throughout the years of war, and during these succeeding months of peace, they have extended the hospitality of Government House to distinguished visitors from many lands: Sovereigns and heads of states; Prime Ministers, foreign ministers and other ministers of state, and a veritable host of valiant men and women engaged in the common task of securing victory for allied arms and the world's freedom. There have been occasions in these years, in which His Excellency and Her Royal Highness have shared,

D 49988

when the spirit of these embattled nations has seemed to come alive in our midst. In these fleeting instants of recognition of "the greatness that makes great", we have been proud to think that the Governor General and Princess Alice held out hands of welcome. These welcomings, we are assured, carried their own message of hope and encouragement to numberless men and women in lands far removed from our own. These welcomings, brief if they may have seemed, became a part of the welcome of Canada itself to many valourous defenders of this world's freedom.

When the Governor General and Princess Alice arrived in Canada it was full summer. When they return to Britain they will find it early spring, than which, in their homeland, there is no lovelier season of the year. I hope that each and both of them may find, in the ~~associations~~ avocations which properly follow the vocations of two lives so singularly devoted to the public service,"a springtime of enjoyment" which will bring its own delightful rewards. Our friends have seen Canada in all the changing colours of our seasons and under myriad skies of promise and up-springing hope. They will, as we trust, under English skies find no less promise and no less hope: the promise of peace and the peaceful ordering of our interdependent world; the hope that men and women of goodwill will spare no effort to make this world a healtheir and a happier place to live.

D 49989

The day of departure from Canada draws ever nearer for our two devoted friends. As we say farewell, we say it only in the sense of expectation which the prospect of some early visit from His Excellency and Her Royal Highness arouses . It will be strange indeed, if in their future travels to and fro, they are not able to include Canada once again. They will, I believe, need no special inducement, for they will be well aware of the warmth of the welcome which will assuredly be theirs. They have seen so much of Canada that they will always be its friends, as we should like to be numbered among their friends. Mingled with all the good wishes which we now express to both of them is one special note of assurances which springs from deep in our history. To paraphrase some celebrated words of the late Arthur Doughty, may we not all say: "to one who has known Canada there is no farewell".

D 49990

Of one thing at least we were certain: there could be no compromise with the evil menace of Nazi domination, nor could the world exist half-slave, half-free.

His Excellency has told me of more than one occasion that he will always be glad that his term of office covered these years of war in which Canada's effort grew swiftly and steadily. He was able to see the development of Canada's armed forces, and after spending nearly fifty years of his life as a solider, the Governor General had an especial interest in the military achievements of Canada's fighting men. In many parts of Canada, indeed, His Excellency and Her Royal Highness visited units of the Navy, Army and Air Force in training to take their part in the ever mounting offensive against the enemy. Their interest extended also to the women in the armed services, who in so many directions contributed so faithfully and so cheerfully to the over-all effort.

The greater part of His Excellency's residence in Canada was filled up by the demands and the emotions of war. There is perhaps, therefore, an even greater measure of satisfaction in knowing that the Governor General and Princess Alice can leave Canada and return to Britain

D 49991

in a world at peace, and that they will both be able to enjoy a long-anticipated holiday in travelling about to well-remembered places.

Through all the demands of war His Excellency and Her Royal Highness have given the most constant proofs of their devotion to the public service. They have entered very genuinely into the life of this nation, and their sympathy and understanding have been of the greatest helpfulness and support to my colleagues and myself. It is not easy to put into words the sense of appreciation which we feel in this respect; but I should like to say that the remembrance of this unfailing kindness and understanding will be one of the lasting memories of these anxious and busy years.

D 49992

The time and thought and active helpfulness which His Excellency and Her Royal Highness have given to so many good causes is well known. The auxiliaries to the armed forces, the war production industries, public health organizations and groups encouraging the training of youth have all benefited from this single-minded interest. All of Canada is grateful for it, and will continue to be so. The Governor General and the Princess Alice have taken so large and so remarkable a part in the life of Canada as a whole that we have come to think of them not so much as the distinguished holders of high office, but as trusted and devoted friends.

