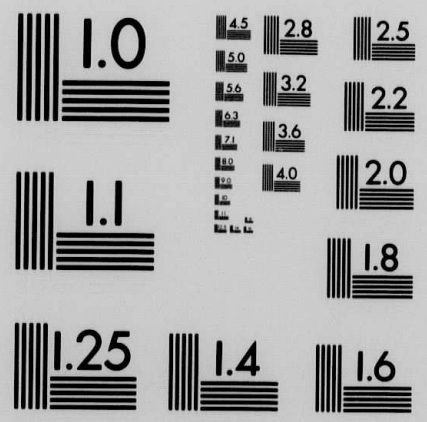


MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
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STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



START

DÉBUT

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National Archives of Canada

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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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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
68		Tribute to N.M. Rogers, Kingston. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Oct. 1941	D 41293 - D 41453	
68		Reply to a Toast to the Dominion of Canada, Kingston, Civic Banquet. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Oct. 1941	D 41454 - D 41518	
68		Controlling the Cost of Living Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament.	18 Oct. 1941	D 41519 - D 41627	
68		Reviewing International Situation Since Adjournment. Speeches in Parliament	3 Nov. 1941	D 41628 - D 41869	
68		100th Anniversary of the Birth of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, St. Lin, P.Q. Speeches outside Parliament	20 Nov. 1941	D 41870 - D 41911	
68		Sir Wilfrid Laurier Centennial Commemoration, McGill University. Speeches Outside Parliament	20 Nov. 1941	D 41912 - D 41953	
68		Ottawa, Canadian Women's Press Club. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Oct. 1941	D 41954 - D 41959	
68		Remembrance Day Speech. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Nov. 1941	D 41960 - D 41962	

D 41749

Comparative merits of two systems

It cannot be denied that conscription in theory has many attractions. Theoretically, it is the fairest method of raising an army; there are many who say it is more democratic; and the crowning argument is that it is more efficient. It is not my intention to enter into a detailed consideration of its theoretical merits; we have no choice but to take account of the practical circumstances of men and affairs--history, tradition, geography and a host of other complex facts which go into the make-up of our country and our people.

But let me glance briefly at the theoretical points I have mentioned. Why is conscription for overseas service a fairer method of recruitment than voluntary enlistment? The argument is based on a single assumption: that service in the army is something to be avoided and that it is an advantage to stay at home and escape such service. It is true that service at home involves no sacrifice comparable with the sacrifice of life itself which the soldier must be prepared, if need be, to make. The imposition of conscription for overseas service would, however, do nothing whatever to remove any material advantages enjoyed by those who remain at home over those who enlist in the armed forces. The way to remedy such

D 41750

inequalities is not through conscription. The only way is to take positive steps to see that military service does not carry with it economic disabilities. No country in the world has done more than Canada to ensure that the compensation of its fighting men, now and in the future, shall on average be at least equal to their probable earnings if they remained in civilian occupations. Canada's army pay is the highest in the world; we make the most generous allowances to dependents; we are taking every feasible step to ensure the re-employment of our soldiers, sailors and airmen when they leave the service; recently we have extended to them the protection afforded by unemployment insurance. The fullest consideration will be given to every proposal to ensure at least equal material compensation and future economic opportunities to our fighting men and their dependents.

I shall not waste time on the contention that conscription is more democratic than voluntary service. That depends largely on one's definition of democracy. Perhaps it is enough to say that, in Canada, we do not need conscription to make democrats of the sons of dukes.

The argument that conscription is more efficient than voluntary recruiting deserves more serious consideration. In a narrow technical sense, it is probably true that it would be more efficient to work out certain specified categories of men and then compel them to serve. But even here, there is an argument on the other side. The

D 41751

The qualities of a good soldier cannot all be measured and defined and placed in categories. There is such a thing as a military vocation; a good soldier needs moral, yes, spiritual qualities which defy precise definition. There are some advantages in letting the men become soldiers who themselves choose to be soldiers. But, again, it is not really a question of comparative theoretical advantages; it is simply a question--or it should be-- of what will work best in practice.

There is, in fact, only one test we are really justified in applying. Let us ask one simple question: which method of recruiting for overseas service, compulsory or voluntary, will, under conditions as they actually exist in Canada, contribute most to a maximum war effort? That is the practical test, and the only practical test, for those who are sincerely and single-mindedly concerned that Canada should put forth her utmost effort.

The government is not only convinced that conscription for overseas service would not contribute to a maximum effort; we believe that it would, in fact, weaken, if it did not destroy, the effort we are making.

Every Canadian who is old enough to remember the last war; every Canadian who is familiar with the history of our country knows that the controversy over conscription divided the country in 1917 and left a deep wound in our

D 41752

national life which was barely healed after twenty years. That wound has not been opened; but the scar remains. Surely no man in his senses would pretend that we would increase our strength, as a people, by opening the wound once more. And let me add that it is not in one province alone that an attempt to force the issue of conscription for overseas service would lead to controversy, division and probable disunity.

D 41753

The real objection to conscription.

In order to appreciate the deep resentment occasioned by conscription in the last war, the real cause of the resentment requires to be understood. Conscription was regarded by French Canada as the coercion of a large and a proud minority by an unsympathetic majority. It has been considered, ever since, as the symbol of racial tyranny and racial prejudice. The fact that no such motives inspired most of those who supported conscription does not alter the equally important fact it was, and, in large measure, still is so considered. And here may I pause to observe that the unconcealed or ill-concealed racial prejudice of a few of the outspoken advocates of conscription today is doing nothing to lessen that impression.

J. S. Roy

So long as any measure would be regarded by a third, at least, of our population as coercion, no government of a free country which took its responsibilities seriously would contemplate the adoption of such a measure, unless the alternative promised certain disaster. I think enough has been said already to show that failure to adopt conscription for overseas service will not bring disaster or even insuperable difficulties.

We have experienced no difficulty whatever in getting more volunteers than are needed for the navy and the air force. Such difficulties as have arisen in securing volunteers for the army have been overcome, and I am con-

D 41754

vinced that, given the requisite effort and co-operation will continue to be overcome.

In any event, these difficulties are not nearly so great as those which would be created, now and in the future, by an attempt to force on an unwilling minority, a policy to which they were deeply opposed. Our unity as a people would be shattered and, instead of concentrating our energies on the defeat of the enemy, a large part of our time would be taken up with domestic controversy if worse consequences did not follow.

In the course of threequarters of a century, Canada has developed a large measure of spiritual unity. Our unity is based upon mutual tolerance and respect for differences of view and feeling. It is not the unity of a homogeneous people. We have not all the same racial and cultural traditions and the quickest way to destroy our unity is to try to ride rough-shod over our differences. On the other hand, if we are able to maintain our unity by bridging our differences, Canada may, through the national unity of two proud races in a single state, give the world the most useful of all examples in the building of a new order. Who will deny that the preservation of our national unity will be a greater service to mankind than a few more men unwillingly forced to serve in the army of a country divided against itself?

It is because of the danger of destroying our unity

D 41755

and for that reason alone, that the pledge was given, both before the outbreak of war and repeatedly since, that conscription for overseas service would not be introduced by the present administration. I gave that pledge because I believed it was essential to a united national effort and I intend to keep it for the same reason.

have been brought to maintain national unity
(Cheers)

D 41756

Sinister Motives Behind Campaign

I do not doubt that many Canadians sincerely and honestly believe conscription for overseas service is desirable; I respect their views, although I do not agree with them. In what I have now to say I am not referring to them or to their attitude.

There is, however, another small but very vociferous minority who have other motives for advocating conscription for overseas service. They are the very people who accuse the present administration and myself in particular of "playing politics". And before I discuss them, let me dispose of that charge. Canada is a democratic country. In a democratic country, the will of the majority must prevail in the end. These people pretend that the majority of the people want conscription. Let me ask this question: What course would a man take who wished to "play politics" in that situation? There is only one answer. He would take up the popular course in order to get the support of the majority. Now let me carry the argument one stage further. If I am in fact "playing politics" that means the majority of the people do not want conscription and the government of a democratic country would not be justified in introducing it. If the majority does in fact want conscription and the government is thwarting the will of the people by keeping its pledge, that can hardly be called "playing politics" very intelligently.

D 41757

I should like to add that it was not I who made a trip through Western Canada in the midst of the recent recruiting campaign to find out what public sentiment was on the subject of conscription for overseas service with a view to adjusting the party line to the prevailing wind. My position in this matter is based and has always been based on my conviction as to the wisest policy to further the national interest in the successful prosecution of the war.

It will be recalled that the agitation for conscription was intensified during the recruiting campaign early last summer; and that it died down for a time when the gloomy predictions of its sponsors were disappointed by the success of that campaign.

The fact that it has been renewed once more on the eve of a session of Parliament is not, I believe, without significance. What is even more significant is the political complexion of many of the sponsors of the campaign. I exclude specifically from what I am about to say the perfectly honest and consistent policy of the Canadian Legion. In the brief which the Legion recently submitted to the government, the recommendation of conscription for overseas service was only one aspect of their representations. I refer rather to those who have sought to magnify this one question which affects only one aspect of our vast war

D 41758

effort. I think that anyone who examines the sources of the agitation and its timing will find it difficult to escape the conviction that its real basis is to be found in the same quarter and among the same interests which have for years been the professional agitators for national government, for the reduction of social services, for the suppression of labour, and for every other reactionary course. Behind this agitation, as on other occasions, is a deep and bitter hostility to the present administration and particularly to myself. Behind it also is the hope of finding some political issue or some catch-word which will gather sufficient popular support to enable its advocates to overthrow the government and gain control of the administration. I am quite prepared to abide by the choice of the people between my colleagues and myself on the one hand and the interests to which I have referred on the other.

WLMK himself

D 41759

A Constructive Man-Power Policy

The fact that the government is not prepared to break its pledge regarding conscription for overseas service should not be misinterpreted. No like pledge and no like conditions which made that pledge necessary exist to preclude the use of compulsion within our own country. In fact, the very opposite situation prevails. Parliament and the country have accepted the principle of compulsion almost unanimously. It has been embodied in our public law in the National Resources Mobilization Act. It has been invoked in the compulsory training programme and in the application of compulsory service in the Reserve Army. The principle of compulsion has been given far-reaching application in the recent measures taken to control the cost of living. It has been employed to regulate or to prohibit certain kinds of production, commerce and consumption. It will have to be employed on an increasing scale as the war effort grows in complexity. The government refuses to resort to compulsion for the sake of compulsion. Sometimes it would almost seem that our critics feel there is no merit in any achievement unless force has been used to accomplish it. We do not believe in regimentation as such. But this I do say, with all the emphasis at my command, the government will shrink from no measure of compulsion, within Canada, however drastic it may be, which, after balancing the advantages and disadvantages, it believes will

D 41760

serve to strengthen our national effort in the prosecution of the war.

It may well be that resort will soon be had to additional measures for the compulsory allocation and employment of Canadian manpower. It will probably be necessary, from time to time, to modify the measures already taken. There will be no hesitation in undertaking whatever measures may be required. But, let no one minimize the difficulties involved, and let no one suppose that young men alone will be affected.

The advantages of a comprehensive plan for the compulsory allocation of all the men and women in the country are being constantly preached. I do not deny the attractive nature of such proposals. They have all the appeal of largeness and boldness. But let us pause to consider all that is involved. First there must be a minute and detailed classification of the whole population on a far more comprehensive scale than anything attempted in the National Registration or the Census. And the task must be performed by experts. Next, there must be a very large body of persons more expert still to sort out the various classifications and to determine the relative fitness of persons for varying tasks. Then it would be necessary

D41761

to find the men to make the actual allocations, and the skill and judgment they would require to perform the task efficiently would have to be of the highest order. I do not say the task is impossible; but I do say that it would demand a very large number of able officials whose services, if they could be found at all, would be lost to other essential tasks. These are facts which must be faced. And we should not forget that an inefficient and wasteful scheme of universal compulsion would defeat the very object we have in view: a more effective total effort.

I suggest that a more practical and constructive, if less utopian approach to the manpower problem will involve instead the right combination of voluntary service and compulsion. In those fields where men and women offer themselves of their own accord in sufficient numbers for the essential tasks, let us be thankful that we are spared the problems and difficulties and the expense inseparable from any system of compulsion. Let us concentrate instead on the solution of the problems of scarcity of manpower where they arise, exercising always whatever foresight we possess to anticipate the problems and to be ready with the solutions.

D 41762

Those who concentrate their attention on the conscription of men for overseas service, are, I believe, approaching the problem from the wrong end. They fail to see what is really involved in total war. They are giving undue emphasis to the purely military effort, and particularly to the army. In modern total war, the whole nation must be organized for war. Aàl parts must fit together into a common plan.

The ~~formation~~ foundation of any plan for a maximum effort is a correct decision as to the minimum requirements of the population in order to maintain health and efficiency. Once that is determined, production and consumption, for all purposes except the prosecution of the war must be progressively reduced to the minimum. Waste must be eliminated. The whole surplus of available manpower and other resources must be devoted to the making of war. It is in the direction of cutting down tnessential employment.of men and women and other resources that compulsion is most necessary. The government has moved steadily along that road since the outbreak of war. In recent months, the pace has been accelerated and it will inevitably become faster. It will involve the disappearance during the war of many peacetime occupations. It will free men

D 41763

and women for war work. Some direction will have to be given to their movement, and it will be given. But the larger the number who can make their own way into spheres of wartime usefulness, the smaller will be the problem of directing their activities and the greater will be the energy left for tasks more immediately concerned with carrying on the war.

In conclusion, I should like to appeal to my fellow-citizens to examine all sides of every problem which arises in prosecuting the war; to try to understand the complexity of modern war and the necessity of keeping its many demands in perspective; and, above all, not to condemn the whole effort because the government fails to follow their individual inclinations in one particular direction or another. My colleagues and I are, at the very least, no less aware of the immensity of the peril and the extent of the effort required to meet it than are our severest critics. To put the matter on no higher level, we have nothing to gain and everything to lose by the weakness or the failure of Canada's war effort. If it fails, we will be the first to be blamed - and rightly so. Even those who deny our patriotism can hardly fail to see that self interest would oblige the government to take the measures, which in its judgment, would achieve

D 41764

the maximum results. I come back at the end to the point where I began: the present administration will not adopt conscription for overseas service because we believe it would weaken rather than strengthen Canada's war effort.

The development of this struggle along the Russian frontier has given a sharper importance to strategic dispositions in the Middle East. For upwards of a year the Eastern Mediterranean has been a centre of conflict: against Italian and German forces in the Western desert, against German and Italian invaders in Greece and in Crete, and involving always the possibility of further axis thrusts against Egypt and the Suez Canal; against Turkey, on the main highway to the East; against the nations of the Middle East -- Iraq, Iran, and the Caucasian republics of the Soviet Union, rich in oil and a prize for any grasping invader.

D 41765

Fortunately this is one area in which prompt British action forestalled possible Nazi thrusts. British forces operating in Syria and Lebanon concluded an armistice with the Vichy forces in occupation, recognized Free French

D 41766

authority, repatriated to France all combattants not declaring for the Free French cause, and generally strengthened the defensive position of this strategically important coastline.

In Iraq, British forces were landed at Persian Gulf points and the insurgent Regent fled the kingdom and was speedily replaced by an officer more congenial to British interests and not suspect of having Axis sympathies. By this stroke, rapidly undertaken and consolidated, another beckoning highway was barred to Hitler's ambitions. The joint occupation of strategic outposts in Iran (Persia) by British and Soviet forces was a logical development of the policy of preparedness throughout the Middle East, and the removal of German and Italian nationals showed that no risks will be taken with continuing subversive elements in that country. More recently Axis subjects have been excluded from Afghanistan, and there are now strong reasons for believing that the threat to communications and oil resources throughout this area has been to some degree relieved. It is necessary to insert this precaution, that the oil resources of the Caucasus, lying between the Black Sea and the Caspian, are still a tempting goal for German ambition, and, depending upon the further course of hostilities on the Russian front, the Caucasus must be regarded as a very vulnerable sector.

Of the situation in Europe generally, one

D 41767

one must add that civil disturbance, armed uprisings and organized sabotage have combined to show that the Nazi domination of once-free nations is perilous and subject to attack from many quarters where brave men and women are not afraid to risk their lives. Hitler will never win this war by mass executions of hostages. The very brutality of his agents, in France, in Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere has served only to stiffen the resistance which still burns in the hearts of countless thousands of proud citizens. This blind retribution, glorying only in useless slaughter, is a further answer to any who may yet envisage a peace settlement short of total victory. As regards ourselves, we must strengthen our own efforts against this inhuman menace, as insidious as it is cowardly, and finally sweep it away beyond possibility of repetition.

Of the battle of the Atlantic, of offensive attacks by the Royal Air Force far over western Europe, of the co-operation of Britain and the United States along many new avenues of effort, ~~I shall speak in due course~~. I will for the moment add only this injunction: that complacency and indifference are no part of our war effort; that we are devoting an increasing part of our total resources to the common effort. More than ever before, in Canada as beyond the seas, every duty well and honestly done is a contribution to victory, and we approach whatever the autumn and winter may hold in store in a spirit of resolution, tempered by all the mounting evidence of the grim character of the fight which must be waged for months yet ahead.

D 41168

Russia, the largest European nation, is fighting every inch of the way. Never in human history has battle, reckoned in machines and men together, been waged on such a scale. Never have invader casualties been heavier, and only rarely, I believe, has the spontaneous sympathy and opinion of people throughout the world been aroused to the same degree. The decision of the head of the Russian government to remain in the front line with his people is a tribute not only to him but also to them.

It is not surprising that in so flagrant a case of aggression promises of support for Russia should have been forthcoming immediately. Britain took immediate steps to furnish military and economic aid. On July 12th a joint declaration between Britain and Russia was signed at Moscow. In substance it provided for mutual support and assistance at all times in the present war against Hitler Germany, and that neither country would negotiate an armistice or treaty of peace except by mutual agreement. Assistance from the United States was promised in an exchange of notes, dated August 2nd, between the Acting Secretary of State and the Soviet Ambassador in the United States. The government of the latter pledging all practical economic assistance in the Soviet resistance against armed aggression. A further agreement between Britain and the U.S.S.R. for special economic

D 11109

assistance was concluded on August 16th and at the same time as an outcome of the Atlantic Conference between President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, the governments of Britain and the United States issued a joint declaration of assistance to Russia. The agreement reached by the joint United Kingdom-United States Mission, in their recent conferences with Stalin and authorities in Moscow, brought into line all three major powers in full earnest against the world wide Nazi menace.

Britain and the United States have undertaken to make available to Russia up to 50% of their normal output of certain war materials. Britain has also undertaken to divert to Russia certain materials obtained in the United States under the provisions of the Lease Lend Act. The United States is making war materials available to Russia on the same basis as to other nations fighting Hitlerism.

The government of Canada, as a means and method of co-operation has kept in close touch with the governments of Britain and the United States.

(Follow with statement re Canadian assistance)

D41770

Statement by The Prime Minister

House of Commons
November 3, 1941

Reviewing International Situation
Since Adjournment, June 14, 1941

In the review of the war which I gave to the House just before its adjournment on June 14th last, I sought to impress upon honourable members that it was inevitable that the existing conflict between the forces of aggression and the defenders of freedom would continue to spread from nation to nation, from ocean to ocean, and from continent to continent. Since the middle of June, the war has grown in intensity and extent. Threats have become realities; prophecies have been fulfilled, and fears have been turned into terrors.

The period of the parliamentary adjournment witnessed a vast expansion of the area of conflict in Europe; continuous, though desultory, fighting in North Africa; increasing tension and uncertainty over vast areas in Asia. In all the countries of North and South America, there has been growing concern as to the consequences of the struggle, immediate and remote, to themselves.

D 41771

Two years of continuous aggression by Germany have made increasingly clear not only her pattern of aggression and the aim of her successive conquests, but, above all, the might of her military power. The organized strength and size of Germany's war machine is the all-important military factor in the world today. No doubt remains that world conquest is Germany's aim; there is equally no doubt her method of world conquest is intended to follow successive stages of military, economic and political control. All peoples are beginning to perceive that behind the intrigues, the deceptions, and the horrors of Nazi Germany and the revolting brutality of her methods of warfare, will be found plans and designs progressively developed from those which inspired and guided Prussian militarism under Bismarck and Wilhelm II. The war machine with which the forces of freedom are faced today is not only vaster in extent than anything hitherto conceived, but its sources of power are more deeply and firmly rooted.

Every conceivable means by which freedom can be crushed is today being employed by Nazi Germany. We may expect that, for some time yet, her might will continue its sway, and violence and bloodshed, on a growing scale, be a part of the human lot. This is an appalling prospect. Until its ghastly potentialities are squarely faced in all quarters of the globe, the sufferings of humanity may be expected to increase.

D 41772

RUSSIA

Since our adjournment, the outstanding development has been, of course, the Russian campaign. It is scarcely possible to believe, but it is nevertheless true, that when we adjourned no one in authority could say whether, before we met again, Russia would be fighting at the side of Germany, or would be attacked by Germany, or whether her ultimate plans and intentions would continue to remain obscure. The real attitude of Russia to the war had been obscure, ever since August, 1939, when she signed the Non-Aggression Pact with Nazi Germany. That agreement made it appear that Russia had become an ally of the aggressor nations. Up to the moment of the attack, it was, I think, generally believed that war would not come between Germany and Russia. It seemed more probable that Russia would yield to German pressure, to an extent sufficient to afford Germany some accommodation, and at the same time enable Russia, for a still longer period, to remain out of the war altogether.

The fact that Hitler attacked Russia when he did, and as he did, may yet turn out to be the most important event of the whole war. To form an estimate of the significance of its consequences for other peoples and countries, we need only ask ourselves what the situation would be today had Hitler turned the might of Nazi Germany's power elsewhere than upon

D 41773

the Soviet Union! I will not ask what the present situation might have been if the power which Russia has so magnificently exhibited in resisting Germany had, instead, been joined with German power in attack upon Britain and British interests throughout the world. We must indeed be profoundly grateful to the Providence which has spared the British Commonwealth such an ordeal. But, we should, I think, also look beneath the surface of Russian resistance into the heart of the Russian peasant. From him we may learn that nothing is quite so precious as the freedom of one's own homeland. In the Russian resistance and all that it signifies, we find the surest ground for belief in the ultimate triumph of the forces of freedom.

I am not in a position to answer the question: Why did Hitler attack Russia, when and as he did? I am prepared, however, to suggest three reasons. Each in itself might be a sufficient answer. All three, taken in combination, afford, I believe, the true answer.

Hitler attacked Russia, first of all, for tthe same reason that he invaded other neutral countries of Europe, as a stage in Germany's march toward world conquest. The conquest of Russia would, he knew, bring the whole of Europe under his control.

D 41774

Secondly, Hitler believed it would prove in the end to be the quickest and surest way to gain his larger objective of destroying the British Empire. In the face of British resistance and American aid to the democratic powers, he had come to see that the conflict would be much longer and harder than he had anticipated. He recognized that fresh sources of supply were an essential means to any decisive victory. He feared without them the war might end only with the exhaustion of the civil populations and the armed forces of both sides alike.

A third reason - which I am sure was as powerful as either of the others - was that Hitler himself mistrusted Russia. He had every reason to believe that Russia could never be really friendly to a Hitlerite Germany. He no doubt expected that Russia, following tactics similar to his own, and those employed by his Italian partner, would continue to wait, while he pressed his campaign elsewhere, watching for the hour at which Nazi Germany might become most vulnerable. In the hour of decisive conflict with the democracies, Hitler did not wish to risk an attack from behind. His fear was the long-standing German fear of a war on two fronts. Hitler's success in exploiting hostility to

D 41775

Russian communism in his own rise to power, and as the key to his close association with Italy and Japan, forced him to recognize that, whatever the advantage to Nazi Germany and the convenience to Russia of the Nazi-Soviet pact, at the time it was made, there could be no enduring good-will between forces so traditionally hostile and so diametrically opposed. He had every reason to expect that, before the end, the conflict would return to the place where he himself began it. He probably never doubted that at some stage the issue would be fought out between the Russian proletariat and the war lords of Germany.

It is clear that Hitler miscalculated the probable duration of the Russian campaign and the military strength and skill, as well as the patriotism, of the Russian people. He mistook, also, the effect of years of Nazi and Fascist propaganda. He may have expected a revolt behind the Russian lines; he met instead a united people prepared for any sacrifice. There is no doubt that the solidarity of opinion in Great Britain, in the Dominions, in the United States, and in fact throughout all free lands, which followed the Nazi attack upon Russia, was as much a surprise as it was a disappointment to Hitler and his accomplices.

D 41776

It was on June 22nd - a Sunday morning - that Hitler launched his attack. Seldom has a situation arisen where there was more need for an immediate interpretation of its significance and implications. The remarkable fact is that, without prior consultation, the same interpretation was given, in almost identical terms, in all parts of the British Commonwealth and in the United States; and that, regardless of considerations of race or religion, the view expressed was much the same. It was immediately recognized that Nazi Germany had again broken the peace, and again broken her own pledged word. Germany was plainly and clearly the aggressor. It was recognized that the Nazi attack on Soviet Russia was not a crusade against any Red menace but a new phase of the Nazi attack on all the democracies.

This interpretation was the one set forth in the statement I issued, in the name of our government, on the afternoon of the day on which Russia was attacked. I stressed the fact that Germany, and not Russia, was the threat to freedom and peace; that every force fighting Hitler was fighting, whether consciously or unconsciously, for the preservation of Christian civilization; that every power which engaged our enemy advanced our cause. I pointed out

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that the German attack removed all shadow of doubt concerning Hitler's purpose; that it constituted a fresh call to arms throughout the British Commonwealth. I pointed out that Hitler's agreement with Russia had been broken with the same perfidious cynicism with which it had been sealed; that its making and its breaking had but one object - to eliminate danger in the East in order that there might be a concentration of force against Britain and the West. I emphasized that, therefore, it was not a time to debate differences of view or to relax effort, but rather a time for strengthened unity of opinion, and for still greater effort. That view has been everywhere accepted throughout our country. How true it has proved to be that every day Russian resistance has held up the German advance has been a day contributed to the cause of freedom, and the growing power of the British Commonwealth and the United States!

I shall not attempt to outline the Russian campaign or to predict its outcome. For over four months hostilities have continued on a long front stretching from the Arctic shore to the Crimea on the Black Sea. There, notwithstanding the might of the German onslaught, a front still remains. The front line of defence runs through the rivers and plains of Russia. Fighting has been concentrated in three main sectors. In the north around Leningrad, which at the moment is in a virtual stage of siege; in the centre toward Moscow,

D 41778

in which area there has been continuous heavy fighting with enormous casualties in both men and materials; and in the south where strong German forces have already penetrated a long distance into the Ukraine. Here Germany has already captured many of the key centres beyond the Dnieper River where much of the Russian heavy industry is concentrated. After a stout defence of many weeks the Black Sea port of Odessa has been evacuated. German hostilities have been extended into the Crimea. The most serious strategic threat to successful Russian resistance is in this southern sector. The way appears to be opening for further penetration southwesterly into the Caucasus: one of the few areas in which Russia and Britain have direct communications by land and sea.

Russia, the largest European nation, is fighting every inch of the way. Never in human history has battle, reckoned in machines and men together, been waged on such a scale. Never have casualties been heavier. Only rarely, I believe, has the spontaneous sympathy of people throughout the world been so aroused.

It is not surprising that in so flagrant a case of aggression promises of support for Russia should have been forthcoming without delay. Britain, however, pressed though

D 41779

she is, took immediate steps to furnish military and economic aid. The government of the United States pledged all practical economic assistance. As an outcome of the Atlantic Conference between President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, the governments of Britain and the United States undertook to send a joint mission to Russia to plan and organize the largest possible measure of assistance. In their recent conferences, the mission speedily reached agreement with the Russian government under which assistance in growing volume is already being provided.

The Canadian Assistance to Russia

The Canadian government kept in close touch with the activities of the Beaverbrook-Harriman mission both before and during its visit to Moscow. In consequence the members of the mission were in a position to count upon tangible support from Canada in the fulfillment of the undertakings given to the Soviet government. It is not possible for me at this time to give details of the character or the extent of Canadian aid to Russia or of the precise arrangements being made with the governments of the United Kingdom and the United States with whom Canada is co-operating in sending the aid. In a general way the programme of aid includes war supplies, food, medical supplies and transport equipment.

D 41780

The Middle East

The Russian campaign was preceded, as honourable members will recall, by the sweep of the Nazi forces through the Balkan States and by the invasion and conquest of Greece. In a general way, on either side of the Mediterranean, at Gibraltar, along the North African coast, through Egypt, and to the Suez, the relative positions of the opposing forces have remained, throughout the summer months and since, much what they were at the time of the conquest of Greece. There has been continuous fighting on and over the waters of the Mediterranean, but all this, and much else, has been largely overshadowed by the immensity of the conflict in Russia.

A plane, flying from Gibraltar throughout the length of the Mediterranean, and pursuing its flight in an easterly direction to northern India, would fly in practically a straight line across Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan. These countries are all immediately to the south of either Turkey or Russia. Geography is in itself sufficient to disclose how important, for strategic reasons, their position is.

There are, however, economic as well as geographical considerations which make the political disposition of each of these countries a matter of first importance. In Iraq and

D 41781

Iran lie the vast fields which supply much of the oil required by Britain for military as well as industrial purposes. For these countries to become hostile, or to pass into the hand of the enemy, might well prove a major disaster. When it is realized that the Ukraine and the Caucasus, because of their economic resources, are the possessions which above all Germany hopes to wrest from Russia, it will be seen how important to Russia and Britain alike is the retention of these areas in friendly hands.

As was to have been expected, there were evidences of enemy intrigue and penetration throughout Syria, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan, even before the Russian campaign commenced. Secret agents were at work in each of them, festering discontent and making alliances calculated to serve German interests. To preserve order, and to prevent her own position from being undermined, the British Government has been obliged to take quick and decisive action in all these countries.

Trouble came first in Iraq. Open revolt was followed by the establishment of a rebel government friendly to the Axis. In accordance with their treaty rights British forces intervened and suppressed the revolt. The legitimate government was restored.

41782
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It will be recalled that, during the campaign in May which ended in the crushing of the Axis-inspired revolt in Iraq, the Nazis were permitted to use the air-fields of the French mandates of Syria and Lebanon in order to facilitate the sending of aid to the Iraqi rebels. This Axis penetration of Syria constituted a grave threat to the whole Allied position in the eastern Mediterranean.

It was accordingly decided that a Nazi occupation of this vital strategic area must be forestalled. On June 9th, the British and Free French forces invaded the mandated territory. The same day, General Catroux, the leader of the Free French forces in the Middle East, proclaimed the independence of Syria and Lebanon. Although the Allied invasion was resisted by the French troops in Syria, the government at Vichy refrained from describing the hostilities as actual warfare. An open breach between Britain and France was thus averted. The Allied occupation was completed a month later and an armistice arranged, which was ratified by the government at Vichy on July 15th.

Since the Allied occupation of Syria and Lebanon, the most significant development in the Middle East has been the intervention by Britain and Soviet Russia in Iran. During August, both the British and Russian government

D 41783

became increasingly apprehensive of the effects of a German "tourist" invasion of that country. Diplomatic action at the Iranian capital had no effect. Consequently on August 25th, British and Soviet forces entered Iran to protect the oil fields and safeguard communications. They met little resistance and after four days of desultory fighting, the Iranian forces were ordered by their government to cease all resistance. By September 10th, a settlement had been reached by which the government of Iran agreed to turn over the Axis nations in that country to the Allies, and to expel the enemy legations.

More recently, the government of Afghanistan has agreed, in response to Allied diplomatic representations, to expel the Axis nationals.

In all four countries, Britain has made it perfectly clear that in no way has she in view the expansion of her own Empire by the acquisition of additional territories. Assurances have been given that, at the close of war, the fullest measure of restoration of the sovereignties of these countries will be made.

The strategic importance of safeguarding communications between the British and Russian forces in the Middle East can hardly be over-estimated. Prompt action is being taken to improve transport facilities on the Iranian railways. In this vital task, Canada has undertaken to share.

D41784

The Far East

As with the countries bordering on the waters of the Mediterranean, so with the Asiatic countries bordering on the waters of the western Pacific, and with the Far East generally, the situation has remained, until quite recently, pretty much what it was before the beginning of the Russian campaign. The effect of the latter, however, has been greatly to intensify the tension which previously existed, and which arose from the political and military activities of Japan and her claims to the establishment of a "new order" in East Asia. The Japanese leaders have not disguised the fact that Japan was giving consideration to the further use of force to expand her influence in this area. At the same time, Japan has clearly been uneasy at the prospect of taking military initiative in the face of the firm attitude displayed by the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands Indies.

At the moment when Parliament adjourned, trade negotiations between Japan and the Netherlands Indies had broken down. A Japanese drive southwards seemed imminent. Before action came, the Nazis attacked Soviet Russia. There is no longer any doubt that the Nazi attack was a complete surprise to the Japanese Government and to the Japanese people. The Soviet-Japanese pact of non-aggression had been meant

by the Japanese to be the counterpart in Asia of the Nazi-Soviet pact in Europe. Both agreements were being made use of as evidence on the part of Germany and Japan of their desire to limit the arena of hostilities. By Germany and Japan alike, they were doubtless intended to secure the neutrality of Russia in a way which would free their own hands in any action which might be taken by either or both of them, against the anti-Axis powers. Germany's perfidious act seemed to require, if the Axis front was to be maintained, a similar volte face on the part of Japan. This necessary change of front found its expression, not immediately, but by the middle of July, in a change of government in Japan. Mr. Matsuoka, who, as Foreign Minister of Japan, had negotiated the Japanese-Soviet pact, was not included in the new government. His exclusion was interpreted generally as a sign that the neutrality pact with Russia would, sooner or later, be repudiated. Since that moment serious consideration has been given the possibility of a northward attack on Siberia.

Until Germany's invasion of Russia, Japan's objective appeared to be the expansion , by force, of her "co-prosperity sphere" towards the south.

The first and, indeed, the only actual expansion of Japanese military activity, since the adjournment, has

D 41786

been into French Indo-China. Late in July, the Japanese government extended the penetration of that colony, which began in the autumn of 1940. This penetration was facilitated by the attitude of Vichy, under German duress. The result is a virtual Japanese military occupation of Indo-China, and Japanese possession of its important naval bases. There were signs that Japan intended to continue her military advance into Thailand, and that she was restrained only by the formidable economic measures taken by the United States, Britain, Canada, the other nations of the Commonwealth, and the Netherlands Indies. The promptness and firmness of the steps taken by the democratic powers were clearly a rude shock to Japan.

On July 25th, Mr. Eden announced in the British House of Commons that defensive measures had been taken in Malaya. Late that evening, President Roosevelt issued an order "freezing" all Japanese assets in the United States. Parallel action was taken by the United Kingdom and by this country on July 26th, and the commercial treaties between Japan and Britain, and Japan and Canada, were denounced.

On July 28th, the Netherlands East Indies cut off Japan's oil supply from those islands. Two days later, Mr. Eden warned Japan to "reflect", while there was still time,

on the effect of her foreign policy. At the same time, Britain excluded Japanese shipping from her coaling stations throughout the Empire and from the inter-Empire carrying trade. On August 1st, President Roosevelt ordered an embargo on the shipment of aviation gasoline and oils to points outside the western hemisphere, the British Empire, and unoccupied territories of nations resisting aggression. The result of these measures has been a virtual cessation of Japanese sea borne commerce.

Despite frequent statements that Japan must defend her economy by proceeding with the establishment of her Asiatic "co-prosperity sphere", tension in the Far East relaxed in August and September. The anniversary, September 27th, of Japan's adherence to the Axis, passed quietly. The celebrations in Tokyo were subdued in character.

Towards the middle of October, tension once more began to increase rapidly in the Far East. The growing tension was again reflected in a change of government in Japan, and the formation of a new Cabinet headed by General Tojo. The new Ministry represents the strongly anti-Russian tendencies among extreme militarists. General Tojo himself, while holding political office, remains on active service. He is Minister of War, and has also under his direction the Home

D 41788

Ministry which controls the extensive Police services. It would appear that, for the present at least, political power in the Cabinet, has passed more firmly into the hands of extreme militarists than has been the case at any time in recent years.

It will be seen that the developments of the past four months have now brought matters to a point where a very definite conflict of interest has developed between Japan, as the Axis partner of Germany and Italy on the one side, and the United States, Britain and Russia on the other. The critical character of the Far Eastern situation, occasioned by the aggressive designs of Japan, was clearly indicated by Mr. Churchill in his broadcast to the world on August 24th. After referring to the Japanese war on China, the British Prime Minister said:

"Now they stretch their grasping hand into the southern seas of China. They snatch Indo-China from the wretched Vichy French. They menace by their movements Siam. They menace Singapore, the British link with Australasia, and they menace the Philippine Islands under the protection of the United States. It is certain that this has got to stop.

"Every effort will be made to secure a peaceful settlement.

"The United States are labouring with infinite patience to arrive at a fair and amicable settlement which will give Japan the utmost reassurance for her legitimate interests.

"We earnestly hope that these negotiations will succeed. But this I must say, that if these hopes should fail, we shall, of course, range ourselves unhesitatingly at the side of the United States."

The Japanese occupation of Indo-China has created two menacing threats: The first, a possible encirclement of Southern China, through the occupation of Thailand and an attempt to cut the Burma road; the second, an attack on the Netherlands East Indies from the bases in Southern Indo-China. Whether aggression, if it takes the form of open conflict, will be directed toward the North against Russia, or in a southerly direction toward Thailand and the Dutch East Indies, or in both directions simultaneously, cannot at the moment be foretold. It is important, however, that both eventualities should be kept in mind.

<u>China</u>

No reference to the situation in the Orient would be complete unless it recalled the fact that China is now in her fifth year of unbroken war against aggression. If any nation ever fought against an evil which it had done nothing

D 41790

to deserve, that nation is China. The sufferings of her patient people are as great as any ever visited upon any country. The uncomplaining courage of the Chinese has not been surpassed in the annals of human resistance. Like the Russian peasants and workers, who within the last few months, have been so mercilessly slaughtered, the Chinese continue to die, in staggering numbers, in defence of their humble habitations, and the good earth which, for countless generations, has given to the ancestors they revere, and to themselves, their scanty sustenance.

China's Ambassador in London, speaking recently to the people of Great Britain, used words which go far to make clear the spiritual foundations as well as the underlying unity of the cause of the democracies. China's resistance, said Dr. Wellington Koo, "is sustained by her faith in the ultimate triumph of good over evil. In the Chinese view, violence and aggression are a curse to humanity, and contrary to the will of Providence as manifested in the gospel of live, good-will and friendliness, which should rule amongst nations as amongst individuals. The Japanese invasion if a great wrong, and China's defence is a righteous cause which cannot fail to prevail in the end. And the more energetically this cause is defended the sooner will it be able to vindicate law and order, liberty and justice, peace and security".

D 41791

THE UNITED STATES

The survey I have given of warfare, actual and potential, as it has spread in the course of two years throughout Europe, Asia and Africa, should be sufficient to disclose its menace to every other portion of the globe. It is not surprising, therefore, that the world-encircling danger, which already has engulfed the eastern hemisphere, should have increasingly aroused the peoples of North and South America to an awareness of the encompassing threat to the security of the western hemisphere.

The sweep of the Nazi hordes to the waters of the Mediterranean; the German penetration of North Africa; the prostrate condition of the once free nations of Europe, emphasised today by horrors and atrocities too ghastly to recount; the present struggle of titanic forces in Russia; the continuous siege of Britain by sea and air; the unconcealed Nazi designs to obtain bases which would bridge the Atlantic in the North via Iceland, Greenland and Newfoundland, and on the South, from the North Western coast of Africa to the most Eastern coast of South America via the Cape Verde Islands and the Azores; the combined threat of Germany and Japan to the whole vast regions of Asia; the [redacted] movements of Japanese fleets and armies along the

D 41792

whole western Pacific shores from Thailand and Malaya to the waters that divide Siberia from Alaska; the threats to Singapore and the Philippines, to the Netherlands Indies and Australasia; - all these developments, and much else, have combined to destroy the myth of American isolation.

The ever-increasing dangers have brought opinion in the United States to the point where even a nominal maintenance of official neutrality has long since ceased to be a part of national policy. The idea of neutrality implies two nations at war and a third in friendship with both. Officially, such a position seemed possible in the fall of 1939. Even to appearances, it has long since ceased to be countenanced. Instead, the whole trend of American opinion and official decision has been to regard neutrality as a mask and to throw it off altogether.

The aggressor nations, by their acts, have brought down upon their own heads the wrath of the United States. The methods by which Nazi Germany has invaded the several countries of Europe; has manifested her intention to dominate on sea, as well as on land; and has, in collaboration with Italy and Japan, demonstrated her ambitions of world conquest - all of these, in corresponding sequence, have provoked the United States to increasingly vigorous protests and acts of self defense.

D 41793

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D 41794

It will be recalled that on May 27th, the President of the United States proclaimed a state of unlimited emergency. On June 14th, the day on which our Parliament adjourned, German and Italian assets in the United States were "frozen." Two days later, the German Consulates were ordered to close, and shortly afterwards the Italian Consulates were closed. Three days following Hitler's attack upon Russia, United States assistance, which previously had gone mainly to Britain and China, was offered also to Russia. On July 7th, to forestall German attack, United States armed forces were stationed in Iceland. Two days following July 23rd, on which date Japan again intervened in Indo-China, Japanese assets in the United States were "frozen," and, within a week, an embargo was placed by the United States on the export of aviation gasoline.

In August came the historic meeting at sea between President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. In the middle of August, the President joined Mr. Churchill in proposing a three-power conference with Russia. Three days later, the American ferry service for combat planes to the Middle East was announced. On September 4th, the United States destroyer "Greer" was attacked by a submarine. The day following, the President ordered the United States fleet to "eliminate" the submarine if possible. By the middle of the month, further

American

D 41795

ships having meanwhile been sunk, a "shoot first" order went into effect. About the same time, it was disclosed that convoys had been included in the defence pattern of the United States. In mid-September, the President asked Congress to make a second huge appropriation for the Lend-Lease programme. A Bill was signed by the President on Tuesday last, thereby bringing to a total of nearly thirteen billions of dollars the amount voted for lend-lease purposes.

At the end of September, the joint meeting of Britain, the United States and Russia was held in Moscow, and agreement reached on joint United States-United Kingdom assistance to Russia.

On the 9th of October, the President asked Congress to permit the arming of American merchant vessels. The House of Representatives has already voted to amend that part of the Neutrality Act which previously prevented such a course.

The removal of the ban on sending American vessels into belligerent parts, or so-called combat zones, has become another immediate object of American policy.

These facts, in their cumulative effect, serve to show how rapidly the mirage of isolation has been disappearing, and how completely the appreciation of the interdependence of free peoples has grown in the minds of all but a small minority.

The position of the United States in the matter of neutrality could not have been more clearly set forth than it was in the formal statement presented by Mr. Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives at Washington on October the 13th. The following were Mr. Knox's words:

> "As a matter of simple truth and realism, from the outset of this war, or at least from the time when we began to thoroughly understand what the war was all about, we have never been neutral. ..... We have been entirely unneutral, vigorously and actively supporting one side and contributing in many ways to the defeat of the other side. ..... We neither think nor act neutral in the present war. It is only honest to make our laws consistent with our actions."

The American official view as to what the war is all about was set forth with equal frankness by Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, who said:

> "The blunt truth is that the world is steadily being dragged downward and backward by the mightiest movement of conquest ever attempted in all history."

D 41797

The significance of Britain and the British fleet to the security of the United States was stressed by Mr. Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State for War, in the following unequivocal words:

> "The chief hope of defeating Hitler is by preserving the safety of the British Isles, and the existence of the British fleet. This fleet for many years has been engaged in protecting the freedom of the seas upon which our own safety and welfare also depend."

No statements describing the position of the United States could, however, be more graphic or emphatic than those which the President himself has used in his recent public utterances. In his message to Congress on the revision of the United States neutrality law, delivered on October 9th, the President said:

> "We know now that Hitler recognizes no limitation of any zone of combat in any part of the seven seas. He has struck at our ships and at the lives of our sailors within the waters of the western hemisphere. Determined as he is to gain domination of the entire world, he considers the entire world his own battlefield." .....

D 41798

"We will not let Hitler prescribe the waters of the world on which our ships may travel. The American flag is not going to be driven from the seas either by his submarines, his airplanes, or his threats." .....

"We intend to maintain the policy of protecting the freedom of the seas against domination by any foreign power which has become crazed with a desire to control the world. We shall do so with all our strength and all our heart and all our mind."

A further statement of United States policy and its practical enforcement was set forth in no uncertain terms in the President's Navy Day address to the American people, delivered as recently as October the 27th:

"Very simply and very bluntly", said the President, "we are pledged to pull our own oar in the destruction of Hitlerism."

Remarking that it was the nation's will that America should deliver vital arms and supplies, and that, in open defiance of that will, American ships had been sunk and American sailors killed, Mr. Roosevelt added: "We do not propose to take this lying down."

41799

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"Our American merchant ships," said the President, "must be armed to defend themselves against the rattlesnakes of the sea. Our American merchant ships must be free to carry our American goods into the harbours of our friends. Our merchant ships must be protected by our American navy."

"The Navy," the President said, "has orders to shoot and the order stands." "Shooting has started," were the words with which the President began this address. He concluded by saying: "Today, in the face of this newest and greatest challenge, we Americans have cleared our decks and taken our battle stations."

These words may be taken as describing, as effectively as words can, the present position of the United States.

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Conclusion

I have, from the very beginning of the war, in Parliament and out of Parliament, stressed two things above all others: first, the world aspect of the danger; and second, the moral character of the issue.

I have consistently maintained that world domination was Germany's aim; that she hoped to achieve that aim through the might of her own power, and the ambitions of her Axis partners. I have maintained with equal consistency that the issue fundamentally was a moral one, and that the conflict was one between a pagan conception of a world order, which ignores the individual and the value of all contractual relations, and a Christian conception of a world order which has regard alike for the sacredness of human personality and of the pledged word in all the relationships of life. In other words, the conflict is one between a society which bases its relationship on the doctrine of Right, and a society in which human relationships are based on the doctrine of Might; it is a struggle which will decide whether mankind is to become increasingly free or revert to a condition of existence which is worse than slavery.

It has taken the past two years for most countries to come to see the all-encompassing aspect of the conflict. Most of the neutral na

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Most of the neutral nations of Europe did not begin to see it until their own freedom was gone. Other parts of the world have come to fear it only as encroaching dangers have drawn near to their own shores. What all have still to learn is that today no nation is sufficient unto itself, no continent and no hemisphere great enough, in its own strength, to maintain its own freedom. A recognition of interdependence and combined action based thereon is as necessary, indeed, it is infinitely more necessary to the democracies of the world, if they are to maintain their freedom, than it is to the Axis powers in the furtherance of their acts of aggression.

Of all developments in the growing substance of co-operation among nations, the most heartening has been the deepening interdependence of the British Commonwealth and the United States. That interdependence found noble expression in the join declaration of August last which was made public after the historic meeting at sea between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt. The conference in itself was evidence of the control of the seas which the combined fleets of Britain and the United States continue to possess. The joint declaration is an authoritative statement by the two great Powers represented at the Atlantic conference of principles in international relations which they are agreed should govern the post-war world.

D 41802

At a meeting in London on September 24th, formal adherence to these principles was given on behalf of the Allied powers and governments in exile.

The question it seems to me is no longer one mainly of assisting Russia, or assisting China, or assisting Britain, to save those countries from the might of the aggressor, necessary as this may be. Nor is it a question of helping to restore freedom to countries which have lost their freedom, essential as this also is. Nor is it a matter primarily of defending ourselves from attack or of what shall be the precise scope of the post-war order. It has now reached the point of being a matter of saving freedom itself, and of saving the world from a condition of universal anarchy and chaos.

I have said that it has taken the past two years for most of the countries to come to see the all encompassing aspect of the conflict. I doubt if any country has, as yet, come to see the undermining character of Nazi doctrine and practice, or how completely subversive it is of Christian belief and humanitarian ideals, and how ruthlessly it seeks to destroy the precepts and standards of conduct based thereon. It is a menace alike to men's minds and souls, for it seeks to enslave both. It aims to destroy all true religion. It would substitute a materialistic interpretation of life for a

D 41803

spiritual one, brutality for charity, despair for faith, the worship of Hitler for the worship of God. All this, as well as the conquest of their lands, it seeks to impose by force upon the peoples whom it robs of their freedom. One has only to look at what the new order of Nazi Germany is, and how it has been carried out in Germany itself, to see how it would be imposed by Nazi tyrants upon their subject peoples. Even now, it demands one hundred innocent lives for the life of a single Nazi.

Whether we speak in terms of nations or of individuals, we can no longer think of freedom as related solely to the bodies or the possessions of men. The only freedom worthy of the name is freedom of the mind and of the soul. We can no longer afford to think of our own freedom and the freedom of others as two things which may be considered apart from one another. We are all members one of another. The freedom of all is bound up in the lives of all. The issue is indeed a moral one, andit is a moral issue of the profoundest concern, not only to every nation, but to every individual as well. The cause is indeed the highest which it has ever been given to man to defend.

D 41804

Statement by The Prime Minister

House of Commons
November 3, 1941

Reviewing International Situation Since Adjournment, June 14, 1941

In the review of the war which I gave to the House just before its adjournment on June 14th last, I sought to impress upon honourable members that it was inevitable that the existing conflict between the forces of aggression and the defenders of freedom would continue to spread from nation to nation, from ocean to ocean, and from continent to continent. Since the middle of June, the war has grown in intensity and extent. Threats have become realities; prophecies have been fulfilled, and fears have been turned into terrors.

The period of the parliamentary adjournment witnessed a vast expansion of the area of conflict in Europe; continuous, though desultory, fighting in North Africa; increasing tension and uncertainty over vast areas in Asia. In all the countries of North and South America, there has been growing concern as to the consequences of the struggle, immediate and remote, to themselves.

D 41805

Two years of continuous aggression by Germany have made increasingly clear not only her pattern of aggression and the aim of her successive conquests, but, above all, the might of her military power. The organized strength and size of Germany's war machine is the all-important military factor in the world today. No doubt remains that world conquest is Germany's aim; there is equally no doubt her method of world conquest is intended to follow successive stages of military, economic and political control. All peoples are beginning to perceive that behind the intrigues, the deceptions, and the horrors of Nazi Germany and the revolting brutality of her methods of warfare, will be found plans and designs progressively developed from those which inspired and guided Prussian militarism under Bismarck and Wilhelm II. The war machine with which the forces of freedom are faced today is not only vaster in extent than anything hitherto conceived, but its sources of power are more deeply and firmly rooted.

Every conceivable means by which freedom can be crushed is today being employed by Nazi Germany. We may expect that, for some time yet, her might will continue its sway, and violence and bloodshed, on a growing scale, be a part of the human lot. This is an appalling prospect. Until its ghastly potentialities are squarely faced in all quarters of the globe, the sufferings of humanity may be expected to increase.

D 41806

RUSSIA

Since our adjournment, the outstanding development has been, of course, the Russian campaign. It is scarcely possible to believe, but it is nevertheless true, that when we adjourned no one in authority could say whether, before we met again, Russia would be fighting at the side of Germany, or would be attacked by Germany, or whether her ultimate plans and intentions would continue to remain obscure. The real attitude of Russia to the war had been obscure, ever since August, 1939, when she signed the Non-Aggression Pact with Nazi Germany. That agreement made it appear that Russia had become an ally of the aggressor nations. Up to the moment of the attack, it was, I think, generally believed that war would not come between Germany and Russia. It seemed more probable that Russia would yield to German pressure, to an extent sufficient to afford Germany some accommodation, and at the same time enable Russia, for a still longer period, to remain out of the war altogether.

The fact that Hitler attacked Russia when he did, and as he did, may yet turn out to be the most important event of the whole war. To form an estimate of the significance of its consequences for other peoples and countries, we need only ask ourselves what the situation would be today had Hitler turned the might of Nazi Germany's power elsewhere than upon

D 41807

the Soviet Union! I will not ask what the present situation might have been if the power which Russia has so magnificently exhibited in resisting Germany had, instead, been joined with German power in attack upon Britain and British interests throughout the world. We must indeed be profoundly grateful to the Providence which has spared the British Commonwealth such an ordeal. But, we should, I think, also look beneath the surface of Russian resistance into the heart of the Russian peasant. From him we may learn that nothing is quite so precious as the freedom of one's own homeland. In the Russian resistance and all that it signifies, we find the surest ground for belief in the ultimate triumph of the forces of freedom.

I am not in a position to answer the question: Why did Hitler attack Russia, when and as he did? I am prepared, however, to suggest three reasons. Each in itself might be a sufficient answer. All three, taken in combination, afford, I believe, the true answer.

Hitler attacked Russia, first of all, for tthe same reason that he invaded other neutral countries of Europe, as a stage in Germany's march toward world conquest. The conquest of Russia would, he knew, bring the whole of Europe under his control.

D 41808

Secondly, Hitler believed it would prove in the end to be the quickest and surest way to gain his larger objective of destroying the British Empire. In the face of British resistance and American aid to the democratic powers, he had come to see that the conflict would be much longer and harder than he had anticipated. He recognized that fresh sources of supply were an essential means to any decisive victory. He feared without them the war might end only with the exhaustion of the civil populations and the armed forces of both sides alike.

A third reason - which I am sure was as powerful as either of the others - was that Hitler himself mistrusted Russia. He had every reason to believe that Russia could never be really friendly to a Hitlerite Germany. He no doubt expected that Russia, following tactics similar to his own, and those employed by his Italian partner, would continue to wait, while he pressed his campaign elsewhere, watching for the hour at which Nazi Germany might become most vulnerable. In the hour of decisive conflict with the democracies, Hitler did not wish to risk an attack from behind. His fear was the long-standing German fear of a war on two fronts. Hitler's success in exploiting hostility to

D 41809

Russian communism in his own rise to power, and as the key to his close association with Italy and Japan, forced him to recognize that, whatever the advantage to Nazi Germany and the convenience to Russia of the Nazi-Soviet pact, at the time it was made, there could be no enduring good-will between forces so traditionally hostile and so diametrically opposed. He had every reason to expect that, before the end, the conflict would return to the place where he himself began it. He probably never doubted that at some stage the issue would be fought out between the Russian proletariat and the war lords of Germany.

It is clear that Hitler miscalculated the probable duration of the Russian campaign and the military strength and skill, as well as the patriotism, of the Russian people. He mistook, also, the effect of years of Nazi and Fascist propaganda. He may have expected a revolt behind the Russian lines; he met instead a united people prepared for any sacrifice. There is no doubt that the solidarity of opinion in Great Britain, in the Dominions, in the United States, and in fact throughout all free lands, which followed the Nazi attack upon Russia, was as much a surprise as it was a disappointment to Hitler and his accomplices.

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It was on June 22nd - a Sunday morning - that Hitler launched his attack. Seldom has a situation arisen where there was more need for an immediate interpretation of its significance and implications. The remarkable fact is that, without prior consultation, the same interpretation was given, in almost identical terms, in all parts of the British Commonwealth and in the United States; and that, regardless of considerations of race or religion, the view expressed was much the same. It was immediately recognized that Nazi Germany had again broken the peace, and again broken her own pledged word. Germany was plainly and clearly the aggressor. It was recognized that the Nazi attack on Soviet Russia was not a crusade against any Red menace but a new phase of the Nazi attack on all the democracies.

This interpretation was the one set forth in the statement I issued, in the name of our government, on the afternoon of the day on which Russia was attacked. I stressed the fact that Germany, and not Russia, was the threat to freedom and peace; that every force fighting Hitler was fighting, whether consciously or unconsciously, for the preservation of Christian civilization; that every power which engaged our enemy advanced our cause. I pointed out

D41811

that the German attack removed all shadow of doubt concerning Hitler's purpose; that it constituted a fresh call to arms throughout the British Commonwealth. I pointed out that Hitler's agreement with Russia had been broken with the same perfidious cynicism with which it had been sealed; that its making and its breaking had but one object - to eliminate danger in the East in order that there might be a concentration of force against Britain and the West. I emphasized that, therefore, it was not a time to debate differences of view or to relax effort, but rather a time for strengthened unity of opinion, and for still greater effort. That view has been everywhere accepted throughout our country. How true it has proved to be that every day Russian resistance has held up the German advance has been a day contributed to the cause of freedom, and the growing power of the British Commonwealth and the United States!

I shall not attempt to outline the Russian campaign or to predict its outcome. For over four months hostilities have continued on a long front stretching from the Arctic shore to the Crimea on the Black Sea. There, notwithstanding the might of the German onslaught, a front still remains. The front line of defence runs through the rivers and plains of Russia. Fighting has been concentrated in three main sectors. In the north around Leningrad, which at the moment is in a virtual stage of siege; in the centre toward Moscow,

D 41812

in which area there has been continuous heavy fighting with enormous casualties in both men and materials; and in the south where strong German forces have already penetrated a long distance into the Ukraine. Here Germany has already captured many of the key centres beyond the Dnieper River where much of the Russian heavy industry is concentrated. After a stout defence of many weeks the Black Sea port of Odessa has been evacuated. German hostilities have been extended into the Crimea. The most serious strategic threat to successful Russian resistance is in this southern sector. The way appears to be opening for further penetration southwesterly into the Caucasus: one of the few areas in which Russia and Britain have direct communications by land and sea.

Russia, the largest European nation, is fighting every inch of the way. Never in human history has battle, reckoned in machines and men together, been waged on such a scale. Never have casualties been heavier. Only rarely, I believe, has the spontaneous sympathy of people throughout the world been so aroused.

It is not surprising that in so flagrant a case of aggression promises of support for Russia should have been forthcoming without delay. Britain, Lord pressed though

D 41813

she is, took immediate steps to furnish military and economic aid. The government of the United States pledged all practical economic assistance. As an outcome of the Atlantic Conference between President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, the governments of Britain and the United States undertook to send a joint mission to Russia to plan and organize the largest possible measure of assistance. In their recent conferences, the mission speedily reached agreement with the Russian government under which assistance in growing volume is already being provided.

The Canadian Assistance to Russia

The Canadian government kept in close touch with the activities of the Beaverbrook-Harriman mission both before and during its visit to Moscow. In consequence the members of the mission were in a position to count upon tangible support from Canada in the fulfillment of the undertakings given to the Soviet government. It is not possible for me at this time to give details of the character or the extent of Canadian aid to Russia or of the precise arrangements being made with the governments of the United Kingdom and the United States with whom Canada is co-operating in sending the aid. In a general way the programme of aid includes war supplies, food, medical supplies and transport equipment.

D 41814

The Middle East

The Russian campaign was preceded, as honourable members will recall, by the sweep of the Nazi forces through the Balkan States and by the invasion and conquest of Greece. In a general way, on either side of the Mediterranean, at Gibraltar, along the North African coast, through Egypt, and to the Suez, the relative positions of the opposing forces have remained, throughout the summer months and since, much what they were at the time of the conquest of Greece. There has been continuous fighting on and over the waters of the Mediterranean, but all this, and much else, has been largely overshadowed by the immensity of the conflict in Russia.

A plane, flying from Gibraltar throughout the length of the Mediterranean, and pursuing its flight in an easterly direction to northern India, would fly in practically a straight line across Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan. These countries are all immediately to the south of either Turkey or Russia. Geography is in itself sufficient to disclose how important, for strategic reasons, their position is.

There are, however, economic as well as geographical considerations which make the political disposition of each of these countries a matter of first importance. In Iraq and

D 41815

Iran lie the vast fields which supply much of the oil required by Britain for military as well as industrial purposes. For these countries to become hostile, or to pass into the hand of the enemy, might well prove a major disaster. When it is realized that the Ukraine and the Caucasus, because of their economic resources, are the possessions which above all Germany hopes to wrest from Russia, it will be seen how important to Russia and Britain alike is the retention of these areas in friendly hands.

As was to have been expected, there were evidences of enemy intrigue and penetration throughout Syria, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan, even before the Russian campaign commenced. Secret agents were at work in each of them, fostering discontent and making alliances calculated to serve German interests. To preserve order, and to prevent her own position from being undermined, the British Government has been obliged to take quick and decisive action in all these countries.

Trouble came first in Iraq. Open revolt was followed by the establishment of a rebel government friendly to the Axis. In accordance with their treaty rights British forces intervened and suppressed the revolt. The legitimate government was restored.

D 41816

It will be recalled that, during the campaign in May which ended in the crushing of the Axis-inspired revolt in Iraq, the Nazis were permitted to use the air-fields of the French mandates of Syria and Lebanon in order to facilitate the sending of aid to the Iraqi rebels. This Axis penetration of Syria constituted a grave threat to the whole Allied position in the eastern Mediterranean.

It was accordingly decided that a Nazi occupation of this vital strategic area must be forestalled. On June 9th, the British and Free French forces invaded the mandated territory. The same day, General Catroux, the leader of the Free French forces in the Middle East, proclaimed the independence of Syria and Lebanon. Although the Allied invasion was resisted by the French troops in Syria, the government at Vichy refrained from describing the hostilities as actual warfare. An open breach between Britain and France was thus averted. The Allied occupation was completed a month later and an armistice arranged, which was ratified by the government at Vichy on July 15th.

Since the Allied occupation of Syria and Lebanon, the most significant development in the Middle East has been the intervention by Britain and Soviet Russia in Iran. During August, both the British and Russian government

became increasingly apprehensive of the effects of a German "tourist" invasion of that country. Diplomatic action at the Iranian capital had no effect. Consequently on August 25th, British and Soviet forces entered Iran to protect the oil fields and safeguard communications. They met little resistance and after four days of desultory fighting, the Iranian forces were ordered by their government to cease all resistance. By September 10th, a settlement had been reached by which the government of Iran agreed to turn over the Axis nations in that country to the Allies, and to expel the enemy legations.

More recently, the government of Afghanistan has agreed, in response to Allied diplomatic representations, to expel the Axis nationals.

In all four countries, Britain has made it perfectly clear that in no way has she in view the expansion of her own Empire by the acquisition of additional territories. Assurances have been given that, at the close of war, the fullest measure of restoration of the sovereignties of these countries will be made.

The strategic importance of safeguarding communications between the British and Russian forces in the Middle East can hardly be over-estimated. Prompt action is being taken to improve transport facilities on the Iranian railways. In this vital task, Canada has undertaken to share.

15

D 41818

The Far East

As with the countries bordering on the waters of the Mediterranean, so with the Asiatic countries bordering on the waters of the western Pacific, and with the Far East generally, the situation has remained, until quite recently, pretty much what it was before the beginning of the Russian campaign. The effect of the latter, however, has been greatly to intensify the tension which previously existed, and which arose from the political and military activities of Japan and her claims to the establishment of a "new order" in East Asia. The Japanese leaders have not disguised the fact that Japan was giving consideration to the further use of force to expand her influence in this area. At the same time, Japan has clearly been uneasy at the prospect of taking military initiative in the face of the firm attitude displayed by the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands Indies.

At the moment when Parliament adjourned, trade negotiations between Japan and the Netherlands Indies had broken down. A Japanese drive southwards seemed imminent. Before action came, the Nazis attacked Soviet Russia. There is no longer any doubt that the Nazi attack was a complete surprise to the Japanese Government and to the Japanese people. The Soviet-Japanese pact of non-aggression had been meant

D 41819

by the Japanese to be the counterpart in Asia of the Nazi-Soviet pact in Europe. Both agreements were being made use of as evidence on the part of Germany and Japan of their desire to limit the arena of hostilities. By Germany and Japan alike, they were doubtless intended to secure the neutrality of Russia in a way which would free their own hands in any action which might be taken by either or both of them, against the anti-Axis powers. Germany's perfidious act seemed to require, if the Axis front was to be maintained, a similar volte face on the part of Japan. This necessary change of front found its expression, not immediately, but by the middle of July, in a change of government in Japan. Mr. Matsuoka, who, as Foreign Minister of Japan, had negotiated the Japanese-Soviet pact, was not included in the new government. His exclusion was interpreted generally as a sign that the neutrality pact with Russia would, sooner or later, be repudiated. Since that moment serious consideration has been given the possibility of a northward attack on Siberia.

Until Germany's invasion of Russia, Japan's objective appeared to be the expansion , by force, of her "co-prosperity sphere" towards the south.

The first and, indeed, the only actual expansion of Japanese military activity, since the adjournment, has

been into French Indo-China. Late in July, the Japanese government extended the penetration of that colony, which began in the autumn of 1940. This penetration was facilitated by the attitude of Vichy, under German duress. The result is a virtual Japanese military occupation of Indo-China, and Japanese possession of its important naval bases. There were signs that Japan intended to continue her military advance into Thailand, and that she was restrained only by the formidable economic measures taken by the United States, Britain, Canada, the other nations of the Commonwealth, and the Netherlands Indies. The promptness and firmness of the steps taken by the democratic powers were clearly a rude shock to Japan.

On July 25th, Mr. Eden announced in the British House of Commons that defensive measures had been taken in Malaya. Late that evening, President Roosevelt issued an order "freezing" all Japanese assets in the United States. Parallel action was taken by the United Kingdom and by this country on July 26th, and the commercial treaties between Japan and Britain, and Japan and Canada, were denounced.

On July 28th, the Netherlands East Indies cut off Japan's oil supply from those islands. Two days later, Mr. Eden warned Japan to "reflect", while there was still time,

D 41821

on the effect of her foreign policy. At the same time, Britain excluded Japanese shipping from her coaling stations throughout the Empire and from the inter-Empire carrying trade. On August 1st, President Roosevelt ordered an embargo on the shipment of aviation gasoline and oils to points outside the western hemisphere, the British Empire, and unoccupied territories of nations resisting aggression. The result of these measures has been a virtual cessation of Japanese sea borne commerce.

Despite frequent statements that Japan must defend her economy by proceeding with the establishment of her Asiatic "co-prosperity sphere", tension in the Far East relaxed in August and September. The anniversary, September 27th, of Japan's adherence to the Axis, passed quietly. The celebrations in Tokyo were subdued in character.

Towards the middle of October, tension once more began to increase rapidly in the Far East. The growing tension was again reflected in a change of government in Japan, and the formation of a new Cabinet headed by General Tojo. The new Ministry represents the strongly anti-Russian tendencies among extreme militarists. General Tojo himself, while holding political office, remains on active service. He is Minister of War, and has also under his direction the Home

D 41822

Ministry which controls the extensive Police services. It would appear that, for the present at least, political power in the Cabinet, has passed more firmly into the hands of extreme militarists than has been the case at any time in recent years.

It will be seen that the developments of the past four months have now brought matters to a point where a very definite conflict of interest has developed between Japan, as the Axis partner of Germany and Italy on the one side, and the United States, Britain and Russia on the other. The critical character of the Far Eastern situation, occasioned by the aggressive designs of Japan, was clearly indicated by Mr. Churchill in his broadcast to the world on August 24th. After referring to the Japanese war on China, the British Prime Minister said:

"Now they stretch their grasping hand into the southern seas of China. They snatch Indo-China from the wretched Vichy French. They menace by their movements Siam. They menace Singapore, the British link with Australasia, and they menace the Philippine Islands under the protection of the United States. It is certain that this has got to stop.

"Every effort will be made to secure a peaceful settlement.

D 41823

"The United States are labouring with infinite patience to arrive at a fair and amicable settlement which will give Japan the utmost reassurance for her legitimate interests.

"We earnestly hope that these negotiations will succeed. But this I must say, that if these hopes should fail, we shall, of course, range ourselves unhesitatingly at the side of the United States."

The Japanese occupation of Indo-China has created two menacing threats: The first, a possible encirclement of Southern China, through the occupation of Thailand and an attempt to cut the Burma road; the second, an attack on the Netherlands East Indies from the bases in Southern Indo-China. Whether aggression, if it takes the form of open conflict, will be directed toward the North against Russia, or in a southerly direction toward Thailand and the Dutch East Indies, or in both directions simultaneously, cannot at the moment be foretold. It is important, however, that both eventualities should be kept in mind.

China

No reference to the situation in the Orient would be complete unless it recalled the fact that China is now in her fifth year of unbroken war against aggression. If any nation ever fought against an evil which it had done nothing

D 41824

to deserve, that nation is China. The sufferings of her patient people are as great as any ever visited upon any country. The uncomplaining courage of the Chinese has not been surpassed in the annals of human resistance. Like the Russian peasants and workers, who within the last few months, have been so mercilessly slaughtered, the Chinese continue to die, in staggering numbers, in defence of their humble habitations, and the good earth which, for countless generations, has given to the ancestors they revere, and to themselves, their scanty sustenance.

China's Ambassador in London, speaking recently to the people of Great Britain, used words which go far to make clear the spiritual foundations as well as the underlying unity of the cause of the democracies. China's resistance, said Dr. Wellington Koo, "is sustained by her faith in the ultimate triumph of good over evil. In the Chinese view, violence and aggression are a curse to humanity, and contrary to the will of Providence as manifested in the gospel of live, good-will and friendliness, which should rule amongst nations as amongst individuals. The Japanese invasion if a great wrong, and China's defence is a righteous cause which cannot fail to prevail in the end. And the more energetically this cause is defended the sooner will it be able to vindicate law and order, liberty and justice, peace and security".

D 41825

THE UNITED STATES

The survey I have given of warfare, actual and potential, as it has spread in the course of two years throughout Europe, Asia and Africa, should be sufficient to disclose its menace to every other portion of the globe. It is not surprising, therefore, that the world-encircling danger, which already has engulfed the eastern hemisphere, should have increasingly aroused the peoples of North and South America to an awareness of the encompassing threat to the security of the western hemisphere.

The sweep of the Nazi hordes to the waters of the Mediterranean; the German penetration of North Africa; the prostrate condition of the once free nations of Europe, emphasized today by horrors and atrocities too ghastly to recount; the present struggle of titanic forces in Russia; the continuous siege of Britain by sea and air; the unconcealed Nazi designs to obtain bases which would bridge the Atlantic in the North via Iceland, Greenland and Newfoundland, and on the South, from the North Western coast of Africa to the most Eastern coast of South America via the Cape Verde Islands and the Azores; the combined menace of Germany and Japan to the whole vast regions of Asia; the menacing movements of Japanese fleets and armies along the

D 41826

whole western Pacific shores from Thailand and Malaya to the waters that divide Siberia from Alaska; the threats to Singapore and the Philippines, to the Netherlands Indies and Australasia; - all these developments, and much else, have combined to destroy the myth of American isolation.

The ever-increasing dangers have brou ht opinion in the United States to the point where even a nominal maintenance of official neutrality has long since ceased to be a part of national policy. The idea of neutrality implies two nations at war and a third in friendship with both. Officially, such a position seemed possible in the fall of 1939. Even to appearances, it has long since ceased to be countenanced. Instead, the whole trend of American opinion and official decision has been to regard neutrality as a mask and to throw it off altogether.

The aggressor nations, by their acts, have brought down upon their own heads the wrath of the United States. The methods by which Nazi Germany has invaded the several countries of Europe; has manifested her intention to dominate on sea, as well as on land; and has, in collaboration with Italy and Japan, demonstrated her ambitions of world conquest - all of these, in corresponding sequence, have provoked the United States to increasingly vigorous protests and acts of self defense.

D 41827

It will be recalled that on May 27th, the President of the United States proclaimed a state of unlimited emergency. On June 14th, the day on which our Parliament adjourned, German and Italian assets in the United States were "frozen." Two days later, the German Consulates were ordered to close, and shortly afterwards the Italian Consulates were closed. Three days following Hitler's attack upon Russia, United States assistance, which previously had gone mainly to Britain and China, was offered also to Russia. On July 7th, to forestall German attack, United States armed forces were stationed in Iceland. Two days following July 23rd, on which date Japan again intervened in Indo-China, Japanese assets in the United States were "frozen," and, within a week, an embargo was placed by the United States on the export of aviation gasoline.

In August came the historic meeting at sea between President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. In the middle of August, the President joined Mr. Churchill in proposing a three-power conference with Russia. Three days later, the American ferry service for combat planes to the Middle East was announced. On September 4th, the United States destroyer "Greer" was attacked by a submarine. The day following, the President ordered the United States fleet to "eliminate" the submarine if possible. By the middle of the month, further

American

D 41828

ships having meanwhile been sunk, a "shoot first" order went into effect. About the same time, it was disclosed that convoys had been included in the defence pattern of the United States. In mid-September, the President asked Congress to make a second huge appropriation for the Lend-Lease programme. A Bill was signed by the President on Tuesday last, thereby bringing to a total of nearly thirteen billions of dollars the amount voted for lend-lease purposes.

At the end of September, the joint meeting of Britain, the United States and Russia was held in Moscow, and agreement reached on joint United States-United Kingdom assistance to Russia.

On the 9th of October, the President asked Congress to permit the arming of American merchant vessels. The House of Representatives has already voted to amend that part of the Neutrality Act which previously prevented such a course.

The removal of the ban on sending American vessels into belligerent parts, or so-called combat zones, has become another immediate object of American policy.

These facts, in their cumulative effect, serve to show how rapidly the mirage of isolation has been disappearing, and how completely the appreciation of the interdependence of free peoples has grown in the minds of all but a small minority.

D 41829

The position of the United States in the matter of neutrality could not have been more clearly set forth than it was in the formal statement presented by Mr. Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives at Washington on October the 13th. The following were Mr. Knox's words:

> "As a matter of simple truth and realism, from the outset of this war, or at least from the time when we began to thoroughly understand what the war was all about, we have never been neutral. ..... We have been entirely unneutral, vigorously and actively supporting one side and contributing in many ways to the defeat of the other side. ..... We neither think nor act neutral in the present war. It is only honest to make our laws consistent with our actions."

The American official view as to what the war is all about was set forth with equal frankness by Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, who said:

> "The blunt truth is that the world is steadily being dragged downward and backward by the mightiest movement of conquest ever attempted in all history."

D 41830

The significance of Britain and the British fleet to the security of the United States was stressed by Mr. Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State for War, in the following unequivocal words:

> "The chief hope of defeating Hitler is by preserving the safety of the British Isles, and the existence of the British fleet. This fleet for many years has been engaged in protecting the freedom of the seas upon which our own safety and welfare also depend."

No statements describing the position of the United States could, however, be more graphic or emphatic than those which the President himself has used in his recent public utterances. In his message to Congress on the revision of the United States neutrality law, delivered on October 9th, the President said:

> "We know now that Hitler recognizes no limitation of any zone of combat in any part of the seven seas. He has struck at our ships and at the lives of our sailors within the waters of the western hemisphere. Determined as he is to gain domination of the entire world, he considers the entire world his own battlefield." .....

D 41831

"We will not let Hitler prescribe the waters of the world on which our ships may travel. The American flag is not going to be driven from the seas either by his submarines, his airplanes, or his threats." .....

"We intend to maintain the policy of protecting the freedom of the seas against domination by any foreign power which has become crazed with a desire to control the world. We shall do so with all our strength and all our heart and all our mind."

A further statement of United States policy and its practical enforcement was set forth in no uncertain terms in the President's Navy Day address to the American people, delivered as recently as October the 27th:

"Very simply and very bluntly", said the President, "we are pledged to pull our own oar in the destruction of Hitlerism."

Remarking that it was the nation's will that America should deliver vital arms and supplies, and that, in open defiance of that will, American ships had been sunk and American sailors killed, Mr. Roosevelt added: "We do not propose to take this lying down."

"Our American merchant ships," said the President, "must be armed to defend themselves against the rattlesnakes of the sea. Our American merchant ships must be free to carry our American goods into the harbours of our friends. Our merchant ships must be protected by our American navy."

"The Navy," the President said, "has orders to shoot and the order stands." "Shooting has started," were the words with which the President began this address. He concluded by saying: "Today, in the face of this newest and greatest challenge, we Americans have cleared our decks and taken our battle stations."

These words may be taken as describing, as effectively as words can, the present position of the United States.

D41833

Conclusion:

I have, from the very beginning of the war, in Parliament and out of Parliament, stressed two things above all others: first, the world aspect of the danger; and second, the moral character of the issue.

I have consistently maintained that world domination was Germany's aim; that she hoped to achieve that aim through the might of her own power, and the ambitions of her Axis partners. I have maintained with equal consistency that the issue fundamentally was a moral one, and that the conflict was one between a pagan conception of a world order, which ignores the individual and the value of all contractual relations, and a Christian conception of a world order which has regard alike for the sacredness of human personality and of the pledged word in all the relationships of life. In other words, the conflict is one between a society which bases its relationship on the doctrine of Right, and a society in which human relationships are based on the doctrine of Might; it is a struggle which will decide whether mankind is to become increasingly free or revert to a condition of existance which is worse than slavery.

It has taken the past two years for most countries to come to see the all-encompassing aspect of the conflict.

D 41834

Most of the neutral nations of Europe did not begin to see it until their own freedom was gone. Other parts of the world have come to fear it only as encroaching dangers have drawn near to their own shores. What all have still to learn is that today no nation is sufficient unto itself, no continent and no hemisphere great enough, in its own strength, to maintain its own freedom. A recognition of interdependence and combined action based thereon is as necessary, indeed, it is infinitely more necessary to the democracies of the world, if they are to maintain their freedom, than it is to the Axis powers in the furtherance of their acts of aggression.

Of all developments in the growing substance of co-operation among nations, the most heartening has been the deepening interdependence of the British Commonwealth and the United States. That interdependence found noble expression in the join declaration of August last which was made public after the historic meeting at sea between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt. The conference in itself was evidence of the control of the seas which the combined fleets of Britain and the United States continue to possess. The joint declaration is an authoritative statement by the two great Powers represented at the Atlantic conference of principles in international relations which they are agreed should govern the post-war world.

D 41835

At a meeting in London on September 24th, formal adherence to these principles was given on behalf of the Allied powers and governments in exile.

The question it seems to me is no longer one mainly of assisting Russia, or assisting China, or assisting Britain, to save those countries from the might of the aggressor, necessary as this may be. Nor is it a question of helping to restore freedom to countries which have lost their freedom, essential as this also is. Nor is it a matter primarily of defending ourselves from attack or of what shall be the precise scope of the post-war order. It has now reached the point of being a matter of saving freedom itself, and of saving the world from a condition of universal anarchy and chaos.

I have said that it has taken the past two years for most of the countries to come to see the all encompassing aspect of the conflict. I doubt if any country has, as yet, come to see the undermining character of Nazi doctrine and practice, or how completely subversive it is of Christian belief and humanitarian ideals, and how ruthlessly it seeks to destroy the precepts and standards of conduct based thereon. It is a menace alike to men's minds and souls, for it seeks to enslave both. It aims to destroy all true religion. It would substitute a materialistic interpretation of life for a

D 41836

spiritual one, brutality for charity, despair for faith, the worship of Hitler for the worship of God. All this, as well as the conquest of their lands, it seeks to impose by force upon the peoples whom it robs of their freedom. One has only to look at what the new order of Nazi Germany is, and how it has been carried out in Germany itself, to see how it would be imposed by Nazi tyrants upon their subject peoples. Even now, it demands one hundred innocent lives for the life of a single Nazi.

Whether we speak in terms of nations or of individuals, we can no longer think of freedom as related solely to the bodies or the possessions of men. The only freedom worthy of the name is freedom of the mind and of the soul. We can no longer afford to think of our own freedom and the freedom of others as two things which may be considered apart from one another. We are all members one of another. The freedom of all is bound up in the lives of all. The issue is indeed a moral one, and it is a moral issue of the profoundest concern, not only to every nation, but to every individual as well. The cause is indeed the highest which it has ever been given to man to defend.

D41837

Statement by The Prime Minister

House of Commons
November 3, 1941

Reviewing International Situation
Since Adjournment, June 14, 1941

In the review of the war which I gave to the House just before its adjournment on June 14th last, I sought to impress upon honourable members that it was inevitable that the existing conflict between the forces of aggression and the defenders of freedom would continue to spread from nation to nation, from ocean to ocean, and from continent to continent. Since the middle of June, the war has grown in intensity and extent. Threats have become realities; prophecies have been fulfilled, and fears have been turned into terrors.

The period of the parliamentary adjournment witnessed a vast expansion of the area of conflict in Europe; continuous, though desultory, fighting in North Africa; increasing tension and uncertainty over vast areas in Asia. In all the countries of North and South America, there has been growing concern as to the consequences of the struggle, immediate and remote, to themselves.

D41838

Two years of continuous aggression by Germany have made increasingly clear not only her pattern of aggression and the aim of her successive conquests, but, above all, the might of her military power. The organised strength and size of Germany's war machine is the all-important military factor in the world today. No doubt remains that world conquest is Germany's aim; there is equally no doubt her method of world conquest is intended to follow successive stages of military, economic and political control. All peoples are beginning to perceive that behind the intrigues, the deceptions, and the horrors of Nazi Germany and the revolting brutality of her methods of warfare, will be found plans and designs progressively developed from those which inspired and guided Prussian militarism under Bismarck and Wilhelm II. The war machine with which the forces of freedom are faced today is not only vaster in extent than anything hitherto conceived, but its sources of power are more deeply and firmly rooted.

Every conceivable means by which freedom can be crushed is today being employed by Nazi Germany. We may expect that, for some time yet, her might will continue its sway, and violence and bloodshed, on a growing scale, be a part of the human lot. This is an appalling prospect. Until its ghastly potentialities are squarely faced in all quarters of the globe, the sufferings of humanity may be expected to increase.

D 41839

RUSSIA

Since our adjournment, the outstanding development has been, of course, the Russian campaign. It is scarcely possible to believe, but it is nevertheless true, that when we adjourned no one in authority could say whether, before we met again, Russia would be fighting at the side of Germany, or would be attacked by Germany, or whether her ultimate plans and intentions would continue to remain obscure. The real attitude of Russia to the war had been obscure, ever since August, 1939, when she signed the Non-Aggression Pact with Nazi Germany. That agreement made it appear that Russia had become an ally of the aggressor nations. Up to the moment of the attack, it was, I think, generally believed that war would not come between Germany and Russia. It seemed more probable that Russia would yield to German pressure, to an extent sufficient to afford Germany some accommodation, and at the same time enable Russia, for a still longer period, to remain out of the war altogether.

The fact that Hitler attacked Russia when he did, and as he did, may yet turn out to be the most important event of the whole war. To form an estimate of the significance of its consequences for other peoples and countries, we need only ask ourselves what the situation would be today had Hitler turned the might of Nazi Germany's power elsewhere than upon

D 41840

the Soviet Union! I will not ask what the present situation might have been if the power which Russia has so magnificently exhibited in resisting Germany had, instead, been joined with German power in attack upon Britain and British interests throughout the world. We must indeed be profoundly grateful to the Providence which has spared the British Commonwealth such an ordeal. But, we should, I think, also look beneath the surface of Russian resistance into the heart of the Russian peasant. From him we may learn that nothing is quite so precious as the freedom of one's own homeland. In the Russian resistance and all that it signifies, we find the surest ground for belief in the ultimate triumph of the forces of freedom.

I am not in a position to answer the questions: Why did Hitler attack Russia, when and as he did? I am prepared, however, to suggest three reasons. Each in itself might be a sufficient answer. All three, taken in combination, afford, I believe, the true answer.

Hitler attacked Russia, first of all, for tthe same reason that he invaded other neutral countries of Europe, as a stage in Germany's march toward world conquest. The conquest of Russia would, he knew, bring the whole of Europe under his control.

D 41841

Secondly, Hitler believed it would prove in the end to be the quickest and surest way to gain his larger objective of destroying the British Empire. In the face of British resistance and American aid to the democratic powers, he had come to see that the conflict would be much longer and harder than he had anticipated. He recognised that fresh sources of supply were an essential means to any decisive victory. He feared without them the war might end only with the exhaustion of the civil populations and the armed forces of both sides alike.

A third reason - which I am sure was as powerful as either of the others - was that Hitler himself mistrusted Russia. He had every reason to believe that Russia could never be really friendly to a Hitlerite Germany. He no doubt expected that Russia, following tactics similar to his own, and those employed by his Italian partner, would continue to wait, while he pressed his campaign elsewhere, watching for the hour at which Nazi Germany might become most vulnerable. In the hour of decisive conflict with the democracies, Hitler did not wish to risk an attack from behind. His fear was the long-standing German fear of a war on two fronts. Hitler's success in exploiting hostility to

D 41842

Russian communism in his own rise to power, and as the key to his close association with Italy and Japan, forced him to recognize that, whatever the advantage to Nazi Germany and the convenience to Russia of the Nazi-Soviet pact, at the time it was made, there could be no enduring good-will between forces so traditionally hostile and so diametrically opposed. He had every reason to expect that, before the end, the conflict would return to the place where he himself began it. He probably never doubted that at some stage the issue would be fought out between the Russian proletariat and the war lords of Germany.

It is clear that Hitler miscalculated the probable duration of the Russian campaign and the military strength and skill, as well as the patriotism, of the Russian people. He mistook, also, the effect of years of Nazi and Fascist propaganda. He may have expected a revolt behind the Russian lines; he met instead a united people prepared for any sacrifice. There is no doubt that the solidarity of opinion in Great Britain, in the Dominions, in the United States, and in fact throughout all free lands, which followed the Nazi attack upon Russia, was as much a surprise as it was a disappointment to Hitler and his accomplices.

D 41843

It was on June 22nd - a Sunday morning - that Hitler launched his attack. Seldom has a situation arisen where there was more need for an immediate interpretation of its significance and implications. The remarkable fact is that, without prior consultation, the same interpretation was given, in almost identical terms, in all parts of the British Commonwealth and in the United States; and that, regardless of considerations of race or religion, the view expressed was much the same. It was immediately recognized that Nazi Germany had again broken the peace, and again broken her own pledged word. Germany was plainly and clearly the aggressor. It was recognized that the Nazi attack on Soviet Russia was not a crusade against any Red menace but a new phase of the Nazi attack on all the democracies.

This interpretation was the one set forth in the statement I issued, in the name of our government, on the afternoon of the day on which Russia was attacked. I stressed the fact that Germany, and not Russia, was the threat to freedom and peace; that every force fighting Hitler was fighting, whether consciously or unconsciously, for the preservation of Christian civilization; that every power which engaged our enemy advanced our cause. I pointed out

D 41844

that the German attack removed all shadow of doubt concerning Hitler's purpose; that it constituted a fresh call to arms throughout the British Commonwealth. I pointed out that Hitler's agreement with Russia had been broken with the same perfidious cynicism with which it had been sealed; that its making and its breaking had but one object - to eliminate danger in the East in order that there might be a concentration of force against Britain and the West. I emphasized that, therefore, it was not a time to debate differences of view or to relax effort, but rather a time for strengthened unity of opinion, and for still greater effort. That view has been everywhere accepted throughout our country. How true it has proved to be that every day Russian resistance has held up the German advance has been a day contributed to the cause of freedom, and the growing power of the British Commonwealth and the United States!

I shall not attempt to outline the Russian campaign or to predict its outcome. For over four months hostilities have continued on a long front stretching from the Arctic shore to the Crimea on the Black Sea. There, notwithstanding the might of the German onslaught, a front still remains. The front line of defence runs through the rivers and plains of Russia. Fighting has been concentrated in three main sectors. In the north around Leningrad, which at the moment is in a virtual stage of siege; in the centre toward Moscow,

D 41845

in which area there has been continuous heavy fighting with enormous casualties in both men and materials; and in the south where strong German forces have already penetrated a long distance into the Ukraine. Here Germany has already captured many of the key centres beyond the Dnieper River where much of the Russian heavy industry is concentrated. After a stout defence of many weeks the Black Sea port of Odessa has been evacuated. German hostilities have been extended into the Crimea. The most serious strategic threat to successful Russian resistance is in this southern sector. The way appears to be opening for further penetration southwesterly into the Caucasus: one of the few areas in which Russia and Britain have direct communications by land and sea.

Russia, the largest European nation, is fighting every inch of the way. Never in human history has battle, reckoned in machines and men together, been waged on such a scale. Never have casualties been heavier. Only rarely, I believe, has the spontaneous sympathy of people throughout the world been so aroused.

It is not surprising that in so flagrant a case of aggression promises of support for Russia should have been forthcoming without delay. Britain, ~~hard~~ hard pressed though

D 41846

she is, took immediate steps to furnish military and economic aid. The government of the United States pledged all practical economic assistance. As an outcome of the Atlantic Conference between President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, the governments of Britain and the United States undertook to send a joint mission to Russia to plan and organise the largest possible measure of assistance. In their recent conferences, the mission speedily reached agreement with the Russian government under which assistance in growing volume is already being provided.

The Canadian Assistance to Russia

The Canadian government kept in close touch with the activities of the Beaverbrook-Harriman mission both before and during its visit to Moscow. In consequence the members of the mission were in a position to count upon tangible support from Canada in the fulfillment of the undertakings given to the Soviet government. It is not possible for me at this time to give details of the character or the extent of Canadian aid to Russia or of the precise arrangements being made with the governments of the United Kingdom and the United States with whom Canada is co-operating in sending the aid. In a general way the programme of aid includes war supplies, food, medical supplies and transport equipment.

D 41847

The Middle East

The Russian campaign was preceded, as honourable members will recall, by the sweep of the Nazi forces through the Balkan States and by the invasion and conquest of Greece. In a general way, on either side of the Mediterranean, at Gibraltar, along the North African coast, through Egypt, and to the Suez, the relative positions of the opposing forces have remained, throughout the summer months and since, much what they were at the time of the conquest of Greece. There has been continuous fighting on and over the waters of the Mediterranean, but all this, and much else, has been largely overshadowed by the immensity of the conflict in Russia.

A plane, flying from Gibraltar throughout the length of the Mediterranean, and pursuing its flight in an easterly direction to northern India, would fly in practically a straight line across Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan. These countries are all immediately to the south of either Turkey or Russia. Geography is in itself sufficient to disclose how important, for strategic reasons, their position is.

There are, however, economic as well as geographical considerations which make the political disposition of each of these countries a matter of first importance. In Iraq and

Iran lie the vast fields which supply much of the oil required by Britain for military as well as industrial purposes. For these countries to become hostile, or to pass into the hand of the enemy, might well prove a major disaster. When it is realized that the Ukraine and the Caucasus, because of their economic resources, are the possessions which above all Germany hopes to wrest from Russia, it will be seen how important to Russia and Britain alike is the retention of these areas in friendly hands.

As was to have been expected, there were evidences of enemy intrigue and penetration throughout Syria, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan, even before the Russian campaign commenced. Secret agents were at work in each of them, fostering discontent and making alliances calculated to serve German interests. To preserve order, and to prevent her own position from being undermined, the British Government has been obliged to take quick and decisive action in all these countries.

Trouble came first in Iraq. Open revolt was followed by the establishment of a rebel government friendly to the Axis. In accordance with their treaty rights British forces intervened and suppressed the revolt. The legitimate government was restored.

D 41849

It will be recalled that, during the campaign in May which ended in the crushing of the Axis-inspired revolt in Iraq, the Nazis were permitted to use the air-fields of the French mandates of Syria and Lebanon in order to facilitate the sending of aid to the Iraqi rebels. This Axis penetration of Syria constituted a grave threat to the whole Allied position in the eastern Mediterranean.

It was accordingly decided that a Nazi occupation of this vital strategic area must be forestalled. On June 8th, the British and Free French forces invaded the mandated territory. The same day, General Catroux, the leader of the Free French forces in the Middle East, proclaimed the independence of Syria and Lebanon. Although the Allied invasion was resisted by the French troops in Syria, the government at Vichy refrained from describing the hostilities as actual warfare. An open breach between Britain and France was thus averted. The Allied occupation was completed a month later and an armistice arranged, which was ratified by the government at Vichy on July 15th.

Since the Allied occupation of Syria and Lebanon, the most significant development in the Middle East has been the intervention by Britain and Soviet Russia in Iran. During August, both the British and Russian government

became increasingly apprehensive of the effects of a German "tourist" invasion of that country. Diplomatic action at the Iranian capital had no effect. Consequently on August 25th, British and Soviet forces entered Iran to protect the oil fields and safeguard communications. They met little resistance and after four days of desultory fighting, the Iranian forces were ordered by their government to cease all resistance. By September 10th, a settlement had been reached by which the government of Iran agreed to turn over the Axis nations in that country to the Allies, and to expel the enemy legations.

More recently, the government of Afghanistan has agreed, in response to Allied diplomatic representations, to expel the Axis nationals.

In all four countries, Britain has made it perfectly clear that in no way has she in view the expansion of her own Empire by the acquisition of additional territories. Assurances have been given that, at the close of war, the fullest measure of restoration of the sovereignties of these countries will be made.

The strategic importance of safeguarding communications between the British and Russian forces in the Middle East can hardly be over-estimated. Prompt action is being taken to improve transport facilities on the Iranian railways. In this vital task, Canada has undertaken to share.

15

D41851

The Far East

As with the countries bordering on the waters of the Mediterranean, so with the Asiatic countries bordering on the waters of the western Pacific, and with the Far East generally, the situation has remained, until quite recently, pretty much what it was before the beginning of the Russian campaign. The effect of the latter, however, has been greatly to intensify the tension which previously existed, and which arose from the political and military activities of Japan and her claims to the establishment of a "new order" in East Asia. The Japanese leaders have not disguised the fact that Japan was giving consideration to the further use of force to expand her influence in this area. At the same time, Japan has clearly been uneasy at the prospect of taking military initiative in the face of the firm attitude displayed by the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands Indies.

At the moment when Parliament adjourned, trade negotiations between Japan and the Netherlands Indies had broken down. A Japanese drive southwards seemed imminent. Before action came, the Nazis attacked Soviet Russia. There is no longer any doubt that the Nazi attack was a complete surprise to the Japanese Government and to the Japanese people. The Soviet-Japanese pact of non-aggression had been meant

by the Japanese to be the counterpart in Asia of the Nazi-Soviet pact in Europe. Both agreements were being made use of as evidence on the part of Germany and Japan of their desire to limit the arena of hostilities. By Germany and Japan alike, they were doubtless intended to secure the neutrality of Russia in a way which would free their own hands in any action which might be taken by either or both of them, against the anti-Axis powers. Germany's perfidious act seemed to require, if the Axis front was to be maintained, a similar volte face on the part of Japan. This necessary change of front found its expression, not immediately, but by the middle of July, in a change of government in Japan. Mr. Matsuoka, who, as Foreign Minister of Japan, had negotiated the Japanese-Soviet pact, was not included in the new government. His exclusion was interpreted generally as a sign that the neutrality pact with Russia would, sooner or later, be repudiated. Since that moment serious consideration has been given the possibility of a northward attack on Siberia.

Until Germany's invasion of Russia, Japan's objective appeared to be the expansion , by force, of her "co-prosperity sphere" towards the south.

The first and, indeed, the only actual expansion of Japanese military activity, since the adjournment, has

been into French Indo-China. Late in July, the Japanese government extended the penetration of that colony, which began in the autumn of 1940. This penetration was facilitated by the attitude of Vichy, under German duress. The result is a virtual Japanese military occupation of Indo-China, and Japanese possession of its important naval bases. There were signs that Japan intended to continue her military advance into Thailand, and that she was restrained only by the formidable economic measures taken by the United States, Britain, Canada, the other nations of the Commonwealth, and the Netherlands Indies. The promptness and firmness of the steps taken by the democratic powers were clearly a rude shock to Japan.

On July 25th, Mr. Eden announced in the British House of Commons that defensive measures had been taken in Malaya. Late that evening, President Roosevelt issued an order "freezing" all Japanese assets in the United States. Parallel action was taken by the United Kingdom and by this country on July 26th, and the commercial treaties between Japan and Britain, and Japan and Canada, were denounced.

On July 28th, the Netherlands East Indies cut off Japan's oil supply from those islands. Two days later, Mr. Eden warned Japan to "reflect", while there was still time,

D 41854

on the effect of her foreign policy. At the same time, Britain excluded Japanese shipping from her coaling stations throughout the Empire and from the inter-Empire carrying trade. On August 1st, President Roosevelt ordered an embargo on the shipment of aviation gasoline and oils to points outside the western hemisphere, the British Empire, and unoccupied territories of nations resisting aggression. The result of these measures has been a virtual cessation of Japanese sea borne commerce.

Despite frequent statements that Japan must defend her economy by proceeding with the establishment of her Asiatic "co-prosperity sphere", tension in the Far East relaxed in August and September. The anniversary, September 27th, of Japan's adherence to the Axis, passed quietly. The celebrations in Tokyo were subdued in character.

Towards the middle of October, tension once more began to increase rapidly in the Far East. The growing tension was again reflected in a change of government in Japan, and the formation of a new Cabinet headed by General Tojo. The new Ministry represents the strongly anti-Russian tendencies among extreme militarists. General Tojo himself, while holding political office, remains on active service. He is Minister of War, and has also under his direction the Home

D 41855

Ministry which controls the extensive Police services. It would appear that, for the present at least, political power in the Cabinet, has passed more firmly into the hands of extreme militarists than has been the case at any time in recent years.

It will be seen that the developments of the past four months have now brought matters to a point where a very definite conflict of interest has developed between Japan, as the Axis partner of Germany and Italy on the one side, and the United States, Britain and Russia on the other. The critical character of the Far Eastern situation, occasioned by the aggressive designs of Japan, was clearly indicated by Mr. Churchill in his broadcast to the world on August 24th. After referring to the Japanese war on China, the British Prime Minister said:

"Now they stretch their grasping hand into the southern seas of China. They snatch Indo-China from the wretched Vichy French. They menace by their movements Siam. They menace Singapore, the British link with Australasia, and they menace the Philippine Islands under the protection of the United States. It is certain that this has got to stop.

"Every effort will be made to secure a peaceful settlement.

D 41856

"The United States are labouring with infinite patience to arrive at a fair and amicable settlement which will give Japan the utmost reassurance for her legitimate interests.

"We earnestly hope that these negotiations will succeed. But this I must say, that if these hopes should fail, we shall, of course, range ourselves unhesitatingly at the side of the United States."

The Japanese occupation of Indo-China has created two menacing threats: The first, a possible encirclement of Southern China, through the occupation of Thailand and an attempt to cut the Burma road; the second, an attack on the Netherlands East Indies from the bases in Southern Indo-China. Whether aggression, if it takes the form of open conflict, will be directed toward the North against Russia, or in a southerly direction toward Thailand and the Dutch East Indies, or in both directions simultaneously, cannot at the moment be foretold. It is important, however, that both eventualities should be kept in mind.

<u>China</u>

No reference to the situation in the Orient would be complete unless it recalled the fact that China is now in her fifth year of unbroken war against aggression. If any nation ever fought against an evil which it had done nothing

D 41857

to deserve, that nation is China. The sufferings of her patient people are as great as any ever visited upon any country. The uncomplaining courage of the Chinese has not been surpassed in the annals of human resistance. Like the Russian peasants and workers, who within the last few months, have been so mercilessly slaughtered, the Chinese continue to die, in staggering numbers, in defence of their humble habitations, and the good earth which, for countless generations, has given to the ancestors they revere, and to themselves, their scanty sustenance.

China's Ambassador in London, speaking recently to the people of Great Britain, used words which go far to make clear the spiritual foundations as well as the underlying unity of the cause of the democracies. China's resistance, said Dr. Wellington Koo, "is sustained by her faith in the ultimate triumph of good over evil. In the Chinese view, violence and aggression are a curse to humanity, and contrary to the will of Providence as manifested in the gospel of live, good-will and friendliness, which should rule amongst nations as amongst individuals. The Japanese invasion if a great wrong, and China's defence is a righteous cause which cannot fail to prevail in the end. And the more energetically this cause is defended the sooner will it be able to vindicate law and order, liberty and justice, peace and security".

D 41858

THE UNITED STATES

The survey I have given of warfare, actual and potential, as it has spread in the course of two years throughout Europe, Asia and Africa, should be sufficient to disclose its menace to every other portion of the globe. It is not surprising, therefore, that the world-encircling danger, which already has engulfed the eastern hemisphere, should have increasingly aroused the peoples of North and South America to an awareness of the encompassing threat to the security of the western hemisphere.

The sweep of the Nazi hordes to the waters of the Mediterranean; the German penetration of North Africa; the prostrate condition of the once free nations of Europe, emphasized today by horrors and atrocities too ghastly to recount; the present struggle of titanic forces in Russia; the continuous siege of Britain by sea and air; the unconcealed Nazi designs to obtain bases which would bridge the Atlantic in the North via Iceland, Greenland and Newfoundland, and on the South, from the North Western coast of Africa to the most Eastern coast of South America via the Cape Verde Islands and the Azores; the combined menace of Germany and Japan to the whole vast regions of Asia; the menacing movements of Japanese fleets and armies along the

D 41859

whole western Pacific shores from Thailand and Malaya to the waters that divide Siberia from Alaska; the threats to Singapore and the Philippines, to the Netherlands Indies and Australasia; - all these developments, and much else, have combined to destroy the myth of American isolation.

The ever-increasing dangers have brou ht opinion in the United States to the point where even a nominal maintenance of official neutrality has long since ceased to be a part of national policy. The idea of neutrality implies two nations at war and a third in friendship with both. Officially, such a position seemed possible in the fall of 1939. Even to appearances, it has long since ceased to be countenanced. Instead, the whole trend of American opinion and official decision has been to regard neutrality as a mask and to throw it off altogether.

The aggressor nations, by their acts, have brought down upon their own heads the wrath of the United States. The methods by which Nazi Germany has invaded the several countries of Europe; has manifested her intention to dominate on sea, as well as on land; and has, in collaboration with Italy and Japan, demonstrated her ambitions of world conquest - all of these, in corresponding sequence, have provoked the United States to increasingly vigorous protests and acts of self defense.

D 41860

It will be recalled that on May 27th, the President of the United States proclaimed a state of unlimited emergency. On June 14th, the day on which our Parliament adjourned, German and Italian assets in the United States were "frozen." Two days later, the German Consulates were ordered to close, and shortly afterwards the Italian Consulates were closed. Three days following Hitler's attack upon Russia, United States assistance, which previously had gone mainly to Britain and China, was offered also to Russia. On July 7th, to forestall German attack, United States armed forces were stationed in Iceland. Two days following July 23rd, on which date Japan again intervened in Indo-China, Japanese assets in the United States were "frozen," and, within a week, an embargo was placed by the United States on the export of aviation gasoline.

In August came the historic meeting at sea between President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. In the middle of August, the President joined Mr. Churchill in proposing a three-power conference with Russia. Three days later, the American ferry service for combat planes to the Middle East was announced. On September 4th, the United States destroyer "Greer" was attacked by a submarine. The day following, the President ordered the United States fleet to "eliminate" the submarine if possible. By the middle of the month, further

American

D 41861

ships having meanwhile been sunk, a "shoot first" order went into effect. About the same time, it was disclosed that convoys had been included in the defence pattern of the United States. In mid-September, the President asked Congress to make a second huge appropriation for the Lend-Lease programme. A Bill was signed by the President on Tuesday last, thereby bringing to a total of nearly thirteen billions of dollars the amount voted for lend-lease purposes.

At the end of September, the joint meeting of Britain, the United States and Russia was held in Moscow, and agreement reached on joint United States-United Kingdom assistance to Russia.

On the 9th of October, the President asked Congress to permit the arming of American merchant vessels. The House of Representatives has already voted to amend that part of the Neutrality Act which previously prevented such a course.

The removal of the ban on sending American vessels into belligerent parts, or so-called combat zones, has become another immediate object of American policy.

These facts, in their cumulative effect, serve to show how rapidly the mirage of isolation has been disappearing, and how completely the appreciation of the interdependence of free peoples has grown in the minds of all but a small minority.

D 41862

The position of the United States in the matter of neutrality could not have been more clearly set forth than it was in the formal statement presented by Mr. Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives at Washington on October the 13th. The following were Mr. Knox's words:

> "As a matter of simple truth and realism, from the outset of this war, or at least from the time when we began to thoroughly understand what the war was all about, we have never been neutral. ..... We have been entirely unneutral, vigorously and actively supporting one side and contributing in many ways to the defeat of the other side. ..... We neither think nor act neutral in the present war. It is only honest to make our laws consistent with our actions."

The American official view as to what the war is all about was set forth with equal frankness by Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, who said:

> "The blunt truth is that the world is steadily being dragged downward and backward by the mightiest movement of conquest ever attempted in all history."