I would mention two directions in which His Excellency and Her Royal Highness have been singularly helpful to my colleagues and myself. In the war effort of Canada both have given unsparingly of their time, not only in support of national appeals for voluntary services and war savings, but also in visiting many parts of Canada (some never before visited by any Governor General). They have travelled all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and the Alaska Highway into the Yukon, and parts of the Northwest Territories have been embraced within their journies. They have visited also the Pacific Coast of the United States, Alaska, and Newfoundland and Labrador.

Secondly, in the hospitable entertainment of many distinguished visitors from abroad, both at Government House and at the Citadel in Quebec, they have welcomed heads of

Re Lord Athlone

SECTION VII

D49993

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His Excellency has had a lengthy career of public service in many forms. For half a century, he has been a soldier, and before he came to Canada he had served for nearly eight years as Governor General of the Union of South Africa. We have known of his long connection with the University of London as its Chancellor; and his interest in public education has been demonstrated by his visits to Canadian universities which have honoured him. We have known too of His Excellency's interest in many agencies for social service and the advancement of the public welfare.

N.F. — a professional soldier
campaigns in Matabeleland 1896
returned on staff to the Union 1923-30
Created 1st earl 1901
Offl. Gov. = 1914 = (Ott. he created Marquess!)

D 49994

Their Excellencies will take away from Canada the heartfelt good wishes of all its citizens.

As we say farewell,

we say it only in the sense of expectation which the prospect of some early visit from H.E. and H.R.H. arouses. It will be strange indeed if, in their future travels to and fro, they are not able to include Canada once again. They will be well aware of the warmth of welcome which will assuredly be theirs.

Safe and pleasant journey homeward.

No expression of good wishes fully adequate.

For the future all will unite in warmest good wishes.

Carry message of loyalty and devotion to King and Queen.

and of affectionate remembrance to Queen Mary.

JAG/Z

Second Draft
24-2-46

D 49995

Your Excellency,
Your Royal Highness,
Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

This is an unusual occasion and one, I need not say, which evokes many memories. My colleagues in the Government of Canada and I had wished to have the honour of entertaining The Governor General and the Princess Alice to dinner before their departure from Canada, and to have an opportunity, in company with members of the diplomatic corps and representatives of the political and civic life of the national capital, to say "au revoir" to two very devoted and charming friends of Canada.

I am delighted that so many have been able to accept our invitation. I am reminded that when His Excellency was sworn into office on June 21, 1940, the circle of our official representation from other nations extended to five Ministers plenipotentiary, and four High Commissioners from nations of the British Commonwealth. Today, the circle has been broadened until it numbers, as heads of missions, eleven Ambassadors, eight Ministers, and five High Commissioners. His Excellency will, I hope, always regard it as a matter of satisfaction that he personally received at Government House

the letters of credence by which many of these other friends of Canada were accredited; and I am particularly pleased that in bidding farewell to the personal representative of The King, we should this evening be able to include in our united good wishes those of the representatives of other Governments with which, during the past six years, such close and cordial relations have been maintained and developed.

These same six years have been, perhaps, the most momentous years in all our history as a free nation. The Earl of Athlone, as Governor General-designate, and the Princess Alice, left England in the summer of 1940, at a moment when the war in Europe was assuming the proportions of a mighty conflict. Norway and Denmark had been invaded; Belgium and the Netherlands had likewise felt the brutal might of the Nazi aggressors, and the forces of France were on the verge of collapse. The First Division of Canada's Army was in Britain, standing guard in the citadel of the world's freedom. No one knew, exactly, how long or how desperate the struggle would be. It was not yet known how many men and women would be called upon to serve, nor what demands would be made upon the material resources, the inventive skill and the productive capacity of Canada.

Of one thing at least we were certain: there could be no compromise with the evil menace of Nazi domination, nor could the world exist half-slave, half-free.

His Excellency has told me of more than one occasion that he will always be glad that his term of office covered these years of war in which Canada's effort grew swiftly and steadily. He was able to see the development of Canada's armed forces, and after spending nearly fifty years of his life as a solider, the Governor General had an especial interest in the military achievements of Canada's fighting men. In many parts of Canada, indeed, His Excellency and Her Royal Highness visited units of the Navy, Army and Air Force in training to take their part in the ever mounting offensive against the enemy. Their interest extended also to the women in the armed services, who in so many directions contributed so faithfully and so cheerfully to the over-all effort.