D 41863

The significance of Britain and the British fleet to the security of the United States was stressed by Mr. Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State for War, in the following unequivocal words:

> "The chief hope of defeating Hitler is by preserving the safety of the British Isles, and the existence of the British fleet. This fleet for many years has been engaged in protecting the freedom of the seas upon which our own safety and welfare also depend."

No statements describing the position of the United States could, however, be more graphic or emphatic than those which the President himself has used in his recent public utterances. In his message to Congress on the revision of the United States neutrality law, delivered on October 9th, the President said:

> "We know now that Hitler recognizes no limitation of any zone of combat in any part of the seven seas. He has struck at our ships and at the lives of our sailors within the waters of the western hemisphere. Determined as he is to gain domination of the entire world, he considers the entire world his own battlefield." .....

D 41864

"We will not let Hitler prescribe the waters of the world on which our ships may travel. The American flag is not going to be driven from the seas either by his submarines, his airplanes, or his threats." .....

"We intend to maintain the policy of protecting the freedom of the seas against domination by any foreign power which has become crazed with a desire to control the world. We shall do so with all our strength and all our heart and all our mind."

A further statement of United States policy and its practical enforcement was set forth in no uncertain terms in the President's Navy Day address to the American people, delivered as recently as October the 27th:

"Very simply and very bluntly", said the President, "we are pledged to pull our own oar in the destruction of Hitlerism."

Remarking that it was the nation's will that America should deliver vital arms and supplies, and that, in open defiance of that will, American ships had been sunk and American sailors killed, Mr. Roosevelt added: "We do not propose to take this lying down."

D 41865

"Our American merchant ships," said the President, "must be armed to defend themselves against the rattlesnakes of the sea. Our American merchant ships must be free to carry our American goods into the harbours of our friends. Our merchant ships must be protected by our American navy."

"The Navy," the President said, "has orders to shoot and the order stands." "Shooting has started," were the words with which the President began this address. He concluded by saying: "Today, in the face of this newest and greatest challenge, we Americans have cleared our decks and taken our battle stations."

These words may be taken as describing, as effectively as words can, the present position of the United States.

D 41866

Conclusion

I have, from the very beginning of the war, in Parliament and out of Parliament, stressed two things above all others: first, the world aspect of the danger; and second, the moral character of the issue.

I have consistently maintained that world domination was Germany's aim; that she hoped to achieve that aim through the might of her own power, and the ambitions of her Axis partners. I have maintained with equal consistency that the issue fundamentally was a moral one, and that the conflict was one between a pagan conception of a world order, which ignores the individual and the value of all contractual relations, and a Christian conception of a world order which has regard alike for the sacredness of human personality and of the pledged word in all the relationships of life. In other words, the conflict is one between a society which bases its relationship on the doctrine of Right, and a society in which human relationships are based on the doctrine of Might; it is a struggle which will decide whether mankind is to become increasingly free or revert to a condition of existence which is worse than slavery.

It has taken the past two years for most countries to come to see the all-encompassing aspect of the conflict. ~~Most of the material~~

D 41867

Most of the neutral nations of Europe did not begin to see it until their own freedom was gone. Other parts of the world have come to fear it only as encroaching dangers have drawn near to their own shores. What all have still to learn is that today no nation is sufficient unto itself, no continent and no hemisphere great enough, in its own strength, to maintain its own freedom. A recognition of interdependence and combined action based thereon is as necessary, indeed, it is infinitely more necessary to the democracies of the world, if they are to maintain their freedom, than it is to the Axis powers in the furtherance of their acts of aggression.

Of all developments in the growing substance of co-operation among nations, the most heartening has been the deepening interdependence of the British Commonwealth and the United States. That interdependence found noble expression in the join declaration of August last which was made public after the historic meeting at sea between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt. The conference in itself was evidence of the control of the seas which the combined fleets of Britain and the United States continue to possess. The joint declaration is an authoritative statement by the two great Powers represented at the Atlantic conference of principles in international relations which they are agreed should govern the post-war world.

D 41868

At a meeting in London on September 24th, formal adherence to these principles was given on behalf of the Allied powers and governments in exile.

The question it seems to me is no longer one mainly of assisting Russia, or assisting China, or assisting Britain, to save those countries from the might of the aggressor, necessary as this may be. Nor is it a question of helping to restore freedom to countries which have lost their freedom, essential as this also is. Nor is it a matter primarily of defending ourselves from attack or of what shall be the precise scope of the post-war order. It has now reached the point of being a matter of saving freedom itself, and of saving the world from a condition of universal anarchy and chaos.

I have said that it has taken the past two years for most of the countries to come to see the all encompassing aspect of the conflict. I doubt if any country has, as yet, come to see the undermining character of Nazi doctrine and practice, or how completely subversive it is of Christian belief and humanitarian ideals, and how ruthlessly it seeks to destroy the precepts and standards of conduct based thereon. It is a menace alike to men's minds and souls, for it seeks to enslave both. It aims to destroy all true religion. It would substitute a materialistic interpretation of life for a

D 41869

spiritual one, brutality for charity, despair for faith, the worship of Hitler for the worship of God. All this, as well as the conquest of their lands, it seeks to impose by force upon the peoples whom it robs of their freedom. One has only to look at what the new order of Nazi Germany is, and how it has been carried out in Germany itself, to see how it would be imposed by Nazi tyrants upon their subject peoples. Even now, it demands one hundred innocent lives for the life of a single Nazi.

Whether we speak in terms of nations or of individuals, we can no longer think of freedom as related solely to the bodies or the possessions of men. The only freedom worthy of the name is freedom of the mind and of the soul. We can no longer afford to think of our own freedom and the freedom of others as two things which may be considered apart from one another. We are all members one of another. The freedom of all is bound up in the lives of all. The issue is indeed a moral one, and it is a moral issue of the profoundest concern, not only to every nation, but to every individual as well. The cause is indeed the highest which it has ever been given to man to defend.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
68		Tribute to N.M. Rogers, Kingston. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Oct. 1941	D 41293 - D 41453	
68		Reply to a Toast to the Dominion of Canada, Kingston, Civic Banquet. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Oct. 1941	D 41454 - D 41518	
68		Controlling the Cost of Living Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament.	18 Oct. 1941	D 41519 - D 41627	
68		Reviewing International Situation Since Adjournment. Speeches in Parliament	3 Nov. 1941	D 41628 - D 41869	
68		100th Anniversary of the Birth of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, St. Lin, P.Q. Speeches outside Parliament	20 Nov. 1941	D 41870 - D 41911	
68		Sir Wilfrid Laurier Centennial Commemoration, McGill University. Speeches Outside Parliament	20 Nov. 1941	D 41912 - D 41953	
68		Ottawa, Canadian Women's Press Club. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Oct. 1941	D 41954 - D 41959	
68		Remembrance Day Speech. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Nov. 1941	D 41960 - D 41962	

D 41870

Address by the Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King

on the occasion of the Unveiling of the Tablet Commemorative of the birthplace of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, on the One Hundredth Anniversary of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's birth, Saint Lin, P.Q., November 20, 1941,
and at the Official Opening, since its restoration, of the house in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier was born.

We are assembled to honour the memory of Sir Wilfrid Laurier upon the one hundredth anniversary of his birth. As well befits the occasion, today's ceremony assumes the character of a pilgrimage to Saint Lin, and to the house in which Sir Wilfrid was born.

In the year of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, now fourteen years ago, at the time of the unveiling of the statue of Sir Wilfrid Laurier on Parliament Hill, a cairn was erected in the village, with a tablet commemorating Saint Lin as the place of Sir Wilfrid's birth. It was felt, however, that something more by way of commemoration of the place of his birth was obviously desirable. In recognition of national feeling, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, ~~about the time~~ shortly before of the visit to Canada of King George and Queen Elizabeth, declared the birthplace of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to be a site of national importance, and recommended its acquisition by the government. The property, together with the house, was accordingly purchased. The house itself has since been faithfully restored, and the grounds suitably landscaped and fenced. On this centennial anniversary, the house, as restored, is being formally opened, and officially dedicated as a historic possession of the nation.

D 41871

When the house was restored, the cairn in the village was removed. In its stead, a boulder was erected on the grounds, surmounted by a bronze tablet. This tablet it is now my honour to unveil. It bears the following inscription in both French and English:

SIR WILFRID LAURIER
Prime Minister of Canada 1896-1911.
Born at Saint Lin, 20th November, 1841.
Died in Ottawa, 17th February, 1919.

I have also the honour to declare this house in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier was born, an historic possession of the nation, and, on this day, the 100th anniversary of his birth, formally opened.

This house, from whose windows the childhood eyes of Sir Wilfrid Laurier first looked out upon the world, will become indeed a hallowed home throughout the length and breadth of Canada for generations to come. It will be a shrine for those who honour the great and the good. It is a typical French-Canadian home of a century ago. Its surroundings are typical of many a French-Canadian village, nestling quietly as do so many communities of the old Province of Quebec, at the side of the Laurentian hills. It is interesting to recall that in 1836, when the village of St. Lin was incorporated, Sir Wilfrid Laurier's father was its first mayor.

This house was the home of Sir Wilfrid's parents, whose forbears for generations had helped to lay the foundations of settlement and government in Canada. I doubt if to any of

D 41872

them, in their strenuous lives, ever came the thought that the birthplace of one of their descendants would be preserved by a grateful country, in memory of the little lad who, one hundred years ago this very day, was born under its sheltering roof.

It is a common fancy of poets to picture the fairies which surround the cradle of an infant at the time of its birth, and leave the spell of their influence upon its life. Knowing as we do that it is the early years of childhood which are the most formative of character, may we too not indulge the fancy that the very soil where his fathers had dwelt would become sacred and dear to the youth of Laurier; that he would derive from its long tenure, a love for his native land, a reverence for its customs and traditions, and, above all, a passionate desire to preserve its unity and its heritage of freedom. While time does not allow us to dwell on his early days, we must regard as important that, having first been instructed in his native tongue, to assist his education, he lived for some time with a Scottish family where the English language was taught, and its literature read and revered. From that time on, the vision of young Laurier was the creation of an English-French union of mind, of heart and of soul, which should make of English and French Canada a great people, united as one.

The influences that were dominant throughout his life were much in my mind as I left the house in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier died, to join with others in the pilgrimage to this place of his

D 41873

birth. As I thought, as many will be thinking today, of the rich endowment of Sir Wilfrid's nature, of the charm of his personality, of his powers of statesmanship, there came back to my mind, more vividly than all else, some of the talks, which I enjoyed with him in the closing years of his life, in the quiet of Laurier House. It would take too long to tell of these talks except to mention that most of them had to do with formative influences of his early life, of his parents and ancestors, of the delights of childhood days, of Saint Lin where he was born, of New Glasgow where he first gained his knowledge of English, of L'Assomption and the other colleges at which his education was received, of his ventures into journalism and law, of his marriage to Lady Laurier, of the happiness and associations of their home at Arthabaska, of his entry into the arena of politics, and much that occurred thereafter.

The memories I cherish most are those in which he spoke, not of his political triumphs in Canada, not of the acclaim accorded him on the occasion of his visits to the heart of the Empire in London, nor of the many years of leadership of his party, nor of his long unbroken tenure of office as Prime Minister of Canada, but of the great respect he had for men and women who, in their day to day labours, were seeking neither recognition nor reward. Cherishing as they do, the homely virtues and possessed of pioneering fortitude, he regarded them as the very salt of the earth. To him, they were the real builders of the nation. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's heart was ever with the people. He loved the humble folk. He sympathized with their lot. He

D 41874

had faith in their sense of right and justice. In public life, he found his highest pleasure in seeking to better their condition. To him, a people's trust was the highest of all honours; its betrayal, the greatest of all political wrongs. It was his proud boast that, throughout the whole of his public career, he had neber harmed any man's reputation; that he had never sought to destroy, but always to build; that he had done his best to avoid strife and hate; that, so far as lay within his power, he had sought to have the people live in peace and harmony; that, above all else, he had striven for Canadian unity.

The secret of the extraordinary affection and devotion Laurier inspired is not far to seek. His kindliness, his consideration for others, his broad tolerance were ever present. To him, patriotism was a passion, an all-consuming fire - patriotism and love, not only for French-speaking Canada, but for the whole of Canada, every acre of Canada, east and west.

Never did he falter from his lifelong goal to bring greater harmony, concord and good-will among the two great races in this country, to bind them as one in the mutual task of building a happy and prosperous nation. That ideal can best be expressed in his own words. No words of others could do him equal justice:

"I do not know whether my political career "shall be short or long. I cherish the hope that I

Dunsbury
Mount-Royal

D 41875

"shall have lived that, when laid in my grave, every Canadian,
"be he friend or foe, English-speaking or French-speaking,
"Protestant or Catholic, will have this to say: Here rests a man
"who has given the best of his life, of his heart, of his soul
"to make us a united people." to his convictions +

The real greatness of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was that he was ever true to his principles and to the policies which he held to be essential to a united and a prosperous Canada.

Let it not be imagined that even in the years when he was at the zenith of his power, he ever mistook the nature of political strife, or had any illusion as to what, sooner or later, it might mean to him, as it had meant to others, to hold fast and to remain true. To a friend who, an another birthday anniversary - his sixtieth - had congratulated him on his attainments and his achievements, Sir Wilfrid wrote:

"What will remain of the work I am trying
"to accomplish; will it stand long, will it stand
"even longer than I will; these are some of the thoughts
"that come back to my mind incessantly.
"It seems to me certain that if God will give
"me a few more years, I will have to face fights filled
"with acrimony, violence and danger. Then, may be, I
"will regret to have lived too long. Whatever happens,
"if it pleases God to give me health, I will stand, and
"whether victor or vanquished, I will keep, I am sure,
"the respect of those who, like you, have honoured me by
"their attachment and affection."

When the hour of trial and testing came, Laurier did stand; and for standing as he did in his last great effort to preserve national unity in Canada, he has retained the respect not only of those who had honoured him by their attachment and affection, as he was sure he would, but, for all time, the

D 41876

admiration and respect of the entire nation.

Here, at the moment of unveiling the tablet which so appropriately commemorates the place and date of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's birth, I should like on this the one hundredth anniversary of his birth, to repeat the words I used some time after his death, on the occasion of the unveiling of his monument on Parliament Hill. They give, I believe, in its truest perspective, the place Sir Wilfrid Laurier will ever hold in our national life:

> "To me there is something deeply impressive "in this bronze figure standing where it is. I have "watched little children play about its base. How Sir "Wilfrid would have loved that!. I have seen men and "women of all walks of life come in the quiet of "evening to pay it reverence. Today, it is given unto "Princes to do it honour. There is something, however, "even more impressive than all this. It is what is left "when "the captains and the kings depart." It is what "future generations will see, when we who knew him "shall have passed away, and others gather where we "today are assembled. It is the old man, with his "bare head and his white hair, standing alone, fighting "for the right as God gave him to see the right."

D 41877

Address by the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

on the occasion of the Unveiling of the Tablet Commemorative of the birthplace of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, on the One Hundredth Anniversary of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's birth, Saint Lin, P.Q., November 20, 1941
and at the Official Opening, since its restoration, of the house in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier was born.

We are assembled to honour the memory of Sir Wilfrid Laurier upon the one hundredth anniversary of his birth. As well befits the occasion, today's ceremony assumes the character of a pilgrimage to Saint Lin, and to the house in which Sir Wilfrid was born.

In the year of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, now fourteen years ago, at the time of the unveiling of the statue of Sir Wilfrid Laurier on Parliament Hill, a cairn was erected in the village, with a tablet commemorating Saint Lin as the place of Sir Wilfrid's birth. It was felt, however, that something more by way of commemoration of the place of his birth was obviously desirable. In recognition of national feeling, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, shortly before the visit to Canada of King George and Queen Elizabeth, declared the birthplace of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to be a site of national importance, and recommended its acquisition by the government. The property, together with the house, was accordingly purchased. The house itself has since been faithfully restored, and the grounds suitably landscaped and fenced. On this centennial

D41878

anniversary, the house, as restored, is being formally opened, and officially dedicated as a historic possession of the nation.

When the house was restored, the cairn in the village was removed. In its stead, a boulder was erected on the grounds, surmounted by a bronze tablet. This tablet it is now my honour to unveil. It bears the following inscription in both French and English:

SIR WILFRID LAURIER
Prime Minister of Canada 1896-1911.
Born at Saint Lin, 20th November, 1841.
Died in Ottawa, 17th February, 1919.

I have also the honour to declare this house in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier was born, an historic possession of the nation, and, on this day, the 100th anniversary of his birth, formally opened.

This house, from whose windows the childhood eyes of Sir Wilfrid Laurier first looked out upon the world, will become indeed a hallowed home throughout the length and breadth of Canada for generations to come. It will be a shrine for those who honour the great and the good. It is a typical French-Canadian home of a century ago. Its surroundings are typical of many a French-Canadian village, nestling quietly as do so many communities of the old Province of Quebec, at the side of the Laurentian hills. It is interesting to recall that in 1836, when the village of Saint Lin was

D 41879

incorporated, Sir Wilfrid Laurier's father was its first mayor.

This house was the home of Sir Wilfrid's parents, whose forbears for generations had helped to lay the foundations of settlement and government in Canada. I doubt if to any of them, in their strenuous lives, ever came the thought that the birthplace of one of their descendants would be preserved by a grateful country, in memory of the little lad who, one hundred years ago this very day, was born under its sheltering roof.

It is a common fancy of poets to picture the fairies which surround the cradle of an infant at the time of its birth, and leave the spell of their influence upon its life. Knowing as we do that it is the early years of childhood which are the most formative of character, may we too not indulge the fancy that the very soil where his fathers had dwelt would become sacred and dear to the youth of Laurier; that he would derive from its long tenure, a love for his native land, a reverence for its customs and traditions, and, above all, a passionate desire to preserve its unity and its heritage of freedom. While time does not allow us to dwell on his early days, we must regard as important that, having first been instructed in his native tongue, to assist his education, he lived for some time with a Scottish family

D 41880

where the English language was taught, and its literature read and revered. From that time on, the vision of young Laurier was the creation of an English-French union of mind, of heart and of soul, which should make of English and French Canada a great people, united as one.

The influences that were dominant throughout his life were much in my mind as I left the house in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier died, to join with others in the pilgrimage to this place of his birth. As I thought, as many will be thinking today, of the rich endowment of Sir Wilfrid's nature, of the charm of his personality, of his powers of statesmanship, there came back to my mind, more vividly than all else, some of the talks, which I enjoyed with him in the closing years of his life, in the quiet of Laurier House. It would take too long to tell of these talks except to mention that most of them had to do with formative influences of his early life, of his parents and ancestors, of the delights of childhood days, of Saint Lin where he was born, of New Glasgow where he first gained his knowledge of English, of L'Assomption and the other colleges at which his education was received, of his ventures into journalism and law, of his marriage to Lady Laurier, of the happiness and associations of their home in Arthabaska, of his entry into the arena of politics, and much that occured thereafter.

D41881

people's tr[illegible]

the greatest of all politic[illegible]

that, throughout the whole of his public [illegible] to

harmed any man's reputation; that he had never sought to

destroy, but always to build; that he had done his best to

avoid strife and hate; that, so far as lay within his power,

he had sought to have the people live in peace and harmony;

that, above all else, he had striven for Canadian unity.

The secret of the extraordinary affection and devotion

Laurier inspired is not far to seek. His kindliness, his

people's trust was the highest of all honours; its betrayal the greatest of all political wrongs. It was his proud boast that, throughout the whole of his public career, he had never harmed any man's reputation; that he had never sought to destroy, but always to build; that he had done his best to avoid strife and hate; that, so far as lay within his power, he had sought to have the people live in peace and harmony; that, above all else, he had striven for Canadian unity.

The secret of the extraordinary affection and devotion Laurier inspired is not far to seek. His kindliness, his

D 41882

consideration for others, his broad tolerance were ever present. To him, patriotism was a passion, an all-consuming fire - patriotism and love, not only for French-speaking Canada, but for the whole of Canada, every acre of Canada, east and west.

Never did he falter from his lifelong goal to bring greater harmony, concord and good-will among the two great races in this country, to bind them as one in the mutual task of building a happy and prosperous nation. That ideal can best be expressed in his own words. No words of others could do him equal justice:

> "I do not know whether my political career "shall be short or long. I cherish the hope that I "shall have so lived that, when laid in my own grave, "every Canadian, be he friend or foe, English-speaking "or French-speaking, Protestant or Catholic, will have "this to say: Here rests a man who has given the best "of his life, of his heart, of his soul to make us a "united people."

The real greatness of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was that he was ever true to his convictions and to the principles and policies which he held to be essential to a united and a prosperous Canada.

D 41883

Let it not be imagined that even in the years when he was at the zenith of his power, he ever mistook the nature of political strife, or had any illusion as to what, sooner or later, it might mean to him, as it had meant to others, to hold fast and to remain true. To a friend who, on another birthday anniversary - his sixtieth - had congratulated him on his attainments and his achievements, Sir Wilfrid wrote:

"What will remain of the work I am trying
"to accomplish; will it stand long, will it stand even
"longer than I will; these are some of the thoughts
"that come back to my mind incessantly.

"It seems to me certain that if God will
"give me a few more years, I will have to face fights
"filled with acrimony, violence and danger. Then, may
"be, I will regret to have lived too long. Whatever
"happens, if it pleases God to give me health, I will
"stand, and whether victor or vanquished, I will keep,
"I am sure, the respect of those who, like you, have
"honoured me by their attachment and affection."

When the hour of trial and testing came, Laurier did stand; and for standing as he did in his last great effort to preserve national unity in Canada, he has retained the respect not only of those who had honoured him by their attachment and affection, as he was sure he would, but, for all time, the admiration and respect of the entire nation.

D 41884

Here, at the moment of unveiling the tablet which so appropriately commemorates the place and date of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's birth, I should like, on this the one hundred anniversary of his birth, to repeat the words I used some time after his death, on the occasion of the unveiling of his monument on Parliament Hill. They give, I believe, in its truest perspective, the place Sir Wilfrid Laurier will ever hold in our national life:

"To me there is something deeply impressive
"in this bronze figure standing where it is. I have
"watched little children play about its base. How Sir
"Wilfrid would have loved that! I have seen men and
"women of all walks of life come in the quiet of evening
"to pay it reverence. Today, it is given unto Princes
"to do it honour. There is something, however, even
"more impressive than all this. It is what is left
"when "the captains and the kings depart". It is what
"future generations will see, when we who knew him
"shall have passed away, and others gather where we
"today are assembled. It is the old man, with his bare
"head and his white hair, standing alone, fighting for
"the right as God gave him to see the right."

D 41885

Address by the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

On the occasion of the Unveiling of the Tablet Commemorative of the birthplace of Sir Wilfrid Laurier on the One Hundredth Anniversary of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's birth, Saint Lin, P. Q., November 20, 1941, and at the Official Opening since its restoration of the house in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier was born.

We are assembled to honour the memory of Sir Wilfrid Laurier upon the one hundredth anniversary of his birth. As well befits the occasion, today's ceremony assumes the character of a pilgrimage to Saint Lin and to the house in which Sir Wilfrid was born.

In the year of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, now fourteen years ago, at the time of the unveiling of the statue of Sir Wilfrid Laurier on Parliament Hill, a cairn was erected in the village, with a tablet commemorating Saint Lin as the place of Sir Wilfrid's birth. It was felt, however, that more in the way of commemoration of the birthplace of Sir Wilfrid was desired by the country. In recognition of this general desire, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, in 1937, at the time of the visit of King George and Queen Elizabeth, to Canada, declared the birthplace of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to be a site of national importance, and recommended its acquisition by the government. The property, together with the house, was subsequently purchased. The house itself has been faithfully restored and the grounds suitably landscaped and fenced. It is a typical French-Canadian home of a century ago. On this

D 41886

centennial anniversary, the house, as restored, is being formally opened and officially dedicated as a historic possession of the nation.

When the house was restored, the cairn in the village was removed. In its stead, a boulder was erected on the grounds, surmounted by a bronze tablet. This tablet it is now my honour to unveil. It bears the following inscription in both French and English:

SIR WILFRID LAURIER
Prime Minister of Canada 1896-1911.
Born at Saint Lin, 20th November, 1841.
Died in Ottawa, 17th February, 1919.

I have also the honour to declare the house itself in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier was born officially opened --

D 41887

This house, from whose windows the childhood eyes of Sir Wilfrid Laurier first looked out upon the world, will become indeed a hallowed home throughout the length and breadth of Canada for generations to come. It will be a shrine for those who honour the great and good. It is, as I have said, a typical French-Canadian home of a century ago. It is a typical French-Canadian home and a typical French-Canadian village, nestling, as so many communities of the old Province of Quebec, at the side of the Laurentian hills.

This house was the reposeful home of Sir Wilfrid's parents, whose sturdy forbears for generations had helped to lay the foundations of settlement and government in Canada. I doubt if, to any one, ever came the thought that the birth-place of one of their descendants would be preserved by a grateful country, in memory of the little lad who, one hundred years ago this very day, was born under its protective roof.

It is a common fancy, of course, to picture the deities which surround the cradle of an infant at the time of its birth and leave the spell of their influence upon its life. It is the early years of childhood that are the most formative of character. May we, too, not indulge the fancy that the very soil where his forbears had dwelt would become sacred and dear to the youth of Laurier; that he

D 41888

would derive from the long tenure a love for his native land, a reverence for its customs and traditions, and, above all, abundant desire to preserve its unity and its heritage of freedom. While time does not allow us to dwell on the study of his early days, what we must regard as important is that, having been instructed in his native tongue, he was sent to an English-speaking home, where the English language was studied and its literature read and reviewd. From that time on, the vision of young La Laurier was the creation of an English-French union of mind, of heart and of soul, which should make of English and French Canada a great nation, united as one people.

The influences that were dominant throughout Sir Wilfrid's life were much in my mind as I left this morning the house in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier died to join with others in the pilgrimage to this place of his birth. As I thought, as many will be thinking today, of the rich endowment of Sir Wilfrid's nature, of the charm of his personality, of his powers of statesmanship, there came back to my mind more vividly than all else some of the talks, in the closing years of his life, which I enjoyed with him in the quiet of Laurier House. It would take too long to tell of these talks except to mention that most of them had to do with formative

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D 41889

influences of his early life, of his parents and ancestors, of the delights of childhood days, of Saint Lin where he was born, of L'Assomption and the other colleges at which his education was received. of his ventures into journalism and law, of his marriage to Lady Laurier and the happiness and associations of their home at Arthabaska, of his entry into the arena of politics and much that occurred thereafter.

The memories I cherish most are those in which he spoke not of his political triumphs in Canada, not of the acclaim accorded him on the occasion of his visits to the heart of the Empire in London, nor of the many years of leadership of his party, nor of his long umbroken tenure of office as Prime Minister of Canada, but of the great respect he had for men and women who, in their daily labours, were seeking neither recognition or reward, but were possessed of pioneering fortitude and cherishing the homely virtues he regarded as the very salt of the earth. To him, they were the real builders of the nation. His heart was with the people. He loved the humble folk. He had faith in their sense of right and justice. He sympathized with their lot. In public life, he found his highest pleasure in seeking to better their conditions. To hi, the greatest of all political crimes was to betray their trust. It was his proud boast that, throughout the whole of his public carrer,

D 41890

he had never sought to destroy, but always to build; that he had never harmed any man's reputation; that he had done his best to avoid strife and hate; that, so far as lay within his power, he had sought to have the people live in peace and harmony; that, above all else, he had striven for Canadian unity.

The secret of the extraordinary affection and devotion Laurier inspired is not far to seek. His kindliness, his consideration for others, his broad tolerance were ever present. To him, patriotism was a passion, an all-consuming fire - patriotism and love, not only for French-speaking Canada, but for the whole of Canada, every acre of Canada, east and west.

Never did he falter from his life-long goal to bring greater harmony, concord and good-will among the two great races in this country, to bind them as one in the mutual task of building a happy and prosperous nation. That ideal can best be expressed in his own words. No words of others could do him equal justice:

> "I do not know whether my political career shall be short or long. I cherish the hope that I shall have so lived that, when laid in my grave, every Canadian, be he friend or foe, English-speaking or French-speaking, Protestant or Catholic, will have this to say: Here rests a man who has given the best of his life, of his soul, of his heart to make us a united people."

D41891

The real greatness of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was that he never did betray the people's trust.

Let it not be imagined that even in the years that he was at the zenith of his power, he ever mistook the nature of political strife as to what, sooner or later, it was certain to mean to him as it had meant to others to hold fast and to remain true.

On another birthday anniversary - it was his sixtieth - he replied to a friend who had congratulated him on his attainments and his achievements:

> "What will remain of the work I am trying to accomplish; will it stand long, will it stand even longer than I will; these are some of the thoughts that come back to my mind incessantly.
>
> "It seems to me certain that if God will give me a few more years, I will have to face fights filled with acrimony, violence and danger. Then may be I will regret to have lived too long. Whatever happens, if it pleases God to give me health, I will stand, and whether victor or vanquished, I will keep, I am sure, the respect of those who, like you, have honoured me by their attachment and affection."

When the hour of trial and testing came, Laurier did stand, and by standing as he did in his last great effort to preserve national unity in Canada, he has retained, as he was sure he would, the respect of all who, at any time in his great career, had honoured him by their attachment and affection.

Here, at the moment of unveiling the tablet which so appropriately commemorates the place and date of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's birth, may I repeat the words I used

D 41892

on the occasion of the unveiling of Laurier's monument on Parliament Hill, which stands to commemorate the place he holds in our national life:

> "To me there is something deeply impressive in this bronze figure standing where it is. I have watched little children play about its base. How Sir Wilfrid would have loved that! I have seen men and women of all walks of life come in the quiet of evening to pay it reverence. Today, it is given unto Princes to do it honour. There is something, however, even more impressive than all this. It is what is left when "The captains and the kings depart". It is what future generations will see, when we who knew him shall have passed away, and others gather where we today are assembled. It is the old man, with his bare head and his white hair, standing alone, fighting for the right as God gave him to see the right."

Revised by Sec

D 41893

Second revise
Dictated by Prime Minister
November 18, 1941

We are assembled to honour the memory of Sir Wilfrid Laurier upon the one hundredth anniversary of his birth. As well befits the occasion, today's ceremony assumes the character of a pilgrimage to St. Lin, and to the house in which Sir Wilfrid was born.

The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada declared this to be a site of national importance and recommended its acquisition by the government, and the property, ~~together with the house~~, was purchased, ~~accordingly~~, in 1938. The ~~latter~~ house has been faithfully restored and the grounds landscaped and fenced. It is a typical French Canadian home of a century ago. Today the house is being formally opened and officially dedicated as a historic possession of the nation.

[Before this property was acquired by the government there had been erected] At the time of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, a cairn had been erected with a tablet commemorating St. Lin as the place of Sir Wilfrid's birth. When the house was restored this cairn was removed and in its stead there has been erected on the grounds a boulder, with a bronze tablet bearing the following inscription in both

D 41894

French and English:

Sir Wilfrid Laurier
Prime Minister of Canada
1896-1911
Born at St. Lin, 20th November, 1841
Died 17th February, 1919, at Ottawa.

This tablet ~~it is now my~~ I now have the honour to unveil, and, at the same time to ~~open officially~~ declare the house open to the public the house itself.

This house, from whose windows the childhood eyes of Sir Wilfrid Laurier first looked out upon the world, will become ~~indeed~~ a hallowed house throughout the length and breadth of Canada for generations to come. It will be a shrine for those who honour the great and good. It is in those qualities of devotion to the loftiest ideals and to the service of humanity that Sir Wilfrid has left to us an unparalleled example. It is a common fancy of poets to picture the deities which surround the cradle of an infant at the time of its birth. One of these poems was much in my mind as this morning I left the house in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier died to join with others in the pilgrimage to this place of his birth. As I thought much, as others would be thinking today, of the rich endowment of Sir Wilfrid's nature, of the charm of his personality, of his powers of statesmanship, there came back to my mind more vividly than all

D 41895

else some of the talks which I enjoyed with Sir Wilfrid in the quiet of Laurier House, in the closing years of his life. It would take too long to tell of these talks except to mention that most of them had to do with the formative influences of his early life, with his parents and ancestors, with the delights of his childhood days, and of St. Lin where he was born, of his college days, with its flights into journalism and law, with his marriage to Lady Laurier and their home at Arthabaska, with his entry into the arena of politics and much that occured thereafter.

The memories I cherish most are those in which he spoke not of his political triumphs in Canada, not of the acclaim accorded him on the occasion of his visits to the heart of the Empire in London, ?not nor of the many years of leadership of his party, nor of his long unbroken tenure of office of Prime Minister of Canada, but of the great respect he had for the men and women throughout his native province and, indeed, throughout the whole of Canada, who, with pioneering fortitude, sought neither public recognition nor reward, who cherished the homely virtues and who had not lost their innate sense of right and justice. His heart was with the people. He loved the humble folk. In politics he found his highest pleasure in seeking to better their conditions. With him it was a proud boast that throughout

D41896

the whole of his public life he had never sought to destroy but always to build, that he had never harmed any man's reputation, that he had done his best to avoid strife and hate and so far as lay within his power to have the people live in peace and harmony, ~~but~~, above all else, he had striven for Canadian unity.

The secret of the extraordinary affection and devotion Laurier inspired is not far to seek. His kindliness, his consideration for others, his broad tolerance were ever present. To him patriotism was a passion, an all-consuming fire - patriotism and love not ~~only~~ for French-speaking Canada alone but for the whole of Canada, every acre of Canada, east and west.

Never did he falter from his lifelong goal to bring greater harmony, ~~concord~~ and good-will among the two great races in this country, to bind them as one in the mutual task of building a happy and prosperous nation, and from that task he never faltered. ~~Let him express that ideal~~ in his own words. No words of others could do him equal justice today:

> "I do not know whether my political career shall be short or long. I cherish the hope that I shall have so lived that, when laid in my grave, every Canada, be he friend or foe, English-speaking or French-speaking, Protestant or Catholic, will have this to say: Here rests a man who has given the best of his life, of his soul, of his heart to make us a united people."

D 41897

On June the 7th ~~of this year citizens of Canada of all shades of political thought and opinion, assembled at Kingston, Ontario, to pay~~ last a national tribute was paid to the memory of Sir John A. MacDonald on the fiftieth anniversary of his death; ~~On that occasion communications were received at Kingston and articles appeared in the press from all parts of Canada, commemorative of the life and work of Sir John.~~ and As was befitting the occasion, the ceremony concluded by a visit to the grave ~~of Sir John MacDonald~~ where, freed from the fitful fever of political strife, ~~his~~ mortal remains rest forever in peace.

Sir John's

There is, I believe, something more than chance or coincidence in the circumstances which, in this time of crisis in the affairs of every country in the world, has brought before the Canadian people in commemorative fashion the lives of the two great men who, above all others, sought to unite the people of the provinces of the Dominion. Two men, who above all others of their day and generation, helped to make of Canada a great and powerful nation, determined at a time of war to do its utmost to defend and to extend freedom in every quarter of the globe.

Subst. title
A A

Of the part played by Sir John A. MacDonald in bringing about Confederation and in helping to further and preserve national unity, much was said on the occasion of

D 41898

~~page 5 (OKG)~~

AA

In times of crisis, the enduring memorials which are the lives of great mean loom up vividly in the minds of the people of Canada. There is something more than coincidence or chance which has brought us in the single year to this commemoration of these two men, Macdnald and Laurier. For it was they who in their lifetime, pre-eminent among their fellows, worked to unite the people and the provinces of the Dominion, to make of Canada a great and powerful nation. In their vision of that new nationality, I am sure they both encompassed the certainty that, in a time of war, Canada would take its part in the defence of freedom in any quarter of the globe.

D 41899

the fiftieth anniversary of Sir John's death to which I have just referred. Here, on the one hundredth anniversary of his birth I should like to say just a word of the contribution of Sir Wilfrid Laurier toward national unity.

D 41900

Of the contributions to our national unity which were Laurier's, in particular, I should like today to say just a word. The structure of our national life rests upon the sure foundation of responsible government, cemented by racial harmony. That foundation was begun, in the very year of Laurier's birth, in the Union of the Canadas; and it was in the United Province of Canada, continuing until Confederation, that Laurier lived out the formative years of his life.

(then continue "He was a lad" &c)

D 41901

I should like to say today just a word, more particularly of the contribution of Sir Wilfrid Laurier towards national unity.

We in Canada are apt to think of Confederation as the starting point of our history as a nation. What we sometimes forget is that before Confederation there was an earlier Canadian union. It was in that earlier union that the foundations of the wider national union were laid. The whole structure of our national life rests on the sure foundation of responsible government cemented by racial harmony. Such was the union which Laurier and Macdonald alike sought to establish in our land.

By a happy coincidence, the earlier union was brought about in 1841, in the very year in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier was born. The first twenty-five - the formative - years of Laurier's life were lived in the United Province of Canada. He was a lad of only eight years of age when Lord Elgin, by his courageous act in signing the Rebellion Losses Bill, finally vindicated responsible government. In his childhood, the association of Baldwin and LaFontaine marked not only the achievement of responsible government but the first effective co-operation between the two great races; which has been the secret of fruitful political action and of national progress in Canada from that day to this.

D 41902

(delete first paragraph)

Of the significance of this Union of the Canads for the future of the Canadian,nation, I can find no better words than Laurier's own:

(take in quotation)

D 41903

Laurier was a boy of thirteen when, in 1854, the Liberal-Conservative party was formed by a union of the conservative elements of both Upper and Lower Canada. He watched Macdonald and Cartier build a strong and effective political organization on the basis of co-operation between the races. Laurier did not share the political faith of Macdonald and Cartier. He did, however, believe that political faith to be a real force in Canadian life must transcend the barriers of race and creed. In his formative years, in the restricted arena of the United Province, Laurier learned this greatest of all the lessons which all must learn who would guide wisely the destinies of Canada.

I can find no better words than Laurier's own in which to express the significance of the union of the Canadas to the future of the Canadian nation.

"A new era", he wrote, "began with the Union.....
"The new institutions were found to be broad enough
"for the two races who had been enemies to live and
"grow together without fusion and without friction"....
"The sentiment of nationality was thus made secure.
"The ideal of each race was henceforth the progress of
"the common country, and the supreme pride of both to
"proclaim themselves above all Canadian."

(delete first two paragraphs)

It was an essential part of Laurier's political belief that political faith, if it were to be a real force in the life of Canada, must transcend the limits of race and creed. His own life was a living example of the degree to which this was possible. Today in Canada we are finding more precious than ever the principles of freedom and tolerance, and the harmony among men and women of diverse races which gives to those principles all the brightness of current use and understanding. If there is one thought to which we should all address our minds today, it is surely that no sacrifice is too great, no endeavour too small, to preserve and enhance those principles of tolerance and freedom in our midst. They were a part of the nation which Laurier envisioned. Their sway extended from the Atlnatic to the Pacific, and by their nature they were intended to be impervious to time and circumstance. We can pay no higher tribute than to recognize for ourselves, and for our children, how great was the achievement of Laurier, how compelling the force of his own personality, how persuasive his advocacy of a Canada which should be strong, free and united. We can ask no higher service than that we, each in his own way, may keep alive this abiding faith, that freedom may not perish nor tyranny prevail.

D 41905

Discours du Très Honorable W.L. Mackenzie King

à l'occasion du dévoilement d'une plaque commémorative au lieu natal de Sir Wilfrid Laurier pour le centième anniversaire de la naissance de Sir Wilfrid Laurier, à Saint Lin, P.Q., le 20 novembre 1941
et à l'occasion de l'ouverture officielle de la maison où Sir Wilfrid Laurier est né.

Nous sommes réunis pour célébrer le centième anniversaire de naissance de Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Cela convient parfaitement à l'occasion que les cérémonies d'ajourd'hui prennent la forme d'un pèlerinage à Saint Lin, à la maison même où naquit Sir Wilfrid.

Au cours de l'année du Jubilé de diamant de la Confédération, il y a de cela quatorze ans, alors qu'on dévoila le monument élevé à Sir Wilfrid Laurier sur la colline du Parlement, on plaça une plaque commémorative à Saint Lin, lieu de naissance de Sir Wilfrid; tout le monde reconnaissant cependant qu'il fallait faire davantage pour le lieu natal de Sir Wilfrid. Pour répondre à ce sentiment populaire, la Commission des sites hisrotiques et des monuments du Canada, au moment de la visite du Roi Georges et de la Reine Elisabeth au Canada, déclara que le lieu natal de Sir Wilfrid Laurier était un site d'une importance nationale et recommanda que le gouvernement en fit l'acquisition. La propriété et la maison furent achetées; depuis cette acquisition, la maison a été décorée dans le goût de l'époque et le terrain aménagé. A l'occasion de ce centenaire, la maison, ainsi restaurée, est officiellement ouverte au public et devient un site historique appartenant à la nation.

D41906

Quand la maison fut restaurée, la tablette commémorative qui se trouvait dans le village fut enlevée; on la remplaça par une plaque de bronze enkystée dans la pierre. J'ai maintenant l'honneur de dévoiler cette plaque. Voici l'inscription qu'on peut y lire en français et en anglais:

SIR WILFRID LAURIER
Premier Ministre du Canada 1896-1911.
Né à Saint Lin le 20 novembre 1941.
Mort à Ottawa le 17 février 1919.

J'ai également l'honneur de déclarer que cette maison, où Sir Wilfrid Laurier est né, fait maintenant partie du patrimoine national et qu'elle est officiellement ouverte en ce centième anniversaire de naissance de Sir Wilfrid.

C'est en regardant à travers les fenêtres de cette maison que Sir Wilfrid, dans son enfance, prit contact avec le monde extérieur; cette même maison est devenue et restera pour longtemps un foyer sacré pour les générations de canadiens à venir, un sanctuaire pour tous ceux qui respectent ce qui est grand et bon. Nous sommes ici dans une maison typiquement canadienne française d'il y a cent ans; ses environs nous rappellent plus d'un village canadien français de la vielle province de Québec, sis aux pieds des Laurentides. On se rappelle avec intérêt que, en 1836, quand le village fut incorporé, c'est le père de Sir Wilfrid qui en fut le premier maire.

D 41907

C'est dans cette maison que les parents de Sir Wilfrid vécurent; comme leurs ancêtres avant eux, ils furent parmi les pionniers de la colonisation et du gouvernement au Canada. Je ne crois pas qu'aucun d'eux, au cours d'une vie toute de labeur, ait jamais pensé que le lieu natal de l'un de leurs descendants deviendrait le lieu de pèlerinage d'un pays reconnaissant en mémoire d'un enfant qui, il y a exactement cent ans aujourd'hui, naquit sous ce toit.

Les poètes prennant plaisir à peindre les dieux qui président à la naissance d'un enfant, et qui lui attribuent des dons qu'il conservera toute sa vie. Prenant pour acquis que c'est pendant l'enfance que le caractère se forme, nous pouvons facilement conclure que Laurier apprit à aimer le sol où vivaient ses pères, la terre natale, ces coutumes et ces traditions, et, par dessus tout, à désirer passionément que l'unité et l'héritage de liberté qui étaient siennes, fussent conservées. Le temps nous manque pour parler davantage de sa jeunesse; n'oublions pas cependant le fait suivant: s'il reçut d'abord son instruction dans sa langue maternelle, il la compléta bientôt dans une famille écossaise où la langue anglaise ainsi que sa litérature étaient à l'honneur. A partir de ce moment là, le rêve du jeune Laurier fut la création d'une union franco-anglaise, à la fois par l'esprit et le coeur, qui feraient du Canada français et anglais, une grande nation, unie comme un seul peuple.

Toutes les grandes pensées qui ont habité Laurier, je les ai bien en mémoire au moment où, ayant quitté la maison

D 41908

où il mourut, j'arrive pour me joindre à vous dans cette maison où il naquit. Comme je me rappelais les grandes qualités de Sir Wilfrid, le charme de sa personnalité, sa puissance comme homme d'état, il me revenait à la mémoire ces conversations intimes que nous avons eues tous les deux dans la quiétude de Laurier House, durant les dernières années de sa vie. Il m'est impossible de vous les rappeler toutes; la plupart du temps il me parlait des influences qui avaient façonnéxx sa jeunesse, de ses parents et de ses ancêtres, des plaisirs de son enfance passée à St. Lin où il était né, à New Glasgow où il appris l'anglais, à l'Assomption et aux autres maisons d'éducation où il prit sa formation; de ses aventures de journaliste ét de jeune avocat, de son mariage heureux avec Lady Laurier; de son entrée dans la politique et tout ce qui s'en suivit.

Les souvenirs qui me sont le plus précieux ne sont pas rattachés à ses triomphes politiques au Canada, aux acclamations qui l'accueillaient quant il se rendait au coeur même de l'Empire, à Londres, à ses nombreuses années comme chef de parti ou encore comme premier ministre du Canada; mais bien plutôt au grand respect qu'il avait pour les hommes et les femmes qui, travailleurs obscurs, n'attendaient aucune récompense de leurs travaux, se contentant de la paix et de la vertu d'un foyer heureux; ceux là, pour lui, représentaient bien le sel de la terre, les véritables fondateurs de la nation. Car Sir Wilfrid a toujours aimé le peuple, les bonnes et honnêtes

D 41909

gens; il les comprenaient; il avait foi dans leur sens de la droiture et de la justice. Durant toute sa vie publique, il tenta d'améliorer leurs conditions. Il tenait en grand honneur la confiance du peuple; la trahir, pour lui, était le plus grand des maux politiques. Il disait avec une légitime fierté que, durant toute sa carrière publique, il n'avait fait de tort à la réputation de personne; qu'il n'avait jamais voulu détruire, mais faire oeuvre constructive; qu'il avait fait de son mieux pour ne pas semer des éléments de discorde et de haîne; qu'il avait voulu partout et toujours la paix et l'harmonie; qu'il avait mis au dessus de tout l'unité du Canada.

Le secret de cette affection, de cette dévotion, que Laurier a inspirées, il ne faut pas chercher longtemps pour le découvrir; il vient de sa bonté, des égards qu'il avait pour ses semblables, de son esprit de tolérance. Le patriotisme, pour lui était une passion, une sorte de feu qui consume; et ce patriotisme ne s'arrêtait pas aux limites du Canada français mais il embrassait le Canada tout entier, chaque lopin de terre, de l'est comme de l'ouest.

Toujours, durant toute sa vie, il prêchait l'harmonie, la concorde et la bonne volonté parmi les deux grandes races de ce pays; il s'était donné comme but de les unir dans cette tâche mutuelle pour créer une nation heureuse et riche. Seuls les mots qu'il a employés lui-même peuvent lui rendre justice. Les voici:

D-1910

"Je ne sais pas si ma carrière politique sera longue
"ou courte. J'espère que, lorsqu'elle sera terminée,
"et qu'on m'aura porté en terre, tout Canadien, ami ou
"ennemi, de langue française ou de langue anglaise,
"protestant ou catholique, pourra dire: Ici repose un
"homme qui a consacré le meilleur de sa vie, de son coeur
"et de son esprit à faire de nous un peuple uni."

La vraie grandeur de Sir Wilfrid Laurier, c'est qu'il ses principes et la politique jugés essentiels à un Canada n'a jamais trahi/~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~. uni et prospère.

Il ne faut pas s'imaginer que, même aux faîtes du pouvoir, Sir Wilfrid s'illusionna sur la nature des luttes politiques, qu'il se faisait illusion sur ce qui pourrait bien lui arriver à lui comme cela était arrivé aux autres. A un ami qui le félicitait lors de son soixantième anniversaire de naissance, il répondait:

"Qu'arrivera-t-il à l'oeuvre que je tente d'accomplir?
"Durera-t-elle longtemps, aussi longtemps que moi?
"Voila les questions que je me pose.X

"Il me semble que si Dieu m'accorde encore quelques années de vie, j'aurai à faire face à une lutte violente et dangereuse. Alors peut être aurai-je de la peine d'avoir vécu si longtemps. Quoiqu'il arrive, si Dieu me prête vie, je me tiendrai debout; vainqueur ou vaincu, je suis sûr de garder le respect de ceux qui, comme vous, m'ont honoré de leur attachement et de leur affection."

Quand sonna l'heure de l'épreuve, Laurier se tint debout; et dans cette dernière tentative pour préserver l'unité

D 41911

nationale du Canada, il a conservé, comme il l'avait dit, le respect, non seulement de ceux qui l'honoraient de leur attachement et de leur affection, mais de toute la nation qui lui voua une admiration et un respect qui ne sauraient mourir. Au moment de dévoiler cette plaque commémorant le lieu et la date de naissance de Sir Wilfrid Laurier, je veux, à l'occasion de ce centième anniversaire de naissance, employer les mots dont je me suis déjà servi lors du dévoilement de son monument sur la colline du Parlement. Il me semble qu'ilsrésument bien la place que Sir Wilfrid Laurier s'est acquise dans notre vie nationale:

"Il se détache quelque chose d'émouvant de cette figure de "bronze. De petits enfants viennent souvent y jouer autour. "Comme Sir Wilfrid Laurier eut aimé cela! J'y ai souvent "vu des hommes et des femmes de toutes les conditions venir "rendre un hommage discret à ce symbole, dans le calme du "soir. Aujourd'hui, ce sont les princes qui l'honorent. "Cependant, il y a encore quelque chose de plus émouvant "que cela: ce sera le geste des générations futures qui, " à l'endroit même où nous sommes, alors que nous qui l'avons "connu n'existerons plus, viendront à leur tour rendre "hommage au grand disparu. Ils y verront le vieillard aux "cheveux blancs qui, la tête au vent, se tient debout, seul, "combattant pour le droit tel que Dieu lui permet de "l'entrevoir."

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
68		Tribute to N.M. Rogers, Kingston. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Oct. 1941	D 41293 - D 41453	
68		Reply to a Toast to the Dominion of Canada, Kingston, Civic Banquet. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Oct. 1941	D 41454 - D 41518	
68		Controlling the Cost of Living Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament.	18 Oct. 1941	D 41519 - D 41627	
68		Reviewing International Situation Since Adjournment. Speeches in Parliament	3 Nov. 1941	D 41628 - D 41869	
68		100th Anniversary of the Birth of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, St. Lin, P.Q. Speeches outside Parliament	20 Nov. 1941	D 41870 - D 41911	
68		Sir Wilfrid Laurier Centennial Commemoration, McGill University. Speeches Outside Parliament	20 Nov. 1941	D 41912 - D 41953	
68		Ottawa, Canadian Women's Press Club. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Oct. 1941	D 41954 - D 41959	
68		Remembrance Day Speech. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Nov. 1941	D 41960 - D 41962	

NOT TO BE RELEASED BEFORE 8.30 p.m. D.S.T. - Nov. 20, 1941

Message by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

to be read at the Laurier Centennial Commemoration at McGill University

D 41912

Of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, I think it is true to say that throughout his life he used every opportunity to store his mind with the best which derived from two streams of culture and enlightenment. Because so much of both became a part of his outlook, he created in his own person a richer embodiment of Canadian nationality than had yet become common in this still-growing Canadian nation.

On June the 7th of this year, citizens of Canada of all shades of political thought and opinion, assembled at Kingston, Ontario, to pay a national tribute to the memory of Sir John A. Macdonald on the fiftieth anniversary of his death. As was befitting the occasion, the ceremony concluded by a visit to his grave, where, freed from the fitful fever of political strife, his mortal remains rest forever in peace. Today, as again befits the occasion, the nation at his birthplace has been paying its tribute to the memory of Sir Wilfrid Laurier on the hundredth anniversary of his birth.

There is, I believe, more than chance or co-incidence, in the circumstances that, this year, have brought before us, in commemoration, the two great men whose lives contributed most to the unity of the people and of the provinces of Canada. More than any others of their day and generation, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir John Macdonald helped to make Canada a great and united nation.

D 41913

We are apt to think of Confederation as the starting point of our history as a nation. What we sometimes forget is that before Confederation, there was an earlier Canadian union: the union of Upper and Lower Canada under the Union Act of 1840. It was in that earlier union that the foundations of the wider national union were laid. The whole structure of our national life rests on the sure foundation of responsible government cemented by racial harmony. Such was the union which Laurier and Macdonald alike sought to establish in our land.