The greater part of His Excellency's residence in Canada was filled up by the demands and the emotions of war. There is perhaps, therefore, an even greater measure of satisfaction in knowing that the Governor General and Princess Alice can leave Canada and return to Britain

in a world at peace, and that they will both be able to enjoy a long-anticipated holiday in travelling about to well-remembered places.

Through all the demands of war His Excellency and Her Royal Highness have given the most constant proofs of their devotion to the public service. They have entered very genuinely into the life of this nation, and their sympathy and understanding have been of the greatest helpfulness and support to my colleagues and myself. It is not easy to put into words the sense of appreciation which we feel in this respect; but I should like to say that the remembrance of this unfailing kindness and understanding will be one of the lasting memories of these anxious and busy years.

D 49999

Very nearly one hundred years ago, an illustrious predecessor of Lord Athlone dipped into the problems of British North America and suggested as a guiding principle a concept of free government which even today has a fresh and realistic ring to it.

> "Let the forms and the substance of our Constitution (he wrote) come to maturity in this part of America. (The provinces of British North America) should stand in conscious strength and in the full equipment of self-government as a free people bound by the ties of gratitude and affection."

His Excellency and Her Royal Highness have been the witnesses of the way in which this "full equipment of self-government" enabled Canada, as a free people, to mobilise and make effective a great effort in the fight for the world's freedom. They have seen how a united Canada was able to take its part in this world-encircling conflict and to emerge with a new strength, not to be exerted in any arbitrary or arrogant use of power, but as a nation strong to meet the grim needs of war and ever stronger to share in the burdens which follow in the wake of war; the alleviation of distress, the relief of suffering, the provision of mutual aid in material shapes - far beyond the visition of any one of us a few brief years ago.

His Excellency and Her Royal Highness will allow me to say, because I believe it is true, that in the humanitarian virtues of this conscious strength, and with the ties of affection and gratitude which link us to the King, his Throne and his person, we have been able to discover a revived sense of our own history as a nation. The things which have seemed to make our own sense of nationality the stronger have been at the same time the things which have enabled our participation in some of the new agencies of the United Nations to be useful and consistent with the stature of Canada herself in the larger world of international relationships.

His Excellency and Her Royal Highness have been, as I suggested, witnesses of this growth in the national and international life of Canada. They will also, I hope, allow me to say how important their own part has been in this steady development. Their interest has been alert and constant. In their travels across Canada from east to west, and into the great north-west, they have seen Canada at work under the unusual and tragic stimulus of war. But they have also glimpsed the broad expanse of our country, they have found delight in its scenic grandeur, and they have entered into the spell which many of our storied places weave about those who come as seekers after knowledge.

The Governor General and Princess Alice have likewise given unstinted personal encouragement to many activities throughout the land. Their interest and example has helped forward many worthy projects of national importance: war savings, voluntary agencies for social service and the public welfare, physical fitness, and the training of leaders for Canadian youth - all of these have benefitted from a kindly personal concern; and Canada will not soon forget what this labour of love - for it has involved time and thought and energy beyond any thought for themselves - will mean through succeeding years.

In still another direction my colleagues and I have had especial reason to be grateful for the ready support and unfailing understanding of The Governor General and the Princess Alice. Throughout the years of war, and during these succeeding months of peace, they have extended the hospitality of Government House to distinguished visitors from many lands, Sovereigns and heads of states; Prime Ministers, foreign ministers and other ministers of state, and a veritable host of valiant men and women engaged in the common task of securing victory for allied arms and the world's freedom. There have been occasions in these years, in which His Excellency and Her Royal Highness have shared,

D 50002

when the spirit of these embattled nations has seemed to come alive in our midst. In these fleeting instants of recognition of "the greatness that makes great", we have been proud to think that the Governor General and Princess Alice held out hands of welcome. These welcomings, we are assured, carried their own message of hope and encouragement to numberless men and women in lands far removed from our own. These welcomings, brief if they may have seemed, became a part of the welcome of Canada itself to many valourous defenders of this world's freedom.

When the Governor General and Princess Alice arrived in Canada it was full summer. When they return to Britain they will find it early spring, than which, in their homeland, there is no lovelier season of the year. I hope that each and both of them may find, in the ~~associations~~ avocations which properly follow the vocations of two lives so singularly devoted to the public service,"a springtime of enjoyment" which will bring its own delightful rewards. Our friends have seen Canada in all the changing colours of our seasons and under myriad skies of promise and up-springing hope. They will, as we trust, under English skies find no less promise and no less hope: the promise of peace and the peaceful ordering of our interdependent world; the hope that men and women of goodwill will spare no effort to make this world a healtheir and a happier place to live.

D 50003

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JAG/Z

Second Draft
24-2-46

D 50004

Your Excellency,
Your Royal Highness,
Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

This is an unusual occasion and one, I need not say, which evokes many memories. My colleagues in the Government of Canada and I had wished to have the honour of entertaining The Governor General and the Princess Alice to dinner before their departure from Canada, and to have an opportunity, in company with members of the diplomatic corps and representatives of the political and civic life of the national capital, to say "au revoir" to two very devoted and charming friends of Canada.

I am delighted that so many have been able to accept our invitation. I am reminded that when His Excellency was sworn into office on June 21, 1940, the circle of our official representation from other nations extended to five Ministers plenipotentiary, and four High Commissioners from nations of the British Commonwealth. Today, the circle has been broadened until its numbers, as heads of missions, eleven Ambassadors, eight Ministers, and five High Commissioners. His Excellency will, I hope, always regard it as a matter of satisfaction that he personally received at Government House

D 56005

the letters of credence by which many of these other friends of Canada were accredited; and I am particularly pleased that in bidding farewell to the personal representative of The King, we should this evening be able to include in our united good wishes those of the representatives of other Governments with which, during the past six years, such close and cordial relations have been maintained and developed.

These same six years have been, perhaps, the most momentous years in all our history as a free nation. The Earl of Athlone, as Governor General-designate, and the Princess Alice, left England in the summer of 1940, at a moment when the war in Europe was assuming the proportions of a mighty conflict. Norway and Denmark had been invaded; Belgium and the Netherlands had likewise felt the brutal might of the Nazi aggressors, and the forces of France were on the verge of collapse. The First Division of Canada's Army was in Britain, standing guard in the citadel of the world's freedom. No one knew, exactly, how long or how desperate the struggle would be. It was not yet known how many men and women would be called upon to serve, nor what demands would be made upon the material resources, the inventive skill and the productive capacity of Canada.

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D 50007

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D 50908

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D 50009

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D 50010

The Governor General and Princess Alice have likewise given unstinted personal encouragement to many activities throughout the land. Their interest and example has helped forward many worthy projects of national importance: war savings, voluntary agencies for social service and the public welfare, physical fitness, and the training of leaders for Canadian youth - all of these have benefitted from a kindly personal concern; and Canada will not soon forget what this labour of love - for it has involved time and thought and energy enyond any thought for themselves - will mean through succeeding years.

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D 50012

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa E Journal

Date March 2/46

D 50013

Dinner for Governor General Highlight of Ottawa Week

Mr. King Tells 130 Guests That Ottawa Has Truly Become World Capital

When the Dominion Government said farewell to the Earl of Athlone and the Princess Alice at a Government dinner Thursday evening at the Country Club, the East Block's expert on protocol and precedence managed to contrive an interesting seating plan.

There were 130 guests, and Mr. N. Belokhvostikov, the Soviet Charge d'Affaires in Ottawa, was seated three places from Mr. Justice Roy L. Kellock, and directly across the table from Madame Taschereau, wife of the second Supreme Court Judge on the Royal Commission investigating the Russian spy-ring.

Pleasant Evening.

Dr. H. Leguizamon Pondol, the Argentine Ambassador whose Government's relations with the Soviet are not exactly of the warmest, was seated across the table and less than a dozen places from the Soviet Charge d'Affairs.

But however delicate Russian diplomatic relations may be, it was an exceedingly pleasant evening, the 130 guests joining hands and singing Auld Lang Syne just as less exalted party goers do on such gala occasions as New Year's Eve.

The carefully selected 130 who comprised the guest list assembled in the room adjoining the lounge for cocktails at 8.15 p.m., and sorted themselves out, as the official seating-plan instructed in "order of precedence" for presentation to Their Excellencies.