The earlier union was brought about in 1841, the very year in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier was born. The first twenty-five - the formative - years of Laurier's life were lived in the United Province of Canada. Laurier saw Macdonald and Cartier build a strong and effective political organization on the basis of co-operation between the races. He did not share the political faith of Macdonald and Cartier. He did, however, believe that the political faith of any party to be a real force in Canadian life must transcend the barriers of race and creed. In his formative years, in the restricted arena of the United Province, Sir Wilfrid had learned this greatest of the lessons which all must take to heart who would wisely guide the destinies of Canada.

Sir Wilfrid once told me that he felt historians had never done justice to the period of the union of the two Canadas. He added that he, himself, hoped some day to write that story.

D 41914

It was, he believed, the most formative period in Canadian history. Unfortunately, though he had collected much material for the purpose, and had written a number of fragments concerning [redacted] particular aspects of it, he never found the time necessary to carry out his wish.

I can find no better words than the words used by Laurier himself in one of these fragments in which to express the significance of the union of the Canadas to the future of the Canadian nation.

> "A new era", he wrote, "began with the Union. . . .
> "The new institutions were found to be broad enough
> "for the two races, who had been enemies, to live and
> "grow together without fusion and without friction"...
> "The sentiment of nationality was thus made secure.
> "The ideal of each race was henceforth the progress
> "of the common country, and the supreme pride of both
> "to proclaim themselves above all Canadian."

These sentiments were constantly reiterated by Sir Wilfrid throughout his public life. On one of the many occasions, he said:

> "What this country needs above all else is peace,
> "concord, and union between all the elements composing
> "its population.
> "Let us show the world that if we reverence
> "the past, we also have regard for the future. Let us
> "show the world that union does not mean absorption, and
> "that autonomy does not mean antagonism. . .
> "Let us also be true to our double origin . . .
> "And in all the difficulties, all the pains, and all the
> "vicissitudes of our situation, let us always remember that
> "love is better than hatred, and faith better than doubt,
> "and let hope in our future destinies be the pillar of fire
> "to guide us in our career."

These, I am sure, are the thoughts by which Sir Wilfrid Laurier would wish to be remembered by his fellow countrymen in all parts of Canada today.

P 41915

Message écrit par le Premier Ministre pour être lu à l'Université McGill à l'occasion des fêtes du centième anniversaire de naissance de Sir Wilfrid Laurier

Je crois qu'il est vrai de dire de Sir Wilfrid Laurier que, durant toute sa vie, il ne manqua jamais une occasion de s'enrichir de ce qu'il y avait de mieux dans deux civilisations. S'étant ainsi approprié ces deux courants de culture, il personnifia, bien avant son temps, ce que la nationalité canadienne a de plus riche.

Le 7 juin, cette année, les citoyens canadiens de tous les partis politiques se réunirent à Kingston, Ontario, pour rendre hommage à Sir John A. Macdonald à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa mort. La cérémonie se termina par une visite à la tombe de Sir John où, loin de toute querelle politique, ses restes mortels reposent en paix. Aujourd'hui la nation rend hommage à Sir Wilfrid Laurier à l'occasion du centième anniversaire de sa naissance à l'endroit même où il est né.

Le hasard seul n'a pas voulu que ces deux anniversaires fussent célébrés cette année, anniversaires d'hommes qui ont contribué pour une large part à unir les peuples et les provinces du Canada, à faire de notre pays une grande et puissante nation.

Nous sommes enclins à croire parfois que notre vie nationale commence avec la Confédération; nous oublions alors l'Acte

D 41916

d'Union de 1840 qui unit le Haut et le Bas Canada. C'est durant cette époque qu'on posa les assises de notre unité nationale. Toute la structure de notre vie nationale repose sur les fondations solides du gouvernement responsable marqué au coin de l'harmonie entre les races. Voilà l'unité que Laurier et Macdonald tentèrent de réaliser dans notre pays.

La première union date de 1841, année où Sir Wilfrid Laurier naquit. Les 25 premières années de sa vie, il les passa donc dans un Canada uni. Il suivit la carrière de Macdonald et de Cartier qui pésaient les fondements d'une organisation politique dont la pierre angulaire était la co-opération entre les races. Laurier ne partagea pas le credo politique de Macdonald et de Cartier; il croyait cependant que la foi politique dans un parti, pour être une force dans la vie canadienne, devait s'élever au-dessus des barrières de race et de croyance. C'est durant sa jeunesse que Sir Wilfrid apprit cette grande leçon que devraient savoir tous ceux qui veulent avoir leur mot à dire dans les destinées du Canada.

Sir Wilfrid me disait un jour que, selon lui, les historiens n'avaient pas rendu justice à la période de l'Union des deux Canadas. Il ajouta qu'il avait l'espoir de pouvoir un jour écrire ce chapitre de notre histoire. Malheureusement, quoiqu'il eût accumulé de nombreux documents sur cette question et qu'il eut écrit de nombreux fragments sur certains points particuliers, il n'eut jamais le temps de terminer ce travail.

Je ne puis pas trouver de mots plus appropriés que ceux que Laurier employa lui-même pour exprimer le sens de l'union des Canadas pour l'avenir de la nation canadienne:

D 41917

"C'est une ère nouvelle qui s'ouvrit avec l'Union," "écrivit-il. "Les nouvelles institutions furent d'esprit assez "large pour que les deux nations qui avaient été ennemies puissent vivre "ensemble sans friction ni fusion. Le sentiment de nationalité y "conserva toute sa sécurité. L'idéal de chaque race fut relié au "progrès de la patrie commune; l'orgueil suprême de chacun fut de se "proclamer Canadien avant tout."

Ces sentiments, Sir Wilfrid les a exprimés durant toute sa vie publique. Un jour, il déclarait:

"Ce dont ce pays a besoin par-dessus tout c'est la paix, "la concorde et l'union entre tous les éléments qui le composent.

"Sachons montrer au monde que, si nous honorons toujours "le passé, nous pensons aussi à l'avenir; qu'union ne signifie pas "absorption; qu'autonomie ne signifie pas antagonisme. . .

"Soyons également fidèles à notre double origine. Dans "nos difficultés, dans nos peines, dans toutes les vicissitudes de "notre situation, ayons toujours en mémoire que l'amour est mieux "que la haine, que la foi vaux mieux que le doute. Que l'espoir "dans nos destinées devienne la lumière qui guide nos pas."

Voilà, j'en suis assuré, les pensées que Sir Wilfrid voudrait laisser à ses concitoyens de toutes les parties du Canada aujourd'hui.

NOT TO BE RELEASED BEFORE 8.30 P.M. D.S.T. - NOV. 20, 1941

D 41918

Message by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King to be read at the Laurier Centennial Commemoration at McGill University

Of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, I think it is true to say that throughout his life he used every opportunity to store his mind with the best which derived from two streams of culture and enlightenment. Because so much of both became a part of his outlook, he created in his own person a richer embodiment of Canadian nationality than had yet become common in the still-growing Canadian nation.

On June the 7th of this year, citizens of Canada of all shades of political thought and opinion, assembled at Kingston, Ontario, to pay a national tribute to the memory of Sir John A. Macdonald on the fiftieth anniversary of his death. As was befitting the occasion, the ceremony concluded by a visit to his grave, where, freed from the fitful fever of political strife, his mortal remains rest forever in peace. Today, as again befits the occasion, the nation at his birthplace has been paying its tribute to the memory of Sir Wilfrid Laurier on the hundredth anniversary of his birth.

There is, I believe, more than chance or co-incidence, in the circumstances that, this year, have brought before us, in commemoration, the two great men whose lives contributed most to then unity of the people and of the provinces of Canada. More than any others of their day and generation, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir John Macdonald helped to make Canada a great and united nation.

We are apt to think of Confederation as the starting

D41919

point of our history as a nation. What we sometimes forget is that before Confederation, there was an earlier Canadian union: the union of Upper and Lower Canada under the Union Act of 1840. It was in that earlier union that the foundations of the wider national union were laid. The whole structure of our national life rests on the sure foundation of responsible government cemented by racial harmony. Such was the union which Laurier and Macdonald alike sought to establish in our land.

The earlier union was brought about in 1841, the very year in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier was born. The first twenty-five - the formative - years of Laurier's life were lived in the United Province of Canada. Laurier saw Macdonald and Cartier build a strong and effective political organization on the basis of co-operation between the races. He did not share the political faith of Macdonald and Cartier. He did, however, believe that the political faith of any party to be a real force in Canadian life must transcend the barriers of race and creed. In his formative years, in the restricted arena of the United Province, Sir Wilfrid had learned this greatest of the lessons which all must take to heart who would wisely guide the destinies of Canada.

Sir Wilfrid once told me that he felt historians had never done justice to the period of the union of the two Canadas. He added that he, himself, hoped some day to write that story. It was, he believed, the most formative period in Canadian history. Unfortunately, though he had collected much material for the purpose, and had written a number of fragments concerning

D 41920

particular aspects of it, he never found the time necessary to carry out his wish.

I can find no better words than the words used by Laurier himself in one of these fragments in which to express the significance of the union of the Canadas to the future of the Canadian nation.

> "A new era", he wrote, "began with the Union....
> "The new institutions were found to be broad enough
> "for the two races, who had been enemies, to live and
> "grow together without fusion and without friction"...
> "The sentiment of nationality was thus made secure.
> "The ideal of each race was henceforth the progress
> "of the common country, and the supreme pride of both
> "to proclaim themselves above all Canadian."

These sentiments were constantly reiterated by Sir Wilfrid throughout his public life. On one of the many occasions, he said:

> "What this country needs above all else is peace,
> "concord, and union between all the elements composing its
> "population.
> "Let us show the world that if we reverence
> "the past, we also have regard for the future. Let us
> "show the world that union does not mean absorption, and
> "that autonomy does not mean antagonism. . .
> "Let us also be true to our double origin. . .
> "And in all the difficulties, all the pains, and all the
> "vicissitudes of our situation, let us always remember that
> "love is better than hatred, and faith better than doubt,
> "and let hope in our future destinies be the pillar of fire
> "to guide us in our career."

These, I am sure, are the thoughts by which Sir Wilfrid Laurier would wish to be remembered by his fellow-countrymen in all parts of Canada today.

NOT TO BE RELEASED BEFORE 8.30 P.M. D.S.T. - NOV. 20, 1941 D 41921

Message by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King to be read at the Laurier Centennial Commemoration at McGill University

Of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, I think it is true to say that throughout his life he used every opportunity to store his mind with the best which derived from two streams of culture and enlightenment. Because so much of both became a part of his outlook, he created in his own person a richer embodiment of Canadian nationality than had yet become common in the still-growing Canadian nation.

On June the 7th of this year, citizens of Canada of all shades of political thought and opinion, assembled at Kingston, Ontario, to pay a national tribute to the memory of Sir John A. Macdonald on the fiftieth anniversary of his death. As was befitting the occasion, the ceremony concluded by a visit to his grave, where, freed from the fitful fever of political strife, his mortal remains rest forever in peace. Today, as again befits the occasion, the nation at his birthplace has been paying its tribute to the memory of Sir Wilfrid Laurier on the hundredth anniversary of his birth.

There is, I believe, more than chance or co-incidence, in the circumstances that, this year, have brought before us, in commemoration, the two great men whose lives contributed most to the unity of the people and of the provinces of Canada. More than any others of their day and generation, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir John Macdonald helped to make Canada a great and united nation.

We are apt to think of Confederation as the starting

D 41922

point of our history as a nation. What we sometimes forget is that before Confederation, there was an earlier Canadian union: the union of Upper and Lower Canada under the Union Act of 1840. It was in that earlier union that the foundations of the wider national union were laid. The whole structure of our national life rests on the sure foundation of responsible government cemented by racial harmony. Such was the union which Laurier and Macdonald alike sought to establish in our land.

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D41923

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Message by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King to be read at the Laurier Centennial Commemoration at McGill University

Of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, I think it is true to say that throughout his life he used every opportunity to store his mind with the best which derived from two streams of culture and enlightenment. Because so much of both became a part of his outlook, he created in his own person a richer embodiment of Canadian nationality than had yet become common in the still-growing Canadian nation.

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D 41925

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D 41926

particular aspects of it, he never found the time necessary to carry out his wish.

I can find no better words than the words used by Laurier himself in one of these fragments in which to express the significance of the union of the Canadas to the future of the Canadian nation.

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NOT TO BE RELEASED BEFORE 8.30 p.m. D.S.T. - Nov. 20, 1941 D41927

Message by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

to be read at the Laurier Centennial Commemoration at McGill University

Of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, I think it is true to say that throughout his life he used every opportunity to store his mind with the best which derived from two streams of culture and enlightenment. Because so much of both became a part of his outlook, he created in his own person a richer embodiment of Canadian nationality than had yet become common in the still-growing Canadian nation.

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D 41928

We are apt to think of Confederation as the starting point of our history as a nation. What we sometimes forget is that before Confederation, there was an earlier Canadian union: the union of Upper and Lower Canada under the Union Act of 1840. It was in that earlier union that the foundations of the wider national union were laid. The whole structure of our national life rests on the sure foundation of responsible government cemented by racial harmony. Such was the union which Laurier and Macdonald alike sought to establish in our land.

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D 41929

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Draft

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14.11.41

D 41930

The Canada of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Youth

We, in Canada, are apt to think of Confederation as the starting point of our history as a nation. It is true of course that the Fathers of Confederation brought into being a nation on a continental scale with wide horizons and seemingly limitless expanses. They created a stage large enough and great enough to permit the full development of the expansive energies of a youngg and dynamic people. But what we sometimes forget is that, before Confederation, there was an earlier Canadian union. It was in that earlier union that the foundations of the wider national union were laid on the twin pillars of responsible government and racial harmomy.

By a happy co-incidence that union was brought about in 1841, in the very year in which Sir Wilfrid Laurier was born. The first twenty-five--the formative--years of Laurier's life were lived in the United Province of Canada. He was a lad of only eight years of age when Lord Elgin by his courageous act in signing the Rebellion Losses Bill finally vindicated responsible government. In his childhood, the association of Baldwin and LaFontaine marked, not only the achievement of responsible government, but the first effective co-operation between the two

D 41931

great Canadian races which has been the secret of fruitful political action and of national progress in Canada from that day to this.

Laurier was a boy of thirteen when in 1854 the Liberal-Conservative party was formed by a union of the conservative elements of both Upper and Lower Canada. He watched Macdonald and Cartier build a strong and effective political organization on the basis of co-operation between the races. Laurier did not share the political faith of Macdonald and Cartier but he did recognize that Liberalism to become a real force in Canadian life must likewise transcend the barriers of race and creed. In his formative years, in the restricted arena of the United Province, Laurier learned this greatest of all the lessons which all must learn who would guide wisely the destinies of Canada.

I can find no better words than Laurier's own in which to express the significance of the union of the Canadas to the future of the Canadian nation.

"A new era" he wrote in a fragment intended to serve as a part of a history of the period he never found time to write, "a new era began with the Union.... Union and liberty produced all the good that Lord Durham expected, without realizing the evil that he had foreseen in it.

D 41932

"The new institutions were found to be broad enough for the two races who had been enemies to live and grow together without fusion and without friction".

"The sentiment of nationality", Laurier added later in the same manuscript, "was thus made secure. The ideal of each race was henceforth the progress of the common country, and the supreme pride of both to proclaim themselves above all Canadian."

Without the racial harmony, imperfect though it was, and without self-government, it may be doubted whether Confederation could ever have been achieved, and it is certain that it could not have survived.

And here I am reminded of a curious parallel. Thousands of miles away in the centre of another continent another nation was being united during this same quarter century. That nation was Germany, which, like Canada, achieved its unity in 1867. But there the parallel ends. German unity was not the product of the free association of self-governing peoples respecting one another's traditions and historic differences yet joined together in a larger union. It was brutally imposed from above, by force of arms, by the military autocracy of Prussia. In their origins the two new nations stood opposed: Canada united in self-government and racial equality; Germany united by "blood and iron" and the conception of racial superiority

D 41933

and racial domination.

Opposed in their origins, these two conceptions are ranged against one another today in every quarter of the globe. They are gripped in a death struggle. Either the nationalism of Germany, based on the conception of a master-race destined to dominate all the other peoples of the world must be crushed or it will destroy, in turn, all the other nations of the world by internal dissention or external assault. The Canadian nation can only survive in a free world where racial harmony and not racial hatred rules. The spiritual, as well as the physical existence of Canada is at stake in this war. It is a struggle between the nation of Bismarck and the nation of Laurier. No sacrifice is too great to preserve the nation of Laurier and the principles of freedom, tolerance and harmony among men of diverse races on which it is founded.

D 41934

Message écrit par le Premier Ministre pour être lu à l'Université McGill à l'occasion des fêtes du centième anniversaire de naissance de Sir Wilfrid Laurier

Je crois qu'il est vrai de dire de Sir Wilfrid Laurier que, durant toute sa vie, il ne manqua jamais une occasion de s'enrichir de ce qu'il y avait de mieux dans deux civilisations. S'étant ainsi approprié ces deux courants de culture, il personnifia, bien avant son temps, ce que la nationalité canadienne a de plus riche.

Le 7 juin, cette année, les citoyens canadiens de tous les partis politiques se réunirent à Kingston, Ontario, pour rendre hommage à Sir John A. Macdonald à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa mort. La cérémonie se termina par une visite à la tombe de Sir John où, loin de toute querelle politique, ses restes mortels reposent en paix. Aujourd'hui la nation rend hommage à Sir Wilfrid Laurier à l'occasion du centième anniversaire de sa naissance à l'endroit même où il est né.

Le hasard seul n'a pas voulu que ces deux anniversaires fussent célébrés cette année, anniversaires d'hommes qui ont contribué pour une large part à unir les peuples et les provinces du Canada, à faire de notre pays une grande et puissante nation.

Nous sommes enclins à croire parfois que notre vie nationale commence avec la Confédération; nous oublions alors l'Acte

D 41935

d'Union de 1840 qui unit le Haut et le Bas Canada. C'est durant cette époque qu'on posa les assises de notre unité nationale. Toute la structure de notre vie nationale repose sur les fondations solides du gouvernment responsable marqué au coin de l'harmonie entre les races. Voilà l'unité que Laurier et Macdonald tentèrent de réaliser dans notre pays.

La première union date de 1841, année où Sir Wilfrid Laurier naquit. Les 25 premières années de sa vie, il les passa donc dans un Canada uni. Il suivit la carrière de Macdonald et de Cartier qui posaient les fondements d'une organisation politique dont la pierre angulaire était la co-opération entre les races. Laurier ne partagea pas le credo politique de Macdonald et de Cartier; il croyait cependant que la foi politique dans un parti, pour être une force dans la vie canadienne, devait s'élever au-dessus des barrières de race et de croyance. C'est durant sa jeunesse que Sir Wilfrid apprit cette grande leçon que devraient savoir tous ceux qui veulent avoir leur mot à dire dans les destinées du Canada.

Sir Wilfrid me disait un jour que, selon lui, les historiens n'avaient pas rendu justice à la période de l'Union des deux Canadas. Il ajouta qu'il avait l'espoir de pouvoir un jour écrire ce chapitre de notre histoire. Malheureusement, quoiqu'il eût accumulé de nombreux documents sur cette question et qu'il eut écrit de nombreux fragments sur certains points particuliers, il n'eut jamais le temps de terminer ce travail.

Je ne puis pas trouver de mots plus appropriés que ceux que Laurier employa lui-même pour exprimer le sens de l'union des Canadas pour l'avenir de la nation canadienne:

D 41936

"C'est une ère nouvelle qui s'ouvrit avec l'Union," "écrivit-il. "Les nouvelles institutions furent d'esprit assez "large pour que les deux nations qui avaient été ennemies puissent vivre "ensemble sans friction ni fusion. Le sentiment de nationalité y "conserva toute sa sécurité. L'idéal de chaque race fut relié au "progrès de la patrie commune; l'orgueil suprême de chacun fut de se "proclamer Canadien avant tout."

Ces sentiments, Sir Wilfrid les a exprimés durant toute sa vie publique. Un jour, il déclarait:

"Ce dont ce pays a besoin par-dessus tout c'est la paix, "la concorde et l'union entre tous les éléments qui le composent.

"Sachons montrer au monde que, si nous honorons toujours "le passé, nous pensons aussi à l'avenir; qu'union ne signifie pas "absorption; qu'autonomie ne signifie pas antagonisme. . .

"Soyons également fidèles à notre double origine. Dans "nos difficultés, dans nos peines, dans toutes les vicissitudes de "notre situation, ayons toujours en mémoire que l'amour est mieux "que la haine, que la foi vaux mieux que le doute. Que l'espoir "dans nos destinées devienne la lumière qui guide nos pas."

Voilà, j'en suis assuré, les pensées que Sir Wilfrid voudrait laisser à ses concitoyens de toutes les parties du Canada aujourd'hui.

D 41937

Message écrit par le Premier Ministre pour être lu à l'Université McGill à l'occasion des fêtes du centième anniversaire de naissance de Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Je crois qu'il est vrai de dire de Sir Wilfrid Laurier que, durant toute sa vie, il ne manqua jamais une occasion de s'enrichir de ce qu'il y avait de mieux dans deux civilisations. S'étant ainsi approprié ces deux courants de culture, il personnifia, bien avant son temps, ce que la nationalité canadienne a de plus riche.

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Nous sommes enclins à croire parfois que notre vie nationale commence avec la Confédération; nous oublions alors l'Acte d'Union de 1840 qui unit le Haut et le Bas Canada. C'est durant cette époque qu'on posa les assises de notre unité nationale.

D 41938

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D 41939

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D 41940

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Voilà, j'en suis assuré, les pensées que Sir Wilfrid Laurier voudrait laisser à ses concitoyens de toutes les parties du Canada aujourd'hui.

Montréal, P.Q.,
le 20 novembre 1941

41941

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Message écrit par la Premier Ministre pour être lu à l'Université McGill à l'occasion des fêtes du centième anniversaire de naissance de Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Je crois qu'il est vrai de dire de Sir Wilfrid Laurier que, durant toute sa vie, il ne manqua jamais une occasion de s'enrichir de ce qu'il y avait de mieux dans deux civilisations. S'étant ainsi approprié ces deux courants de culture, il personnifia, bien avant son temps, ce que la nationalité canadienne a de plus riche.

Le 7 juin, cette année, les citoyens canadiens de tous les partis politiques se réunirent à Kingston, Ontario, pour rendre hommage à Sir John A. Macdonald à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa mort. La cérémonie se termina par une visite à la tombe de Sir John où, loin de toute querelle politique, ses restes mortels reposent en paix. Aujourd'hui la nation rend hommage à Sir Wilfrid Laurier à l'occasion du centième anniversaire de sa naissance à l'endroit même où il est né.

Le hasard seul n'a pas voulu que ces deux anniversaires fussent célébrées cette année, anniversaires d'hommes qui ont contribué pour une large part à unir les peuples et les provinces du Canada, à faire de notre pays une grande et puissante nation.

Nous sommes enclins à croire parfois que notre vie nationale commence avec la Confédération; nous oublions alors l'Acte d'Union de 1840 qui unit le Haut et le Bas Canada. C'est durant cette époque qu'on posa les assises de notre unité nationale.

D 41942

Toute la structure de notre vie nationale repose sur les fondations solides du gouvernement responsable marqué au coin de l'harmonie entre les races. Voilà l'unité que Laurier et Macdonald tentèrent de réaliser dans notre pays.

La première union date de 1841, année où Sir Wilfrid Laurier naquit. Les 25 premières années de sa vie, il les passa donc dans un Canada uni. Il suivit la carrière de Macdonald et de Cartier qui posaient les fondements d'une organisation politique dont la pierre angulaire était la co-opération entre les races. Laurier ne partagea pas le credo politique de Macdonald et de Cartier; il croyait cependant que la foi politique dans un parti, pour être une force dans la vie canadienne, devait s'élever au-dessus des barrières de race et de croyance. C'est durant sa jeunesse que Sir Wilfrid apprit cette grande leçon que devraient savoir tous ceux qui veulent avoir leur mot à dire dans les destinées du Canada.

Sir Wilfrid me disait un jour que, selon lui, les historiens n'avaient pas rendu justice à la période de l'Union des deux Canadas. Il ajouta qu'il avait l'espoir de pouvoir un jour écrire ce chapitre de notre histoire. Malheureusement, quoiqu'il eût accumulé de nombreux documents sur cette question et qu'il eut écrit de nombreux fragments sur certains points particuliers, il n'eut jamais le temps de terminer ce travail.

Je ne puis pas trouver de mots plus appropriés que

D 41943

ceux que Laurier employa lui-même pour exprimer le sens de l'union des Canadas pour l'avenir de la nation canadienne:

"C'est une ère nouvelle qui s'ouvrit avec "l'Union," écrivit-il. "Les nouvelles institutions "furent d'esprit assez large pour que les deux nations "qui avaient été ennemies puissent vivre ensemble sans "friction ni fusion. Le sentiment de nationalité y "conserva toute sa sécurité. L'idéal de chaque race "fut relié au progrès de la patrie commune; l'orgueil "suprême de chacun fut de se proclamer Canadien avant "tout."

Ces sentiments, Sir Wilfrid les a exprimés durant toute sa vie publique. Un jour, il déclarait:

"Ce dont ce pays a besoin par-dessus tout "c'est la paix, la concorde et l'union entre tous les "éléments qui le composent.

"Sachons montrer au monde que, si nous honorons "toujours le passé, nous pensons aussi à l'avenir; "qu'union ne signifie pas absorption; qu'autonomie ne "signifie pas antagonisme . . . .

"Soyons également fidèles à notre double "origine. Dans nos difficultés, dans nos peines, dans "toutes les vicissitudes de notre situation, ayons

D 41944

"toujours en mémoire que l'amour est mieux que la "haine, que la foi vaut mieux que le doute. Que "l'espoir dans nos destinées devienne la lumière "qui guide nos pas."

Voilà, j'en suis assuré, les pensées que Sir Wilfrid Laurier voudrait laisser à ses concitoyens de toutes les parties du Canada aujourd'hui.

Montréal, P.Q.,
le 20 novembre 1941

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER 41945

MEMORANDUM 3 D 41 (JAG)

The Prime Minister

I have now drawn up a suggested outline of some of the topics* to be touched upon in your next statement to Parliament, and I send with it the suggested first section on the Russo-German War.

Perhaps you would indicate, after you have had an opportunity to look through the outline and Section 1, whether more emphasis should be given to any particular aspect of the subject.

I will forward further sections as quickly as they can be completed and typed.

Jag.

* covering material which is in my case

Draft I

JAG/DR
3:10:41

Outline of Sections

D 41946

1) Russo-German War

2) Middle East and Mediterranean
   (Turkey Syria
   (Iraq Egypt
   (Iran North Africa

3) Far East

4) Western Europe
   (France Civilian uprisings in
   (Spain occupied countries

5) United States-United Kingdom relations
   (Iceland
   (Atlantic Charter
   (3-Power Agreement
   (Lease Lend Appropriation Bill - 2)
   (Convoys

6) Battle of Atlantic
   (Spitzbergen,
   (German air strength
   (Goddard)

7) War Strategy
   Progress of the War

Other Subjects

8) War Organization
   Commonwealth Consultation

   Channels of communication
   (reference to P.M's. statement in House of Commons, February 17, 1941; Hansard p.884)

   Subsequent discussions:
   Imperial War Conference
   Empire War Cabinet
   Overseas representatives in U.K. Cabinet
   Other proposals

10) Conscription

JAG/C
3.x.41

D 41947

RUSSIA

Russo-German War

Recall Nazi-Soviet Pact of Non-Agression, signed in Berlin (August, 1939)

Prelude to hostilities in present war (U.K. guarantee to Poland)

Uneasy situation along Russian frontier ever since - Russian invasion of Finland widely denounced as unprovoked aggression - Now seen as perhaps an inevitable measure of defence in light of subsequent German hostilities.

(Finland ranged with Germany against Russia; U.K. Government withdrew diplomatic representation, and has since made clear that if Finland carries hostilities beyond 1939 frontier, she must be regarded as an ememy of Britain both now and after the war when peace is determined.)

Undeclared war (in typical Nazi fashion) finally broke out with

German invasion of Russian territory (June 22)

(Mr. Churchill's broadcast of June 22)
(Prime Minister's statement of June 23)

D 41948

Hostilities since joined on a long line, stretching from Murmansk at the Arctic shore to the Crimea and the Black Sea.

Fighting has recently been in three main sectors:

1) North, around Leningrad:

German troops reached the seacoast some miles from the city, and Finnish troops are reported to have cut off several main power lines, but two Russian counter-attacks recently have joined forces to split invader lines.

2) Centre - the Smolensk area covering approaches to Moscow: heavy fighting and enormous casualties, but the invader substantially no nearer Moscow;

3) South - across the Ukraine: Kiev (reported surrounded) and Kharkhov; other centres in the Dnieper River area, including some key points of Russian heavy industry; hostilities now extending into the Crimea.

There has also been fighting from Finland towards Lake Ladoga and the Karelian Isthmus (scene of previous battles in Russian-Finnish war)

In extreme north, attacks by British fleet air arm on Axis shipping at Kirkenes and Petsamo.

D 41949

Support for Russia

Promise of assistance in Mr. Churchill's broadcast of June 22

Prompt despatch of - Military Liaison Mission (General Mason-MacFarlane)

- Economic Mission (to study Russian needs for raw materials and war supplies)

Joint declaration between Britain and Russia -

(signed at Moscow, July 12)

Substance

1) Mutual support and assistance of all kinds at all times in the present war against Hitlerite Germany;

2) Neither country to negotiate or conclude an armistice or treaty of peace except by mutual agreement.

(Note: Canadian Government were consulted concerning the terms of this declaration and agreed to the action of U.K. government inconcluding it).

Next, by exchange of notes, August 2, between Acting Secretary of State and Soviet Ambassador to U.S.A., U.S. Government pledged all practicable economic assistance in the Soviet struggle against armed aggression.

D 41950

Further agreement between Britain and U.S.S.R. for special economic assistance (August 16)

Joint declaration by Governments of Britain and U.S.A. for assistance to Russia

(outcome of Atlantic conference between Churchill and Roosevelt in August)

Sequel: Joint U.K.-U.S. mission headed by Beaverbrook
Harriman

flew to Moscow for discussions with Soviet authorities

Agreement concluded end of September after three days' talks.

Now aligned all three powers in full earnest against the world-wide menace of Hitlerism.

Britain and U.S. to make available to Russia up to 50% of normal output of certain war materials (e.g. fighter airplanes)

(note also tank production in Britain - one whole week's output to Russia)

Britain to divert to Russia certain material obtained from U.S. under Lease-Lend provisions.

U.S. to make available to Russia war materials on same basis as to other nations fighting Hitlerism.

(Russian gold already in U.S. to pay for current purchases)

D 41951

Russo-German War - retrospect after 3 months of fighting

Important not to take German invasion as sign that Hitler is turning to strategy of a long war.

original thrust was clear indication he believed he could end the world conflict by sharp, swift strokes before America's economic strength, joined with Britain's, could be translated into military power

Viewed from another angle

Hitler's attempt to crush Russian military resistance before joint U.K.-U.S. aid can be conclusive

this issue not yet decided, though clear that Russian resistance has been of heroic proportions and has helped to rally the presently enslaved people of Europe.

British and American supplies are now reaching Russia in mounting volume

the German "time-table" campaign has been seriously upset

Hitler's attempt to close his military back doors before launching out elsewhere has been blocked, for present at least.

"Ideological" considerations have largely disappeared as a barrier to co-operation in the face of a common danger.

D 41952

In the simplest terms, the danger is still grave.

The extent of the danger still depends upon

- Russia's own continued resistance and
- the <u>awareness</u> of the rest of the world

<u>Parallel Developments</u>:

Russian and British have joined forces in IRAN to prevent any Hitler thrust into valuable oil areas, and thence towards India; junction also assures a safe if slow supply line to Russian western front.

(see also section on Middle East)

Russia has resumed diplomatic relations with:

Belgium)
Norway)
Poland) all victims of Nazi
Yugoslavia) ruthlessness
Czechoslovakia)

In a remarkable agreement with Polish Government-in-exile, Russia has agreed:

to take the pre-existing Russian-Polish boundary as definitive pending an eventual peace settlement;

to grant an amnesty to all Poles in Soviet territory;

to accept for training in Russia (beyond the Ural Mountains) a Polish Military legion, already of brigade strength. Recruiting and training continue.

(Note: possibility of some eventual agreement between Russia and Finland along similar lines)

- - - - - - - - -

<u>Query</u>: Mention the possibility of "a second front" as a means of dividing and diverting German armed strength?
(This may be too secret a question to enlarge upon at present?)

D41953

Possible Developments in German drive against Russia

1) a thrust through Turkey
(Turkey chrome exports denied to Germany;
German-Turkish commercial agreement viewed as
easing tension, but not conclusive against Nazi
duplicity)

(since British occupation of Iraq and junction with
Russian forces in Iran, strategic picture has altered
somewhat; e.g.

even if Turkey were invaded, British control in
Syria makes a German pincer thrust against
Suez more difficult, though not impossible);

(see also Middle East)

2) a sea-borne invasion against Crimea and Black Sea
coast of Russia, based on Black sea ports presently
under German control, especially

Constanza (Rumania) - chief Rumanian port and oil outlet

Varna (Bulgaria) - " Bulgarian " with terminal
facilities

(imminence of such a move may depend on progress of
land operations in Crimea)

Warnings have been issued against regarding weather
as a defensive ally in Russian campaign.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
68		Tribute to N.M. Rogers, Kingston. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Oct. 1941	D 41293 - D 41453	
68		Reply to a Toast to the Dominion of Canada, Kingston, Civic Banquet. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Oct. 1941	D 41454 - D 41518	
68		Controlling the Cost of Living Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament.	18 Oct. 1941	D 41519 - D 41627	
68		Reviewing International Situation Since Adjournment. Speeches in Parliament	3 Nov. 1941	D 41628 - D 41869	
68		100th Anniversary of the Birth of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, St. Lin, P.Q. Speeches outside Parliament	20 Nov. 1941	D 41870 - D 41911	
68		Sir Wilfrid Laurier Centennial Commemoration, McGill University. Speeches Outside Parliament	20 Nov. 1941	D 41912 - D 41953	
68		Ottawa, Canadian Women's Press Club. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Oct. 1941	D 41954 - D 41959	
68		Remembrance Day Speech. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Nov. 1941	D 41960 - D 41962	

Miss Shields

Copying will
Hold Conf Papers
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D 41954

Montreal Gazette
Oct. 27/41

The attached clipping from the Montreal Gazette is the only press report we have been able to find of the speech made by the Prime Minister on October 25, 1941, containing any reference to the Pacific Ocean. Presumably, this is the speech referred to by Mr. George Drew in the statement he made on April 30, 1948, as reported in the Ottawa Evening Journal.

The significance to be attached to the Prime Minister's observation may be gauged by the fact that most press reports of the speech (for which there was no text) do not contain any reference to the Pacific.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN 5172.

Date OCT 28 1941

Subject D 41955

Mr. King's Appeal To The Women

The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, honored representative Canadian press-women by making an unexpected appearance at a dinner last Saturday evening in Ottawa. The occasion was the entertainment of the newspaper women by the Dominion's department of information during the press conference arranged to allow the women to come into closer contact with government officials connected primarily with prosecution of Canada's war effort.

Mr. King took the opportunity once again to urge on the people of the country a greater realization of the issues of this war and an acceptance of each individual's responsibility. Particularly to the women did he appeal to make the moral nature of the struggle more clear.

To the extent that women do realize the deeper issues in this war, undoubtedly a more intense war effort will be forthcoming. But there will be a very grave difference of opinion on the moral issue of women helping Canada's war effort and recruiting by appealing to the young men to enlist.

The Prime Minister said last Saturday that "young men will support the appeal made by the women of this country." He could not see "how more could be shown their duty in recruiting more effectively than by the appeal of the women that they defend the sacred names."

The Prime Minister touches something of the [illegible] when he suggests that [illegible] should not [illegible] to which [illegible] should urge [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] It is [illegible] when [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] all young men on the [illegible] to [illegible] them to join [illegible] [illegible] with any [illegible] would do [illegible]

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The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

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The Prime Minister said last Saturday that "young men will respond to an appeal made by the women of this country." He could not see "how men can be shown their duty in recruiting more effectively than by the appeal of the women that they defend the moral issues."

The Prime Minister touches something of the utmost delicacy when he suggests that mothers should tell their sons to enlist, that sisters should urge their brothers to get into uniform. It is even worse when friends or even strangers undertake to tell young men on the street or in their homes thus to join up. There is hardly a woman with any womanly perception in her, that would do such a thing, as woman to man.

Women may have been induced to appear in the past on some recruiting platforms. They have delivered speeches written for them or prepared by their own hand. Such speeches have been incidents in recruiting campaigns neither better nor worse than the rest of the exhortations. But the moral issues of the present struggle are not to be so dealt with individually or collectively by women as Mr. King would suggest.

Recruiting policy, voluntary or by conscription, is a matter entirely for the government. It is at present a government of men who evade the moral issues when they leave it to the women of the country so to act as recruiting agents.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date OCT 28 1941

Subject

PRESS WOMEN RECEIVE ADVICE FROM MR. KING

Prime Minister Tells Role Milady Can Play in Canada's War Effort

INFLUENCE ON MEN

Ottawa, Oct. 26 (Staff). — The Canadian Government's war effort is directly dependent on the "co-operation and willingness of the people," Prime Minister Mackenzie King told the Canadian Women's Press Club at a dinner here Saturday night.

"The war effort is not that of Parliament Hill, but of the people from coast to coast," said the Prime Minister. "Women can serve the country and humanity by emphasizing the issue. Too many do iot realize that the world is being turned upside down and the material substituted for the spiritual."

Mr. King, who made an unexpected appearance at the dinner, added these word of advice to women press representatives from eight of the nine Provinces:

"I cannot see how men can be shown their duty in recruiting more effectively than by the appeal of the women that they defend the moral issues."

Thorson Plays Host.

Hon. J. T. Thorson, Minister of War Services, acted as host for the Government at the dinner, while at conferences over the week-end Government representatives discussed with the newspaperwoman the part women are playing in the war effort.

Mr. Thorson told of the work to be done by women in the new Canadian Women's Army Corps and the Canadian Women's Auxiliary Air Force, forecasting that 3,000 women would be needed for the army and 4,000 for the air force within a year.

"The sex you represent will see us through," was the tribute of Major-General L. R. LeFleche, Associate Deputy Minister of National War Services. "I take the liberty of charging you with winning the war."

Ralph Bell, Director-General of Aircraft Production, told the writers that there are more women employed in the aircraft industry today than the total number of employees before outbreak of war. Financial experts told of the financial and economic aspects of the war, while Miss Edith Smellie, matron-in-chief of the C.W.A.C., was among those who discussed the subject of mobilization of men and women.

Allowances Pondered.

Miss Smellie said the possibility of providing allowances for dependents of women entering the C.W.A.C. and the C.W.A.A.F. had been considered. The women were told that the Government is anxious that women volunteer for the type of work they have indicated they are able to do in their voluntary registration cards.

Speakers from the Munitions and Supply Department emphasized how silk, rubber, base metals and the like must be allotted for war purposes and asked for co-operation of the people in seeing that these materials are available. The press women were told that voluntary curtailment of civilian consumption of foodstuffs still is the most satisfactory method of curtailment in Canada.

"Rationing in Canada would be frightfully expensive and cumbersome," said Professor H. R .Kemp of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board.

Chairmen of the week-end meetings was Miss Rosa L. Shaw, president of the Canadian Women's Press Club. Among those present at the dinner was Mrs. George Black, former Conservative member of the House of Commons for the Yukon.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication

Date

Subject

5172

D 41957

Canada's War Effort Rests On Co-operation of People

Premier King Tells Women Attending Press Conference Public Does Not Realize How Far Enemy Conquest Has Gone.

Claiming the need of a greater appreciation on the part of the people of Canada of what this war is and what it signifies, Prime Minister King on Saturday night pointed out to a group of 80 press women meeting in Ottawa during the week-end, "that Canada's war effort can only be as big as the amount of co-operation put into it by the people of Canada".

"So many are inclined to confuse the war effort of the Government with the war effort of the people. So far as the Government is concerned, we are dependent upon the co-operation of the people of Canada from coast to coast.

Addresses Banquet.

The Prime Minister's address was delivered at a banquet tendered visiting newspaperwomen representing daily and weekly newspapers from Halifax to Vancouver, magazine and radio writers, by the Department of National War Services, at the Chateau Laurier on Saturday night. Hon. J. T. Thorson was chairman for the event.

Pointing out the magnitude of the issues at stake, the Prime Minister charged the press women with the mission of assisting in awakening the people of this country to a full consciousness of what they owe to the country itself, to its people and especially to future generations.

"We don't realize how far this war of conquest has gone. In the first year of a war alone, country after country was trampled underfoot. Millions upon millions of men have been involved in the struggle. Africa has seen great conflict and will probably see even greater conflict in the near future. A large part of Asia may yet be involved in the struggle. Any day may see the Pacific and Atlantic oceans battle fronts."

Hon. J. T. Thorson, terming women "guardians of the morale of the nation", asked their co-operation in facing the new drastic order freezing wages and prices.

Welcoming the women writers, he paid tribute to the part women are playing in this war. For the first time in the history of Canada women are fighting side by side with their menfolk. Besides those who have joined and registered with the women's auxiliaries to the R.C.A.F. and the C.A.S.F., the Minister pointed out that more than 50,000 women are engaged in munitions factories and other war industries in the Dominion.

"Got to Buckle Down."

"The rank and file of Canada have got to do a lot of buckling down", Mayor Lewis said in reference to the war effort in a brief address. He welcomed those attending the conference on behalf of the City of Ottawa.

Mrs. George Black, former woman M.P. for the Yukon, proclaimed the loyalty of the people of the Yukon to the Government in its war effort.

Major General L. R. LaFleche in a brief address in French emphasized the necessity for a wholehearted war effort on the part of all the people of Canada.

On behalf of the visiting presswomen, votes of thanks to those responsible for the successful banquet were extended in English by Miss Dora Dibney and Mrs. Odette Oligny.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa Journal

Date October 27, 1941

D 41958

Subject

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date OCT 27 1941

Subject D 41959

Women Writers Hear Mr. King Review The Nation's War Effort

Various aspects of the Canadian war effort, especially those of particular interest to women, were touched upon by the Prime Minister and Hon. J. T. Thorson, Minister for National War Services, in brief addresses to a group of 150 working newspaper women and magazine writers at a dinner held Saturday evening. Guests of the War Services Department at the dinner which was held in the Quebec suite of the Chateau Laurier, the ladies were welcomed to Ottawa by Mayor Stanley Lewis.

Canada's war effort depended upon the co-operative effort of the people themselves, said Mr. King. He regretted the modern tendency of people to look to the government for everything, instead of helping to accomplish things by co-operative effort. One of the results of this war, he said, would be the development of this spirit in the people.

Great Moral Fight.

Mr. King doubted if the people of Canada realized how far Hitler had succeeded in conquering Europe. "It is hardly believable that the whole of Europe lies prostrate at the foot of the tyrant today," said the Prime Minister. The nature of the struggle, he explained, was a great moral one, and touched on the manner in which living conditions would be changed and standards lowered, were the enemy to win.

Germany, he declared, has thrown out the Ten Commandments and the Beatitudes and the Prime Minister felt that these facts alone should be sufficient to induce the young men of the nation to enlist in the service of their country.

Women are playing a greater part in this war than they have ever done before, Mr. Thorson told his listeners. They are now serving side by side with men in the armed forces and he expected some 7,000 would be called within the next year. In munitions factories and war industries, 50,000 women are now engaged and even the woman who performs her regular household duties is contributing her part to the war effort. The women of Canada, said Mr. Thorson, are the guardians of the morale of the nation.

All speakers stressed the importance and necessity of publicizing as well as possible the Canadian war effort.

Mrs. George Black of Dawson, Yukon, and Major-General L. R. LaFleche, spoke briefly, and all speakers were thanked by Miss Dora Dibney of Regina.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
68		Tribute to N.M. Rogers, Kingston. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Oct. 1941	D 41293 - D 41453	
68		Reply to a Toast to the Dominion of Canada, Kingston, Civic Banquet. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Oct. 1941	D 41454 - D 41518	
68		Controlling the Cost of Living Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament.	18 Oct. 1941	D 41519 - D 41627	
68		Reviewing International Situation Since Adjournment. Speeches in Parliament	3 Nov. 1941	D 41628 - D 41869	
68		100th Anniversary of the Birth of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, St. Lin, P.Q. Speeches outside Parliament	20 Nov. 1941	D 41870 - D 41911	
68		Sir Wilfrid Laurier Centennial Commemoration, McGill University. Speeches Outside Parliament	20 Nov. 1941	D 41912 - D 41953	
68		Ottawa, Canadian Women's Press Club. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Oct. 1941	D 41954 - D 41959	
68		Remembrance Day Speech. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Nov. 1941	D 41960 - D 41962	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

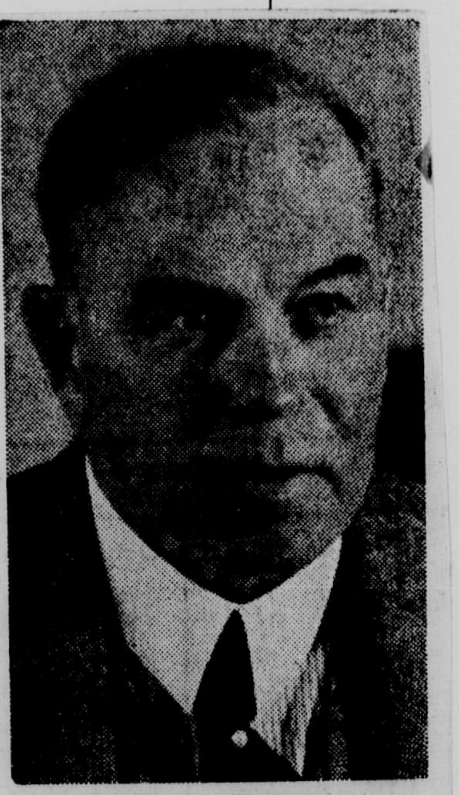
Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Herald 3106/41

Date Nov. 13/41 D 4960

Subject

War Will Not End Until Free Nations Triumph Over Nazis



PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING

"Mankind cannot long continue half free. A world, half slave and half free is the position that confronts the nations today as we continue into a third year of war. If their peoples are to keep their personal and national freedom, nations that are still free must fight, not in self defence only, but equally to rescue from the jaws and the claws of the Frankenstein monster that Germany has brought into being, the peoples of other lands, yes and of Germany herself whom otherwise it is destined to devour and destroy."

D 41961

"This war will not end until all the world is reduced to a condition of servitude, or, until the nations that are still free triumph over Nazi Germany." This is the victory clarion of Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King.

"We know that the free peoples will triumph in the end. But how long it may take to determine the issue, God alone knows.

"How much when it is over, may be left of what is worth while in the world, no one can say. That is why I believe it is vital to make a supreme effort now to convince the people of Germany that they can never hope to win.

"Such a supreme effort can be made only if every nation and every man who is still free, put forth their utmost effort.

"After two years of war, the men and women of Britain are more resolute, more determined, more courageous than ever. But they have a greater burden than ever to bear. It has been said well and truly that 'the worst part of martyrdom is not the last agonizing moment; it is the wearing daily steadfastness.'

"A respite from bombing such as has been experienced in greater or less degree since the beginning of the Russian campaign may cause the visitor to Britain to feel that many of the nation's activities are proceeding as usual, as indeed they are to an extent that is nothing short of marvelous, but the martyrdom of daily anxiety and prolonged weariness is ever present.

"It is in this light that Canada's contribution to the cause is best understood.

"There are in Britain today, well over 100,000 of Canada's fighting men. The significance the British people and the British Government attach to Canada's military contribution to the defence of Britain on land, at sea and in the air, I can perhaps best leave to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to say.

"Every Canadian heart must have been thrilled by Mr. Churchill's words when he said that our Canadian soldiers stood 'at the very point where they would be the first to be hurled into a counter-stroke against the invader.'

"It was no flight of rhetoric, but a measured statement, when Mr. Churchill further said that no greater service could be rendered to Britain, and no more important military duty performed by any troops in all the Allies, and when, after referring to what had taken place in other theatres of war, he add that the part they have played in bringing about the final result was second to none.

"Canada's fighting men are not only sharing in the defence of Britain, they are also helping to carry the war into the enemy's territory.

"Our pilots and airmen are daily engaged in actual operations. In the growing number of Canadian pilots, observers and air gunners, serving with the Royal Air Force and in the squadrons of the Royal Canadian Air Force in Britain, we are already witnessing the telling effect of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, which daily looms larger in the strategy of the war.

"The nature of the work of Canada's Navy in British waters and on the North Atlantic does not lend itself to display, but I found in informed circles a full knowledge and very warm appreciation of the importance of Canada's naval co-operation with Britain.

"From all sources in Britain, I heard nothing but praise of machines and weapons of war which Canada is sending across the sea in ever growing volume. Canadian industry and Canadian labor may well be proud of their part in forging the tools of Victory.

"In a struggle in which machines are essential, we can afford to spare no effort to maintain the momentum of our war production.

"If there is one thing that the last two years has made plain, it is surely that, as a means of escape from the encircling danger which now threatens the entire world, no nation which wishes to see freedom survive, can now look on anything so old-fashioned as its own sovereign rights or so restricted as its own unaided strength.

"Remoteness from the immediate scene of conflict has ceased to be a safeguard for men and nations that cherished their freedom.

"Surely we now have come to realize that even in seeking the preservation of our own freedom, all who cherish freedom are members one of another, without regard to class, race or nationality.

"If human freedom is to survive, all free men, regardless of national frontiers, must work together for its preservation.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

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"If human freedom is to survive, all free men, regardless of national frontiers, must work together for its preservation.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 41962

"If the forces of evil are routed; if Nazi Germany and all her wicked works are destroyed, this war will assume in human history, the shape of a social revolution, out of which mankind may hope for a new order to emerge; an order in which the power of right, not might, will increasingly control, and from which the injustices of the old order, one by one, will be banished.

"In this new order, the rights of man will be determined not by privilege derived from inheritance, position or possession, but increasingly by men's own contribution, through their own lives, to the common need and the common good."

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
68		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	6 Dec. 1941	D 41963 - D 41964	
68		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Dec. 1941	D 41965 - D 41972	
68		Introduction of the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill. Speeches in Parliament	30 Dec. 1941	D 41973 - D 42004	
69		Tribute to the Memory of Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe. Speeches in Parliament	21 Jan. 1942	D 42005 - D 42014	
69		Speeches on the Address. Speeches in Parliament	26 Jan. 1942	D 42015 - D 42204	
69		Dinner, Saskatchewan. Member of Parliament. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Feb. 1942	D 42205	
69		Second Victory Loan, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Feb. 1942	D 42206 - D 42320	
69		Keeping Faith With the People. Speeches in Parliament	25 Feb. 1942	D 42321 - D 42337	
69		Plebiscite Act. Speeches in Parliament	25 Feb. 1942	D 42338 - D 42341	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star,

Date Dec. 8 /41

Subject

D 41963

Texts of Ottawa Declarations

OTTAWA, Dec. 8—(C. P.)—Following is the text of the proclamation published last night in an extra edition of the Canada Gazette declaring a state of war exists between Canada and Hungary, Rumania and Finland:

Athlone
(L. S.)
Canada

George the Sixth, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India:

To all to whom these presents shall come or whom the same may in anywise concern,

Greeting:

A PROCLAMATION

J. E. Michaud, Acting Attorney-General, Canada:

Whereas by and with the advice of our Privy Council for Canada we have signified our approval of the issue of a proclamation in the Canada Gazette declaring that a state of war with Rumania, Hungary and Finland exists and has existed in Canada as and from the 7th day of December, 1941.

Now, therefore, we do hereby declare and proclaim that a statement of war with Rumania, Hungary and Finland exists and has existed in Canada as and from the 7th day of December, 1941.