After cocktails, the guests were seated along both sides of an "L"-shaped table reaching down the Country Club's two verandahs.

Only Prime Minister King with the Governor General on his right and the Princess Alice to the left, seated as they were at the "elbow" of the table could see all the guests at either end of the long "L"-shaped board.

The seating plan placed Mrs. Humphrey Mitchell on the Earl of Athlone's right, and Justice Minister St. Laurent to the left of the Princess Alice.

Across the table at the immediate right was Works Minister Fournier, and on the left was Trade Minister McKinnon.

At the extremities of both ends of the long table, "below the salt", were stationed the aides from Rideau Hall and members of Mr. King's staff.

While the seating plan placed the Soviet Charge d'Affaires almost cheek-by-jowl with one of the Supreme Court Judges investigating Russian espionage activities in Canada, it did better by the military.

Across from each other, just better than half-way down the table, so they might discuss common plans for Canada's new-planned Aero-Commandos, were stationed Chief of the Air Staff Leckie and Army Staff Chief Foulkes.

Mr. Mulock Present.

The state dinner brought out of his retirement W. P. Mulock, the former Postmaster General, completely recovered, he reported, from his recent serious heart condition.

On hand, too, was former Air Minister Power,

For both it was a "first" at a state occasion since their resignations from the Government.

The menu comprised soup, creamed mushrooms, roast turkey, ices and demi-tasse. There were two wines, one a white Chilean.

Out of the darkest, deepest wine cellar to which the Government has access in the Province of Quebec, was a supply of Mums pre-war champagne, the first of this choice vintage served at any state dinner since 1939.

The brandy, too, was pre-war stock.

Mr. King looked up and down the table, and saw in both wings, proof that during the war Ottawa had climbed into long diplomatic trousers and become truly a World Capital.

Before the war, it had been a great occasion when a great and distinguished visitor came to Ottawa, but in recent years these events had become almost routine.

Mr. King's Speech.

Since the war, recalled the Prime Minister, Ottawa and Rideau Hall had been hosts to a long line of distinguished visitors including former Prime Minister Churchill of Britain, Madame Chiang Kai-shek of China, King Peter of Yugoslavia, King George of Greece, the late President Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Attlee, Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands, former President de Gaulle of France, Anthony Eden of Britain, General Jan Smuts of South Africa, General of the American Army Eisenhower and other noted world figures.

The last time Canada had said farewell to a Governor General, only the Cabinet and a picked list of functionaries from External Affairs had attended the state dinner.

This time there was a full-blown turn-out of the representatives and their wives of the 18 foreign nations and five members of the British Commonwealth with diplomatic staffs in Ottawa.

The Earl of Athlone and the Princess Alice leave Ottawa March 16, two days after the Governor General opens the new session of Parliament.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Kitchener Record

Date March 1, 1946

50014

Everybody Has Good Time, Even Red, at Athlone Party

By RICHARD JACKSON
Kitchener Record Correspondent

OTTAWA, March 2.—When the Dominion Government said farewell to the Earl of Athlone and the Princess Alice at a state dinner Thursday evening at the Ottawa Country Club, the East Block's expert on protocol and precedence managed to contrive a highly entertaining and interesting seating plan.

These state dinners are very lah-de-lah, and nothing so commonplace as a member of the press is allowed within shouting distance by the special R.C.M.P. guards who patrol the Country Club grounds as if they were protecting the Chalk River atomic plant.

But The Record today fell into possession of a "collector's item," the seating plan of the state dinner, together with a first-hand account of "what cooked."

130 GUESTS PRESENT

There were 130 guests, and N. Belokhvostikov, the Soviet charge d'affaires in Ottawa, was seated three places from Mr. Justice Roy Kellock, and directly across the table from Madame Taschereau, wife of the second Supreme Court judge on the Royal Commission investigating the Russian spy ring.

Dr. H. Leguizamon Pondol, the Argentine ambassador whose Government's relations with the Soviet are not exactly warm, was seated across the table, three places down from the Russian charge d'affaires.

But however delicate Russian diplomatic relations may be, it was an exceedingly pleasant evening, the 130 guests joining hands and singing Auld Lang Syne just as less exalted party-goers do on such gala occasions as New Year's Eve.