Of all which our loving subjects and all others whom these presents may concern are hereby required to take notice and to govern themselves accordingly.

In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent and the Great Seal of Canada to be hereunto affixed. Witness: Our dear uncle, our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor, Alexander Augustus Frederick George, Earl of Athlone, Knight of our most noble Order of the Garter, a member of our most honorable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of our most honorable Order of the Bath, Grand Master of our most distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Grand Cross of our Royal Victorian Order, Companion of our Distinguished Service Order, Colonel in our Army (retired), having the honorary rank of Major-General, one of our personal aides-de-camp, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of our Dominion of Canada.

At our Government House, in our City of Ottawa, this seventh day of December, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-one and in the fifth year of our reign.

By command,

W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada.

PREMIER'S SPEECH

Following is the text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's radio talk Saturday night in which he announced the declaration of a state of war against Hungary, Rumania and Finland was to take effect yesterday:—

TONIGHT, at one minute past 12 midnight, in Britain a state of war was declared to exist between the United Kingdom and Hungary, Rumania and Finland.

The declaration was made by reason of the persistence of those countries in fighting on the side of Germany and against countries allied with Great Britain.

Tonight, at one minute past midnight, Ottawa time, a state of war will also exist between Canada and Hungary, Rumania, and Finland.

The declarations, in the case alike of the United Kingdom and Canada, are as of Sunday, Dec. 7.

The Canadian Government's decision to associate Canada with Britain in a declaration of war similar to that of the United Kingdom was taken at a meeting of the Cabinet held at Ottawa at noon today.

The Government's decision was made in accordance with the authority of the Parliament of Canada, for effective co-operation by Canada at the side of Britain to resist aggression.

DEFENCE JEOPARDIZED

It was also recognized that Hungary, Rumania and Finland in fighting on the side of Germany and against countries allied with Britain in the present war, were helping to place in jeopardy the defence of all the nations of the British Commonwealth, and the freedom of all countries.

During the afternoon, the necessary submission was made to the King. The royal approval was given by His Majesty at 10 o'clock tonight, British time.

The King's proclamation will be issued forthwith, and will be published in a special issue of the Canada Gazette.

Similar action with respect to a declaration of war against Hungary, Rumania and Finland is being taken by the governments of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

In as few words as possible I shall review the course of events which has determined our government's action.

When Germany wantonly attacked Russia in June last, the Hungarian and Rumanian governments joined in that attack. So also did the Government of Finland.

The governments of Hungary and Rumania have been steadily pursuing aggressive military operations against the people and territory of Russia. In close collaboration with Nazi Germany, they have widened the sphere of hostilities.

The collaboration of Rumania and Hungary began with attacks upon Yugoslavia and Greece. This was before the Nazi attack on Russia.

CONSULATE CLOSED

As early as Feb. 15 of this year our government, as a consequence of Rumania's actions, required the Rumanian consulate-general in Montreal to be closed.

Rumania was declared to be proscribed territory under the meaning of the trading with the enemy regulations.

Similar action for similar reasons was taken with respect to the Hungarian consulates in Canada. They were ordered closed on April 8.

The Finnish Government has followed a course which has compelled Britain and other of the nations of the British Commonwealth to treat Finland also as an enemy. Finnish troops have been fighting alongside the Nazi enemy on Russian soil, and the territory of Finland has been used increasingly as a base for German naval, military and air operations.

When, in August last, the British legation was expelled from Helsinki, the Canadian Government ordered the closing of the Finnish consulate-general in Montreal.

D 41964

The danger of the policy it was pursuing was pointed out to the Finnish Government more than once by the governments of the United Kingdom, the United States and Norway. Repeated warnings were in fact given the Finnish Government that if it persisted in the invasion of purely Russian territory, a situation would arise in which a declaration of war would become inevitable.

It was made equally clear that if Finland should end her war against Russia and withdraw to her 1939 frontiers—not those of 1941—every consideration would be given to proposals for her guaranteeing her present and future security, and to measures for economic co-operation.

WARNINGS IGNORED

In spite of these warnings, however, and, indeed, in spite of the repeated protests of large sections of the Finnish people both in their homeland and abroad, the present Finnish regime has persisted in its armed support of the Nazis: has become, indeed, an Axis ally in a general war.

In view of the unmistakable evidence that the actions of the governments of Hungary, Rumania and Finland had become completely subordinated to the policies of Nazi Germany, the United Kingdom Government finally informed these governments that, unless they immediately ceased military operations against Russia, a declaration of war would follow.

The declaration by Canada of the existence of a state of war with Finland, Hungary and Rumania has not been made without the most careful consideration of its effect on the position in Canada of Finnish, Hungarian and Rumanian nationals, or of recently naturalized Canadians formerly of Finnish, Hungarian or Rumanian nationality.

The government is fully convinced of the loyalty of the overwhelming majority of these people ,a loyalty which extends both to Canada and to the great cause to which the Allied nations are committed.

LENIENTLY TREATED

For this reason, measures, such as a state of war ordinarily demands, have not been taken to place such persons automatically in the class of "enemy aliens."

All necessary security measures will, of course, continue to be taken by the Canadian authorities against individuals, of any race or nationality, whose activities are prejudicial to the welfare and security of the state.

We are confident that the Finnish, Hungarian and Rumanian residents of Canada will continue to play their full part in the present struggle. Free men everywhere have had to choose between subservience and opposition to the totalitarian challenge.

The peoples now living in Finland, Hungary and Rumania are clearly under Nazi control. They can resist only passively at the present time, since their actions are circumscribed by the firing squad and the concentration camp.

In Canada, the maintenance of freedom of thought and action represents one of the chief moral issues for which we are fighting.

There are the strongest reasons why, as loyal residents of Canada, citizens of Finnish, Hungarian and Rumanian origins should continue to contribute in fullest measure to the war effort of our country.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
68		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	6 Dec. 1941	D 41963 - D 41964	
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69		Dinner, Saskatchewan. Member of Parliament. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Feb. 1942	D 42205	
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69		Keeping Faith With the People. Speeches in Parliament	25 Feb. 1942	D 42321 - D 42337	
69		Plebiscite Act. Speeches in Parliament	25 Feb. 1942	D 42338 - D 42341	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date DEC 9 1941

Subject

D-1965

HEMISPHERIC WAR IS NOTED BY KING

Prime Minister Addresses Nation in Special Broadcast from Ottawa

'EVERYTHING IN PERIL'

Assails Japanese Aggression and Reviews Steps Taken by Government in Declaring War on Nipponese

Ottawa, December 8.—(CP)—Prime Minister Mackenzie King said tonight in a radio address that Japan's attacks on British and United States outposts in the Pacific has brought the war to the American continent and has made the war one of "hemispheres as well as continents."

"Everything that free men cherish on this side of the grave is in peril in this war," he said.

Mr. King's statement of Canada's position in the Pacific war was broadcast over a national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and heard in the United States over facilities of the Mutual Broadcasting System.

Much of his speech was similar to his remarks at last night's press conference at which he announced the cabinet' decision to fight against Japan.

As a result of Japanese attacks in the Pacific yesterday, "the world encircling danger has grown into actual conflict in all quarters of the globe," Mr. King said.

"This continent has, through the combined actions of the Axis powers, been drawn into the world conflict to the extent of its entire resources. . . .

"The struggle has now reached the point where it has become nothing less than a matter of saving freedom itself, and of saving the world from a condition of universal anarchy and chaos."

There could no longer be any question as to the issue in the conflict. Japan's latest aggression proved beyond doubt the Axis partners were joined "in an attempted world domination."

STRUGGLE TO THE END.

"The conflict fundamentally is one between reliance upon force and reliance upon reason; between pagan barbarism and Christian civilization; between a social order which ignores the individual and one which respects the sacredness of human personality," he said. "It is a conflict between tyranny and democracy. It is a struggle which verily will decide whether mankind is to become increasingly free or revert to a degree of existence which is worse than slavery.

"Let us never forget that everything which free men value and cherish on this side of the grave is in peril in this war."

The Prime Minister said that from yesterday's developments it is certain that Canada's course of action, "the direction of our war effort, the whole underlying motive and driving force of our national life," now will have to be guided by "the visible evidence of conflict, on and across, not one ocean, but two oceans, waged with growing intensity among the most powerful nations of the whole world."

The Prime Minister praised China's five-year stand against the Japanese and said that now the cause of freedom in the East has become one with the cause of freedom in the West.

"We now are fighting not only to preserve civilization in the West, but also to save what is best in the ancient civilization of the Orient," he said.

". . . The assurance that the nations of the British Commonwealth and the United States are sharing in their struggle for freedom will give new hope to the Chinese people."

Mr. King described how he called a meeting of the cabinet as soon as he had official information of Japan's aggression in the Pacific. News of the developments reached Canada "out of a blue sky." Japan was following the Nazi pattern of aggression by resort increasingly to deception, terrorism and violence.

"It was the blitzkrieg all over again," the Prime Minister said.

CANADIANS IN ACTION.

Canadian troops were stationed at Hong Kong where they arrived November 15.

"We knew that as Japanese action progressed our troops might at any moment be under fire," he said. "In these circumstances, it appeared to my (cabinet) colleagues and myself that it was the duty of the Government to act with all possible speed and decision."

To summon Parliament would have taken about a week, and the Government had no doubt Parliament would approve the Government's decision that Canada should enter the war.

"In the circumstances," he said, "it was felt that formal approval might await the reassembling of Parliament in January." Accordingly a submission for approval of a declaration of war was sent to the King and his approval was given at 7:10 a.m. E.D.T. today.

"Defence plans made months ago, many of them jointly with the United States and Great Britain, now are being put quickly into effect," the Prime Minister said.

"The machinery for economic and financial control which had been set up during recent months was brought into operation against Japan.

"All necessary security measures have been taken and censorship regulations put into force."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date DEC 9 1941

Subject D 41966

Everything We Cherish Is in Peril' – Mr. King

Ottawa, Dec. 8 (CP).—Prime Minister Mackenzie King said tonight in a radio address that Japan's attacks on British and United States outposts in the Pacific has brought the war to the American Continent and has made the war one of "hemispheres as well as continents."

"Everything that free men cherish on this side of the grave is in peril in this war," he said.

Mr. King's statement of Canada's position in the Pacific war was broadcast over a national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and heard in the United States over facilities of the Mutual Broadcasting System.

As a result of Japanese attacks in the Pacific yesterday, "the world encircling danger has grown into actual conflict in all quarters of the globe," Mr. King said.

"This continent has, through the combined actions of the Axis powers, been drawn into the world conflict to the extent of its entire resources. . . .

"The struggle has now reached the point where it has become nothing less than a matter of saving freedom itself, and of saving the world from a condition of universal anarchy and chaos."

There could no longer be any question as to the issue in the conflict. Japan's latest aggression proved beyond doubt the Axis partners were joined 'in an attempted world domination."

"The conflict fundamentally is one between reliance upon force and reliance upon reason; between pagan barbarism and Christian civilization; between a social order which ignores the individual and one which respects the sacredness of human personality," he said. "It is a conflict between tyranny and democracy. It is a struggle which verily will decide whether mankind is to become increasingly free or revrt to a degree of existence which is worse than slavery.

"Let us never forget that everything which free men value and cherish on this side of the grave is in peril in this war."

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date DEC 9 1941

Subject

D41967

Mr. King Says It Is Now War Of Hemispheres

Prime Minister Declares Actual Conflict Has Now Spread to All Quarters Of the Globe.

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World Domination.

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Praises China's Stand.

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"We now are fighting not only to preserve civilization in the West, but also to save what is best in the ancient civilization of the Orient," he said.

". . . The assurance that the nations of the British Commonwealth and the United States are sharing in their struggle for freedom will give new hope to the Chinese people."

Mr. King described how he called a meeting of the cabinet as soon as he had official information of Japan's aggression in the Pacific. News of the developments reached Canada "out of a blue sky." Japan was following the Nazi pattern of aggression by resort increasingly to deception, terrorism and violence.

"It was the blitzkrieg all over again," the Prime Minister said.

Canadian troops were stationed at Hong Kong where they arrived Nov. 15.

"We knew that as Japanese action progressed our troops might at any moment be under fire," he said. "In these circumstances, it appeared to my (cabinet) colleagues and myself that it was the duty of the government to act with all possible speed and decision."

To summon Parliament would have taken about a week, and the government had no doubt Parliament would approve the government's decision that Canada should enter the war.

"In the circumstances," he said, "it was felt that formal approval might await the reassembling of Parliament in January." Accordingly a submission for approval of a declaration of war was sent to the King and his approval was given at 7.10 a.m. E.D.T. today.

"Defence plans made months ago, many of them jointly with the United States and Great Britain, now are being put quickly into effect," the Prime Minister said.

"The machinery for economic and financial control which had been set up during recent months was brought into operation against Japan.

"All necessary security measures have been taken and censorship regulations put into force."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date DEC 9 1941

Subject

D 41988

Require Japs To Sign Undertaking To Abide By Law

Prime Minister Mackenzie King said last night that all Japanese nationals in Canada, and Japanese naturalized since 1922, will be required to report to Royal Canadian Mounted Police and sign an undertaking that they will abide by the law and do nothing to hamper the war effort.

In a radio address Mr. King said all Japanese nationals will, in principle, be treated in the same way as nationals of Germany and Italy.

"Those who are considered dangerous are being interned at once," he said.

"All other Japanese nationals, and Japanese naturalized since 1922, will be required to report to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and to sign the undertaking required of all enemy aliens.

"As a precautionary measure, persons in Canada of Japanese origin have been registered and finger-printed. The competent authorities are satisfied that the security situation is well in hand, and are confident of the correct and loyal behavior of Canadian residents of Japanese origin."

Most of Canada's Japanese population is concentrated in British Columbia. Commissioner S. T. Wood of the R.C.M.P. said yesterday police activities in rounding up Japanese residents on a "selective basis" were continuing "according to a prearranged plan."

There has been no indication yet of the number of Japanese taken into custody.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date DEC 9 1941

Subject

D 41969

Canada's Plans For Defence Now Operating

Entire Resources of Continent Drawn Into World Conflict

Prime Minister King said last night in a radio address that Japan's attacks on British and United States outposts in the Pacific has brought the war to the American Continent and has made the war one of "hemispheres as well as continents".

"Everything that free men cherish on this side of the grave is in peril in this war", he said.

Heard in U.S.

Mr. King's statement of Canada's position in the Pacific war was broadcast over a national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and heard in the United States over facilities of the Mutual Broadcasting System.

Much of his speech was similar to his remarks at Sunday night's press conference at which he announced the Cabinet's decision to fight against Japan.

As a result of Japanese attacks in the Pacific Sunday, "the world encircling danger has grown into actual conflict in all quarters of the globe", Mr. King said.

"This continent has, through the combined actions of the Axis powers, been drawn into the world conflict to the extent of its entire resources. . . .

"The struggle has now reached the point where it has become nothing less than a matter of saving freedom itself, and of saving the world from a condition of universal anarchy and chaos."

Mr. King described how he called a meeting of the Cabinet as soon as he had official information of Japan's aggression in the Pacific. News of the developments reached Canada "out of a blue sky". Japan was following the Nazi pattern of aggression by resort increasingly to deception, terrorism and violence.

"It was the blitzkrieg all over again."

Canadian troops were stationed at Hong Kong where they arrived Nov. 15.

"We knew that as Japanese action progressed our troops might at any moment be under fire. In these circumstances, it appeared to my (Cabinet) colleagues and myself that it was the duty of the Government to act with all possible speed and decision."

To summon Parliament would have taken about a week, and the Government had no doubt Parliament would approve the Government's decision that Canada should enter the war.

"In the circumstances it was felt that formal approval might await the reassembling of Parliament in January." Accordingly a submission for approval of a declaration of war was sent to the King and his approval was given at 7.10 a.m., E.D.T. yesterday.

"Defence plans made months ago, many of them jointly with the United States and Great Britain, now are being put quickly into effect", the Prime Minister said.

"The machinery for economic and financial control which had been set up during recent months was brought into operation against Japan.

"All necessary security measures have been taken and censorship regulations put into force."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star,

Date Dec. 9/41

Subject

5166

D 41970

Premier King Explains Action

OTTAWA, Dec. 9—(C. P.)—Following is the text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's address last night over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's National Network:

For weeks past the free countries of the world have anxiously followed the course of negotiations between the Governments of the United States and Japan. These negotiations, it was hoped, might serve to establish an enduring peace on the Pacific, and thereby restrict the area of conflict in the present war.

Yesterday the peoples of the United States and of the British Empire learned with amazement that the negotiations so well intended by the United States had, in fact, been made a cover by Japan for a carefully planned attack upon United States territories and forces, and upon British territories and forces in the Pacific.

Out of a blue sky on a quiet Sunday afternoon, we, in Canada, heard that Hitler's Axis partner in the Orient had joined Germany in her effort at world domination. In all particulars, Japan was following the Nazi pattern of aggression by resort increasingly to deception, terrorism and violence.

It was the blitzkrieg all over again.

Today, you have heard the infamous conduct of Japan denounced by the President of the United States, and by the Prime Minister of Great Britain. You have also learned of the immediate manner in which the Japanese challenge has been met by the governments of each of these countries.

I need not repeat what you have already been told by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. My purpose tonight is to supplement what has already been said, by a statement of Canada's position.

CANADA ACTED PROMPTLY

Canada's action was taken promptly.

Yesterday, as soon as I received authoritative information of the outbreak of hostilities, I summoned the cabinet to meet at 7.30 in the evening. It was at once recognized that Japan's actions were a threat to the defence and freedom of Canada and the other nations of the British Commonwealth.

As a result of our deliberations it was decided that the Government of Canada should immediately associate itself with the Government of the United Kingdom in hostilities against Japan. In reaching this decision, tne Cabinet acted upon the authority given at the outbreak of war by the decision of Parliament for effective co-operation by Canada at the side of Britain to resist aggression.

An Order-in-Council was passed recommending the authorization by His Majesty the King of a proclamation declaring the existence of a state of war between Canada and Japan from Dec. 7.

The necessary submission was made to the King after the meeting of the cabinet. The Royal approval was given by His Majesty this afternoon, at 1.10 p.m., British time, which would be 7.10 a.m. Ottawa time.

The proclamation has since been published in a special issue of the Canada Gazette.

In taking the prompt action we did, my colleagues and I had much in mind the assurances publicly given by Mr. Churchill to the United States on behalf of Great Britain. The first of these assurances, broadcast on Aug. 24, at a time I myself was Mr. Churchill's guest, was to the effect that if negotiations between Japan and the United States should fail, the United Kingdom would, of course, range itself unhesitatingly at the side of the United States.

This guarantee of Britain's support Mr. Churchill repeated in another world broadcast on Nov. 10. This time he said that if Japan made war against the United States, Britain would declare war within the hour.

When, five days later, Canadian forces landed at Hong Kong, I made the statement that defence against aggression, actual or threatened, in any part of the world, was today a part of the defence of every country which still enjoyed freedom. I added that it was in accordance with that view that the Canadian Government deemed it advisable to associate Canadian troops with the forces of other parts of the British Commonwealth stationed in the Orient.

OUTBREAK EXPECTED

We knew that as Japanese action progressed our troops might at any moment be under fire.

In these circumstances, it appeared to my colleagues and myself that it was the duty of the Government to act with all possible speed and decision.

Having regard to the momentous character of the decision, my first thought was to summon Parliament immediately, in order to associate both Houses with the declaration of a state of war between Canada and Japan.

I had recently stated in Parliament that Canada's position with respect to co-operation between Britain and the United States in the Far East was well known. The presence of Canadian troops in Hong Kong had been greeted with widespread approval throughout the country.

In the mind of the Government there was no doubt that Parliament would approve the Government's decision. To bring Members of Parliament together from all parts of Canada would require almost a week.

In the circumstances, it was felt that formal approval might await the reassembling of Parliament in January.

I should mention perhaps that during the afternoon I communicated by telephone with Mr. (R. B.) Hanson, the leader of the Opposition, with Mr. (M. J. Coldwell and Mr. (John) Blackmore, the leaders of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and Social Credit groups in the House of Commons, to give them such information as the Government had received, and to inform them of the Government's intention to advise His Majesty the King to issue a proclamation declaring the existence of a state of war between Canada and Japan, as from Dec. 7.

The chiefs-of-staff were called into conference with the Government during the evening. At the conclusion of the meeting, it was announced that pending formal declaration of war, Canada's armed forces had been ordered to engage the enemy wherever found.

Defence plans made months ago, many of them jointly with

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

D 41971

the United States and Great Britain, now are being put quickly into effect. The machinery for economic and financial control which had been set up during recent months was brought into operation against Japan. All necessary security measures have been taken and censorship regulations put into force.

LEGATION NOTIFIED

This afternoon, I notified the Japanese Minister that the Japanese Legation and consular staffs will be given their passports as soon as satisfactory arrangements have been made for the return to Canada of Canadian diplomatic and trade commissioner staffs in the Far East.

The action of the Government has been based upon continuous consideration over many months of the situation in the Far East. There has been, throughout, the closest consultation between the Canadian Government and the governments of the United Kingdom, the other nations of the British Commonwealth, and the Government of the United States.

One effect of the outbreak of war between Canada and Japan has been the automatic abrogations of treaties and agreements heretofore existing between the two countries. This includes the immigration agreement which was effected in 1928 and which allowed a small number of Japanese immigrants into Canada each year.

I wish especially to refer to the position of Japanese residents of Canada. All Japanese nationals will, in principle, be treated in the same way as nationals of Germany and Italy. Those who are considered dangerous are being interned at once.

All other Japanese nationals, and Japanese naturalized since 1922, will be required to report to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and to sign the undertaking required of all enemy aliens.

As a precautionary measure, persons in Canada of Japanese origin have been registered and fingerprinted. The competent authorities are satisfied that the security situation is well in hand, and are confident of the correct and loyal behavior of Canadian residents of Japanese origin.

May I say a word also with reference to China. Today, the free nations of the world have joined forces with China in resistance to Japanese aggression. The cause of freedom in the West has been united with the cause of freedom in the Far East in a struggle which has become one and indivisible.

We now are fighting not only to preserve civilization in the West, but also to save what is best in the ancient civilization of the Orient.

FIFTH YEAR OF WAR

China now is in the fifth year of unbroken war against Japanese aggression. If any nation ever fought against an evil it had done nothing to deserve, that nation is China.

The sufferings of her patient people are as great as were ever visited upon one country. The uncomplaining courage of the Chinese has not been surpassed in the annals of human resistance.

The assurance that the nations of the British Commonwealth and the United States are sharing in their struggle for freedom will give new hope to the Chinese people.

From all of the developments of yesterday, it is certain that Canada's course of action, the direction of our war effort the whole underlying motive and driving force of our national life, will now have to be guided by the visible evidence of conflict, on and across, not one ocean, but two oceans, waged with growing intensity among the most powerful nations of the whole world.

In Parliament and out of Parliament, from the very beginning of the war, I have stressed two things: The first, the world aspect of the danger: The second, the moral character of the issue.

It has taken the past two years for most countries to come to see the all-encompassing aspect of the conflict. Nazi aggression against a single country in Europe rapidly developed into aggression over the face of the entire continent.

From Europe, it spread to Africa. In Asia, Japanese aggression began years ago with an attack on China. Japan's attack upon United States' and British possessions in the Orient has brought the war to the continent of America.

It now is a war of hemispheres as well as of continents.

To the battle of the Atlantic has been added the Battle of the Pacific. The world-encircling danger has grown into actual conflict in all quarters of the globe.

This continent has, through the combined actions of the Axis powers, been drawn into the world conflict to the extent of its entire resources. We have all come to see that no nation is sufficient unto itself, no continent and no hemisphere great enough in its own strength to maintain its freedom.

FREEDOM AT STAKE

The struggle now has reached the point where it has become nothing less than a matter of saving freedom itself, and of saving the world from a condition of universal anarchy and chaos.

As to the issue, there can be no longer any question. Japan's latest aggression proves beyond doubt that the Axis partners are joined together in an attempt at world domination.

The conflict fundamentally is one between reliance upon force and reliance upon reason; between pagan barbarism and Christian civilization; between a social order which ignores the individual and one which respects the sacredness of human personality.

It is a conflict between tyranny and democracy. It is a struggle which verily will decide whether mankind is to become increasingly free or revert to a degree of existence which is worse than slavery.

Let us never forget that everything which free men value and cherish on this sire of the grave is in peril in this war.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL 5166/41

Date DEC 9 1941

Subject D 41972

All Japs in Canada Must Report to Police

Prime Minister King said on Monday night that all Japanese nationals in Canada, and Japanese naturalized since 1922, will be required to report to Royal Canadian Mounted Police and sign an undertaking that they will abide by the law and do nothing to hamper the war effort.

Mr. King said all Japanese nationals will, in principle, be treated in the same way as nationals of Germany and Italy.

"Those who are considered dangerous are being interned at once."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Moncton Transcript

Date Dec. 9/41

Subject

D41972-1

THE LEADERS SPEAK

Throughout the world of free men yesterday the voices of the leaders were heard. In London, Churchill spoke; in Washington, Roosevelt; in Melbourne, Curtin; in Ottawa, Mackenzie King. With one voice they denounced the premeditated and unprovoked attacks launched by the Japanese upon the free nations. With equal unanimity they pledged their nations and their peoples to the task of defeating the aggressors and destroying the forces which have been unleashed in the Orient to strike at the rights of free peoples to live their own lives in peace and security.

Their declarations were upheld in the capitals of other nations, less exposed to the designs of the aggressors but sharing the danger which lies in plans of ruthless enemies for the domination of the world by conscienceless force. The western hemisphere, which had not been entirely committed to resistance to the designs of the European tyrants, now saw its safety threatened from the west as well as from the east, and one nation after another joined hands in the pact of mutual assistance against the danger that now was more clearly realized.

The issue was described in a sentence by Prime Minister Mackenzie King when he said: "Everything that free men value this side of the grave is imperilled by this war," and free men throughout the world are rising in their might for the defense of those things which they hold dearer than life itself.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
68		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	6 Dec. 1941	D 41963 - D 41964	
68		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Dec. 1941	D 41965 - D 41972	
68		Introduction of the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill. Speeches in Parliament	30 Dec. 1941	D 41973 - D 42004	
69		Tribute to the Memory of Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe. Speeches in Parliament	21 Jan. 1942	D 42005 - D 42014	
69		Speeches on the Address. Speeches in Parliament	26 Jan. 1942	D 42015 - D 42204	
69		Dinner, Saskatchewan. Member of Parliament. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Feb. 1942	D 42205	
69		Second Victory Loan, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Feb. 1942	D 42206 - D 42320	
69		Keeping Faith With the People. Speeches in Parliament	25 Feb. 1942	D 42321 - D 42337	
69		Plebiscite Act. Speeches in Parliament	25 Feb. 1942	D 42338 - D 42341	

Introduction of Mr. Churchill by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
December 30, 1941
Ottawa Parliament Buildings House of Commons

D 41973

Mr. Speaker,

Honourable members of the Senate and

of the House of Commons:

On behalf of the government and people of Canada, I have the honour, this afternoon, to renew the welcome already extended with unlimited enthusiasm from all parts of our Dominion to the Prime Minister of Britain, the Right Honourable Winston Churchill.

I desire to express to Mr. Churchill the thanks of the entire country for his visit to Canada at this time, and for his having so kindly consented, while in our Capital city, to address the members of the two Houses of Parliament, and to speak, from this House of Commons Chamber, to all the people of Canada.

I need not say to Mr. Churchill how unbounded is our admiration of the brave people of Britain, nor how completely he is to us the personification of Britain's greatness, never more apparent than in this time of gravest crisis in the history of the world.

I speak, Mr. Churchill, for all members when I say that the Parliament of Canada was never more sure of its ground than when, at the commencement of the war, it took its stand at the side of Britain in her determination to thwart

aggression and to preserve freedom. Canada was never ~~more~~ broader proud of that stand than today, when, after sharing ~~for more~~ than two and a quarter years with Britain and other of the nations of the Commonwealth ~~in the defence of freedom~~, she is honoured as we especially are this afternoon by the presence in her halls of Parliament of the man who ~~throughout that time~~, by his clear vision, undaunted courage, inspired utterance and heroic spirit, has given such incomparable leadership to the hosts of freedom.

Again I speak for all members of Parliament, and for the Canadian people as a whole when I say that we are ~~unitedly~~ determined to maintain our stand at Britain's side and at the side of the other nations that fight for freedom, ~~and in that determination~~, but are also determined to put forth our utmost effort until the day of ultimate triumph over the evil forces that now seek to dominate the world. ~~For~~ Canadians, ~~by~~ it is ~~the~~ Providence by which your life has been guided and guarded amid the perils and vicissitudes of war, may continue to give you the vision, the wisdom and the endurance required for your mighty task, and may you be spared to share in the hour of victory the reward of your life's endeavour.

Mr. Speaker, ~~Honourable Senators and members of the House of Commons~~, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill.

INTRODUCTION OF RT. HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL D41975

BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

Mr. Speaker,

Honourable members of the Senate and of the House of Commons:

On behalf of the government and people of Canada, I have the honour, this afternoon, to renew the welcome already extended from all parts of our country to the Prime Minister of Britain, the Right Honourable Winston Churchill.

I desire to express to Mr. Churchill the thanks of the entire country for his visit to Canada at this time. I thank him also for having so kindly consented, while in our Capital city, to address the members of the two Houses of Parliament, and to speak, from this House of Commons Chamber, to all the people of Canada.

I need not say to Mr. Churchill how unbounded is our admiration of the brave people of Britain. Nor need I tell him how completely he is to us, the personification of Britain's greatness. That greatness was never more apparent than in this time of gravest crisis in the history of the world.

I speak, Mr. Churchill, for all the members of both Houses when I say that the Parliament of Canada was never more sure of its ground than when, at the very beginning of the war,

D 41976

beginning of the war, it took its stand at the side of Britain in her determination to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom. Canada was never prouder of that stand than today, when, after sharing in arms for more than two and a quarter years, with Britain and other of the nations of the British Commonwealth in the defence of freedom, she is honoured, as we especially are this afternoon, by the presence in her halls of Parliament of the man who by his clear vision, undaunted courage, inspired utterance and heroic spirit, has given such incomparable leadership to the hosts of freedom.

Again I speak for all members of Parliament, and for the Canadian people as a whole, when I say that we are unreservedly determined to maintain our stand at Britain's side and at the side of the other nations that fight for freedom. In that determination, we are also resolved to put forth our utmost effort until the day of ultimate triumph over the evil forces that now seek to dominate the world.

Mr. Churchill, it is the prayer of the people of Canada that the Divine Power by which your life has been guided and guarded amid the perils and vicissitudes of war, may continue to give you the vision, the wisdom and the endurance required for your mighty task. May you be spared to share in the hour of victory the reward of your life's endeavour.

Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill.

December 30, 1941

D41977

Mr. Speaker,

Honourable members of the Senate and

of the House of Commons:

On behalf of the government and people of Canada, I have the honour, this afternoon, to renew the welcome already extended ~~with unlimited enthusiasm~~ from all parts of our Dominion to the Prime Minister of Britain, the Right Honourable Winston Churchill.

I desire to express to Mr. Churchill the thanks of the entire country for his visit to Canada at this time, ~~and for~~ I thank him also for ~~his~~ having so kindly consented, while in our Capital city, to address the members of the two Houses of Parliament, and to speak from this House of Commons Chamber to all the people of Canada.

I need not say to Mr. Churchill how unbounded is our admiration of the brave people of Britain, ~~and~~ nor need I tell him how completely he is to us the personification of Britain's greatness. That greatness was never more apparent than in this time of gravest crisis in the history of the world.

I speak, Mr. Churchill, for all ~~parts~~ the members of both Houses when I say that the Parliament of Canada was never more sure of its ground than when, at the ~~commencement~~ very beginning of the war, it took its stand at the side of Britain in her determination to thwart

D 41978

aggression and to preserve freedom. Canada was never ~~more~~ prouder of that stand than today, when after sharing for more than two and a quarter years with Britain and other of the nations of the Commonwealth in the defence of freedom, she is honoured as we especially are this afternoon by the presence in her halls of Parliament of the one who, ~~throughout that time~~, by his clear vision, undaunted courage, inspired utterance and heroic spirit, has given such incomparable leadership to the hosts of freedom. Members of Parliament

Again I speak for all parts and for the Canadian people as a whole when I say that we are unitedly determined to maintain our stand at Britain's side and at the side of the other nations that fight for freedom, and in that determination, to put forth our utmost effort until the day of ultimate triumph over the evil forces that now seek to dominate the world.

May the Divine Providence by which your life has been guided and guarded amid the perils and vicissitudes of war, continue to give you the vision, the wisdom and the endurance required for your mighty task, and spare you to share in the hour of victory the reward of your life's endeavour.

Mr. Speaker,

Honourable Senators and members of the House of Commons, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill.

December 30, 1941

D41979

Mr. Speaker,

Honourable members of the Senate and

of the House of Commons:

On behalf of the government and people of Canada, I have the honour, this afternoon, to renew the welcome already extended ~~with unlimited enthusiasm~~ from all parts of ~~our~~ ~~Dominion~~ to the Prime Minister of Britain, the Right Honourable Winston Churchill.

I desire to express to Mr. Churchill the thanks of the entire country for his visit to Canada at this time, ~~and for~~ I thank his ~~his~~ having so kindly consented, while in our Capital city, to address the members of the two Houses of Parliament, and to speak from this House of Commons Chamber to all the people of Canada.

I need not say to Mr. Churchill how unbounded is our admiration of the brave people of Britain, ~~nor~~ how I need I tell him completely he is to us the personification of Britain's greatness, never more apparent than in this time of gravest crisis in the history of the world. That greatness was

I speak, Mr. Churchill, for all ~~parts~~ when I say that the Parliament of Canada was never more sure of its ground than when, at the ~~commencement~~ very beginning of the war, it took its stand at the side of Britain in her determination to thwart

D 41980

aggression and to preserve freedom. Canada was never ~~more~~ prouder of that stand than today, when, after sharing for more than two and a quarter years, with Britain and other of the nations of the British Commonwealth, especially in the defence of freedom, she is honoured as we are this afternoon by the presence in her halls of Parliament of the man who, ~~throughout that time,~~ by his clear vision, undaunted courage, inspired utterance and heroic spirit, has given such incomparable leadership to the hosts of freedom.

Again I speak for all members of Parliament and for the Canadian people as a whole when I say that we are determined to maintain our stand at Britain's side and at the side of the other nations that fight for freedom, and in that resolve we are also resolved to put forth our utmost effort until the day of ultimate triumph over the evil forces that now seek to dominate the world. May Mr. Churchill feel that in the prayers of the people of Canada that the Divine Power by which your life has been guided and guarded amid the perils and vicissitudes of war, may continue to give you the vision, the wisdom and the endurance required for your mighty task, and may you be spared to share in the hour of victory the reward of your life's endeavour.

Mr. Speaker, ~~Honourable Senators and members of the House of Commons~~, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill.

INTRODUCTION OF RT. HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL

BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

D 41981

Mr. Speaker,

Honourable members of the Senate and of the House of Commons:

On behalf of the government and people of Canada, I have the honour, this afternoon, to renew the welcome already extended from all parts of our country to the Prime Minister of Britain, the Right Honourable Winston Churchill.

I desire to express to Mr. Churchill the thanks of the entire country for his visit to Canada at this time. I thank him also for having so kindly consented, while in our Capital city, to address the members of the two Houses of Parliament, and to speak, from this House of Commons Chamber, to all the people of Canada.

I need not say to Mr. Churchill how unbounded is our admiration of the brave people of Britain. Nor need I tell him how completely he is to us the personification of Britain's greatness. That greatness was never more apparent than in this time of gravest crisis in the history of the world.

I speak, Mr. Churchill, for all the members of both Houses when I say that the Parliament of Canada was never more sure of its ground than when, at the very beginning of the war,

D 41982

beginning of the war, it took its stand at the side of Britain in her determination to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom. Canada was never prouder of that stand than today, when, after sharing in arms for more than two and a quarter years, with Britain and other of the nations of the British Commonwealth in the defence of freedom, she is honoured, as we especially are this afternoon, by the presence in her halls of Parliament of the man who by his clear vision, undaunted courage, inspired utterance and heroic spirit, has given such incomparable leadership to the hosts of freedom.

Again I speak for all members of Parliament, and for the Canadian people as a whole, when I say that we are determined to maintain our stand at Britain's side and at the side of the other nations that fight for freedom. In that determination, we are also resolved to put forth our utmost effort until the day of ultimate triumph over the evil forces that now seek to dominate the world.

Mr. Churchill, it is the prayer of the people of Canada that the Divine Power by which your life has been guided and guarded amid the perils and vicissitudes of war, may continue to give you the vision, the wisdom and the endurance required for your mighty task. May you be spared to share in the hour of victory the reward of your life's endeavour.

D 41983

Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill.

D 41984

INTRODUCTION OF RT. HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL
BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

Mr. Speaker,

Honourable members of the Senate and

of the House of Commons:

On behalf of the government and people of Canada, I have the honour, this afternoon, to renew the welcome already extended from all parts of our country to the Prime Minister of Britain, the Right Honourable Winston Churchill.

I desire to express to Mr. Churchill the thanks of the entire country for his visit to Canada at this time. I thank him also for having so kindly consented, while in our Capital city, to address the members of the two Houses of Parliament, and to speak, from this House of Commons Chamber, to all the people of Canada.

I need not say to Mr. Churchill how unbounded is our admiration of the brave people of Britain. Nor need I tell him how completely he is to us the personification of Britain's greatness. That greatness was never more apparent than in this time of gravest crisis in the history of the world.

I speak, Mr. Churchill, for all the members of both Houses when I say that the Parliament of Canada was never more sure of its ground than when, at the very

beginning of the war,

D 41985

beginning of the war, it took its stand at the side of Britain in her determination to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom. Canada was never prouder of that stand than today, when, after sharing in arms for more than two and a quarter years, with Britain and other of the nations of the British Commonwealth in the defence of freedom, she is honoured, as we especially are this afternoon, by the presence in her halls of Parliament of the man who by his clear vision, undaunted courage, inspired utterance and heroic spirit, has given such incomparable leadership to the hosts of freedom.

Again I speak for all members of Parliament, and for the Canadian people as a whole, when I say that we are unreservedly determined to maintain our stand at Britain's side and at the side of the other nations that fight for freedom. In that determination, we are also resolved to put forth our utmost effort until the day of ultimate triumph over the evil forces that now seek to dominate the world.

Mr. Churchill, it is the prayer of the people of Canada that the Divine Power by which your life has been guided and guarded amid the perils and vicissitudes of war, may continue to give you the vision, the wisdom and the endurance required for your mighty task. May you be spared to share in the hour of victory the reward of your life's endeavour.

Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill.

D 41987

INTRODUCTION OF RT. HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL
BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

Mr. Speaker,

Honourable members of the Senate and

of the House of Commons:

On behalf of the government and people of Canada, I have the honour, this afternoon, to renew the welcome already extended from all parts of our country to the Prime Minister of Britain, the Right Honourable Winston Churchill.

I desire to express to Mr. Churchill the thanks of the entire country for his visit to Canada at this time. I thank him also for having so kindly consented, while in our Capital city, to address the members of the two Houses of Parliament, and to speak, from this House of Commons Chamber, to all the people of Canada.

I need not say to Mr. Churchill how unbounded is our admiration of the brave people of Britain. Nor need I tell him how completely he is to us the personification of Britain's greatness. That greatness was never more apparent than in this time of gravest crisis in the history of the world.

I speak, Mr. Churchill, for all the members of both Houses when I say that the Parliament of Canada was never more sure of its ground than when, at the very

beginning of the war,

D 41988

beginning of the war, it took its stand at the side of Britain in her determination to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom. Canada was never prouder of that stand than today, when, after sharing in arms for more than two and a quarter years, with Britain and other of the nations of the British Commonwealth in the defence of freedom, she is honoured, as we especially are this afternoon, by the presence in her halls of Parliament of the man who by his clear vision, undaunted courage, inspired utterance and heroic spirit, has given such incomparable leadership to the hosts of freedom.

Again I speak for all members of Parliament, and for the Canadian people as a whole, when I say that we are/ unreservedly determined to maintain our stand at Britain's side and at the side of the other nations that fight for freedom. In that determination, we are also resolved to put forth our utmost effort until the day of ultimate triumph over the evil forces that now seek to dominate the world.

Mr. Churchill, it is the prayer of the people of Canada that the Divine Power by which your life has been guided and guarded amid the perils and vicissitudes of war, may continue to give you the vision, the wisdom and the endurance required for your mighty task. May you be spared to share in the hour of victory the reward of your life's endeavour.

D41989

Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill.

INTRODUCTION OF RT. HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL

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D 41990

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D 41991

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Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill.

INTRODUCTION OF RT. HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL D41992

BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

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D 41993

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Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa Journal

Date December 31, 1941

Subject Prime Minister Winston Churchill (House of Commons Ottawa - December 30-'41)

Premier King's Introduction Of Mr. Churchill

Following is the text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's brief speech Tuesday afternoon introducing Prime Minister Winston Churchill in the House of Commons Chamber:

Mr. Speaker, Honorable Members of the Senate and of the House of Commons:

On behalf of the Government and people of Canada, I have the honor, this afternoon, to renew the welcome already extended from all parts of our country to the Prime Minister of Britain, the Right Honorable Winston Churchill.

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May you be spared to share in the hour of victory the reward of your life's endeavor.

Mr. Speaker, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Right Honorable Winston Churchill.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

AN

ADDRESS

TO THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

by

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WINSTON CHURCHILL
Prime Minister of Great Britain

And Proceedings Incidental Thereto

DECEMBER 30, 1941

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

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

D 41996

ADDRESS

by

The Right Honourable WINSTON CHURCHILL

Prime Minister of Great Britain

TO THE

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

HOUSE OF COMMONS CHAMBER, OTTAWA

December 30, 1941

Members of the House of Commons and of the Senate assembled in the Commons Chamber at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Hon. James Allison Glen, Speaker of the House of Commons presiding

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Proceedings opened by Hon. James Allison Glen, Speaker of the House of Commons.

Mr. SPEAKER: Your Royal Highness, Mr. Churchill, honourable members of the Senate and of the House of Commons, ladies and gentlemen: I would ask the Right Hon. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister of Canada, to introduce the Right Hon. Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister of Britain.

Introduction by Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, hon. members of the Senate and of the House of Commons.

On behalf of the Government and people of Canada I have the honour this afternoon to renew the welcome already extended from all parts of our country to the Prime Minister of Britain, the Right Hon. Winston Churchill. I desire to express to Mr. Churchill the thanks of the entire country for his visit to Canada at this time. I thank him also for having so kindly consented while in our capital city to address the members of the two Houses of Parliament, and to speak from this House of Commons chamber to all the people of Canada.

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I speak, Mr. Churchill, for all the members of both houses when I say that the parliament of Canada was never more sure of its ground than when at the very beginning of the war it took its stand at the side of Britain in her determination to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom. Canada was never prouder of that stand than to-day, when, after sharing in arms for more than two and a quarter years with Britain and other of the nations of the British Commonwealth in the defence of freedom, she is honoured, as we especially are this afternoon, by the presence in her halls of parliament of the man who, by his clear vision, undaunted courage, inspired utterance and heroic spirit, has given such incomparable leadership to the hosts of freedom.

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Mr. SPEAKER: The Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Right Honourable Winston Churchill.

Address by Right Hon. Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain

Right Hon. WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL: Mr. Speaker, members of the Senate and members of the House of Commons, it is with feelings of pride and encouragement that I find myself here in the House of Commons of Canada invited to address the Parliament of the senior Dominion of the Crown. I am very glad to see again my old friend Mr. Mackenzie King, for fifteen out of twenty years your Prime Minister, and I thank him for the all too complimentary terms in which he has referred to myself.

I bring you, Mr. Speaker, the assurance of good will and affection from everyone in the motherland. We are most grateful for all you have done in the common cause, and we know that you are resolved to do whatever more is possible as the need arises and as opportunity serves.

Canada, sir, occupies a unique position in the British Empire because of its unbreakable ties with Britain and its ever-growing friendship and intimate association with the United States. Canada is a potent magnet, drawing together those in the new world and in the old whose fortunes are now united in a deadly struggle for life and honour against the common foe.

Canada's Contribution Magnificent

The contribution of Canada to the Imperial War Effort, in troops, in ships, in aircraft, in food and in finance has been magnificent. The Canadian army now stationed in England has chafed not to find itself in contact with the enemy, but I am here to tell you that it has stood and still stands in the key position to strike at the invader should he land upon our shores. In a few months, when the invasion season returns, the Canadian army may be engaged in one of the most frightful battles the world has ever seen. Upon the other hand their presence may help to deter the enemy from attempting to fight such a battle on British soil. Although, sir, the long routine of training and preparation is undoubtedly trying to men who left prosperous farms and businesses or other responsible civil work, inspired by an eager and ardent desire to fight the enemy, although this is trying to high-metalled temperaments, the value of the service rendered is unquestionable, and the peculiar kind of self-sacrifice involved, will, I am sure, be cheerfully or at least patiently endured.

Sir, the Canadian government has imposed no limitation upon the use of the Canadian army whether upon the continent of Europe or elsewhere, and I think it extremely unlikely that this war will end without the Canadian army coming to close quarters with the Germans as their fathers did at Ypres, on the Somme, or on the Vimy Ridge.

Already, at Hong Kong, that beautiful colony which the industry and mercantile enterprise of Britain has raised from a desert isle and made the greatest port of shipping in the whole world, at Hong Kong, that colony wrested from us for a time, until we reach the peace table, by the overwhelming power of the home forces of Japan to which it lay in proximity—at Hong Kong soldiers of the Royal Rifles of Canada and Winnipeg Grenadiers, under a brave officer whose loss we mourn, have played a valuable part in gaining precious days and have crowned with military honour the reputation of their native land.

Another major contribution made by Canada to the imperial war effort is the wonderful and gigantic empire training scheme for pilots for the royal and imperial air forces. This has now been, as you know well, in full career for nearly two years under conditions free from all interference by the enemy.

The daring youth of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, together with many thousands from the homeland, are perfecting their training under the best conditions, and we have been assisted on a large scale by the United States, many of whose training facilities have been placed at our disposal. This scheme will provide us in 1942 and 1943 with the highest class of trained pilots, observers and air gunners in the numbers necessary to man the enormous flow of aircraft which the factories of Britain, of the empire and of the United States are and will be producing.

I could, sir, speak also on the naval production of corvettes and above all of merchant ships which is proceeding on a scale almost equal to the building of the United Kingdom, all of which Canada has set on foot.

I could speak of many other activities—of tanks, of the special forms of modern high-velocity cannon, of the great supplies of raw materials and many other elements essential to our war effort, on which your labours are ceaselessly and tirelessly engaged. But I must not let my address to you become a catalogue. I turn to less technical fields of thought.

Fight to the Finish

Sir, we did not make this war. We did not seek it. We did all we could to avoid it. We did too much to avoid it. We went so far in trying to avoid it as to be almost destroyed by it when it broke upon us. But that dangerous corner has been turned and with every month and every year that passes we shall confront the evil-doers with weapons as plentiful, as sharp and as destructive as those with which they have sought to establish their hateful domination.

I should like to point out to you, Mr. Speaker, that we have not at any time asked for any mitigation in the fury or malice of the enemy. The peoples of the British Empire may love peace. They do not seek the lands or wealth of any country. But they are a tough

and hardy lot. We have not journeyed all this way across the centuries, across the oceans, across the mountains, across the prairies, because we are made of sugar candy.

Look at the Londoners, the cockneys. Look what they stood up to, grim and gay, with their cry, "We can take it," and their wartime mood—"What is good enough for anybody is good enough for us."

We have not asked that the rules of the game should be modified. We shall never descend to the German and Japanese level; but if anybody likes to play rough we can play rough too. Hitler and his Nazi gang have sown the wind; let them reap the whirlwind. Neither the length of the struggle nor any form of severity which it may assume will make us weary or will make us quit. I have been all this week with the President of the United States, that great man whom destiny has marked for this climax of human fortune. We have been concerting the united pacts and resolves of more than thirty states and nations to fight on in unity together and in fidelity one to another, without any thought except the total and final extirpation of the Hitler tyranny, the Japanese frenzy and the Mussolini flop.

There will be no halting or half measures, there will be no compromise or parley. These gangs of bandits have sought to darken the light of the world, have sought to stand between the common people of all the lands and their march forward into their inheritance; they shall themselves be cast into the pit of death and shame. And only when the earth has been cleansed and purged of their crimes and their villainy will we turn from the task which they have forced upon us, a task which we were reluctant to undertake but which we shall now most faithfully and punctiliously discharge.

All Have Their Part to Play

Mr. Speaker, according to my sense of proportion this is no time to speak of hopes of the future or of the broader world which lies beyond our struggles and our victory. We have to win a world for our children. We have to win it by our sacrifices. We have not won it yet. The crisis is upon us. The power of the enemy is immense If we were in any way to underrate the strength, the resources or the ruthless savagery of that enemy we should jeopardize not only our lives—for they will be offered freely—but the cause of human freedom and progress to which we have vowed ourselves and all we have. We cannot for a moment, sir, afford to relax. In this strange, terrible world war there is a place for everyone, man and woman, old and young, hale and halt. Service in a thousand forms is open. There is no room now for the dilettante, for the weakling, for the shirker or the sluggard; the mine, the factory, the dockyard, the salt sea waves, the fields to till, the home, the hospital, the chair of the scientist, the pulpit of the preacher—from the highest to the humblest, the tasks all are of equal honour. All have their part to play. The enemies ranged against us, coalesced and combined against us, have asked for total war. Let us make sure they get it.

D 42001

The Course of the War

That grand old minstrel, Harry Lauder—Sir Harry Lauder, I should say, and no honour was better deserved—had a song in the last war which began, "If we all look back to the history of the past we can just tell where we are now." Let us then look back. Sir, we plunged into this war all unprepared because we had pledged our word to stand by the side of Poland, which Hitler had feloniously invaded and, in spite of a gallant resistance, had soon struck down. There followed that astonishing seven months which were called on this side of the Atlantic the "phoney" war. Suddenly the explosion of pent-up German strength and preparation burst upon Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium. All these absolutely blameless neutrals, to most of whom Germany up to the last moment was giving every kind of guarantee and assurance, were overrun and trampled down. The hideous massacre of Rotterdam, where thirty thousand people perished, showed the ferocious barbarism in which the German air force revels when, as in Warsaw and later Belgrade, it was able to bomb practically undefended cities.

On top of all this came the great French catastrophe. The French army collapsed and the French nation was dashed into utter and, as it has proved so far, irretrievable confusion. The French government had, at their own suggestion, solemnly bound themselves with us not to make a separate peace. It was their duty, and it was also their interest, to go to North Africa, where they would have been at the head of the French Empire. In Africa with our aid they would have had overwhelming sea power; they would have had the recognition of the United States, and the use of all the gold they have lodged beyond the seas. If they had done this Italy might have been driven out of the war before the end of 1940, and France would have held her place as a nation in the councils of the allies, and at the conference table of the victors.

But their generals misled them. When I warned them that Britain would fight on alone, whatever they did, their generals told their Prime Minister and his divided cabinet, "In three weeks England will have her neck wrung like a chicken." Some chicken! Some neck!

What a contrast, Sir, has been the behaviour of the valiant, stout-hearted Dutch, who still stand forth as a strong-living partner in the struggle. Their venerated Queen and their government are in England. Their princess and her children have found asylum and protection here in your midst. But the Dutch nation are defending their Empire with dogged courage and tenacity by land, sea and in the air. Their submarines are inflicting a heavy daily toll upon the Japanese robbers who have come across the seas to steal the wealth of the East Indies, and to ravage and exploit its fertility and its civilization.