The carefully selected 130 who comprised the guest list assembled for cocktails and then sorted themselves out, as the official seating-plan instructed, in "order of precedence" for presentation to Their Excellencies.

SEATED AT CORNER

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MILITARY MEN TOGETHER

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DRINK PREWAR STOCK

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23 LANDS REPRESENTED

Former Prime Minister Churchill of Britain, Madame Chiang Kai-Shek of China, King Peter of Yugoslavia, King George of Greece, the late President Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Attlee, Queen

Turn to OTTAWA—Page 6

Wilhelmina of the Netherlands, former President de Gaulle of France, Anthony Eden of Britain, Field Smuts of South Africa, General of Marshal Jan Smuts of South Africa, Gen. Eisenhower and other noted world figures.

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March 15, 194

D 50015

Time of departure of Governor General.

Yesterday in personal note in
Speech from Throne referred to.

Relationship:

1. to His Majesty
2. to Prime Minister and Ministers
3. to both Houses of Parliament
4. to people

had been intimate and drawn close to
hearts of Princess Alice and himself

On behalf of Members and people of
Canada, warmly reciprocate these
sentiments - will always have a
place in our hearts.

All relationships carried ou in perfect
accord with the spirit and the
letter of constitutional procedure
and practice.

Permit me to say part with His Excellen
with great regret.

In time of war:

(I) Official relationship

(2) Personal friendship

D 50016

(3) Great assistance to Ministers and self in receiving distinguished visitors, representatives of the heads of foreign states:

9 : 5 - 4

now 26 : 21 - 5

What would like to say

but have given expression in

Farewell Address which I have

prepared as expressing sentiments

of M.P's and people.

Leader of Opposition consented to Second.

Motion.

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PRESS CLIPPINGS D 50017

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date MAR 28 1946

Subject

, 5172
Speeches Outside Parl.

375 Hear Mr. King Pay Notable Tribute to Malcolm MacDonald

Affectionate regard in which Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, High Commissioner for the United Kingdom is held by the Canadian people, and their regret over his departure to become Governor General of Malaya, was expressed by Prime Minister King at a farewell dinner tendered Mr. MacDonald last night by the Ottawa Branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs at the Chateau Laurier.

It was peculiarly fitting, Mr. King said, that since Canada must bid farewell to one of her staunchest friends, that the parting be a function, sponsored by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

"There is no man of Mr. MacDonald's age in any part of the world", the Prime Minister said, "better versed in international affairs than he is. He has been a member of three British Cabinets, and now closes a term of five years representing the Government of the United Kingdom in Canada.

"We are parting with one who has been serving his country and our country."

In an address whose serious tenor was enlightened by flashes of humor which brought bursts of laughter from upwards of 375 guests, Mr. MacDonald modestly

ascribed what success he enjoyed in Canada, not to his own efforts but to a "team of which I was but one member". He spoke of such other members of the British "team" as Sir Patrick Duff, Stephen Holmes, Arthur M. Wiseman, Gordon Monroe, and other members of his staff.

Mr. MacDonald spoke of the immense assistance given him in his Ottawa post by his sister Miss Sheila MacDonald, who was present at the dinner. "Much of the credit belongs to Sheila", he said. "Sheila has given, if I may say so, unstintedly of her lovely char-

acter to the cause of friendship between Canada and Great Britain. On hearing reports of her speeches in many parts of your country, I felt it was high time I resigned so that she might take on the job and do it better."

Grant Dexter, chairman of the Ottawa Branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs presided at the dinner, and the retiring High Commissioner was presented to the gathering by E. J. Tarr, of Winnipeg, national chairman of the institute.

Among the guests were members of the Dominion Cabinet, leaders of the opposition and opposition groups, members of Commons and Senate and a very large representation of British Commonwealth representatives and members of the Capital's diplomatic corps.

Mr. Tarr spoke of his long friendship with the guest of honor both in Canada and overseas, and of Mr. MacDonald's hobbies as well as of his official duties.

"Although he has been here for only five years, I venture to say that there is no one who knows more of the bird life of the Ottawa valley than Malcolm MacDonald", Mr. Tarr said. "He has a natural, not just an acquired affection for Canada. Few have as genuine an understanding and appreciation of our life and our problems."