D 42002

The British Empire and the United States are going to the aid of the Dutch. We are going to fight out this new war against Japan together. We have suffered together and we shall conquer together. But the men of Bordeaux, the men of Vichy—they would do nothing like this. They lie prostrate at the foot of the conqueror. They fawned upon him. And what have they got out of it? The fragment of France which was left to them is just as powerless, just as hungry, as, and even more miserable because more divided than the occupied regions themselves. Hitler plays from day to day a cat and mouse game with these tormented men. One day he will let out a few thousand broken prisoners of war from the million and a half or million and three quarters he has collected. Or, again, he will shoot a hundred French hostages to give them a taste of the lash. On these blows and favours the Vichy government have been content to live from day to day. But even this will not go on indefinitely. At any moment it may suit Hitler's plans to brush them away. Their only guarantee is Hitler's good faith which, as everyone knows, biteth like the adder and stingeth like the asp. Some Frenchmen there were who would not bow their knees and who under General de Gaulle have continued to fight at the side of the allies. They have been condemned to death by the men of Vichy, but their names will be held, and are being held, in increasing respect by nine Frenchmen out of every ten throughout the once happy, smiling land of France.

The Tide Has Turned

But now, sir, strong forces are at hand. The tide has turned against the hun. Britain, which the men of Bordeaux thought and then hoped would soon be finished, Britain with her empire around her carried the weight of the war alone for a whole long year through the darkest part of the valley. She is growing stronger every day. You can see it here in Canada. Anyone who has the slightest knowledge of our affairs is aware that very soon we shall be superior in every form of equipment to those who have taken us at the disadvantage of being but half armed.

The Russian armies under their warrior leader Joseph Stalin are waging furious war with increasing success along a thousand-mile front of their invaded country. General Auchinleck at the head of a British, South African, New Zealand and Indian army is striking down and mopping up the German and Italian forces who had attempted the invasion of Egypt. Not only, sir, are they being mopped up in the desert but great numbers of them have been drowned on the way there by the British submarines and the Royal Air Force, in which Australian squadrons play their part. As I speak this afternoon an important battle is being fought around Agedabia. We must not attempt to prophesy its result, but I have good confidence, sir, all this fighting in Libya proves that when our men have equal weapons in their hands and proper support from the air they are more than a match for the nazi hordes.

D 42004

In Libya as in Russia events of great importance and of most hopeful import have taken place. But the greatest of all, the mighty republic of the United States has entered the conflict and entered it in a manner which shows that for her there can be no withdrawal except by death or victory.

Tribute to the French People

Et partout dans la France occupée et inoccupée, car leur sort est égal, les honnêtes gens, le grand peuple, la nation française, se redressent. L'espoir se rallume dans les cœurs d'une race guerrière, même désarmée, berceau des libertés révolutionnaires, et terrible aux vainqueurs. Partout on voit le point du jour et la lumière grandit, rougeâtre mais claire.

Nous ne perdons jamais confiance que la France jouera le rôle des hommes libres et qu'elle reprendra, par des voies dures, sa place dans la grande compagnie des nations libératrices et victorieuses.

Ici, au Canada, où la langue française est honorée et parlée, nous nous tenons prêts et armés pour aider et saluer cette résurrection nationale.

Looking into the Future

Now that the whole of the North American continent is becoming one gigantic armed camp; now that the immense reserve of power of Russia is gradually becoming apparent; now that long suffering unconquerable China sees help approaching; now that the outraged and subjugated nations can see daylight ahead, it is permissible to take a broad forward view of the war.

Sir, we may observe three main periods or phases in the struggle that lies before us. First, there is the period of consolidation, of combination, and of final preparation. In this period, which will certainly be marked by much heavy fighting, we shall still be gathering our strength, resisting the assaults of the enemy, and acquiring the necessary overwhelming air superiority and shipping tonnage to give our armies the power to traverse, in whatever numbers may be necessary, the seas and oceans which, except in the case of Russia, separate us all from our foe. It is only when the vast shipbuilding program, on which the United States has already made so much progress, and which you are powerfully aiding, comes into full flood that we shall be able to bring the whole force of our manhood and of our modern scientific equipment to bear upon the enemy. How long this period will take depends upon the vehemence of the effort put into production in all our war industries and shipyards.

The second phase, sir, which will then be open may be called the phase of liberation. During this phase we must look to the recovery of the territories which have been lost or which may yet be lost, and also we must look to the revolt of the conquered peoples from the moment that the rescuing and liberating armies and air forces appear in strength within their bounds. For their purpose it is imperative

D42004

that no nation or region overrun, that no government or state which has been conquered, should relax its moral and physical efforts and preparations for the day of deliverance. The invaders, be they Germans or Japanese, must everywhere be regarded as infected persons, to be shunned and isolated as far as possible. Where active resistance is impossible, passive resistance must be maintained. The invaders and tyrants must be made to feel that their fleeting triumphs will have a terrible reckoning and that they are hunted men and that their cause is doomed. Particular punishment will be reserved for the Quislings and traitors who make themselves the tools of the enemy. They will be handed over to the judgment of their fellow countrymen.

Sir, there is a third phase which must also be contemplated, namely the assault upon the citadels and homelands of the guilty powers both in Europe and in Asia.

Thus I endeavour in a few words to cast some forward light upon the dark inscrutable mysteries of the future. But in thus forecasting the course along which we should seek to advance we must never forget that the power of the enemy and the action of the enemy may at every stage affect our fortunes. Moreover, Sir, you will notice that I have not attempted to assign any time limits to the various phases. These time limits depend upon our exertions and upon our achievements, and on the hazardous and uncertain course of the war.

Nevertheless, I feel it is right at this moment to make it clear that, while an ever increasing bombing offensive against Germany will remain one of the principal methods by which we hope to bring the war to an end, it is by no means the only method which our growing strength now enables us to take into account. Evidently the most strenuous exertions must be made by all. As to the form which those exertions take, that is for each partner in the Grand Alliance to judge for himself in consultation with others and in harmony with the general scheme.

Let us then, Sir, address ourselves to our task, not in any way underrating its tremendous difficulties and perils, but in good heart and sober confidence, resolved that, whatever the cost, whatever the suffering, we shall stand by one another, true and faithful comrades, and do our duty, God helping us, to the end.

The National Anthem

Mr. SPEAKER: We will close this historic meeting with the singing of the National Anthem.

The National Anthem having been sung, the gathering dispersed with three cheers for Mr. Churchill.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
68		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	6 Dec. 1941	D 41963 - D 41964	
68		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Dec. 1941	D 41965 - D 41972	
68		Introduction of the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill. Speeches in Parliament	30 Dec. 1941	D 41973 - D 42004	
69		Tribute to the Memory of Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe. Speeches in Parliament	21 Jan. 1942	D 42005 - D 42014	
69		Speeches on the Address. Speeches in Parliament	26 Jan. 1942	D 42015 - D 42204	
69		Dinner, Saskatchewan. Member of Parliament. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Feb. 1942	D 42205	
69		Second Victory Loan, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Feb. 1942	D 42206 - D 42320	
69		Keeping Faith With the People. Speeches in Parliament	25 Feb. 1942	D 42321 - D 42337	
69		Plebiscite Act. Speeches in Parliament	25 Feb. 1942	D 42338 - D 42341	

KING, William Lyon Mackenzie: Speeches Series

MG 26, J 5, Volume 69, pages D 42005 - D 42575

House of Commons
January 21, 1942

D 42005

Tribute to the Memory of
The Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe

Mr. Speaker:

Since we last assembled here, the membership of this House of Commons, of Parliament itself, and, indeed, the public life of Canada, has sustained a loss than which, over many years, none has been so great. It is a loss which comes particularly close to every member of this chamber; but by no one other than by the hon. member for Lotbinière could it be felt more deeply than by myself. Of the loss to this House the vacant seat at my side is more eloquent than any words could be.

The Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe, whose death we so greatly mourn today, was the senior member of the House of Commons. Mr. Lapointe entered the House as member for Kamouraska in 1904, and had been a member ever since. Upon the death of the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1919, Mr. Lapointe succeeded Sir Wilfrid as member for Quebec East. At the time of his death, Mr. Lapointe had been a member of this House of Commons continuously for nearly 38 years. During recent years, he had no superior, and few if any equals in Parliament. He enjoyed the respect, the admiration, and in no small degree, the

D 42006

affection of members of all parties. He was regarded by Canadians everywhere as a great Canadian.

Mr. Winston Churchill is fond of describing himself as a child of the House of Commons. That apt description of himself might, in equal justice, have been applied to Ernest Lapointe. He was a child of the Canadian House of Commons, learned in its principles, its procedure, and fully seized of its meaning to the nation. When he came here first, as member for Kamouraska, Quebec, he set himself the hard and honourable task of mastering the ways of the House and of perfecting himself in the use of the English language. So well did he succeed in both particulars that no one possessed wider understanding and knowledge of Parliament, and its authority, or greater capacity for debate in both official languages, than the late Minister of Justice.

In his public life, Mr. Lapointe maintained throughout the highest standards of personal and political integrity. In politics, as in all else, he was incapable of underhand methods or of any form of meanness. He despised cunning and subterfuge, self-advertisement, and, above all, anything that savoured of arrogance, intolerance and coercion. He loved liberty and fought valiantly to defend its principles and to broaden its bounds. Every

D 42007

worthy cause had in him a fearless champion. His sympathies were with the people in their struggle for constitutional and economic freedom. He was ever solicitous of the rights of minorities and of the welfare of those in humble circumstances.

Mr. Lapointe was the most unselfish of men, as he was also the most chivalrous and patriotic. His natural talent, his gift of eloquence, and the charm of his personality, would have won for him the highest place in any profession he had chosen to follow. He preferred to forego entirely security which the practice of the legal profession might have brought to his family and himself, and to devote practically the whole of his life to the service of his country. For himself, he sought no personal preferment or recognition, but was ever ready with praise and encouragement for others. What perhaps is greater than all else, and what more than all else served to reveal the noble patriotism which inspired his life throughout, is the personal sacrifice at which his great services were given to his country.

With his great abilities and endowments, Lapointe, had he been so minded, might have accumulated, if not a personal fortune, at least sufficient of this world's goods, to have enabled him to look forward to years of comparative leisure, freed from the strain of public life, and the anxiety it brings with it with respect to health and fortune. To the

D 42008

end of his days he chose, instead, to devote his great talents entirely to his country's service.

Time and time again, although his health was not without some impairment by the years of strain he had already endured, he put out of his mind all thought of respite, retirement, or reward, and chose to continue his membership in this House of Commons, in order that, if spared by Providence, he might continue to take to the end his place in the forefront of battle. Here, to my mind, is evidence of true greatness, and of the noblest type of character.

Law, as we all know, was his chosen profession. Such practice of his profession as he enjoyed was with him merely a stepping stone to the wider field of service to the state in the Parliament of his country. Had he given to the practice of law the time and energy which he devoted to politics and public affairs, his name would, I believe, have found its place in the list of distinguished jurists who have occupied the highest judicial positions in our country.

Had circumstances been but very little different, he would, I believe, most certainly have achieved the highest position in political life. When the Liberal Convention of 1919 was held, Lapointe had been for fifteen years a Member of

D 42009

Parliament, having sat continuously as a Member since 1904. He had had much parliamentary experience, and spoke fluently in both languages, and was recognized as an outstanding leader in Parliament. I myself had had but a very few years of parliamentary experience. Though elected in 1908 and in the House until 1911, I was without a seat in the House between 1911 and 1919. I had not a seat in Parliament at the time the convention was held. Despite his longer parliamentary experience and his stronger claims, Lapointe resolutely refused to allow his friends to put his name forward at the convention and, instead, supported my candidature. From that time on, he gallantly accepted the role of lieutenant and associate, which, to the end, he filled with unswerving loyalty and magnificent devotion.

I like to feel that we shared together the succession of Laurier. While to me came the high honour of succeeding Laurier in the leadership of the party, his was the privilege of succeeding Laurier in the representation of the historic constituency of Quebec East, and with it the privilege of serving as the spokesman of his race to the people of the rest of Canada. Our long and happy co-operation was born of our common loyalty to a great Liberal and a great Canadian, and to the imperishable ideals which he cherished. I doubt if,

D42010

within Canada's political history, there will be found the record of a more loyal friendship, a more constant friendship, a more unbroken friendship than that which we enjoyed in the more than twenty years we shared so intimately together the responsibilities of leadership. We worked together side by side with a common aim: the unity of our country, and the maintenance of its proud place as a nation in that community of free nations which comprise the British Commonwealth.

In world affairs, the late Minister of Justice took a foremost part. On many occasions he represented Canada abroad and always with ability and distinction. On more than one occasion, he represented our country at Empire Conferences in London, repeatedly at the League of Nations in Geneva, in negotiations with the French Government in Paris, in intra-Empire affairs with the Government of Australia at Sydney, in negotiation of treaties with the United States at Washington, and at international conferences in these and other countries. In his representation, in international affairs, of the Canadian point of view, one cannot but be impressed with how important was the contribution he made in shaping the evolution of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the troubled course of international relations toward a new world order.

D 42011

The personal and political friendship between Ernest Lapointe and myself was so close, over so many years, that I cannot express what it means to me not to have him at my side today. I prefer to think of what I have gained from the years of our long intimate association in the public life of Canada to what of loss I shall continue to experience.

In these critical times - more critical than any through which the world has ever passed - if there is one thing more than another for which I shall always be profourdly grateful, it is that as, Leader of the Government, I have had at my side, over so many years, the man of high integrity and noble character, the man of moderation and tolerance of view and outlook, the man of wide experience and mature judgment: Ernest Lapointe.

We are still too close to the events themselves, and the confusion of our times is too great, for us to see, in its true perspective, his outstanding service to his fellow-men. More and more will the extent of this service become known as the years go by, when all our own people will be able to appreciate the influences and forces which have kept our country together. I pray that Canada may never forget Lapointe's many eloquent appeals to all parts of the country at the commencement of the present war.

D 42012

Nor, in the election which followed shortly after in his native province, his courageous crusade for full co-operation by Canada with Britain in resisting aggression. With nothing was he so profoundly concerned as with the preservation of national unity, and the harmonizing of differences of race and creed and class. For this unity he passionately strove through the whole of his political life. The unity of Canada was, to him, the guiding star of our national destiny.

In the last talks I had with him, he repeatedly said to me that what he most regretted about his illness was that it meant he would not be here to continue to take his part in meeting the difficult situations with which the country was faced. That regret will be shared by all Canada and, indeed, by all parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and by all the nations that today are united in a combined effort to preserve freedom.

He has passed from us at the most critical moment in the history of our country, as, indeed, it is in the history of the world. Just as the spirit of Sir Wilfrid Laurier continues to inspire and guide those who cherish his aims and ideals, so I pray that the spirit of Ernest Lapointe, most faithful of all the followers of Sir Wilfrid, will continue to be a guide and an inspiration to all Canadians.

D 42013

Canada and its people were uppermost in his mind until the very end. To the Reverend Father Gaudrault, who was at his bedside during his last hours, he said:

> "Tell my young compatriots to work, to get ready to serve their country, to accept the responsibilities which they will have to bear, and to bear them with honour for the good of their compatriots and of Canada. Tell them that I have faith in them, that it is for them, and for my country, that I gave back my life to God."

The sympathy of honourable members of this House of Commons, and indeed, the sympathy of all of Canada, goes out in their sorrow and bereavement to Madame Lapointe, to his daughter, Mrs. Roger Guimet, and to his son, our fellow member, Lieutenant Hugues Lapointe. It was not among the least of his services to our country that the late Minister of Justice should have left, not only a name that will be honoured for all time in the country's history, but that, with it, should be associated a family tradition of service to the State.

I should fail in my duty to my late friend if I did not remind honourable members that throughout the entire period of his membership of the House of Commons, Madame Lapointe

D 42014

shared, year in and year out, day in and day out, the obligations, the anxieties, the privations, as well as the joys, and other compensations, which come to those whose lives are dedicated to the service of their country. It is a fine commentary upon the noble purpose which underlay the lives of the late Minister of Justice and Madame Lapointe that the tradition of public service thus exemplified by their parents, is being so fittingly carried on by those who suffer the loss of their father today, and who are so splendidly upholding, as an example to their own and future generations, the fine traditions of their early home.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
68		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	6 Dec. 1941	D 41963 - D 41964	
68		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Dec. 1941	D 41965 - D 41972	
68		Introduction of the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill. Speeches in Parliament	30 Dec. 1941	D 41973 - D 42004	
69		Tribute to the Memory of Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe. Speeches in Parliament	21 Jan. 1942	D 42005 - D 42014	
69		Speeches on the Address. Speeches in Parliament	26 Jan. 1942	D 42015 - D 42204	
69		Dinner, Saskatchewan. Member of Parliament. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Feb. 1942	D 42205	
69		Second Victory Loan, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Feb. 1942	D 42206 - D 42320	
69		Keeping Faith With the People. Speeches in Parliament	25 Feb. 1942	D 42321 - D 42337	
69		Plebiscite Act. Speeches in Parliament	25 Feb. 1942	D 42338 - D 42341	

D 42015

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

CANADA

Welcome to Canada — Old friend
Statesmanship

Thanks for giving them —

Most significant statement in modern history

Secretary of State in Ottawa ~~important document~~ Solidarity of Commonwealth

Permanent Britain in her present home

in union (formerly always)

in council; Canadian Minister in advance

~~in leadership of world~~

in war

in peace

~~in oratory~~

Leadership - parliament

country

in war

vision of His Majesty's (self government) oratory - instrument for an Anglo-American co-operative

Local Canadian ~~freedom~~ unassailable forces of freedom

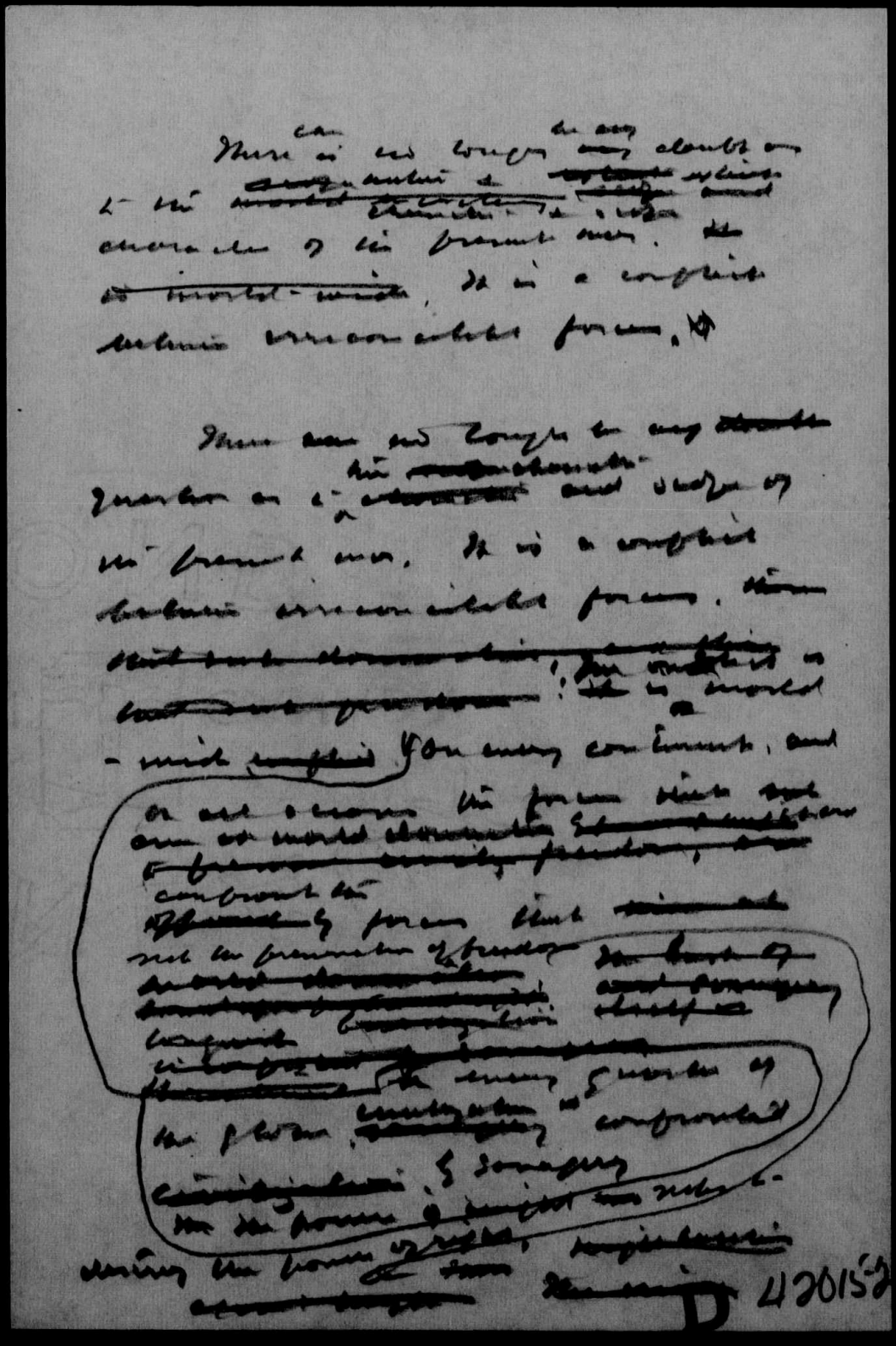
Command of British Seas and arms

Keep through the hearts of ~~Safe keeping Canada~~ our day

Re Speech
re program. sound Essen
Suggest. parallel - 1941 - and 1940

Note more about, progress
by key steps
of fighting forces. 350,000
battle of long haul
now
air branch

D 42015-1



[illegible] Germany. Italy and Japan [illegible] fight as one. So do the peoples of the [illegible] nations of the United Commonwealth [illegible]

[illegible]

The United States, having [illegible] and the [illegible] which united Nations have [illegible] signed a [illegible] to fight together to the end and [illegible] not to stop fighting until [illegible] [illegible] to this solemn obligation of honor, every [illegible] in an organized, [illegible] armed forces of Germany, [illegible] in Europe. [illegible] The combined [illegible] of the United Nations [illegible] superiority of the [illegible] [illegible] It moved to [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of the United States as a [illegible] partner in the war against the Axis powers, [illegible] Compared with the [illegible] a year [illegible]

D'42015-3

D 42015-4

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [

7

D 47015-6

D 42016

Outline of Speech on the Address

Reference to Leader of the Opposition
as possible leader for short time.

Reference to Mover and Seconder of Address.

Reference to changes in the Ministry.

Reference to visit overseas of Blackmore, Coldwell, Hanson, and myself.

Momentous events since:
visit of Mr. Churchill's visit to Ottawa.

Reference to other paragraphs in Speech from the Throne.

Re: possible criticisms of Hanson:

(a) Declaring war on Finland, Bulgaria and Roumania.

see Hanson's statement at the time, saying this to be merely a formal matter.

(b) More important the declaration of war against Japan.

Statement of world situation as existing, and as developed since last review in Parliament, bringing out changes in the position of Canada through dangers from Orient as well as Europe.

Re: United States -
possible reference to Kingston-Woodbridge reciprocity and defence.

D 42017

Reference also to Ogdensburg and Hyde Park agreements and war production.

This part relating to Canada's relations with the United States.

Then statement re Canada's relations with Britain.

Statement re financial relations.

Statement of Canada's war effort as at end of 1941.

Special reference to service at Hong Kong.

Outline government policy of full-out effort -

this first of all defined as in material prepared.

Next, give detail as to needs:

e.g. defence forces,
munitions and supplies,
transportation,
agricultural products,
etc.

Method of putting programme into force by compulsory selective service.

Stress here time and manner in which announcement made by myself.

Show stages by which decisions reached, in manner to keep country united:

(a) coming into war;

(b) enactment of national mobilization act;

(c) its application beyond persons for defence forces to all classes;

D 42018

(d) stopping non-essential industries, etc.;

(e) non-essential manufactures;

(f) employment of women;

(g) other ways.

Here, reference to study of question of man-power.

Paragraph re relativity of everything - e.g.:

(1) situation in Europe alone;

(2) with British Empire alone;

(3) with Japan in war;

(4) with United States in war -

world-encircling danger.

Clearer vision of real nature of war - e.g.:

(1) not geographical, but rather of life and liberty.

(2) Note what said at time of troops going to Hong Kong.

Freedom defended anywhere
equals freedom defended everywhere.

D 42019

How "all-out" effort secured up to present with complete national unity and in accord with government policy and non-coercion for overseas service.

Reason why conscription issue kept out -

desire to preserve national unity.

Action taken by myself to avert issue being raised:

tour of western Canada before going overseas;

statements made at Vancouver and elsewhere;

statement in House of Commons regarding selective service;

prominence given statement by Power at public meeting.

See statement of Canadian Legion re conscription for overseas service -

made a political issue by Meighen.

Challenge of government's policy - King vs. Meighen.

No need of conscription for the present.

Parliament to decide.

Programme based on belief it can be carried through without conscription.

Action to be taken should this not prove to be the case.

Necessity of consulting the people either by general election or referendum -

(I) Desirability for;

(2) Necessary before policy can be changed.

D 42020

Conclusion:

Strong appeal -

(1) Magnificence of Canada's effort up to present.

(2) Present position of Canada.

(3) Future position of Canada.

Whole statement to be persuasive throughout.

D42021

Separate statements to be prepared:

(I) Arguments for and against conscription.

Note carefully military and civil considerations.

(2) Arguments for and against national government.

See reference made at close of present session to changes in Ministry.

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa,.....

Re Meighen D 42022

Leadership

Political Issue, etc.

Dictated by the Prime Minister
January 13, 1942

Re: Leadership

Of leadership, let me say just a word. Much is being said by opponents of the government of lack of leadership in the present war. If the reference is to myself, I am prepared to leave it to others to reply, and not only to reply but as respects those who, in the past, have honoured me by their confidence, to give them every freedom to select another leader at any time they may feel that the duties and responsibilities of leadership will be better discharged if placed upon other shoulders. The time for that change must, in the nature of things, come sooner or later, and it may well be that some will consider that at a time of war, it should come sooner rather than later.

D 42023

Be that as it may, I shall not attempt to appraise any man's motives and there will be no recriminations on my part. Moreover, should I be spared in health and strength, I will, to the utmost of my ability and opportunity, give to whoever may be chosen to carry on responsibilities of leadership until the war is over, and a victorious peace is signed, all the help that it may be within my power to give.

The responsibilities upon any leader of a government of a country at war are sufficiently great not to cause one to realize that they can be borne at all only with the confidence and support of a majority of his fellow-countrymen.

The fact that I have held the leadership of my party now for nearly 23 years, and that, through the most difficult times

D 42024

in the country's history; that I have been privileged to see its representation in this Parliament grow from the dismembered(?) condition in which I found it until it is today the largest following ever accorded the leader of a government in Canada's history, and that it has been such, not in this Parliament alone, but in the one which preceded it, that, through the remainder of my days, will to myself be satisfaction enough as to whether such qualities of leadership as I may possess, have been exercised in a manner worthy of the great trust committed to my charge by those who invited me to assume the task, and who, in the discharge of its duties, have given me, over ~~so many years~~ a quarter of a century, such splendid and unwavering support.

To confirm me in my belief that my leadership of the affairs of this Dominion has not been wanting in appreciation, I will not say by those who have sought to make the path as difficult as it could be made, to destroy my influence and that of the party of which I am the head, but in the opinion of the people of Canada, I would find it in the fact which all the detraction in the world will never be able to efface that, since the first appeal was made to the Canadian people in the period of the leadership of my party, I have, in five parliaments out of six, which have come into being since that time, been either returned to or confirmed in office as Prime Minister of Canada, or - to express the truth in other words - have held the office which

D 42025

I now hold for ~~nearly~~ on since 15 out of the 20 years which have fled so swiftly by since I first was honoured by the highest trust in the gift of the Canadian people.

If, however, it is not personal leadership but leadership of the government or of Canada at this time of war that exception is being taken to by those who desire to change the present administration, or to substitute themselves for others in its membership, then I vigorously assert that no finer leadership has been given by any government, or by any country, in the winning of the war, and in meeting the problems with which all alike have been faced in that vast endeavour.

May I say at once that I have never been of that school of thought which believes in supermen, and which seeks to create an artificial greatness ~~to~~ glorify one individual at the expense of those to whom he necessarily owes his rise to power, and his position in the State.

I have never believed that the judgment of any man is wiser than that of the combined ~~judgment~~ wisdom of a ~~selective~~ chosen few. Rather have I believed that in ~~the~~ a multitude of counsel there is wisdom (~~get exact phrase~~). Indeed I believe it to be in the emphasis which has been placed on 'Der Fuehrer' - (the leader) - to the exclusion of others in the determination of the affairs of State that the world has been brought to the tragic pass at which we find it today.

Instead of seeking to be in the forefront and in the

D 42026

limelight on all occasions, I have sought, by ~~remaining in the background~~, to give the prominence which was their due to other members of the government. While ~~their~~ may have been ~~due~~, in part, to an abhorrence of notoriety and undue publicity, it has in no sense been due to qualities which I firmly believe are necessary, I will not say to an ephemeral but to an enduring leadership.

The people of Canada have the confidence they have in the present administration not because they feel that its every act is begotten of the ~~dictates~~ of a single individual, ~~but rather~~ because it is known ~~I have ever sought to surround myself by Ministers of State,~~ every ~~one of whom~~ is a real, not a nominal part of the administration, not the representative of some favoured class ~~or special interests~~, but ~~fearless in his~~ representation of the people's will.

(~~See paragraph from Asquith~~)

Men, who, above all else, have sought the preservation and extension of liberty in every sphere of our national life ~~from~~ the subordination of class interest to the interest of the community; ~~and regard as to whom it may affect~~ the supremacy of the general interest over particular interests, ~~and regard as to whom it may affect.~~

Finally, if by leadership, the test is to be not that of the head of the government ~~alone~~, nor that of the government itself, but what alone, at all times, it should be, that of the

D 42027

country itself, then I say without fear of contradiction that all circumstances considered, the limited size of its population, the vast extent of its territory, the domestic problems with which it is necessarily constantly faced and all other considerations, in what she has accomplished in the way of effective co-operation of her war effort with that of Britain, and other nations of the Commonwealth and with the United States, and by way of cementing at a time of war, the bond of friendship between these two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, there has not been in any part of the world, more chivalrous, outstanding and genuinely patriotic leadership than that which Canada has given among the nations of the world.

Comparison there may be between the governments of different countries but in none, do I belive will be found a government which, more immediately or completely, has measured up to the demands that war has made upon it, than the Government of Canada. But, as I have said, time and time again, what has been done by Canada has not been done by its government. It has been done through its government, by the people of Canada.

Despite all there has been of belittlement and detraction of our national effort for which those who have been responsible might well be ashamed, I repeat in the words of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the effort, the contribution made by the people of Canada in this war has been magnificent - magnificent it stands today, and magnificent it will remain.

D 42028

Re: Party Government

Having regard to the position taken by the Conservative party at the general elections of 1940 in entering candidates from one end of Canada to the other under the designation of national government candidates, it cannot be said that the people have not had a chance to pronounce upon national government at a time of war.

The Conservative party thought that by purporting to be a national government party they would get more support than would have been possible had they contested the constituencies in their true colour. The fact that out of _____ candidates put into the field by the Conservative party, practically all of whom proclaimed themselves to be for national government, only 39 returned to this House of Commons out of a total representation of 245, and this while the war was on, should suffice to make it perfectly clear that, whatever views they may have had, the people certainly did not wish a national government in this country under the aegis of the Tory party. The people have pronounced on that issue and, for my part, I propose to stand by the view of the people in maintaining

D 42029

the position which, quite clearly, they wished to have maintained, and not to have the proceedings of its Parliament conducted as they were in the latter part of the last war by a government so constituted as to rule under the guise of a union of parties, with neither party carrying responsibility, nor subject to the open criticism of a recognized Opposition, which it would not dare to do on its own.

In thus viewing national government, nay I say that I think the instinct of the people and their judgment is a very sound and a very true one. One has but to uncover the names of those who have been foremost in promoting the present drive for national government to discover how completely representative they are of the large financial interests of the country. With the immense wealth at their command, and the complete control which they have of some of the organs of the press, they believe they are in a position so to influence public opinion as to destroy any man who ventures to oppose their will and is unwilling to bow the knee to Baal. It is quite all right for them to criticize an Administration, or individual members thereof, behind the shield of anonymity, but if a word of criticism or exposure is expressed in return

D 42030

the man who thus dares to venture to say a word against the sacred precincts of high finance has committed the unpardonable sin.

It is an interesting commentary on the national government movement, and its new leader, that they came thus prominently to the fore the moment that the government's policy with respect to the control of prices and wages and, along with them, profits, became known.

(Make reference to meeting in Toronto January 10th re advertisements, etc.)

It took many years to bring into being in Canada what is known as representative responsible government. Once established, it has become recognized as the corner stone of our political edifice. It has been secured by the constitution of the country, which provides that at least once in every five years the people are to be given the right to return their representatives to Parliament in accordance with electoral laws and methods, which are also set forth in the Constitution.

The essence of all democratic government is that the majority should rule. Under our Constitution, democratic government is secured by a provision for periodical elections and by the accepted principle of the government of

D 42031

the day being chosen from the party possessing a majority in Parliament. Parties, as such, are not an end in themselves, but are the means to an end - a means whereby men and women who feel and think alike with respect to matters of public concern are able to make their will prevail. Government, thus constituted, is responsible to the people for its conduct of affairs. This responsibility is secured by the simple device of the government being able to maintain the confidence of the majority of the representatives. So long as that confidence continues, it continues to represent the people. When that confidence is withdrawn and given to others, its place is taken by such an Administration as is able to command the confidence of the people.

I, for one, maintain that there is no greater safeguard of our political institutions than all they serve to safeguard in strict adherence to the provisions of the Constitution with respect alike to Parliament and government. The Constitution is the Arc of the Covenant and any tampering therewith can lead only to the loss of freedom in the end.

(Bring in what present war is about - keeping faith with the people.)

D 42032

6. Vital importance to a total effort of avoiding controversy and maintaining unity.

In setting forth the policy of the government regarding the use of compulsory methods for overseas service, I have sought to maintain a sense of proportion. It is of the utmost importance that the question be viewed in perspective in its correct relationship to a total war effort. Above all, the particular method used to recruit our overseas army should not be confused with a total effort.

In determining the utmost effort in production, account must be taken of the needs of the armed forces; in determining the utmost effort of the armed forces account must equally be taken of the needs of production. By trying to make too big an effort in one direction, we shall inevitably weaken our effort in some other direction. The result will be a smaller total effort.

The Minister of National Defence has warned us that we cannot measure our total effort in divisions alone; that we cannot measure it merely in squadrons, in ships, in production, or in finance; that it must be measured in terms of a balanced programme which represents the very best and most that Canada can do. As my colleague has said: "That is our ultimate objective".

D 42033

The government has sought to avoid upsetting that balance by controversy over methods. We believe that the policy I have just announced will remove any excuse which may have existed for controversy. We believe it is a policy on which the country can unite, and we believe that by following this policy a total national war effort can be achieved.

Nothing will weaken our effort so much as controversy, dissention and division. By all means, let us have criticism, but let it be informed and intelligent criticism. Above all, let each of us look into his own heart and make quite sure that what he is seeking is really a greater Canadian effort without any trace of a mixture of motives. In striving towards a total effort all have a part to play. I do not hesitate to say that the first and most imperative duty of every citizen is, by every word and deed, to strive for the maintenance of the national unity on which all else rests.

The supreme responsibility for the maintenance of our unity rests with Parliament and the government. We shall be blamed and, rightly blamed, if national unity is destroyed and the war effort is wrecked. It is not in Canada alone that the supreme importance of national unity

D 42034

to a total effort is stressed; it is the foremost consideration in the mind of the government of every nation at war.

In order to keep the record straight, let me pause here to interject a word about the other Dominions of the British Commonwealth. New Zealand alone has adopted compulsory methods for overseas service; the Australian system is precisely the same as our own: compulsory service for territorial defence and voluntary service outside Australia; in South Africa all military service is voluntary. In every case, the overriding consideration in determining the method has been concern for the maintenance of national unity. And I might add that the formation of a so-called national government has not been necessary to the maintenance of national unity. Neither New Zealand, nor Australia, nor South Africa has the kind of national government which is advocated, in some quarters, in Canada. All have maintained the kind of national government which exists in Canada: namely, a government based on the will of the people as expressed by the majority of its representatives in Parliament.

I have interjected these observations for one reason only. I wished to remove certain misconceptions

D 42035

which have become current. I am not suggesting that the methods used in other countries are necessarily suitable or applicable to Canada. Mr. Churchill quite properly told us that the question of conscription for overseas service is a domestic question to be settled by Canadians. I believe that the Canadian people have sufficient self-respect and sufficient courage and initiative to settle their domestic problems, in the light of Canadian needs and Canadian circumstances. Canada will only be truly a nation if our people make their own decisions for themselves.

So far as Britain is concerned, so far as all our partners among the United Nations are concerned, it does not matter to them what methods we use in Canada to achieve a total effort; what matters to them and to the common cause is the achievement of a total war effort.

I believe, and the government believes, that the programme and the policies I have outlined will enable Canada to put forth its utmost effort in the year 1942; just as I believe that our policies and programmes of progressive development have enabled Canada to put forth its utmost effort in the past. After all, as I have frequently pointed out, the war effort is the effort of the Canadian people: it is Canada's effort not the

D 12036

government's effort. The government has done the planning and given the direction; the people have done the rest and their efforts have been magnificent. They are entitled to take a proper pride in what has been achieved; it is unfair to Canada and unworthy of Canadians to belittle and disparage their achievement. In the final analysis, it is satisfaction with a task well done which will give our people the courage and incentive to go on to the end performing the greater tasks and bearing the heavier burdens essential to ultimate triumph. Without unity and without self-respect, the people of Canada cannot put forth their utmost effort. I appeal to all in this House and outside its walls to put aside controversy about methods; to avoid domestic strife and dissention; and to throw their whole weight behind the policies and programme outlined by the government. That is the road to a total national war effort. It is my earnest hope that all may ~~prove~~ move unitedly forward along that road to victory and peace.

D 42037

Maintain Perspective and avoid Controversy

But let us, in the interests of truth and common sense, have an end of the absurd propaganda now being used to confuse the Canadian people. Of course, the war cannot be won in Canada; of course, Canadians must fight overseas to help win it; and they are fighting overseas to help win it. They will continue to do so in growing numbers. What matters is that the numbers should grow, not that the men should be raised by some particular method.

And let us also have an end of the dangerous and almost subversive doctrine that we do not need a part of our army in Canada. Let me remind you that Nova Scotia is as close to the enemy as Pearl Harbour, that Newfoundland is closer, that Vancouver Island, Prince Rupert and the Queen Charlotte Islands are almost as close. By all means, let us do all in our power to keep the enemy from our shores; but let us not be so foolish as to think that Canadian territory is immune from direct attack.

And let no one tell you that Canada has not sent her army overseas to the limit of our capacity. I do not ask you merely to accept my word for that statement. This is what General McNaughton said in his recent Christmas

D 42038

message to the troops under his command:

"From a very small beginning the Canadian army has now grown to many tens of thousands of men and women. New units and formations and reserves have come to us as quickly as ships could be found to bring them here."

Those words hardly suggest that the government has been holding the army back. In fact, the Leader of the C.C.F. has criticized the government for sending the men too soon. He contends that they should have a longer period of training in Canada. Our critics at both extremes cannot both be right. I think that the people generally will conclude that the government and its military advisers with their fuller knowledge have probably acted wisely.

If the government is right, also, in its view that the army has been expanded in correct balance with the other phases of our war effort--and our view in this regard is shared by our allies and by our own military advisers--and if we are right in our view that the army can be maintained by voluntary enlistment, and, up to the present, events have justified that belief, then why engage in controversy over a mere question of method.

There is not a single member of this House who can truthfully say that he believes the country is unanimously in favour of compulsion for overseas service--or that we are

D 42039

anywhere near unanimity on the question. Whatever our personal views may be--and, I am quite aware of the fact that some of the supporters of the government would personally prefer the compulsory system--there could only be one justification for dividing the country on this issue. That justification would be an intense conviction that compulsion for overseas service was essential to the winning of the war and the saving of the country.

I do not believe it is essential, at this stage, to the winning of the war; I do not believe it would help us to win it; I do not believe it would increase Canada's total effort; I gravely fear it would weaken our effort by dividing the country. Surely fighting Hitler is a big enough job without wasting our energies in fighting one another.

A Political Issue

I respect the convictions of those who believe sincerely that compulsion should be used to secure recruits for overseas service. I recognize that there are strong theoretical arguments for its adoption, just as there are strong arguments against it. Into those arguments I do not intend to enter today. But let me remind you that, to achieve a total effort, what is required is not theoretically perfect methods, but practical and effective results.

D42040

And we have got results. The government is not ashamed of the truly magnificent contribution which Canada is making in this war.

From the very outset of the war the government has been subjected to an unremitting campaign of destructive criticism and abuse from men who apparently honour the efforts and the good name of every country but their own. In general we have been so busy directing Canada's war effort that little time has been left to reply to these attacks. When the Canadian people were given the chance they gave a resounding reply. But the verdict of the people meant nothing to our detractors. The campaign of abuse and disparagement continued. It has now found a focus in the new, old leader who was foisted by a little group of self-seeking men on a great historic party which had once discarded him. The words I am going to utter now are harsh words, but I believe they are just words.

I have read with care the speech broadcast by Mr. Meighen on the 9th of this month. He pretended to survey Canada's effort and to find it wanting. But what in fact did his survey include. By no single word did he suggest that Canada was supplying Britain with the tools of war and the food for her people. There was not a word of praise for Canada's navy--no recognition that Canada shares in the Atlantic patrol and that our destroyers have helped

D 42041

to protect Britain from the threat of invasion. There was no appreciation either of the magnitude of Canada's effort in the air; and, what is even more disquieting, no appreciation of the importance of the air arm in warfare today. There was not a word of commendation for the splendid efforts of the thousands of workmen who are making the tools of war in his own city of Toronto. That perhaps was hardly to be expected from a man who has always considered Labour a potential menace to society!

The whole survey was confined to the army, which Mr. Meighen found too small and too weak. In order to prove his point he resorted to figures already more than three months out of date, although more recent figures were readily available. He was disturbed because New Zealand had proportionately a larger army than Canada. But he did not find it necessary to tell his audience that many of the machines used by the New Zealanders in Libya were made in his own province of Ontario, some of them within fifty miles of the place where he was speaking.

Mr. Meighen has always lived in the past. He is fighting the last war all over again and apparently he wants to make all the old mistakes again. As I look across the House I ask myself whether the Hon. Member for Vancouver South (Mr. Green) agrees that fighting men are not needed in Canada for the defence of our coasts; I ask myself

D 42042

whether my hon. friends from Davenport (Mr. MacNicol) and Danforth (Mr. Harris) with their industrial experience would pass over Canada's industrial war effort as unworthy of notice; I ask myself whether the hon. Member for Dufferin-Simcoe (Mr. Rowe) and the hon. Member for Haldimand (Mr. Senn) agree that the army should be inflated at the expense of the farm labour required to produce Britain's food; I ask myself whether my friend from Greenwood (Mr. Massey) who is giving such splendid service in the R.C.A.F. considers our air effort too insignificant for notice; I ask myself whether the hon. Member for Royal (Mr. Brooks), with his practical experience of training men for the army in this war, believes that the army should be expanded at the expense of its weapons or weapons for Britain; and, finally, I ask myself whether the present Leader of the Opposition, who has been in Britain and seen conditions there for himself, thinks the war effort of a country should be measured exclusively in terms of the number of men in the army.

Yet this is the man who, with this narrow and distorted view of our war effort and its needs, offers to enter the war councils of the nation at the same time he is seeking to make a political issue of a question which, he himself admits, is controversial.

Let me say again that if the adoption of this one controversial proposal would increase Canada's total effort, such an attitude might be justified. The government

D42043

did not hesitate to engage in a bitterly controversial political battle in October, 1939, when the then Premier of Quebec raised an issue which threatened the unity of our country and the unity of its effort. We have not sought controversy on this issue which also threatens the unity of our country and the effectiveness of our effort; but if this issue is to be forced upon us, as Mr. Meighen and his associates seem to desire, we will not shirk the issue.

But in forcing the issue they are assuming a grave responsibility. No less acute a political judge than the Premier of Ontario has stated publicly that even a referendum on the question would split the country more bitterly than it has ever been split before. How much deeper would be the split and how much greater the bitterness if the policy were forced upon the country without any consultation of the people. Mr. Meighen throughout his career has never trusted the people; and the great majority of the people have returned the compliment.

While the men he now accuses of political expediency, of subterfuges and of evasive practices have been occupied in almost every waking hour, for over two years, with the development of Canada's war effort, what evidence has Mr. Meighen given of his concern for a total Canadian effort. Let me recall the highlights of his record. He is the man who was considered the Excess Profits Tax too severe.

D42044

He is the man who questioned the patriotism of Canadian industry unless it was well rewarded with profits. He is the man who doubted whether the war was worth fighting if its goal was a new social order. It is not surprising that this same man should have so little faith in the patriotism of his fellow citizens that he now believes they have to be forced to fight for their lives.

But in forcing this issue at this time, let Mr. Meighen and his associates beware lest they do Hitler's work rather than Canada's work. Do not misunderstand me. I do not suggest that Mr. Meighen and his friends are trying to help the enemy. I do not question and I do not doubt their patriotism. What I do question and I do doubt is their judgment, their balance and their vision.

Hitler has stated over and over again that it is his policy to weaken the resistance of his enemies by internal division and dissension. It is his aim to have them half conquered from within before he attacks from without. He openly boasts that his best tools in this nefarious work are unconscious tools. The super-patriots can help Hitler as well as the slackers and traitors.

Our unity is the foundation of our strength. So long as I am head of the administration I shall fight against every threat to our unity from whatever quarter

D42045

it may come. I shall carry on in the secure knowledge that anything which weakens our unity as a nation weakens our effort to destroy Hitler and all his evil works.

Circumstances, of course, may change; the circumstances of today are not the circumstances of 1939. They day may come when the issue of compulsion for overseas service will cease to be a threat to our unity as a nation. I hope it will come. The statement by the Premier of Quebec that if he thought conscription would be the only means of winning the war, he would be for conscription right away, is deeply significant.

If the day comes when the issue ceases to threaten our unity and if such a measure would, in reality, in those circumstances, strengthen our war effort, it will have no opposition from me. But I am convinced that an attempt to force the issue today would be dangerous and might be disastrous to Canada and the allied cause. Surely when there are so many tasks to do which are so much more urgent we can put controversy aside and get on unitedly with the prosecution of the war.

D 42046

Dictated by the Prime Minister
January 10, 1942

THE ISSUE

Mr. Meighen demands National Government and Conscription.

(1) National government and conscription are what divided Canada in the last war, and created a condition of hatred and resentment between individuals and communities, the ashes of which have not lost their fire, and which smoulders to the present day. Mr. Meighen would fan anew these smouldering fires into flame, and this, at a moment when national unity is more necessary than ever.

(2) National government and conscription were both questions on which the people of Canada were given an opportunity to pronounce their views in a general election in the course of the present war.

National government was made an issue not by the government of the day, but by the Conservative Party, its leader, and the public journals which supported it in the campaign. So certain was the Conservative Party that in time of war, national government would make the strongest of all appeals to the electorate, that the party took unto itself another name, and gave to its candidates, another designation. National government was the name given alike to the party and its candidates. 40* National Government candidates were returned, as against 20* opposed to national government (take in 3 parties).

* 1 elected as National Govt subsequently described as Independent

D 42047

(3) <u>As for Conscription for service overseas.</u> So much had the term become anathema through its associations with national government in the last war, that not a single party out of the four in the elections were prepared to support it. Indeed the electorate was led to believe that all alike were opposed (note exception re Social Credit), the leader of the Conservative Party going so far as to say that anyone who so much as raised the question in the election should be regarded as unpatriotic.

(4) In the present Parliament, when the question of National Government has come up, the leaders of all three parties have stated that, for different reasons which they gave, they would not enter a national government.

(a) The leader of the Conservative Party, Mr. Hanson gave as his reason that he was elected to oppose the present government;

(b) Mr. Coldwell, that his party was a Socialist Party and would not join with a Liberal Party;

(c) Mr. Blackmore, that his party held financial views which were incompatible with those of the present administration.

The leader of the Conservative opposition even declined to have members of his party become members of the War Committee of the Cabinet, (see phrase used by Meighen in Toronto speech, January 9th, so as to have inside knowledge of what was going on). He even declined to have members of the Opposition meet at regular intervals for conference with the government.

D42048

(5) The present leader of the Conservative Party has made national government impossible by making a political issue of the question of conscription (see Meighen's ~~speech~~ Statement on accepting nomination).

The government's position had been clearly stated as that of selective national service, short of conscription for service in the armed forces overseas, the government being of the opinion that Canada's war effort could be made a fuller and more effective effort by avoiding political controversy over the issue of conscription for service overseas, particularly when their is every reason to believe that by voluntary effort, the required numbers for service overseas could be obtained.

Mr. Meighen has created the issue; the people themselves or their representatives in this Parliament alone have the power and authority to settle it.

(6) Mr. Meighen has gone further by way of making national government impossible, by adopting a contemptuous attitude toward the government itself, deliberately misrepresenting the position of the leader of the government, and avowedly seeking to divide its support by calling upon its members to leave the Liberal Party and support Mr. Meighen as their leader. (Quote paragraph in Toronto speech, January 9th).

The sooner the people of Canada know whether their representatives in this Parliament desire to have the present administration continue in office in the conduct of the war,

D 42049

or to have the government of the country in time of war led by the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, the better it will be for all concerned.

Mr. Meighen has made his appeal to the members of the Liberal Party in this Parliament. I propose to afford them ample and immediate opportunity to let those whom they represent in this Parliament know where they stand, but that opportunity will not be limited to members of any party, but ~~to~~ meir be given to all parties in this House.

I propose to test the confidence of this House in this, as in all other particulars, by following the customary parliamentary practice, and in inviting honourable members to express their confidence or lack of confidence in the administration in their votes on the Address.

(7) In his utterances with respect to national government, the leader of the Conservative Party seems to overlook - it can scarcely be through forgetfulness - that beside the government leader and the leader of the Conservative Party, there are leaders of two other political parties, each with a substantial following in the House, and whose combined representation ~~exceeds that~~ ~~of~~ is larger by vote of the Conservative Party (1926-39) the Conservative Party.

When he and his followers speak of national government, they mean a government composed not of all parties but of their own and the government. They cite Britain as an example of national government, but conveniently omit all references to the inclusion of 3rd parties, as is the case in Britain.

D 42050

I ~~shall~~ never lend myself to the formation of any national government in Canada that ignores the equal ~~rights~~ of all parties commanding the support of a substantial portion of the population.

As to the example of other parts of the Empire and other countries; gentlemen opposite are given to citing the example of other parts of the Empire and other countries in support of their advocacy of a particular course of action by the Parliament of Canada. It should be noticed, however, that they invariably conveniently select the particular part of the Commonwealth or country which best suits their purpose and, as carefully, refrain to cite the example of other parts and other countries.

May I say, first of all, that while examples may be helpful, the fact that they differ so greatly as different countries are selected, is the best of all evidence that each country has conditions and problems peculiar to itself, which not only cannot be ignored but, in the end, may well prove to be decisive factors.

First, then, as to national government: Attention is drawn to the fact that there is a national government in Britain, ~~and very timidly it is mentioned that there is a national government in New Zealand.~~ Attention, however, is not drawn prominently to the fact that since the beginning of the war, there

D 42051

has been no national government in South Africa, no national government in Australia, and ~~until the last few months~~, no national government in New Zealand. In this connection, I shall omit any reference to Ireland.

Yet, each of these countries have played their part, and are playing it effectively in the present war in maintaining their national unity. The reasons why some parts of the Empire have national government and others have not, are not far to seek. In Britain, there was a national government in existence when the war began. A national government had been in existence, not only prior to the war, but ~~prior(?) to the general election held~~ and had been confirmed & office at the general election (1931) prior to the war. It had sought and had received the support of the electorate. ~~Its~~ Their term of ~~office~~ parliament did not expire until Nov. 25, 1940. Exposed as Britain was to the immediate assaults of the enemy, there were the best of reasons why ~~the government then in office should continue in office. (This is questionable).~~ the term of Parliament should not have been extended from time to time. Moreover, being restricted in no way by a Constitution which required a general election once in so many years, the British Parliament was free, without altering the Constitution of the ~~country~~, to ~~continue its government~~ postpone the period of a general election thereby continuing the existing government in office.*

In Canada, conditions were wholly different. A government duly elected by the people was in office when the war began.