In what he termed his "valedictory" the High Commissioner declared that Canada today is recognized everywhere on earth as a nation.

"I have enjoyed every minute of my five years here", he said. "Whether I was reading stories of Canadian pioneers, or admiring the pictures of the school of Canadian painters who have given splendid artistic expression to their country, or wandering with trappers, policemen, or missionaries Down North, or even paddling my canoe on the Ottawa river or swooping—often bloody and bowed-down the ski slopes at Camp Fortune, I have always

sensed the virile body, the robust character, the lofty spirit of the entity called Canada."

Canada's war effort, Mr. MacDonald said, was, "a stupendous exertion for a community of less than 12,000,000 people". The food, shells, guns, tanks, planes and ships made by its workers, the financial burden borne by the taxpayers, the aircrews produced by the Air Training Plan, the efficiency, courage and self-sacrifice of the fighting men composed a glorious record.

In a tribute to Prime Minister King, Mr. MacDonald described him as "the world's most invincible statesman". Pre-eminent among those Canadians who share the credit for the enviable reputation which Canada is beginning to enjoy, he said, was the Prime Minister.

"I offer Mr. Mackenzie King my warm wishes that he may survive in office at least until June so that there is no doubt that he is Canada's longest Prime Minister."

Laughter broke out among the guests when Mr. MacDonald painted a fanciful picture of his life-to-be as Governor General of Malaya.

"You can think of me tossing down 'stingers' in the Sultan's Palace; of launching my sampan in the tropical dawn for a crocodile hunt on the Pogo-Pogo river."

Turning to Mr. King he said: "I should like, wherever I am, to be of some service to Canada. Prime Minister, why don't you make me Canadian High Commissioner to Malaya? You know I will have lots of influence with the Governor General there."

Praises Civil Servants.

Speaking of his life in Canada since 1940, Mr. MacDonald paid tribute to the Dominion's principal civil servants. "They remind me of Napoleon's marshals for they reproduce some of the attractive gifts of that other memorable group of competitive youngsters. Like them, they are forceful and brilliant as well as amazingly young."

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375 Hear Mr. King Pay Notable Tribute to Malcolm MacDonald

Affectionate regard in which Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, High Commissioner for the United Kingdom is held by the Canadian people, and their regret over his departure to become Governor General of Malaya, was expressed by Prime Minister King at a farewell dinner tendered Mr. MacDonald last night by the Ottawa Branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs at the Chateau Laurier.

It was peculiarly fitting, Mr. King said, that since Canada must bid farewell to one of her staunchest friends, that the parting be a function sponsored by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

"There is no man of Mr. MacDonald's age in any part of the world", the Prime Minister said, "better versed in international affairs than he is. He has been a member of three British Cabinets, and now closes a term of five years representing the Government of the United Kingdom in Canada.

"We are parting with one who has been serving his country and our country."

In an address whose serious tenor was enlightened by flashes of humor which brought bursts of laughter from upwards of 375 guests, Mr. MacDonald modestly ascribed what success he enjoyed in Canada, not to his own efforts but to a "team of which I was but one member". He spoke of such other members of the British "team" as Sir Patrick Duff, Stephen Holmes, Arthur M. Wiseman, Gordon Monroe, and other members of his staff.

Mr. MacDonald spoke of the immense assistance given him in his Ottawa post by his sister Miss Sheila MacDonald, who was present at the dinner. "Much of the credit belongs to Sheila", he said.

"Sheila has given, if I may say so, unstintedly of her lovely character to the cause of friendship between Canada and Great Britain. On hearing reports of her speeches in many parts of your country, I felt it was high time I resigned so that she might take on the job and do it better."

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French-speaking populations, and the danger of any rift between Britain and the United States which might tend to split the nation's unity.

Prime Minister King thanked the retiring High Commissioner for his kindly words, both for himself and for the government and the people of Canada.

"I am no diplomat", Mr. King said amidst laughter, "but a party politician and I can say what I like. Mr. MacDonald and I have been very close friends for a great many years. Anyone who has known him at all well and known his qualities of heart and mind, is fortunate in having a friend with qualities such as he possesses.