* The legislation carried out the latter object without mentioning a general election

D 42052

It accepted the responsibility for Canada's war effort. When the effectiveness of that war effort was challenged, it adopted the sound constitutional procedure of appealing to the people. Its policies were known. These policies were endorsed and the government itself was returned by an overwhelming majority. It was a war-time election held with respect to war-time policies, and nothing was made plainer in the course of the campaign than that the electorate were being asked to choose those whose duty it would be to carry on the affairs of the government at a time of war and~~, in all probability, have to do with the peace~~. It was not a government chosen for one or two or three years, but a government chosen for the full parliamentary term.

Moreover, as I have said, while the government itself did not make national government an issue, national government from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast was made an issue by the Conservative Party with results that are evident in this House today.

In South Africa, there has been no national government. There has been a general election just as there was in Canada with the difference, however, that party leadership has been changed.

In New Zealand, from the beginning of the war up until _____, there was no national government. National government was formed on _____ by Mr. Fraser to avoid an election in

D 42053

time of war, and formed, among other reasons, because of the representation of the parties in the House being so nearly equall~~ed~~.

In Australia, there has been no national government from the beginning of the war. There has been a combination of parties against other parties, but representative government has been carried on in accordance with customary practice under the British parliamentary system.

Many efforts have been made to form national government in Australia, but none has succeeded.

The two reasons which justify a coalition for a national government are: (1) If no party has sufficient majority to be able to carry on government, and therefore something in the nature of a combination of parties is essential, or (2) as a means of enacting or enforcing a specific measure which a majority in Parliament deems essential to the well-being of the State, but which the government itself relying upon its own support would not be able to enact or to enforce. (See what was said during general elections re coalition in Canada at time of Confederation and under Sir Robert Borden). or (3) when it is misunderstood as to measure in Britain & how it is carried out by coalition

Of the example of other countries, I need mention only the United States. In the United States, there has been no national government. There has been a general election in which the administration of President Roosevelt was most violently attacked. There exists today the Democratic Party in power and the Republican Party in opposition. But some will be quick to

D12054

say: What about Mr. Knox and Mr. Stimson? Mr. Knox and Mr. Stimson, before they became members of Mr. Roosevelt's administration were strong and outspoken supporters of his policies. They supported them wholeheartedly and openly. Who, may I ask, of the ~~honourable gentlemen opposite~~ have played a similar role with respect to the present government and its policies?

Who, I might ask, has played a finer or more chivalrous role in the public life of the United States since the beginning of the war than Mr. Willkie, the leader of the Republican Party? He has not asked for national government, or complained that the Republican Party could take no useful part in the war effort of the country unless its forces were united to those of the government. Before, throughout, and since the recent general election, Mr. Willkie, while opposing the administration on many of its policies, has gone out of his way in the United States, in Britain, and in Canada to proclaim his support of the administration in its war policies, and to unite the nation in that support.

Who, in Canada, may I ask, of the Opposition, has sought to lend to the present administration in its arduous duties and great responsibilities, or to myself, as the leader of the government, the kind of aid which Mr. Willkie has brought to President Roosevelt. While Mr. Willkie, by visiting different parts of the country, was trying to lend what aid he could to

D 42055

the President; we, in Canada, have witnessed the leaders of the official Opposition, touring the country avowedly for the purpose of developing their own party organization, and as is now only too apparent, doing this not with a view to aiding the government in its policies but of raising and pressing to the fore, the most dangerous of all political issues in the public life of Canada.

And that leads me to speak again of conscription. When the examples of the Dominions are set forth, we hear mention of the existence of conscription for overseas service in New Zealand. In New Zealand, conscription ~~has never~~ was not a ~~issue(?)~~ controversial one. ~~It existed in the last war without controversy and accepted without debate since.~~

But what about Australia? A country with a much larger population than New Zealand, but, too, a country very similar to New Zealand in its British stocks. We are not told that not only did Australia in the last and present war not have conscription, but that, in the last war, on two ~~several~~ occasions, the people of Australia, in a referendum, declined to give the government the authority to adopt it, nor are we reminded that as recently as ~~NOV 19, 1946~~ Mr. John Curtain, the present Prime Minister of Australia, made the following pronouncement with regard to conscription:

(Take in statement)

D 42056

In Australia, the maintenance of national unity is regarded as all important to its war effort. For service overseas, the voluntary system has not been found wanting.

In South Africa, the maintenance of national unity has also been regarded as essential to the war effort of the country. To preserve that unity, no party in South Africa has advocated conscription for overseas service.

In Northern Ireland, conscription was also, for a time, much to the fore. There can be no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the electors in Northern Ireland were favourable to the adoption of conscription there. The leader of the Conservative Party has quoted Mr. Churchill with respect to many matters. What did Mr. Churchill, speaking on behalf of the Government of Great Britain, say with regard to the obligation of conscription to Northern Ireland? These are Mr. Churchill's words:

(Take in statement).

Surely, if in 3 out of 4 parts of the Empire, it has been thought that for the preservation of national unity, and the more effective furtherance of the country's war effort, it was advisable to attempt to apply anything so calculated to create internal dissention and bitterness as conscription, those who, in Canada, share a similar view can hardly be regarded as less patriotic.

Let me come to the United States. We are now being told

D 42057

that because the United States has all-out conscription, we, in Canada, should immediately adopt an identical policy lest, by chance, at the end of the war it may appear that our record of sacrifice may not be equal to that of our great neighbour.

I ~~should~~ shall omit, for the moment, any reference to the fact that, for over two years, before the United States entry into the war, Canada had been actively at war. That throughout most of that time, she has been making her contribution of men on land, sea and in the air, in actual theatres of war, as well as her contribution in munitions, equipment and finance. All that I wish to emphasize at the moment is that it is not so much following the example of the United States that actuates those who are urging conscription today, so much as it is the adoptiom of conscription at any cost, for until the United States entered the war on December the 7th, there was no conscription for overseas in that country, and we, in Canada, were being asked, to adopt conscription not as a means of following the example of the United States, but as a further lever to have the United States participate in the war.

However profitable it might be, I have no desire to continue controversy by way of comparison with other parts of the Empire, or with other nations. All circumstances considered, Canada's war effort will stand comparison with that of any country on earth. In the words of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, repeated over and over again: "It has been and is

magnificent". So far as the one question of the method by which men shall continue to be raised for overseas service in one branch of the defence forces is concerned, and what place it shall hold in our war effort, as Mr. Churchill has also made perfectly plain, ~~is~~ a domestic issue pure and simple, and is for Canada herself, alone, to decide.

Let me say it quite frankly for it ought to be known, neither directly or indirectly has the Government of ~~the~~ Great Britain, or any member of that government, so far as I am aware, asked or urged that conscription for service overseas should be adopted in Canada, no more than it has been asked or urged that conscription should be adopted in any other of the self-governing Dominions.

Let it then be clearly understood that so far as Canada's war effort is concerned, the part which conscription is to play, is wholly and entirely a question for the people of Canada and their Parliament, and no other government or people, to decide. This being so, let us carefully weigh ~~again~~ their merits, the pros. and cons. of this question.

Broadly speaking, there are two grounds on which the issue can best be decided. The first, the ground of necessity, and second, the maintenance of national unity. In a very true sense, ~~they~~ these are opposite sides of the same shield. What is necessary to an utmost effort depends upon a consideration of all factors and methods, not an emphasis upon any one factor or method to the exclusion of all the rest. Equally, our utmost effort demands ~~the~~ unity on the part of the country.

D 42059

However we may differ as to the means by which Canada's utmost effort may be put forth, there is no difference as to a maximum effort being the necessary, obvious and common objective.

Take in question regarding total effort.

Take in next, reasons for fearing divisions over conscription issue.

Then, state there are 3 ways in which differences of view in a matter of the need for conscription and effect upon unity can be decided:

(1) by Parliament itself,

(2) by a referendum,

(3) by a general election.

Set forth policy.

FROM CANADIAN ANNUAL REVIEW
1925-26

We laughed too when Mr. Meighen did it

MR. MEIGHEN - AT HAMILTON. ONT.

D 42060

Nov. 16, 1925.

Quoted in part in press despatches as follows,-

"I would go further.....I believe it would be best not only that Parliament should be called, but that the decision of the Government, which, of course, would have to be given promptly, should be submitted to the judgment of the people at a general election before troops should leave our shores. This would contribute to the unity of our country in the months to come, and would enable us best to do our duty. It would not mean delay. Under the stress of war, delay might be fatal. Let me make clear what I mean. The Government would have to decide and decide quickly what was best in the interests of Canada.

"The Government would have to act on its judgment, but before there was anything in the way of participation involving the despatch of troops, the will of the people of Canada should first be obtained. I have myself not the slightest fear but that, if danger threatened Canada again, this country would respond as it responded in 1914, but I believe, in future, it will be best for all that, before a Government takes a step so momentous as the despatch of troops, the will of the people should be known."

Revised outline

January 16, 1942
J.W.P.

D42061

Compulsion for Overseas Service?

1. It could only apply to the army

Begin with this sentence:

"It has been said that Canada cannot achieve a total effort unless we adopt compulsion for overseas service."

Then continue with the last paragraph on page 2, of section D 1, and all of pages 3 and 4, and the first paragraph on page 5.

1. Would it result in a larger army?

Begin with last paragraph on page 5 of Section D 1. and continue to the end of this section

See also first draft of A.3 (vi) re army overseas, which contains some useful material.

To this might be added the following:

"Since the United States entered the war, and at the same time removed the territorial limitation upon the service of the men raised by the selective draft, comparisons unfavourable to Canada have been repeatedly made by certain opponents of the government who are apparently always prepared to misrepresent and belittle Canada if thereby they feel they can injure the government.

I should like to point out what the exact comparison between Canada and the United States really is. In doing so I have no thought of belittling the efforts of our neighbours. It is perfectly understandable that Canada which has been at war for over two years should have reached a more advanced stage of military development.

Let us look at the facts. The planned strength of the United States army, at the end of 1942, is 3,600,000 men. This is more than double its present strength. Moreover, the United States has no separate air force. The air corps is included in the army.

What about Canada? At the end of 1941, there were over 350,000 men in the Canadian Active Army and the Air Force, enlisted voluntarily for service in any part of the world. Over half of the army and many thousands of airmen were already overseas. In other words, the combined strength of the Canadian army and air force at tne end of 1941 was proportionately greater than the strength the United States plans to achieve at the end of 1942. And the programme of expansion I have outlined scarcely suggests that Canada is stopping at the point we have now reached.

These are the facts. Like our own government and the British government, the government of the United States shows by its army programme that the other wartime demands upon manpower are clearly recognized. They, too, are aiming at a balanced programme.

Revised outline

D 42064

3. The real nature of the manpower problem

Take in here the whole of the section D. 2., entitled "the Crisis of Manpower."

D 42065

Revised outline

4. What happens if the voluntary system fails to meet the army needs.

Take in here Section D.3. - omitting all but the first four lines of page 3 and the first part of page 4, including the McNaughton quotation and the first sentence which follows the quotation.

11 NOTES

D 42066

Revised outline

5. The military value of the active reserve for home defence.

Begin with this sentence:

"In the meantime, young men will, as I have indicated, continue to be called up for compulsory military training and service in Canada."

Then insert the passages on pages 3 and 4 of D.3., omitted from the previous section.

Then continue as follows:

Not only has the government sent the army overseas as rapidly as possible, but there are well over one hundred thousand men in the active army in Canada enlisted for service anywhere. The troops serving in Newfoundland and the other isalnds in the Atlantic are, of course, also available for service anywhere in the world. As more of the men called up for compulsory training become available for service, they will be able to replace more enlisted men on duty in Canada. The ehlisted men, in turn, will be available for despatch to any theatre of war in which their services are needed.

DD 42067

In this connection, the defence of Newfoundland has become an integral part of the territorial defence of Canada. In like manner, as a consequence of the Ogdensburg agreement, the territorial defence of the United States, since its entry into the war, has become virtually an integral part of the territorial defence of Canada. The government proposes, accordingly, without waiting for the results of the proposed plebiscite, to ask Parliament to amend the N.R.M. Act in order to bring it into conformity with these strategic considerations.

To sum up briefly then, the policy of the government with respect to military service is:

(1) to send in the light of other commitments, the maximum armed force overseas to Canada's front line of defence. For this purpose we want to send the best men possible, and that is why we shall continue to rely on the voluntary system to the very limit of its effectiveness.

(2) to ask the people, by plebiscite, to agree to free our hands by removing the territorial limitation on the N.R.M. Act so that, in a crisis, we will be able to reinforce our

voluntary army from the compulsory reserve.

(3) to continue to build up the reserve for our second line of defence, by compulsory military training and service, and to ask Parliament to amend the law to bring it into conformity with the fact that our second line of defence includes the whole continent of North America and the adjacent islands.

D 42069

D. Compulsion for service overseas?

1. Its real importance in the total effort.

The picture I have given of our accomplishments and the outline I have given of our programme for the coming year rppresent the progressive harnessing of the total life of a nation to the making of war. However little this fact may be appreciated, in some quarters, in Canada, its significance has not been lost on discerning aboservers from outside Canada.

On January 4th, a great American newspaper, the New York Herald Tribune published a special supplement devoted to Canada's war effort. In commenting editorially on this special feature, it said:

"Our supplement today throws light on Canada's splendid contribution.....

....."The Canadian pages, in detailing Canada's war efforts, give thoughtful Americans an idea of what we also shall face when we buckle down to the business of war on the same basis as the Canadians."

In these days, when the United States is girding herself for a great effort in this struggle, there have been Canadians with so little pride in their country as to belittle the efforts we have been making for these two long years, and so little self-respect as to maintain

D 42070

that nothing Canada can do has any merit unless our method of doing it is a slavish imitation of the methods of some other country. One day it is Britain, another day it is Australia, another day New Zealand, and now it is the United States.

It is well therefore that the balance should be restored a little. If Canadians themselves refuse to recognize their great achievements, we should be glad to have strangers tell us of them. For without a proper pride in our effort, the effort itself will not be as great as we could make it.

The latest fashion in disparagement of Canada is to say that we cannot put forth our utmost effort unless we compel men to enlist in the army for service overseas. It does not matter what fancy names are given to the policy advocated by the opponents of the government that is solely and precisely the extent of the difference between us.

I propose therefore to answer the question: Exactly how much difference will it make to our total effort in this war if we adopt compulsion for overseas service? Surely we can all agree that that is the only question which matters.

D 42071

Compulsory service overseas will not help us to secure the additional farm labour needed to produce Britain's food and our own; it will not increase the supply of skilled labour required to make the machines and munitions of war in growing volume; it will not get more men for the navy, because men are volunteering for the navy in greater numbers than can be absorbed; it will not help the air force--no air force in the world, not even the German air force, is recruited by compulsion. Indeed, unless the greatest vigilance was exercised, compulsory overseas service might result in the absorption into the army of young men who should be reserved for the air force.

In practical terms of results, then, compulsion for overseas service would affect only the army. I doubt if anyone would pretend the men who are compelled to serve in the army will be better soldiers than men who freely choose to serve. I do not say that many would not be just as good; but clearly some would not. The use of compulsion, then, would have some tendency to reduce the quality of the army; it certainly would not improve its quality.

What then would be its advantage, in terms again of results, of total strength, of striking power. ~~To~~ Compulsion

D 42072

has not been necessary to build the army up to its present strength. The military advisers of the government do not believe ~~it~~ conscription will be necessary in order to carry out the programme for 1942. The Minister of National Defence has repeatedly ~~expressed the conviction~~ said he believes that the men can be secured by voluntary enlistment. He has been quite frank about it; he has not pretended it would be easy; he has recognized the need of persuasion; the importance of pointing out the path of duty to our young men; and he has appealed to all patriotic citizens to help him. He does not want, and the army does not want, and the country does not want, the ranks of the army filled with young men who are unwillingly giving forced service. Don't let anyone get the idea that you can force men to fight against their will: compulsion will only work if it practically ceases to be compulsion and becomes mere direction. Perhaps if you are brutal enough, as the Nazis are, you can force men to work for you, although we do hear of sabotage. No doubt you can force men to serve in the army, to train after a fashion and to go through the motions of being soldiers, but armies like that will not win battles.

D 42073

This is no mere academic argument against compulsory service. Compulsory service will undoubtedly work where it is a mere method of deciding which men will serve among men who are all willing to serve. But its success depends upon almost universal acceptance of the principle. It has its advantages; it has its disadvantages. It is far more expensive to work; it demands elaborate machinery; it takes time. As long as volunteers are forthcoming in adequate numbers, even if a little effort and some persuasion is required, there is great saving of energy and time--both scarce commodities in wartime--to be devoted to more urgent matters. In any case, what we want to do is to get the men we require into the army. We are getting them by the voluntary system, so why adopt a different method? Someone will perhaps say that may not always be true. I shall come back to that point in a moment.

See 2

First let me deal with another point. I believe what is really behind the agitation is the desire for a larger army. It is a natural desire in Canada with its glorious military tradition of the last war. That is why I warned the country against false comparisons at the very outset, and why I have repeated the warning over and over again since. I knew what people would

D42074

say; I knew they would say I was trying to hold back; that I was opposed to an all-out effort. But I knew, too, that if the hand of the government was forced; that if we yield to the clamour; everything we were doing in this war might be wrecked and our whole effort destroyed. I knew that it was the duty of the government to keep the effort in balance, to advance it on all fronts together, and not to throw all our energies into one single channel.

The armed forces of Canada contain the very best of our young manhood; they have freely offered everything, even life itself, to save this nation and the world from slavery and barbarism. They have a right to our utmost support and to the right kind of support. We must not let them make needless sacrifices. We must give them everything that is needed to win battles, not to lose them. And that means not merely food and clothing and rifles and bayonets, but machines and machines and still more machines.

What has been the history of this war. It has been an unbroken record of battles lost, on both sides now, although for too long it was only on one, because soldiers went into battle without adequate air suppprt, without enough tanks, without arms equal to those of them! And

D 42075

what has happened when equality has been achieved with the enemy in air strength and equality in tanks. Libya has given us the answer.

Of course there must be men to use the machines; of course, manpower is required in the army, and the very best men are needed for the skilled and arduous service in modern machanized warfare. But so far as numbers go, far more are needed behind the lines to keep a modern army in operation. No less an authority than Brigadier General Hershey, who administers the selective draft in the United States, stated recently that, in modern war, at least 14 non-combatant workers and administrators are needed to keep one fighting man in the field. It is a problem in very simple arithmetic to see that there are very rigid limits to the size of the army a nation of barely 12,000,000 people can raise and maintain. The programme laid down for the army for 1942 almost touches, if it does not reacch, the limits of effective expansion.

No matter what method of selection is used, it will become increasingly difficult to obtain men for the army, without taking them from more essential war duties. If this were not true, there would be something seriously wrong with our war effort. The army does not want unemployables any more than industry wants them, and it

D 42076

can use them even less. Apart from young men leaving the schools and universities, practically every recruit for the army must give up some kind of job. As unessential industries are cut down or eliminated, most of the jobs left will be more vital to the war effort than service in the army. Indeed, a very rigid and scientific system of compulsory selection, if it could be devised, might produce few, if any, more recruits in the long run than the voluntary system. At the very most a few thousands more might be secured.

D 42077

D. Compulsion for overseas

3. What happens if the voluntary system fails

I promised, a moment ago, to return to the question: What do we propose to do if the voluntary system fails to produce the men needed for the enlarged army programme and for reinforcements? I am in complete agreement with those who say we must be prepared to meet every eventuality which can be foreseen.

In war, it is, of course, impossible to prepare for all eventualities. It was impossible, for example, to reinforce our troops at Hong Kong, although there was no shortage of enlisted men in Canada.

Let us suppose, however, that our troops suffer very heavy casualties in action, and facilities and communications are available to send reinforcements from Canada. What will happen in that case? Letme follow it through, step by step. In the first instance, of course, the troops will be reinforced from the very considerable pool of reinforcements already in the holding units overseas. The holding units in turn will be reinforced as rapidly as transport can be arranged from

D 42078

elisted men in Canada. Do no forget that the maintenance of an army in the field is a continuous process. The whole of the Active Army will never be overseas at any one time. Reinforcements must always be in training in Canada. It is from their ranks, and, if need be, from the ranks of men engaged on active duty in Canada, that the holding units overseas will be reinforced.

It is, at this stage, that the problem might arise. Volunteers might cease to offer themselves in adequate numbers to meet the need for adequate replacement of the reinforcements sent from Canada to replenish the holding units overseas. I do not believe this is likely to happen; the gogvernment does not believe it will happen; and its military advisers do not believe it will happen. Our faith in the patriotism and sense of duty of four young men is as great as ever. But it is possible that, if a great and sudden call were made, the response might not be adequate. How could that situation be met?

No final answer can be given to this or any other bypothetical question. The actual circumstances are never quite what we expect them to be. But we shall continue to call men up for training and service under the National Resources Mobilization Act. A few thousands have already completed their training and been assigned

D 42079

to active duty. These numbers will grow. They will probably never be large, because their numbers are limited by the requirements of men for active service in the territorial defence of Canada.

This service in Canada is vital to our security and to the security of the allied cause. Let us have an end of the dangerous nonsense that we do not require a part of our army in Canada. Let me remind you that Nova Scotia is as close to the enemy as Pearl Harbour, that Newfoundland is closer, that Vancouver Island, Prince Rupert and the Queen Charlotte Islands are almost as close. By all means, let us do all in our power to keep the enemy from our shores; but let us not be so foolish as to think that Canadian territory is immune from direct attack. Of course the war cannot be won in Canada; of course, Canadians must fight overseas to help win it; and they are fighting overseas to help win it. They will continue to do so in growing numbers. What matters is that the numbers should grow, not that the men should be raised by some particular method.

And, in the interests of truth and the good name of Canada, let us have an end of the misleading propaganda that Canada is holding back her army from service overseas. It is wholly false. I do not ask you merely to accept my word for that statement. This is what

D 42080

General McNaughton said in his recent Christmas message to the troops under his command:

"From a very small beginning the Canadian army has now grown to many tens of thousands of men and women. New units and formations and reserves have come to us as quickly as ships could be found to bring them here."

Those words are a complete answer to those who say that the government has been holding the army back. The fact that the services of a few thousand men are, at present, confined within the territorial limits of Canada has not interfered with our contribution to the fighting front any more than the fact that hundreds of thousands are kept in Canada. engaged in war production. In fact, the truth is just the opposite. These men have replaced others enlisted for service anywhere. Someone must perform the arduous and thankless task of guarding our coasts and vulnerable areas. Many of the posts of duty are remote and far from the amenities of settled life. Let no one think the military duties of this character are soft jobs at home.

Nevertheless I am prepared to agree that the territorial limitation upon the service of the men called up under the National Resources Mobilization Act does constitute a limitation upon the freedom of the government to act in some emergency which may arise. It has no practical importance to-day. But the circumstances of war

D 42081

can change swiftly and I believe the time has come to free the hands of the government, so that we may be in a position to take any action necessary to preserve the security and integrity of Canada within or beyond our borders.

The question we face is: how can we secure this freedom without betraying the trust imposed in us by the people. Parliament might, of course, remove the limitation of its own motion. It undoubtedly has the legal power to do so. The government, however, is not prepared, in the light of the pledges given by the great majority of the members to their constituents, to recommend this course. We propose instead to put the ~~question direct to the people~~ themselves by means of a ~~referendum~~ plebiscite.

And let me make perfectly clear what we are going to ask the people. We are not going to ask them to approve the abandonment of the voluntary system; we believe in that system; we believe it will work. But the government wants to be free, in a crisis, to employ the men called up for service in any theatre of war in any part of the world where their service may be required for the defence of Canada in the widest sense of that term.

Vast

D 42082

Suggested arrangement of material relating to Canada's War Effort

1. An Outline of the War Effort

(i) A Partner in the United Effort, etc: Planning and Co-ordination.

Already submitted

(ii) War Production

(iii) The Military Effort

(iv) The Financial Task

(v) Financial Arrangements with Britain

2. The Real Meaning of Total War for Canada

(i) Definition of Total Effort

(ii) A Total Effort for Canada

Already submitted

(iii) Plans and Priorities
(Much of this is covered in Section 1 (i) above)

(iv) The Army is not the Criterion of a Total Effort

(v) Selective Service and Total Effort
(Most of this material is unsuitable in present form and at this stage)

D 42083

3. The two aspects of a Total Effort

Attached

(i) Mobilization of Material Resources

(ii) Mobilization of Manpower

--measures already taken

4. Selective Service

See note attached

The new programme of extended selective service

(This section cannot be prepared until the plan is forthcoming) *

5. The Question of Extending Compulsion to Overseas Service

In course of preparation

(i) The only point at issue between Government and Opposition

(ii) Insignificant in importance in relation to total effort

(iii) Arguments pro and con

(iv) The people to decide the question if and when necessary

(v) Maintenance of perspective and avoidance of side issues and controversies

BELL-FAST BOND

42084

6. Mobilization of Spiritual Resources

(i) Pride in Canada's Effort

(ii) Faith in Canadian people

(iii) Persuasion v. Coercion

(iv) Burning faith in cause of Freedom and Justice

(v) Hope for Future

(vi) Something to fight for as well as against

(vii) Appeal for utmost effort

Revised by the Prime Minister
January 15, 1942

D 42085

CANADA'S WAR EFFORT

The Record of Achievement.

I. A balanced effort.

In the light of what I have just set forth, I desire briefly to review Canada's record of achievement in the present war. ~~May I begin by recalling that, from the outset, the government, in its direction of our war effort, has followed two principles. We have tried to develop our effort in all its aspects simultaneously. We have, equally, tried to maintain the proper balance between production and the armed forces, and, among the armed forces themselves, between the needs of the navy, the army, and the air force.~~

~~The foundations of Canada's war effort were laid in the closing months of 1939. I described them in a broadcast on October 31st of that year. I recall my words today, because today they apply with even greater force.~~

I said that, in what promised to be a long war, our contribution would be all the more effective for careful planning. ~~I warned that modern war was a grim business which demanded cool judgment and a balanced strategy. I pointed out that the war of 1914-18 was still vividly~~

D 42086

contribution would be more fully comprehended, if Canada's financial arrangements with the United Kingdom, both for the past and the reasonably foreseeable future, were duly clarified. We believe that the time has come for this clarification.

The government, accordingly, is proposing to the British government that the financial arrangements between Canada and Britain should be placed on a new footing. The offer which is being made is one which we have reason to believe will be warmly welcomed by the British government.

In so far as past transactions are concerned, the proposal is to convert the major portion of the pounds sterling which have accumulated to Canada's credit in London into a loan to the United Kingdom of seven hundred million dollars, in Canadian money. It is proposed that, during the war, the loan will be reduced by the proceeds of any sales made to persons outside the United Kingdom, of Canadian dollar securities now held by residents of the United Kingdom, and also by the proceeds of the redemption or repayment of any Canadian securities held in the United Kingdom. The new loan would not bear interest during the war. As soon as practicable after the war, it is proposed, however, that the governments of the two countries should

D 42087

arrange an appropriate rate of interest to apply from that time forward, and make appropriate provisions for retiring the loan.

Since the beginning of the war, approximately $400,000,000 in Canadian money has been made available to Britain through the purchase by our government of Canadian government securities held in Britain. In other words, our government, during the war, has been paying off a part of the Dominion's external debt. Under the arrangement now proposed, the Canadian government will purchase outright the remaining Dominion government and Canadian National Railway securities owned by residents of Britain. ~~These securities are worth approximately~~ $295,000,000. This means that the Canadian government will, before it becomes due, pay off its own remaining debt in Britain. The British government will pay the present owners of these securities in pounds sterling. The Canadian government, in turn, will pay the British government for the securities in Canadian dollars.

For the future, in addition to the financial provision for raising and maintaining Canada's own armed forces, the government will, as a part of Canada's direct contribution to the defeat of the Axis, ask Parliament to make provision for meeting Britain's shortage of Canadian

D 42088

dollars by supplying, free of charge and without obligation, to Britain, munitions of war, raw materials, and foodstuffs up to an amount of one billion dollars. Such provision would mean that thereafter Canada's war effort would include, in addition to her armed forces, an outright contribution of war supplies on a vast scale.

The proposals I have outlined will, it is anticipated, suffice to meet the requirements of the United Kingdom for Canadian war supplies until early in 1943.

In announcing this offer, I wish to draw particular attention to the fact that the financial burden of war now being borne by the Canadian people will not be increased by the proposed financial arrangements with the United Kingdom. Canada has already undertaken to supply the Canadian money required by Britain to pay for Canadian war supplies. Whether this money is provided in the form of a loan to Britain, or of a direct contribution to the defeat of Hitler, will not change the number of dollars which the Canadian people are already committed to raise for the prosecution of the war.

The advantages of the proposed financial plan are that it will avoid the growth to huge and unmanageable proportions of a war debt which might breed ~~future~~ misunderstandings ~~and bitterness~~; that it will definitely relieve Britain

of any financial anxiety which might arise in connection with its Canadian sources of supply; and, finally, that it will bring our working arrangements into accord with the realities of the war situation.

The adoption of the new plan will mean that Canada, at this time of intensified crisis, is giving renewed evidence of the determination of our people to put forth their utmost effort in the common cause of freedom.

D 42089

The programme for 1942

The cost of the effort.

I have now outlined our programme for the coming year; I have shown that, in every aspect, we plan to ~~[illegible]~~ forward to the limit of the country's capacity; it remains ~~to indicate the cost.~~

~~Nothing~~ more than a rough estimate of the cost can be given at this stage; the Minister of Finance will be somewhat more precise when he introduces the War Appropriations. But the estimate ~~he is working with~~ at this stage ~~is~~ is $3,000,000,000.

The financial advisers of the government believe that this huge sum and the additional sums required for civil government can be raised by taxation, war loans, and war savings, but they equally regard this as a full-out financial effort. ~~Its achievement will mean much deprivation~~ and additional burdens for all but the very poor~~est~~. All but they will be worse off financially, or should be, if all are to bear their share of the total effort. Every means will be taken to distribute the burden fairly among all sections and all groups in the community.

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D 42090

The means of achieving a total effort

1. Mobilization of wealth, material resources and manpower

In preparing its war programme for 1942, the government has had but one objective. It is the objective we have had from the outset, namely, the achievement of a total national war effort. It is not, however, an effort exaggerated in any one aspect at the expense of other aspects. It is, as it has been from the beginning, a balanced effort. As far as it is humanly possible to foresee them, it seeks to take account of all demands and all eventualities. Moreover, it is so planned as to fall into its appropriate place in the united effort of all the nations arrayed against the Axis.

The most searching and careful study has been given to the extent to which it is possible to expand each aspect of the national effort without weakening some other aspect just as important to the whole. Equally careful consideration has been given to the methods by which the desired ends can best be attained.

D 42091

A balanced total national war effort requires the mobilization through taxation, loans and savings of the necessary financial resources, and the most careful ~~discussions~~ decisions with respect to the means by which this is to be accomplished. It also requires the mobilization of material resources, and the mobilization of manpower, and like care with respect to the best means by which both can be accomplished. I shall leave to the Minister of Finance the question of the means to be employed in mobilizing the financial resources. That matter will have to await the presentation of the Budget.

In the case alike of the mobilization of material resources and of manpower, some measure of compulsion is necessary, just as it is in the case of the mobilization of financial resources. The use of compulsion for the mobilization of material resources and manpower is not new. It has been approved by this Parliament. The principle of compulsion is embodied in the National Resources Mobilization Act, which was enacted on June 20, 1940. This Act gives the government very wide powers to mobilize, for war purposes, both the material resources and the manpower of the country. Since the mobilization of material resources is much less a subject of controversy, I shall speak of it first.

D42092

49

2. The mobilization of material resources.

In the early stages of the war, the mobilization of material resources presented few problems. Production was in the stage of organization. The demand for raw materials was small. Shortages of Canadian supplies could readily be met by purchase in the United States. In other words all our other shortages boiled down to a shortage of United States dollars. The government lost no time in facing this problem. Foreign Exchange Control was established on September 15, 1939, and increasingly stringent measures were taken through the prohibition of pleasure travel in the United States, and the restriction of unessential imports to ensure the supply of American dollars needed to buy war materials in the United States. Fortunately, at the very moment when these drastic measures threatened to prove insufficient, the whole problem was vastly simplified by the reciprocal arrangements embodied in the Hyde Park Declaration. The problem has been further simplified by and by the recent agreement between the United States and Canada to remove all obstructions to the free flow of war materials between the two countries, and by the establishment of joint Committees on war production.

Means have also been taken to stimulate the production in Canada of strategic raw materials and to prevent

D 42093

the export of raw materials of which a shortage might be anticipated. Stockpiles of imported raw materials have been accumulated. Steps have been taken to discourage waste, and to salvage waste products. By severe taxation and the encouragement of war savings, civilian consumption has been curtailed. In recent months, the manufacture of non-essential goods has been curtailed or eliminated entirely. The compulsory mobilization of material resources has been progressively and selectively effected by a highly efficient though exceedingly complex system of economic controls. Without attempting to be exhaustive, I should like to give a few outstanding examples of how these controls have operated to make material resources available.

One of the early directions in which curtailment was necessary was in the production of motor vehicles. As early as May, 1940, it was ordered that the production of passenger automobiles for the period from April to December, 1941, should be cut down to 80% of production in the corresponding period of 1940. In August, 1941, production for 1942 was ordered limited to approximately 44% of the 1940 output. Finally, in January of this year, announcement was made that all production of passenger cars for civilian consumption would cease after existing fabricated parts had been assembled. It is expected that the production of passenger cars will cease by March 31st.

D 42094

The use of rubber has been severely restricted. The whole supply of crude rubber in Canada was placed under government control in September, 1941. From October on, the quantity of rubber available to each producer for civilian purposes was fixed by quotas based on the average monthly consumption in the twelve months which ended on May 31, 1941. These quotas were subject to change by the Controller of Supplies. The imminent threat to the source of rubber supply in Malaya and the East Indies occasioned by the outbreak of war in the Far East was quickly followed by far-reaching measures to conserve existing supplies. The sale of motor car tires and tubes was suspended. The use of rubber in the manufacture of goods for civilian consumption was temporarily suspended until new regulations of an equitable character could be devised. More recently, the sale of new tires and tubes for ordinary civilian use has been definitely prohibited, and sales are only allowed under permit to a highly restricted list of purchasers who are engaged in essential service to the public. The supply of crude rubber for manufacturing purposes has been severely restricted in quantity, and is only permitted for the manufacture of a restricted list of essential products.

D42095

From December, 1940, the importing of silk for civilian uses, principally wearing apparel, was gradually reduced by means of quotas. On August 9, 1941, all private stocks of raw silk were frozen by the government and control of their use was vested in the Controller of Supplies. Thereafter, the use of raw silk for civilian purposes was completely discontinued, except in the case of silken bales already opened by August 9th.

In October, 1941, the monthly production of stoves and vacuum cleaners, washing machines, refrigerators and radios was reduced by quotas. Further reductions were made in the quotas for washing machines and refrigerators in December. On January 3rd of this year, the manufacture of radios for civilian purposes was prohibited, except under permit by the Controller of Supplies.

From January 1st of this year the manufacture of an extensive list of non-essential metal products was to be eliminated as soon as a limited production from parts already on hand was completed. The manufacture of a further list of products with a considerable metal content was, at the same time, considerably restricted.

~~All~~ These ~~measures~~ have been taken progressively, as our war industries have expanded to ~~absorb the materials mobilized. If we could have forseen some of the events~~

D 42096

which have since taken place, perhaps some of the steps would have been taken sooner. The end, however, is far from being in sight. Already, the rationing of some commodities for civilian use has begun. If we are to achieve a total effort, far more drastic curtailments will follow.

The whole business of mobilizing material resources is not spectacular; it is far from pleasant; but it is the real foundation of a total war effort. The government has never hesitated to take any of the necessary steps at the moment it was believed they were ~~necessary~~ essential.

D 42097

The Mobilization of Manpower

I turn now to the question of the mobilizing of "man power", which term, by the way, when it is used without definite restriction, is ~~meant~~ intended to comprehend "woman power" as well. I wish to speak more particularly of the means of mobilizing the additional manpower and womanpower required to maintain the existing effort, and to develop the enlarged programme.

National Selective Service is the method by which the government proposes to accomplish the mobilization of manpower on an extended scale. Let me define national service as it is understood by the government. By national service is meant any form of service, either voluntary or compulsory, which contributes directly to Canada's war effort. By selective national service is meant the selection of men and women for the various forms of national service according to the method or methods calculated to produce the most satisfactory results. In order to be selective, national service does not necessarily need to be compulsory. Voluntary service is also selective. The army, for example, does not accept every man who offers to enlist. In finding the right place for ~~every~~ a man, no quality is likely to count for more than willingness to serve. Compulsion is only of value where it serves to ensure a greater total effort. Wherever necessary

BELFAST BOND

D 42098

and of value in increasing Canada's war effort, the government is prepared to employ compulsion. It would, however, be a waste of effort to engage a small army of officials to compel people to do what they are perfectly ready and willing to do without compulsion.

In announcing that National Selective Service is the method by which the government proposes to accomplish the mobilization of manpower on an extended scale, the government is not announcing a new policy. What we propose to do is to extend what, in fact, we have been doing right along, ~~namely~~ that is, to apply the principle progressively. In other words, we intend to continue to extend the application of ~~the~~ National Selective Service to meet new needs as they arise.

Wherever ~~it is deemed~~ in the opinion of the government it is necessary to apply the principle of National Selective Service on a compulsory basis, it will be so applied. This policy, too, is not new, nor is it being advanced today for the first time, or as a consequence of high pressure methods employed to influence the independence of Members of Parliament. The principle itself, as I have already explained, was approved by this Parliament in June, 1940. It has already been applied to some extent. On November 12th last, I made it very plain to Parliament that, with respect to the mobilization of manpower, the government's policy was one of National Selective Service;

D 42099

and, also, that an extension of the application of compulsory selective service - conscription, if you will - was a part of that policy. Let me repeat my exact words: "So far as conscription stands for compulsory selective national service, that is a principle which this government has embodied in its National Resources Mobilization Act passed at a previous session of this Parliament. As to how rapidly that principle should be applied, and how far it should be extended, is a matter which the government must decide and will decide in the light of all the knowledge which it has with respect to the needs of our war effort and the position of the country in meeting them.

"I want it to be distinctly understood that so far as the principle of compulsory selective national service is concerned for Canada, in Canada, I stand for that principle. I have never taken any other stand. It is the position that I have held all along. It has been applied in connection with military training, and applied in a number of other directions I might mention. How much further it will be applied the House will learn as the government takes its decisions on that matter."

I did not, at that time, announce any decisions as to its further application. Such an announcement would hardly have been appropriate at the close of a session which had already completed all its major business. I felt that, in

D 42100

fairness to Parliament, announcements on such an important matters should be reserved for a new session, when Members would have adequate opportunity for the fullest consideration and debate.

The extended application of compulsion to national selective service is a highly complicated matter. It is, in itself, a selective process. The use of compulsion selectively is no less complicated in the mobilization of manpower than in the mobilization of material resources. However, the fact that further decisions were not announced in November has not delayed the further application of the principle. Indeed, it has rather facilitated the very careful planning and organization which is so essential before the extended application of selective service, whether on a voluntary or a compulsory basis, can be brought into effective operation.

Everyone will recognize that the effective use of the manpower - and the womanpower - of a nation is essential to the achievement of a total war effort. But it is not the total. It is, as I have already stated, only one factor in the total. In considering any extension of the application of selective service as a means of promoting a total war effort, it is important to remember that selective national 47

D 42101

service is not in itself an end, but is only a means to an end, that end being a total war effort. ~~Moreover, it is but one of many~~ is but one of many means of effecting a total war effort. total war effort.

The problems of mobilizing resources, and mobilizing manpower, are inseparable from one another and like all other aspects of our war effort must be kept in proper balance. Material resources cannot be mobilized without manpower to mobilize them, and no good purpose is served by mobilizing men unless they are provided with the necessary materials and tools to work with, and the necessary equipment and arms to fight with.

Under the authority of the National Resources Mobilization Act, a limited measure of national selective service on a compulsory basis has been applied since October, 1940, in the selection of young men for military training. The principles of selection have been age and marital status, with adequate safeguards, through postponements, for other essential forms of national service.

Because of the limited amount of equipment available, the original period of training was fixed at thirty days. In January, 1941, the training period was extended to four months. The first period of this extended service began in February last. Before this period of training was completed, it was decided to keep the men, when trained, on active service in Canada.

D 42102

Up to the end of 1941, nearly 87,000 men had been called up for training since October, 1940. Several thousands have now been assigned to military duties in Canada; the number is not large in relation to the total number of men on active service in the army. The reason is highly significant. For all three of the armed services, the compulsory training plan has proved to be an excellent recruiting ground. A high proportion of the men called up have volunteered for service anywhere. The plan has, in fact, contributed greatly to the strength of the armed forces. It has the added advantage that volunteers secured in this way already have had some experience of military life. They know what they are undertaking when they volunteer; and therefore, in their subsequent military careers, are more likely to succeed.

The Government now proposes to apply the compulsory powers of national selective service to other aspects of the war effort as well as to military service. These powers will be applied selectively and progressively to those activities where it is considered by the Government that their application will contribute to the goal of a total effort. I invite your attention particularly to what I am now about to say. ~~It has not been necessary, nor would it indeed have been helpful, to make the demands upon the nation which I am about to set forth, until now.~~ These demands will

D 42103

intimately affect the lives of many men and women. They will also affect the life of the nation in the following way. There will be a further very definite curtailment of the amenities we have hitherto been able to preserve. These demands will not affect physical health or that contentment of spirit that comes from serving great causes, but they will make further inroads upon the comfort and convenience of very large numbers, and upon the character and aspect of our daily life. It must not be supposed that there are large reserves of idle people leading a leisurely existence who can now be called to the national ranks. The entire adult Canadian population, with very few exceptions, gets up in the morning, works all day, and goes to bed tired out at night. In our form of society people have been accustomed to find their own jobs to a very large extent, thus saving vast Government machinery.

If all the efforts of everyone were really devoted solely to making war, there would be no food, or fuel, no transport, or clothes. We have to recognize the fact that a very large proportion of the population, particularly women, is occupied in ministering to the needs of the more actively engaged population, and that that number has increased since the last war with the increase of population who have to be ministered to.

D 42104

The process which is now to be applied -- and has, indeed, been continuously applied -- much more vigorously, is not the calling of idle people to work, but the sharpening and shifting forward of a proportion of their effort into work which is more directly related to the war.

It may surprise honourable members to learn that the words I have just used are not my own words. With the exception of the two words "Canadian population", which I have substituted for the words "British race", the statement is not mine. It is a statement by the Prime Minister of Great Britain. After all that has been said in Canada in recent months about all-out conscription in Britain, and its application to women as well as to men, it may occasion still more surprise that this statement was made, not at the beginning of the war, nor at the end of the first year, nor even of the second year, but as recently as December 2nd last.

The explanation of the timing is simple. In war, correct timing is vital. ~~All action, however, must be progressive.~~ Some steps must be completed, before others can be taken. The time of application of measures is quite as important as the extent of their application. No mechanical rule or order can be followed. The appropriate measures for one country will never exactly suit another country. In the case of each, Local

D 42105

conditions must be considered; the nature of the tasks undertaken by each country, and their relative importance in the total effort of all, must be the decisive factor.

To achieve a total national effort everyone must contribute to the effort either directly or indirectly. All cannot do the same work. As far as possible, each must be fitted into the appropriate task. Many, perhaps the majority, can find the appropriate place for themselves, and, as Mr. Churchill said, save "vast government machinery". Certainly, no government is wise enough to decide the appropriate task for every individual in the nation. And, even if governments were all-knowing, the war would not wait while this stupendous job was being performed. What the government can do, and what we propose to undertake to do, is to meet the urgent needs by the best means we can devise.

Re P.M's speech on the Address

D 42106

NATIONAL SELECTIVE SERVICE

Modifications suggested in Prime Minister's Speech in the event it is not possible to announce the outline of the proposed extension of selective service

1. Omit from beginning of Churchill quotation on page 47 to the words "...the decisive factor" on page 50. (This material might be reserved intact for a separate speech later on National Selective Service.)

2. Continue with the paragraph on page 50 which begins with the words: "To achieve a total national effort ...."

3. Add the attached paragraphs at the end of page 50 before beginning the section on "Compulsion for Overseas Service.

D42107

I shall not attempt ~~on this occasion~~ to outline the measures which are contemplated in order to extend the scope of national selective service. I shall confine myself to ~~indicating in a general way~~ that the extended policy of selective service ~~will comprehend~~ measures to safeguard and, where necessary, to ~~mobilize the~~ agricultural labour required to expand war production on the farms; ~~it will, equally,~~ comprehend measures to increase the supply of manpower available for ~~employment in~~ war industry and ~~enlistment in~~ the armed forces, ~~through positive~~ action to add to the number of women available for employment; to increase the mobility of all available manpower ~~and~~ to facilitate the transfer of labour from non-essential occupations to direct employment in the furtherance of the war effort. The policy also envisages improvements in ~~the efficiency of the machinery and~~ methods of ~~calling~~ men ~~up~~ for compulsory military training and service ~~in Canada~~.

The government believes that the specific measures to extend the application of national selective service which are proposed will, ~~on balance,~~ bring about a ~~considerable~~ improvement in the employment of the man-power resources of the country in furtherance of a total war effort.

D 42108

The administrative machinery required to carry out the proposed measures equitably and efficiently will necessarily be intricate and complicated. The capacities of men and women cannot be weighed and measured and graded with the same certainty as the qualities of wheat or cement or steel can be determined. To perform the complicated task of selection with success will demand time and ~~patience~~.

The government, moreover, has no desire to add unduly -- which means wastefully -- to governmental machinery. It is imperative that we avoid using men and women for unnecessary tasks. In those aspects of our war effort in which voluntary methods are working satisfactorily, voluntary selection, including a measure of choice by the individual of the appropriate field of service, will be continued. The use of the more expensive and complicated methods of compulsion will be confined to those branches of our war effort where it is felt that compulsory selection will increase ~~the~~ efficiency ~~of the war effort~~.

Canada's War Effort

Revised draft: Ship from pp 6 & 21
kwP/12.1.42

~~B.~~ The record of achievement

D 42109

1. A balanced effort

In ~~reviewing~~ Canada's record of achievement in the present war, may I begin by recalling that, from the outset, the government, in its direction of ~~the~~ our war effort, has followed two principles. We have tried to develop our effort in all its aspects simultaneously. We have, equally, tried to maintain the proper balance between production and the armed forces, and, among the armed forces themselves, between the needs of the ~~army~~ army, ~~navy~~ navy and air force.

The foundations of Canada's war effort were laid in the closing months of 1939. I described them in a broadcast on October 31st of that year. I recall my words today, because they apply with even greater force today.

I said that, in what promised to be a long war, our contribution would be all the more effective for careful planning. I warned that modern war was a grim business which demanded cool judgment and a balanced strategy. I pointed out that the war of 1914-18 was still vividly remembered by all who lived through those years. I expressed concern that these memories might provoke misleading comparisons. Having regard to the

D 42110

many new weapons which had been developed, I suggested that we were faced with a new kind of war.

Speaking on behalf of the Government, I reminded ~~my listeners~~ the people of Canada that in 1914, governments were ~~still~~ mainly concerned about the number of men they could place in the field. I ~~explained~~ urged that what happened in 1914 should not be blindly repeated in 1939; that new weapons demanded a new technique of warfare. Above all other considerations, I stressed the importance of preparing for a long and terrible struggle in which staying power, the power to hold out to the end, might well be decisive.

Knowing how important that in the minds of many would be as well I pointed out the vital importance of an adequate naval and air contribution by Canada. I stated that we would follow with the keenest interest the achievements of the military forces we sent overseas; but I added that our effort would be concerned, in equal measure, with the fighting forces on the sea and in the air.

I said, finally, that Canada's most effective contribution would differ greatly from our contribution in the last war. I suggested that our economic contribution might prove to be the most important of all. And I repeated the view, widely expressed in Britain, that in addition to being the granary of the British Commonwealth, Canada might also become its arsenal.

D42111

I venture to ~~remind you of~~ recall these statements made in October, 1939, because they ~~show~~ go clearly how that the government took a broad view of Canada's tasks in this war, and, from the very outset, planned and organized our national effort on all fronts. Let us now look at what has been achieved.

D 42112

B. The record of achievement

2. The military aspects

(i) The navy

At the outbreak of war, there were some 20 ships and less than 2,000 men in the Royal Canadian Navy.

At the beginning of 1940 the Navy had grown to 80 ships and over 5,000 men; at the beginning of 1941, the numbers had risen to 175 ships and 14,800 men. At the beginning of this year the Navy comprised over 350 ships and 27,600 men.

~~The primary task of the Navy is its part in the defence of our coasts.~~ From the beginning of the war, the navy has assumed a steadily growing share of convoy work in the North Atlantic. Canadian destroyers have shared in the protection of Britain from the threat of invasion. Sailors of the Canadian navy have served and are serving in all the seven seas. Canada's pride in the Navy is reflected in the long waiting list of young men seeking to join the Service.

D42113

(ii) The Army

At the outbreak of war, the Permanent Active Militia, as Canada's regular army was then called, included about 4,500 men. By the end of 1939, the Canadian Active Service Force, to give the army its name at that date, had increased to over 64,000 men. The First Canadian Division had just arrived in Britain.

At the close of 1940, the Active Army included almost 170,000 men. A Canadian Corps of two divisions had already been formed in Britain. Canadian troops were also on active service in Newfoundland, the British West Indies and Iceland.

At the close of 1941, there were more than 253,000 men in the Canadian Active Army enlisted for service in any part of the world. Rather more than half this number were on active service outside Canada. A third infantry division, an armoured division, an army tank brigade, forestry troops and other specialized units and thousands of reinforcements were in Britain, in addition to the original Corps of two divisions.

Canadian troops continued to serve in Newfoundland and the West Indies. Two Canadian regiments ~~have~~ which recently added a new chapter of valour in the heroic defence of Hong Kong. ~~By their efforts in this gallant~~

65

Revised by the Prime Minister
January 25, 1942

D 42114

While the government, in its policies, has sought a total effort, it has never ceased to believe that only by a united effort could ~~that great end~~ total effort be achieved. In every step the government has taken from the moment the threat of war ~~became apparent~~ appeared on the European horizon, we have sought so to direct our ~~war~~ policies and the course of affairs ~~in the country~~ public that, ~~in~~ the national effort, ~~unity~~ the country would remain united effort would be maintained.

Every honourable member of this House knows that, except for the assurance that, in the event of a European war, there would be no conscription for service overseas, ~~and the further assurance that Parliament itself would decide whether or not Canada would participate in war~~, this Parliament would never have decided, in the immediate and unanimous manner in which it did to stand at the side of Britain in the resistance of aggression, and the defence of freedom.

Honourable members are also aware that if a like assurance ~~with respect to military service overseas~~ had not been given with respect to service overseas by the late Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, by the ~~Hon. Mr.~~ Minister of Public Works Cardin, and other Liberal leaders and members of this House of Commons from the Province of Quebec, ~~and given in the name of the present government~~ in the name of the present Government, at the time when Canada's participation in the war was challenged

in an election in the province of Quebec by a government professing a different political faith, the verdict of ~~that~~ province ~~would~~ might have been wholly different ~~from what it was~~. ~~Let it never be forgotten that~~ The people of the province of Quebec turned out of office the government that had sought to thwart ~~the~~ Canada's war effort ~~of the present administration at Ottawa~~, and placed in office under the leadership of the Hon. Mr. Godbout, a government which was prepared to co-operate with the federal administration in furthering the national effort ~~assist and further the federal effort. From the beginning of the war to the present hour, no~~ without doubt of any service ~~that Canada has rendered~~ has been rendered the allied cause greater than that rendered by the people of the province of Quebec in thus demonstrating ~~to the enemy and to Britain alike~~ the unanimity of the support of the people of Canada as a whole to the war effort of the present administration.