"It is doubtful if Canada has ever had anyone—even our Governor Generals—who have come to know this country as Mr. MacDonald has. He has travelled widely, has written about this country, its birds and its Northland, and in every way has endeared himself to the people of Canada."

Lifting the curtain of history, Mr. King told the gathering of Mr. MacDonald's appointment to his Ottawa post in 1940.

"One day", he said, "I received a cable from Mr. Churchill asking me what my government would think of having Malcolm MacDonald as United Kingdom High Commissioner to Canada.

"I replied that I didn't know of any man living who would be more welcome to the government and to the people of Canada than Mr. MacDonald. No person could have filled that office—I will not say better—but as well as he has done."

Mr. King referred to the High Commissioner as a tower of strength to the government of Canada during the past five difficult years of war.

"We are disappointed that he is leaving Canada to go to a country so far distant as Malaya. The problems there are great indeed. Much of the hope for the future peace of the world depends on the orderly development of those parts. The United Kingdom did not make the appointment of Mr. MacDonald to his high post there lightly."

The Prime Minister recalled Mr. MacDonald's habit of going around Ottawa without a hat or overcoat in Winter.

"I wish to warn him that if he goes around Malaya without a hat and just wearing a straw belt, that he's apt to get pretty badly burned.

"It seems probable that from time to time he will be returning from Malaya to the United Kingdom. When he does so, I trust that he will always return by way of Canada".

As Mr. King concluded his remarks, guests rose and joined in the singing of "Auld Lang Syne". Immediately afterwards, Mr. MacDonald and Miss Sheila MacDonald received and shook hands with each of the guests in the Chateau drawing-room.

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He spoke of Mr. MacDonald's eligibility and youth and urged him to take a partner in marriage before going to Malaya.

The Prime Minister said he regretted not having followed the advice he was now giving.

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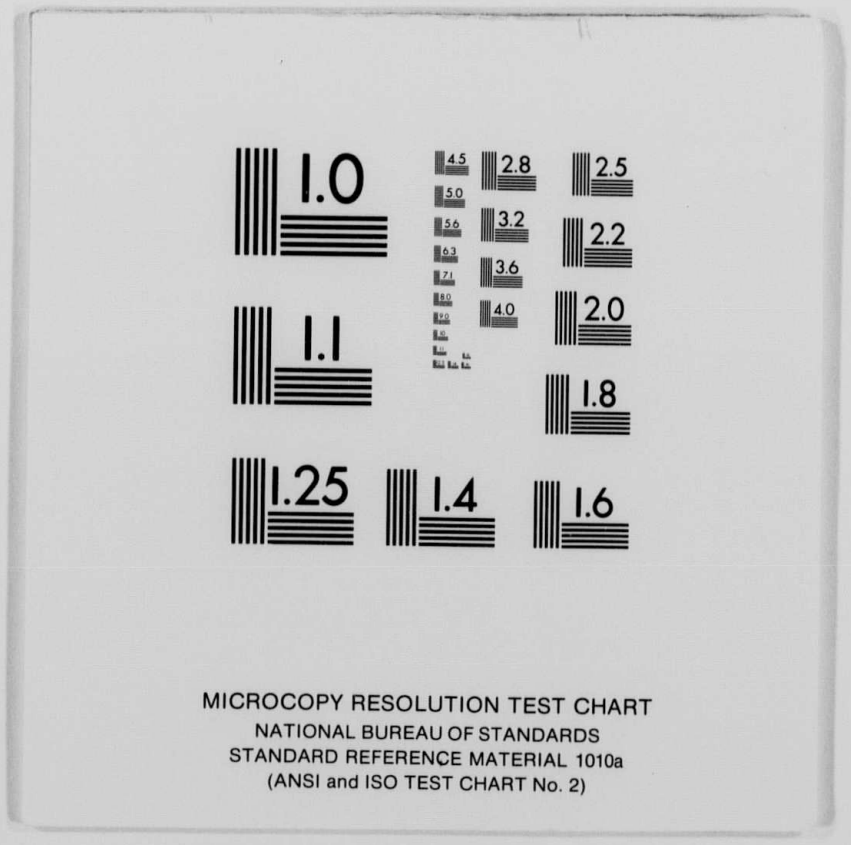
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