When, ~~very shortly thereafter~~ some months later, the direction of the war effort of the present administration was ~~again~~ challenged -- though from an opposite extreme -- by a resolution of the Legislature of the province of Ontario, and the people of Canada ~~as a whole were appealed to~~ appealed to in a general election, the government gave ~~to the people~~ the assurance that, if returned to power, it would continue to maintain the policy of no conscription for service overseas. Not only the government, but the ~~official opposition~~ leader of the Conservative Party, ~~then~~ now ~~In its appeal for power, through the Leader of the Opposition in this House, the leader at the time of the Conservative Party~~,

disguised it is true for the time being as the National Government Party, ~~did not hesitate to say that anyone who raised to make of~~ conscription ~~an issue in the campaign, would be lacking in patriotism~~. The candidates of not one political party only, but the vast majority of candidates in the general election gave their constituents to understand that they ~~would not be prepared to support a~~ policy ~~for~~ conscription overseas. In so doing reference was continually made to the effect ~~that~~ the adoption of conscription for overseas service ~~had had~~ in the last war, and the serious wound which, at the time, its application had inflicted in the side of our country.

~~Regardless of the merits of conscription itself, regardless of the views which individual members may have held at the time of the general election respecting the principles of conscription or views they may now entertain as to the wisdom of conscription as a policy, looking~~ at the membership of this House which represents the will of the nation as expressed in ~~a~~ general elections, held during this very war, I say ~~that~~ there are not a dozen members -- if, indeed, there are that many -- ~~regardless of the party to which they may belong;~~ who could rise in their seats and say that, in the last general election, they had advocated a policy of conscription for military service overseas. ~~Rather is it the case that, regardless of the party which~~

D 42117

~~The fourth~~ a completely different from any one of those there I have mentioned course has been suggested, ~~to~~ ~~give the government a free hand irrespective of any commitments made in the past, whether its return to office or its majority in Parliament were not due in any way to the commitments themselves.~~ It is that the government ~~to~~ should ignore commitments altogether, to refrain from any consultation with or reference to the people, and here and now immediately put in force conscription for service overseas.

~~In the first place,~~ I am perfectly sure that were ~~the~~ any government to proceed in any such arbitrary manner, ~~with complete~~ completely disregard ~~of~~ the will of the people as expressed in the past, or as it might be expressed in the present, it would find ~~such a course~~ any such attempt effectively thwarted by the more representatives ~~of the people~~ in ~~this~~ Parliament.

Personally, I reject as unworthy of consideration any course of action by this or any Parliament which ignores the authority from which the government ~~and Parliament~~ Parliament and alike derives their power ~~and which would altogether ignore the suggestion that the Government should in any way and which would be prepared to treat as of no account,~~ I reject as still more unworthy and ~~whatever~~ solem pledges given and repeated time and again to the electorate. ~~Here and now~~ I repeat what I said at Vancouver, ~~namely:~~

D42118

"The present unhappy state of the world is a large part of broken pledges. Nazi Germany has erected bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action. Bad faith, broken pledges, and disregard of the popular will, are the forces against which Canada is fighting today."

Until, therefore, the government has ascertained the views of the people with respect to past commitments, and obtained a release therefrom, I propose to see that the will of the people as a whole, not that of any particular section or group, shall, as far as possible, be made to prevail in the government of this country.

Perhaps I should add that yet another course of action has been suggested. It is that I should resign and invite His Excellency the Governor General to call on some one to form a government which would undertake to enforce conscription without any prior consultation with the people as to release from past commitments. In other words, I should "sell the past" and, with it, destroy whatever confidence the people of Canada may possess in my honour as a public man and, with it, the confidence they

87

D42119

~~may~~ possess in the honour and integrity of the government ~~itself~~.

Those who speak and ~~write~~ write in that way ~~may~~ might be prepared so to act, but I am not. If we wish to destroy, not at this time of war alone, but for all time, the last vestige of confidence which the people of this Dominion have in their free political institutions, that would be the most effective way to go about it.

HOWARD SMITH
BELL-FAST BOND

D 42120

While it cannot be said too often that total war demands total effort, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that total effort means using men and resources where each will count for most, not where their employment will accord with individual wishes or the wishes of those who have failed to see the needs of our effort as a whole. Too many of those who are talking of total war are measuring Canada's effort in terms of one aspect only.

Both in the short run and in the long run, Canada would weaken the cause of the United Nations by failure to give adequate protection to vulnerable areas in our own territory; or by failure to contribute adequately to the naval protection of the Atlantic passage; or by failure to maintain a formidable striking force in Britain or in whatever theatre of war Canadian troops may serve; or by failure to keep up the air training on which the air strength of the British Commonwealth so largely depends; or by failure to provide adequate food supplies and to produce weapons and munitions in adequate volume. All are essential to Canada's war effort. What is equally essential is that our effort shall be in the truest sense a balanced effort. We must not fail in any of these directions. It is only by keeping all these demands upon our manpower and resources in proper balance that our utmost effort will be achieved. It ought to be added that all these demands upon our manpower and resources in proper balance that our utmost effort will be achieved.

D 42121

Canada's War Effort

Speech by Prime Minister in Debate on the Address House of Commons, January 26, 1942

In the political controversy which, unfortunately, has become so acute of late; which is obscuring the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort, and which, moreover, threatens to impair its efficiency, attempts are being made to confuse in the public mind three things which should be kept separate and distinct. With respect to each of these the government's position is being misrepresented:

The first relates to total effort to meet total war;

The second relates to national selective service as a means to this end;

The third relates to the application of compulsion without restriction of any kind; in other words, to conscription for service in the armed forces overseas.

As respects total effort to meet total war, that is and has been right along the policy of the present administration. As regards national selective service as a method of achieving a total effort, that, too, is and has been the policy of the government. As respects the use of compulsion in applying the principle of national selective service, that, also, is a part of Government policy. In the case of compulsion only one definite limitation has been recognized, and that is the limitation on the use of compulsion as a method of raising men for military service overseas.

D 42122

Whether or not the Government, all circumstances considered, has gone as far in achieving a total effort as it might have gone or should have gone, is a fair subject for debate. Whether the Government, all circumstances considered, has applied the principle of national selective service as rapidly and as extensively as it should have been applied, is also a fair subject for debate. Whether, with the single limitation referred to, the Government has, all circumstances considered, made sufficient use of compulsion in applying the selective principle is also a fair subject for debate. So far, however, as policy itself is concerned, whether it relates to total effort, to national selective service, or to the use of compulsion, with the single limitation mentioned, there exists no difference, so far as I am aware, between the Government and its opponents. I propose to substantiate these statements by reference to the Government's record.

What then, is the difference with respect to policy between those who today support the administration, and those who, by every means in their power, are seeking to create opposition to the Government in its war effort?

Freed from the emotions and passions aroused by the storms of controversy, it will be seen that the only difference

D 42123

that does exist is a difference with respect to the application of compulsion in raising men for military service overseas.

An examination of the facts will show that the difference of which the government's opponents are seeking to make a national issue is a much smaller difference than even the existing limitation on the use of compulsion would seem to imply.

The limitation, as I have stated, relates solely to the application of conscription to the raising of military forces for service overseas. These forces, as honourable members are well aware, are, in the present war, not confined to one single service, as in the last war was almost entirely the case. They include the men enlisted in the Canadian Navy and in the Canadian Air Force, as well as those enlisted in the Canadian Active Army. I shall later on have something to say about the total numbers already enlisted for service anywhere, in the three branches of the armed forces. So far as the Navy and the Air Force are concerned, it is well known that the numbers who have volunteered have considerably exceeded the number it has been possible to accept for immediate service. Moreover, it is worth noting that in Britain as in Canada ~~itself~~-compulsion is not used as a method of raising fighting men for the

D 42124

Navy and the Air Force.

The issue, therefore, between the Government and its opponents narrows down solely to the question of the application of compulsion in raising men for the Army. The issue is narrower even than that, since compulsion is already being employed to raise men for service in the army in Canada. It should be added that the issue thus narrowed to conscription for overseas service in the army relates only to a possible future contingency, since up to the present the active army has secured the necessary recruits on a voluntary basis.

Notwithstanding all that has been done and is being done by the armed forces, and in war production of all kinds, and in finance, the government's opponents are seeking to make of conscription for the single purpose mentioned, a symbol of Canada's total war effort.

D 42125

The aspects of a total war effort for Canada

As I have said, the policy of the Government is, and from the outset has been, the achievement of a total national effort for total war. I propose now to explain exactly what I understand by the total effort of a nation. It involves two fundamentals.

The first of these is the devotion to the prosecution of the war of all the available energies and resources of the nation in excess of those required to maintain the health and efficiency of the people.

The second - and it is of equal importance - is a proper balance in the use of these energies and resources for the manifold needs of war. A total effort, for example, would not be achieved if so many men were enlisted in the armed forces, at sea, on land, and in the air, that there were not enough men left on the farms to feed them. In the same way, a total effort would not be achieved if so many men were enlisted that not enough were left in the factories to provide them with the necessary ships, planes, tanks, guns and ammunition. Moreover, modern war has shown that an army, and equally a navy,

D 42126

are dependent upon adequate air support. A total effort, therefore, cannot be made unless the right balance is achieved between all branches of the armed forces. These examples could be multiplied indefinitely. Indeed, the most difficult task in total war is the decision of the correct balance between different aspects of the war effort.

Moreover, the appropriate balance for one country would seldom, if ever, be appropriate for another. Germany, for example, is able to raise an exceptionally large army because she can draw on the enslaved populations for war production and food. Britain, likewise, is in a position proportionately to increase her armed forces to a greater degree than Canada, because Canada requires men to help feed and arm Britain, as well as to feed and arm our own country.

The foundation of the total effort of any country is a correct decision as to the minimum requirements of the civilian population. Once that is determined, production and conscumption, except for war, must be steadily and progressively cut down to the minimum. Waste must be eliminated; the manufacture of all luxuries and many comforts must cease. The surplus of manpower and resources thus secured must be used to make war.

D42127

In using this surplus, it is vital that it be developed in the right way. It is not enough to create a navy, an army, and an air force; the sailors, soldiers and airmen must be fed, clothed, and armed; they must be moved to the area of combat, and communications must be maintained; reinforcements of men and supplies must be kept flowing. All this requires the most careful planning and detailed organization.

In reviewing the organization of a total effort for Canada, I shall begin by outlining the nature of Canada's wartime responsibilities; in other words, the various aspects of our total effort.

At the very outset of the war, the Canadian Government considered with the British Government the broad lines of development and of our war effort. We tried to envisage all the possibilities of a conflict, which we realized might last for years, and which might spread throughout the world. Since 1939, there have, from time to time, been shifts of emphasis, but anyone who cares to refer to the broadcast I made on October 31, 1939, will find in it the outlines of every aspect of our effort as it has developed since the outbreak of war.

For convenience, Canada's war effort may be divided into six main aspects. All of them are vital to a total effort. The achievement of a total effort depends upon keeping them in proper balance.

D 42128

A necessary foundation of our whole effort is the maintenance of the security of our own Canadian territory and territories like Newfoundland and Labrador, immediately adjacent to our shores. I know some of our citizens were impatient with the Government for insisting, from the outbreak of war, upon our responsibilities for the coastal and territorial defence of Canada. We did not find similar impatience in London where potential dangers, from all quarters of the world, were clearly perceived. Recent events in the Pacific, and the sinking of ships off Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, should serve to dispel any lingering belief that Canada is immune from attack. What we must guard against now is the opposite tendency. Happily, Canadian territory is geographically more secure than the territory of most of the belligerents. We all know, too, that the best defence of our territory is the defeat of the enemy before he arrives. But we must not neglect necessary defences. We must be prepared to meet sudden raids from sea or air in certain strategic areas. The most elementary rule of warfare is the maintenance of the security of the base of operations. This aspect of our effort necessarily includes Canada's share of our joint responsibility with the United States for the defence of North America.

D 42129

The Canadian Navy has a share in this primary responsibility for our territorial defence. Our Navy has also a great and growing responsibility in the North Atlantic. Its part in the Battle of the Atlantic is already important. We are all aware of the great strain which has been thrown on the British Navy and, more recently, on the United States Navy by the existence of warfare in every ocean. We know, too, that the possibility of finally crushing Hitler depends upon keeping open the sea lanes from North America to Britain and Europe. From the outset, the Government has placed no limit on the expansion of Canada's Navy. We have manned ships as fast as the Navy has been able to acquire them. Not only is the greatest possible Canadian naval strength needed in the North Atlantic, but so are merchant ships to carry men and supplies to Britain. Canada is providing, and will continue to provide and to man both, to the very limit of our capacity.

All this is very different from Canada's task at sea in the last war. Then, we relied, in the early stages of the war, not upon ourselves, but on the British Navy for the protection of our coasts on the Atlantic, and the Japanese Navy for our protection on the Pacific, and, in the later stages of the war, upon ships of the United States Navy.

D 42130

The army shares with the navy the responsibility for our territorial defence. It shares also with the navy in the defence of Newfoundland and other islands in the Atlantic. Its main task, however, has been its contribution to the defence of Britain. Every Canadian will remember with pride what Mr. Churchill has said on more than one occasion, of the sense of security the presence of our troops has given to the Government and people of Britain.

It is natural for Canadians, remembering the last war, to judge our war effort in terms of the size of our army. In the last war, Canada's war effort was essentially and almost entirely an army effort. This, however, is a very different kind of war, and its successful prosecution demands very different methods. This war has been well described as a war of machines, of science, and of psychology.

While prepared to send overseas as large an army as Canada can support, without failing in other directions, the Government is even more anxious to see that every man, every unit, and the army as a whole, will have the greatest possible striking power. More important today than the size of an army is its striking power.

 D 42131

The Royal Canadian Air Force, like the Navy and the Army, has its part in our territorial defence and the defence of Newfoundland. Its responsibilities on the Pacific coast have been increased by the outbreak of war with Japan. But its main task is the administration of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. The Battle of Britain in 1940 completely justified the emphasis which, from the opening days of the war, Britain and Canada alike placed upon the achievement of air superiority.

Every campaign in the present war has equally shown that, without adequate strength in the air, an offensive action and even prolonged resistance on land or at sea is foredoomed to failure.

The safety of Britain, and Britain's capacity to strike back at the enemy, depend alike upon the air strength concentrated in Britain. That strength is being developed largely on Canadian soil, both in the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, and in the schools of the Royal Air Force. The Air Training Plan is the greatest and the most vital of all Canada's military commitments in this war. No effort has been spared, and no effort will be spared to assure its continuing success.

Canada's concentration on air training has inevitably reduced the number of Canadian squadrons in operations overseas.

D42132

Unlike the army which serves overseas as a unit, a large and growing proportion of the trained personnel of the Canadian Air Force serves with the Royal Air Force. The claims of national pride have been subordinated to a total effort.

In nothing could the difference between the present war and the last, and the nature and extent of Canada's effort be more marked than in the country's contribution to aerial warfare.

A vital aspect of Canada's war effort is our contribution to the food supply of Britain. This contribution has grown steadily in importance. Britain cannot feed herself, and her own great and growing armed forces. Still less can she feed the ever-increasing numbers of men we are sending from Canada to add to her armed strength. In the present war, unlike the last, her sources of food on the continent of Europe have all been closed off by enemy occupation. Canada is the nearest source of food left open. Without our food the people of Britain might starve. Without our food, the Canadian Army in Britain would be a handicap instead of a help. In a literal sense the very lives of the British people and our own armed forces overseas depend upon the exertions of Canadian farmers

D 42133

and fishermen. In prosecuring this war, theirs is no secondary role. As time goes on, the demands upon Canada for supplies of food for the Allied forces and, later, for the peoples of the now subjugated countries are certain to increase.

I have mentioned food production separately because I doubt whether the country is fully aware of the vital importance of food regarded as a munition of war. Otherwise, it might well have been included as a phase of the productive aspect of our total effort. It is not in food alone that Canada's war production extends far beyond our own needs. Canada's production of the machines and munitions of war is already developed on a scale which would have been considered impossible two years ago. The other day, the Minister of Munitions and Supply stated that Canadian munitions were being used against the Axis on every battlefront and on every ocean. That, surely, is cause for pride, though not for self-satisfaction. It is well to remember that every battle which has been lost in this war has been lost because of the lack of machines; of planes or tanks, or guns, or ships. The cry we continue to hear from every front is not so much for numbers of men as it is for tanks, for planes, and for ships.

D 42134

In making the machines of war, Canada's productive task has only begun when our own armed forces have been supplied. Except for planes, Canada has been a main source of British supplies, outside Britain herself. Only recently has the United States begun to overtake us. And now the United States has many other urgent demands to meet. Canadian weapons and munitions mus t help fill the gap made larger than every by Japan's entry into the war.

Our mines and forests, our foundries and factories, are also helping to supply the other nations of the British Commonwealth, Russia, the forces of the other Allies, and even the United States. In September of 1939, the Government assured Parliament that every effort would be made to avoid the useless sacrifice of men because of the lack of modern weapons. Every campaign has gone to prove how highly mechanized and how heavily armoured an army must become before it can hold its own in present day combat.

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While it cannot be said too often that total war demands total effort, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that total effort means using men and resources, where each will count for most, not where their employment will ~~accord~~ fit in with individual wishes or the wishes of those who have failed to see the needs of our effort as a whole. Too many of those who are talking of total war are measuring Canada's effort in terms of one aspect only.

Both in the short run and in the long run, Canada would weaken the cause of the United Nations by failure to give adequate protection to vulnerable areas in our own territory; or by failure to contribute adequately to the naval protection of the Atlantic passage; or by failure to maintain a formidable striking force in Britain or in whatever theatre of war Canadian troops may serve; or by failure to keep up the air training on which the air strength of the British Commonwealth so largely depends; or by failure to provide adequate food supplies and to produce weapons and munitions in adequate volume. All are essential to Canada's

D 42136

war effort. What is equally essential is that our effort shall be in the truest sense a balanced effort. We must not fail in any of these directions. It is only by keeping all these demands upon our manpower and resources in proper balance that our utmost effort will be achieved. It might be added that all this depends upon the satisfactory financing of the entire effort.

BELL-FAST BOND

D 42137

The Record of Canada's Achievement

In the light of what I have just set forth, I desire briefly to review Canada's record of achievement in the present war. It will be seen that we have developed our effort in all its aspects simultaneously. Equally, we have sought to maintain the proper balance between production and the armed forces and, among the armed forces themselves, between the needs of the navy, the army, and the air force. The foundations of Canada's war effort along these lines were laid in the closing months of 1939. At that time, I stressed the importance of preparing for a long and terrible struggle in which staying power, the power to hold out to the end, might well be decisive.

Knowing the importance that, in the minds of many, would be given to an expeditionary force, I pointed out the vital importance as well of an adequate naval and air contribution by Canada. I said that our effort would be concerned in equal measure with the fighting forces at sea, on land, and in the air; that our economic contribution might well prove to be the most important of all; that, in addition to being the granary of the British Commonwealth, Canada might

D 42138

also become its arsenal. From the very outset, we took a broad view of Canada's tasks in this war, and planned and organized our national effort on all fronts. I turn now to what has been achieved.

First, as respects the Navy:

At the outbreak of war, there were some 20 ships and less than 2,000 men in the Royal Canadian Navy.

At the beginning of 1940, the Navy had grown to 80 ships, and over 5,000 men; at the beginning of 1941, the numbers had risen to 175 ships, and 14,800 men. At the beginning of this year, the Navy comprised over 350 ships and 27,600 men.

From the beginning of the war, the Navy has assumed a steadily growing share of convoy work in the North Atlantic. Canadian ships of war have shared in the protection of Britain from the threat of invasion. Sailors of the Canadian Navy have served and are serving in all the seven seas, either in Canadian or British ships. Canada's pride in the Navy is reflected in the long waiting list of young men seeking to join the Service.

BELFAST BOMB D 42139

As respects the Army:

At the outbreak of war, the Permanent Active Militia, as Canada's regular army was then called, included about 4,500 men. By the end of 1939, the Canadian Active Service Force, to give the Army its name at that date, had increased to over 64,000 men. The First Canadian Division had just arrived in Britain.

At the close of 1940, the Active Army included almost 170,000 men. A Canadian Corps of two divisions had already been formed in Britain. Canadian troops were also on active service in Newfoundland, the British West Indies, and Iceland.

At the close of 1941, there were more than 260,000 men in the Canadian Active Army enlisted for service in any part of the world. About half this number were on active service outside Canada. A third infantry division, an armoured division, an army tank brigade, forestry troops, and other specialized units, and thousands of reinforcements were in Britain, in addition to the original Corps of two divisions.

Canadian troops continued to serve in Newfoundland and the West Indies. ~~I have already referred to~~ Two Canadian regiments ~~which~~ recently added a new chapter of valour

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in the heroic defence of Hong Kong.

In addition to the Active Army, several thousand young men had, during 1941, been called up for military training and service in Canada under the National Resources Mobilization Act. Of this number, a considerable proportion had enlisted in the active army, the navy, and the air force. Some thousands more had been assigned to duties in Canada, thus relieving enlisted men for service elsewhere.

Mention should also be made of the Reserve Army in which, at the end of 1941, some 140,000 men were enrolled.

As respects the Air Force:

At the outbreak of war, the active strength of the Royal Canadian Air Force was some 4,000 all ranks. By the close of 1939, the strength had risen to over 8,000; by the close of 1940, it had reached 43,000; and by the close of 1941, it exceeded 100,000 men.

In addition to the home defence duties which began with the outbreak of war, the Air Force was engaged in the closing months of 1939 in planning and arranging the organizational details of the gigantic British Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

D 42141

The year 1940 was the year of construction development for the Plan. But, in spite of the strain which was then placed upon the Force, Canada's three squadrons which were sent overseas did valiant service in The Battle of Britain.

In 1941, responsibilities of the home war establishment for patrol work in the Atlantic area and Newfoundland steadily increased. The outbreak of war with Japan added seriously to its tasks on the Pacific coast.

The duty of providing trained air crew for the active theatres of war through the Air Training Plan continued throughout 1941 to be the heaviest responsibility of Canada's Air Force. The magnitude of the air training plan was still further enlarged during the year, and the output of trained men accelerated.

The growing part of the R.C.A.F. in air operations over Britain and the continent of Europe has found sombre reflection in the casualty lists. At the close of the year, from the original three, Canada's own force in the field was expanded to 28 squadrons which had already been formed, or were in the final stages of formation in Britain. Thousands more of the Canadian pilots and air crew trained in the

D 42142

Commonwealth Plan were serving as individuals with the Royal Air Force, not only in Britain but also in the Western Desert and other theatres of war.

Over and above any commitments under the Commonwealth Training Plan, the call for highly qualified and scientifically trained personnel for very special duties, such as radio location, has been responded to by the despatch overseas of thousands fitted to fill this immediate and important need. Canada's share in the war in the air had reached the stage where Canadian airmen had become a major factor in the armed strength of the British Commonwealth.

At the outbreak of war, the production of war materials in Canada was on an exceedingly small scale and was confined to a very limited range of equipment.

Throughout the closing months of 1939 and the early months of 1940 Canada passed through the stage of organization. Plants were established; tools and raw materials and labour mobilized; and the ground work of production laid. But apart from a few lines, such as personal equipment for our fighting men, there was little to show for our manufacturing efforts, except a steadily rising total of orders placed, and contracts let. We did, however, achieve a vast expansion of the output of essential raw materials both for our own and for British production.

Throughout 1940, there was constant criticism of the inadequacy of Canada's war production. No allowance was made for the length of time required to organize the

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production of complicated machines, most of which had never been made in Canada before. Today, however, the self-same critics ~~are obliged critics~~ are obliged to admit that Canada's production has reached immense proportions. They now are giving exaggerated and disproportionate emphasis to another single aspect of our war effort. Indeed, not a few of the Government's critics have become altogether too indifferent to war production. They do not seem to realize, as the Government realizes, that, if Canadian production is to be pushed to the limit, many of the most difficult problems are still ahead of us.

It should be remembered that Canada has undertaken, in addition to equipping her own divisions, to help equip British divisions, Australian divisions, New Zealand divisions, yes, and Russian divisions. If there is to be a united allied effort, Canadian weapons and munitions, as well as those of other countries, must be sent where they will be of the greatest service to the common cause.

In two years of war, Canada has experienced an industrial revolution. Our country is now producing almost every type of machine and equipment called for in our munitions programme. In some directions, this production has reached staggering proportions. In others it is mounting steadily.

D 42144

Let me cite a few details: Our present ship-building programme involves a total expenditure of over $500,000,000. We have built and are building large numbers of corvettes, minesweepers, patrol boats and motor torpedo boats. We are engaged in a merchant ship building programme of considerable proportions, so great in fact as nearly to equal Britain's own programme. Canada is also engaged upon the construction of destroyers.

We are making guns of all kinds: anti-aircraft guns, field guns, naval guns, tank and anti-tank guns, several types of machine guns, anti-tank rifles, sub-machine guns, rifles, trench mortars, bomb throwers, and smoke projectors.

In the production of aircraft, Canada's experience has not differed from that of other countries. We have had our full share of problems, delays and disappointments. At one time or another, since the war began, fifteen types of aircraft have been produced in Canada. Production is now going to be concentrated on seven modern types; an elementary trainer, two advanced trainers, a bombing and gunnery trainer, a flying boat, a twin-engine fighter and a long-range bomber. In addition to the production of new planes, some 30 plants distributed across Canada from Halifax to xxxxxxxxxx Vancouver are engaged in the overhaul and repair of planes. In order to meet the growing need, these facilities

D 42145

will require to be doubled during the next twelve months.

One of the most spectacular achievements has been the production of army vehicles. Nearly 200,000 of all types have already been delivered. Army vehicles made in Canada are in use on every battlefield of this world-wide war. A large number of tanks and universal carriers have also been delivered. Canadian tanks have already been in action in Russia.

I shall not attempt to catalogue the whole range of Canadian war production, but special mention should be made of the hundreds of thousands of bombs; the millions of shells; the hundreds of millions of rounds of small arms ammunition; and the hundreds of millions of pounds of explosives and chemicals already made in Canada. Not only are we making these munitions for our own forces and for Britain, but vast quantities have also been made available to the United States.

The United States, as well as Britain, look to Canada for a part of their supply of essential base metals. Canadian production of aluminum, copper, nickel, lead and zinc has grown steadily in volume. Our steel production--the foundation of our industrial war effort--is still expanding. Since the invasion of Norway cut off all European supply, Canadian timber has been vital to Britain's war effort.

D 42146

A most striking fact about our war production is that the value of the supplies we have provided for Britain since war began has been at least as great as the cost of raising, equipping and maintaining Canada's own armed forces. In the first two years of war their value exceeded $1,000,000,000. Britain's need for these supplies has been so urgent that, in some cases, our own forces have gone short in order to fill more pressing requirements for the armed forces of Britain.

War materials supplied by Canada to Britain included corvettes, minesweepers, small boats, army vehicles, universal carriers, tanks, aircraft, machine guns, anti-tank guns, anti-aircraft gun barrels, shells, small arm ammunition, explosives and chemicals, all in substantial quantities. In addition, we have shipped hundreds of thousands of tons of base metals and steel, millions of feet of timber, and large quantities of pulp and pulp products.

In the whole field of war production Canada has become a major factor. Among the United Nations, we share with the United States alone the capacity to produce substantially more than the requirements of our own armed forces. It is true that, in order to supply Russia, Britain has valiantly suffered a shortage in recent months. It is to North America that Britain looks to meet the deficiency, and in North America to Canada no less than to the United States

D42147

The record would not be complete without a reference to foodstuffs for Britain. In times of war, wheat and bacon and milk products are munitions of war quite as much as planes or tanks or guns or ships or shells or explosives or chemicals.

Canada has sent to Britain vast quantities of wheat and flour; bacon and other pork products; cheese and eggs and honey. The range and quantity of Canadian food required by Britain is steadily increasing as the hazards of war make access to other sources of supply difficult or impossible.

For Britain, for many of the other nations fighting for freedom, Canada is an arsenal, a shipyard and a storehouse of food, as well as a full partner on the fighting front.

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Canada's record measures in terms of finance

One measure of Canada's approach toward a total war effort will be found in the record of our financial achievements. The financial burden the war effort has imposed upon the Canadian people is enormous. The cost of raising, equipping and maintaining our own armed forces and of building up the country's defences has reached almost incredible heights.

From the outbreak of war in September, 1939, until March 31, 1940, during the planning and organizational phase, these direct war expenditures amounted to some $118,000,000.

In the fiscal year April 1, 1940, to March 31, 1941, these expenditures totalled approximately $752,000,000.

The estimate of direct war expenditures for the present fiscal year (April 1, 1941 - March 31, 1942) was $1,450,000,000. Of this huge sum $851,000,000 had been expended by the end of 1941.

Our direct war expenditure from the beginning of the war until December 31st, 1941, had accordingly reached a total of $1,721,000,000. The magnitude of our direct war effort may be illustrated by a comparison of this figure with the cost of Canada's effort in the last war. War expenditures, from August, 1914 to March 31, 1920, including demobilization after the war, totalled $1,670,000,000. In other words, by the end of 1941, a period of two years and four months, our direct war expenditures in this present war already exceeded the

D42149

the whole expenditure on the last war over a period of six years less four months. Even more striking is the fact that Canada's direct war expenditures in the present fiscal year will not fall far short of the total cost to Canada of the last war.

In addition to providing for our direct war expenditure, the government also undertoook to provide whatever Canadian dollars were necessary to pay the Canadian producers of war supplies for Britain. For this purpose, it has been necessary, since the outbreak of war, for the Minister of Finance to provide an additional $1,219,000,000.

Every effort has been made to distribute the huge financial burden as fairly as possible. By December 31, 1941, some $2,000,000,000 had, since the outbreak of war, been raised from taxes alone. To achieve this what amounts practically to a peaceful revolution in our national tax structure has been necessary. The government has relied mainly on direct and steeply progressive taxes on the incomes of individuals; and drastic taxation of corporation income and excess profits. Succession duties have been

HOWARD SMITH

D 42150

included among the permanent features of the national taxing system. Agreements are being negotiated with the provinces to facilitate the orderly and equitable mobilization of the financial resources of the country to the utmost limit of its capacity.

Taxation, war savings, and war loans while necessary to provide the vast sums required to meet huge war expenditures, also serve a further essential wartime objective. They act as an automatic check on civilian consumption and thus free material resources and manpower for war purposes.

The curtailment of civilian consumption, as I have already pointed out, is absolutely vital to a total war effort. Financial measures such as increased taxation and greater saving contribute to this end; but all the curtailment required cannot be accomplished by financial means. I shall say a word later about other methods used by the government to make additional resources available for the war effort.

One method the government has not been willing to use as a means of reducing consumption. That is the easy method of allowing prices to rise unchecked. That would, of course, have reduced consumption drastically. But it is a method which would be unfair and unjust in the present, and perilous for the future. That is why in October last, the government decided to halt the rise when prices began to rise

D12151

rapidly. It was in order to spread the burdens of war as fairly as possible that the government undertook to control all prices, and, where necessary, to take other steps to control civilian consumption in fair and equitable ways.

In undertaking to control the cost of living, the government was following, on the economic side, the policy, adopted at the outset of the war, of a progressive and orderly advance towards the goal of a full-out effort. It was realized that the stage would ultimately be reached when the problem of a general rise in prices would have to be faced. We felt it was advisable to postpone action to control all prices until such action was really necessary. Complete control of prices, as all are coming to understand, involves many complications and restrictions. Moreover, like all compulsory measures, it requires a large staff to administer the machinery of enforcement. It was clearly undesirable to take men's services from other tasks one moment before they were needed. Price control became necessary, late in 1941, if our people were to be spared the fears, the sense of insecurity, the suffering and the profiteering which the inflation of prices inevitably produces. The successful operation of price control and the ancillary measures to control wages and salaries will help in the winning of the war. After the war, they will aid our

D 42152

country on the road to recovery and reconstruction.

From this brief review, it will be seen that Canada's war programme has been a balanced programme. The record of achievement is a balanced record. What is more, this effort has been achieved by methods which have kept our country united. Indeed without unity of purpose and effort as a nation, it could never have been achieved.

D 42153

The Naval programme for the coming year

Let me come now to the programme for the present year, which has been prepared in reference to the fiscal year ending March 31st, 1943.

The Navy already has 350 ships and over 27,000 men in the service. The programme of expansion for 1942 can be expressed very simply. Our ship-building capacity is being used to build ships for Britain and for Canada. Apart from the naval craft built for Britain, the Navy will take all the ships Canada can build, and it will enlist and train the men required to man the ships. No limitation has been placed upon the number either of ships or men, save in so far as the number of available ships necessarily sets a limit to the numbers of men who can be enlisted for training.

D 42154

The Canadian Active Army now consists of the Corps of three infantry divisions, divisional and corps troops, an armoured division, and an army tank brigade in Britain. In addition, there are, in Britain, in reinforcement units, thousands of reinforcements. A fourth infantry division, and the brigade groups of a sixth division, have been mobilized in Canada. In addition, there are the troops on home defence duties on our coasts and in vulnerable areas, and troops in training as reinforcements.

During 1942 it is proposed to create overseas a Canadian Army of two Army Corps; one Army corps to comprise three Infantry Divisions and two Army Tank Brigades; the other to consist of two Armoured Divisions. In addition, all necessary ancillary units to serve these two Corps will be provided.

To reach this objective it will be necessary:

First, to convert the present 4th Division into an Armoured Division and train and equip it for this special role and despatch it ~~to Britain~~ overseas. in due course, ~~if, in the interval, its presence elsewhere should not be regarded as more essential to the successful prosecution of the war.~~

D 42155

Second, to raise, equip, train and despatch overseas another Army Tank Brigade for use with the Infantry Divisions of the Canadian Corps.

Third, to raise, equip, train and despatch additional ancillary troops both for the Infantry Corps and the new Armoured Corps.

Fourth, to maintain and reinforce these two Corps.

Fifth, to provide headquarters staff organizations for an Army and an Armoured Corps.

It will, however, be recognized that the ultimate disposition of all troops necessarily depends upon circumstances which determine the course of the war.

As for the territorial defence of Canada, special dispositions have been made where that seemed to be required as a result of the outbreak of war with Japan. The garrisons of Coast Defences have been strengthened. Reserves have been allotted to deal with any likely emergency.

A special reorganization and regrouping of Reserve formations is under way right across Canada; and an emergency organization of Active Service personnel in Training Centres or elsewhere is being established.

D 42156

Whether it will be necessary to mobilize another division for Canadian defence when the 4th Armoured Division is despatched overseas will, of course, depend on developments in the intervening period.

The situation in Canada, in respect to anti-aircraft defence, is improving each month as more equipment becomes available. New units are being mobilized in accordance with anticipated deliveries of equipment.

The 1942 Army Programme will create a thoroughly modern, well balanced and hard-hitting Canadian Overseas Army. This Army will be complete and self-contained. It will be capable of operating in any theatre, and can be effectively maintained both in respect to manpower and equipment.

It should be noted that the outstanding feature of the army programme for 1942 is the proposed increase in the armoured strength of the army overseas. This development is in line with military experience in the present war and with the policy of the British army.

D 42157

I have already pointed out that the Royal Canadian Air Force at the end of the year mustered well over 100,000 men, without counting civilians. The Air Training Plan is in full operation; the responsibilities and duties for coastal defence particularly on the Pacific have greatly increased; and the complete establishment of 28 Canadian operational squadrons overseas is to be fully achieved, not only with a full complement of flying personnel, but also with all necessary ground and maintenance crews.

Until such time as arrangements may have been concluded with the Government of the United Kingdom to increase the number of Royal Canadian Air Force squadrons beyond 28, the Canadian pilots and other air crew sent overseas, in excess of the numbers needed to maintain these Canadian squadrons at full strength, will serve with the Royal Air Force where thousands of their comrades are already in active service.

Some increase in the Home War Establishment must be anticipated. Of this, for obvious reasons, I can not be expected to give details.

Thousands of young Canadians are now engaged in active operations, and the augmentation of these numbers by air training will continue to be the heaviest work of the R.C.A.F. in Canada. In the long run, as the Minister of

D 42158

National Defence for Air has repeatedly warned, no more acute manpower problem faces the Government than that of assuring the supply of recruits for training as aircrew, not in the immediate future but some months or a year hence. There is no question of reluctance to serve; on the contrary, young men are eager for the opportunity; but the numbers available with the necessary high qualifications are limited by our small population. Looking ahead, this question looms [redacted] larger than the needs of the Navy or the Army, or of industry.

To the solution of this problem by means of the development of Air Cadets, pre-entry education, physical training and conditioning and other means, the Government is directing intensive study.

D 42159

The effectiveness of Canada's own armed forces depends upon the effort put forth on the farms, in the mines, in the forests, in the workshops and factories, on the railways and the merchant ships of Canada. Canadian production since the war began has been essential as well to the effort of Britain and, indeed, of every nation fighting the axis powers. The dependence on Canadian productive efforts of what are now called the united nations will be greater than ever in 1942.

I have already pointed out that the government has set no limits to war production. The only limits are those imposed by the growing scarcity of management, tools, raw materials, and skilled labour. Although the Minister of Munitions and Supply told Parliament in November that practically all available establishments in Canada were already engaged in war production, he recently stated that he was "raising the sights again". More production can be achieved only by the conversion of existing establishments from unessential production, and by the transfer of labour. There is no slack left in our industrial economy. But I shall be surprised indeed if we do not find, when the year ends, that Canadian industry and Canadian labour have once again amazed us all.

The productive increases already achieved by Canadian agriculture have been little short of miraculous. Cheese production has increased by one-fifth, concentrated

D 42160

milk output by two-thirds, hog production has doubled, and egg production will soon be at an all-time high. For this third year of the war dairy farmers, hog producers and poultry men have been asked to produce the maximum quantities possible.

Canada has contracts with Great Britain for bacon, hams and other pork products amounting to 618,000,000 pounds. The forthcoming agreement for cheese is expected to be for at least 125,000,000 pounds. 675,000 cases of evaporated milk will probably, again this year, be required by Britain. The present contract for eggs is for 30,000,000 dozen. Further large contracts for summer and fall delivery are anticipated. Canada has also undertaken to supply Britain with 4,500,000 pounds of honey; 510,000 barrels of fresh apples; 425,000 cases of processed apples; 300,000 cases of canned tomatoes; and other fruit and vegetable products in substantial quantities. Altogether, the value of the exports of the above commodities will be at least $180,000,000. Exports of the same products in the year before the war were valued at about $50,000,000.

If we do all in our power to help them meet their labour problems, we can, I know, count on Canadian farmers to do the rest. But the goal which is set for them for 1942 will demand their utmost effort.

~~Financial Relations with the United Kingdom~~
~~Financial Relations with the United Kingdom~~

In his speech at the Mansion House during my visit to Britain, and again in this Chamber on December 31st, the Prime Minister of Great Britain made particular reference to the financial assistance which Canada had extended to Britain in the present war.

The extent to which Canada has been furnishing supplies to Britain is, I am sure, not fully realized by our own people. Canada has supplied weapons and munitions to Britain for the use of Britain's armed forces, and for other allied forces for which Britain has undertaken to provide equipment. Canada has also supplied to Britain raw materials required in British war production, and foodstuffs required to feed the armed forces and the people of Britain. In other words, Canada is, at one and the same time, a full partner in the war in her own right, and one of the principal arsenals, granaries and shipyards for Britain, other parts of the Commonwealth and other of the allied nations. The total volume of Canadian shipments to Britain since the commencement of the war compares favourably with the volume which, thus far, has moved from the United States.

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Canadian financial assistance to Britain has been necessary in connection with the provision of these vast quantities of war supplies. The financial assistance which Canada has extended to Britain is, of course, not what is ordinarily understood by the use of that term. Canada does not ship money across the Atlantic; the money itself never, in fact, leaves Canada. Canadian financial assistance has been extended to Britain in the following manner. The British government has purchased war supplies from Canadian producers. Britain, however, has not had enough Canadian dollars with which to make payment for the greater part of these supplies. Payment has accordingly been made in pounds sterling. This English money has remained on deposit in London, because it cannot, of course, be used in Canada. Most of the Canadian money required to pay the producers of guns and copper and bacon and other commodities has been supplied by the Canadian government. This Canadian money has had to be raised from the Canadian people in taxes, war savings or war loans.

Canada's financial aid to Britain has, in other words, amounted to this: the Minister of Finance has raised money in taxes and loans from the Canadian people to pay Canadian producers for ships and tanks and guns and planes

D 42163

and other munitions shipped overseas for the British army, navy, and air force; also, to pay Canadian producers for aluminum, copper, steel, timber and other raw materials needed for British war industry; and, as well, to pay Canadian farmers and fishermen for the food Canada has sent overseas to feed the British people.

The British government has been able to acquire some Canadian money as a result of ordinary business transactions, such as the sale of British exports to Canada, and receipts from interest and dividends on Canadian securities. This money has been used to pay for a part of the British purchases. But British exports to Canada are necessarily on a diminishing scale.

In the early months of the war, the British government had a considerable accumulation of gold and was able to use some gold to pay for war supplies received from Canada. The British government acquired some additional Canadian money by an arrangement to have Canada buy back from Britain certain Canadian government and government guaranteed securities held in Britain. For the most part, however, payment for Canadian supplies has, of necessity, been made in pounds sterling.

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For the past year, Britain has urgently required from Canada vast quantities of munitions and supplies. These Canada has created the capacity to produce. The Canadian producers have been paid in Canadian money by the Canadian government. Canada, in turn, has been credited on the books of Britain with English money, which, however, cannot be spent in Canada. In this way, Canada's surplus store of English money has been assuming larger and larger proportions. What, in effect, all this really means, is that Britain has a steadily growing war debt to Canada.

We all remember the international problems and difficulties caused, after the last war, by the existence of huge war debts owed by one government to another. We recall how reluctant nations were to accept payment from other nations in the only way in which a huge external debt can really be settled, that is by removing tariffs and accepting payment in goods. We know that huge external debts created suspicion and bitterness between nations. The government is anxious to avoid the creation of similar difficulties in the post-war relations between Britain and Canada. We believe that difficulties would be avoided and, at the same time, the real extent of Canada's war-time

D 42165

contribution would be more fully comprehended, if Canada's financial arrangements with the United Kingdom, both for the past and the reasonably foreseeable future, were duly clarified. We believe that the time has come for this clarification.

The government, accordingly, is proposing to the British government that the financial arrangements between Canada and Britain should be placed on a new footing. The offer which is being made is one which we have reason to believe will be warmly welcomed by the British government.

In so far as past transactions are concerned, the proposal is to convert the major portion of the pounds sterling which have accumulated to Canada's credit in London into a loan to the United Kingdom of seven hundred million dollars, in Canadian money. It is proposed that, during the war, the loan will be reduced by the proceeds of any sales made to persons outside the United Kingdom, of Canadian dollar securities now held by residents of the United Kingdom, and also by the proceeds of the redemption or repayment of any Canadian securities held in the United Kingdom. The new loan would not bear interest during the war. As soon as practicable after the war, it is proposed,

D 42166

however, that the governments of the two countries should arrange an appropriate rate of interest to apply from that time forward, snd make appropriate provisions for retiring the loan.

Since the beginning of the war, approximately $400,000,000 in Canadian money has been made available to Britain through the purchase by our government of Canadian government securities held in Britain. In other words, our government, during the war, has been paying off a part of the Dominion's external debt. Under the arrangement now proposed, the Canadian government will purchase outright the remaining Dominion government and Canadian National Railway securities owned by residents of Britain, estimated in amount at some $295,000,000. This means that the Canadian government will, before it becomes due, pay off its own remaining debt in Britain. The British government will pay the present owners of these securities in pounds sterling. The Canadian government, in turn, will pay the British government for the securities in Canadian dollars.

A direct contribution of war supplies to the extent of one billion dollars

For the future, in addition to the financial provision for raising and maintaining Canada's own armed forces, the government will, as a part of Canada's direct contribution to the defeat of the Axis, ask Parliament to

D 42167

make provision for meeting Britain's shortage of Canadian dollars by supplying, free of charge and without obligation, to Britain, munitions of war, raw materials, and foodstuffs up to an amount of one billion dollars. Such provision would mean that thereafter Canada's direct war effort would include, in addition to her armed forces, an outright contribution of war supplies on a vast scale.

The proposals I have outlined will, it is anticipated, suffice to meet the requirements of the United Kingdom for Canadian war supplies until early in 1943.

In announcing this offer, I wish to draw particular attention to the fact that the financial burden of war now being borne by the Canadian people will not be increased by the proposed financial arrangements with the United Kingdom. Canada has already undertaken to supply the Canadian money required by Britain to pay for Canadian war supplies. Whether this money is provided in the form of a loan to Britain, or of a direct contribution to the defeat of Hitler, will not change the number of dollars which the Canadian people are already committed to raise for the prosecution of the war.

The advantages of the proposed financial plan are that it will avoid the growth to huge and unmanageable proportions of a war debt which might breed serious misunderstandings and bitterness in the future; that it will

D 42168

definitely relieve Britain of any financial anxiety which might arise in connection with its Canadian sources of supply; and, finally, that it will bring our working arrangements into accord with the realities of the war situation.

The adoption of the new plan will mean that Canada, at this time of intensified crisis, is giving unmistakable evidence of the determination of our people to put forth their utmost effort in the preservation of our own liberties and in the common cause of freedom.

D42169

A full out financial effort & total financial burden of $3,000,000,000

I have now outlined our programme for the coming year; I have shown that, in every aspect of Canada's war effort we plan to move forward to the limit of the country's capacity; it remains for me to give some indication of the total financial burden which the programme will involve.

Little more than a rough estimate of the cost can be given at this stage. The Minister of Finance will be somewhat more precise when he introduces the War Appropriations. But the provisional estimate at this stage is $3,000,000,000.

The financial advisers of the government believe that this huge sum and the additional sums required for civil government can be raised by taxation, war loans, and war savings, but they equally regard this as a full-out financial effort.

D42170

The mobilization of material Resources and man power

In preparing its war programme for 1942, the government has had but one objective. It is the objective we have had from the outset, namely, the achievement of a total national war effort. It is not, however, an effort exaggerated in any one aspect at the expense of other aspects. It is, as it has been from the beginning, a balanced effort. It seeks to take account of all demands and all eventualities, as far as it is humanly possible to foresee them. Moreover, it is so planned as to fall into its appropriate place in the united effort of all the nations arrayed against the Axis.

The most searching and careful study had been given to the extent to which it is possible to expand each aspect of the national effort without weakening some other aspect just as important to the whole.

Equally careful consideration has been given to the methods by which the desired ends can best be attained. A balanced total national war effort requires the mobilization through taxation, loans and savings of the necessary financial resources, and the most careful

D42171

decisions with respect to the means by which this is to be accomplished. It also requires the mobilization of material resources, and the mobilization of manpower, and like care with respect to the best means by which both of these can be accomplished. I shall leave to the Minister of Finance the question of the means to be employed in mobilizing the financial resources. That matter will have to await the presentation of the Budget.

In the case alike of the mobilization of material resources and of manpower, some measure of compulsion is necessary, just as it is in the case of the mobilization of financial resources. The use of compulsion, or if you prefer the word "conscription", for the mobilization of material resources and manpower is, as I have said, not new. It has been approved by this Parliament. The principle of compulsion is embodied in the National Resources Mobilization Act, which was enacted on June 20, 1940. This Act gives the government very wide powers to mobilize, for war purposes, both the material resources and the manpower of the country. Since of the two the mobilization of material resources is much less a subject of controversy, I shall speak of it first.

D 42172

In the early stages of the war, the mobilization of material resources presented few problems. Production was in the stage of organization. The demand for raw materials was small. Shortages of Canadian supplies could readily be met by purchase in the United States. In other words all our other shortages boiled down to a shortage of United States dollars. The government lost no time in facing this problem. Foreign Exchange Control was established on September 15, 1939, and increasingly stringent measures were taken through the prohibition of pleasure travel in the United States, and the restriction of unessential imports to ensure the supply of American dollars needed to buy war materials in the United States. Fortunately, at the very moment when these drastic measures threatened to prove insufficient, the whole problem was vastly simplified by the reciprocal arrangements embodied in the Hyde Park Declaration. The problem has been further simplified by the establishment of joint Committees on war production, and by recent agreement between the United States and Canada to remove all obstructions to the free flow of war materials between the two countries.

Means have also been taken to stimulate the production in Canada of strategic raw materials and to prevent

D 42173

the export of raw materials of which a shortage might be anticipated. Stockpiles of imported raw materials have been accumulated. Steps have been taken to discourage waste, and to salvage waste products. By severe taxation and the encouragement of war savings, civilian consumption has been curtailed. In recent months, the manufacture of non-essential goods has been curtailed or eliminated entirely. The compulsory mobilization of material resources has been progressively and selectively effected by a highly efficient though exceedingly complex system of economic controls. I might cite the curtailment in the production of motor vehicles and a great variety of other articles in which metals are used, as for example, stoves, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, refrigerators and radios. I might also mention the drastic limitations placed upon the use of silk and rubber.

These and many other measures have been taken progressively, in order to make materials available to our war industries as they have been expanded. Already, the rationing of some commodities for civilian use has begun. If we are to achieve a total effort, far more drastic curtailments will follow.

D 42174

The whole business of mobilizing material resources is not spectacular; it is far from pleasant; but it is the real foundation of a total war effort. The government has never hesitated to take any of the necessary steps at the moment it was believed they were essential.

HOWARD SMITH
BELFAST BOND

D 42175

I turn now to the question of the mobilizing of "man-power", which term, by the way, when it is used without definite restriction, is intended to comprehend "woman-power" as well. I wish to speak more particularly of the means of mobilizing the additional manpower and womanpower required to maintain the existing effort, and to develop the enlarged programme.

National Selective Service

National Selective Service is the method by which the government proposes to accomplish the mobilization of manpower on an extended scale. Let me define national service as it is understood by the government. By national service is meant any form of service, either voluntary or compulsory, which contributes directly to Canada's war effort. By national selective service is meant the selection of men and women for the various forms of national service according to the method or methods calculated to produce the most satisfactory results. In order to be selective, national service does not necessarily need to be compulsory. Voluntary service is also selective. The army, for example, does not accept every man who offers to enlist. In finding the right place for a man, no quality is likely to count for more than willingness to serve. Compulsion is only of value where it serves to ensure a greater total effort. Wherever necessary and of value in increasing Canada's war effort, the govern-

D42176

ment is prepared to employ compulsion. It would, however, be a waste of effort to engage a small army of officials to compel people to do what they are perfectly ready and willing to do without compulsion.

In announcing that National Selective Service is the method by which the government proposes to accomplish the mobilization of manpower on an extended scale, the government is not announcing a new policy. What we propose to do is to extend what, in fact, we have been doing right along, that is, to apply the principle progressively. In other words, we intend to continue to extend the application of National Selective Service to meet new needs as they arise.

~~Wherever in the opinion of the government it will increase the effectiveness of Canada's war effort to apply the principle of National Selective Service on a compulsory basis, it will be so applied.~~ As I have already said, this policy, too, is not new, nor is it being advanced today for the first time, or as a consequence of high pressure methods employed to influence the independence of Members of Parliament. The principle itself, as I have already explained, was approved by this Parliament in June, 1940. It has already been applied to some extent. On November 12th last, I made it very plain to Parliament that, with respect to the mobilization

D 42177

of manpower, the government's policy was one of National Selective Service; and, also, that an extension of the application of compulsory selective service - conscription, if you will - was a part of that policy. Let me repeat my exact words: "So far as conscription stands for compulsory selective national service, that is a principle which this government has embodied in its National Resources Mobilization Act passed at a previous session of this Parliament. As to how rapidly that principle should be applied, and how far it should be extended, is a matter which the government must decide and will decide in the light of all the knowledge which it has with respect to the needs of our war effort and the position of the country in meeting them.

"I want it to be distinctly understood that so far as the principle of compulsory selective national service is concerned for Canada, in Canada, I stand for that principle. I have never taken any other stand. It is the position that I have held all along. It has been applied in connection with military training, and applied in a number of other directions I might mention. How much further it will be applied the House will learn as the government takes its decisions on that matter."

I did not, at that time, announce any decisions

D42178

as to its further application. Such an announcement would hardly have been appropriate at the close of a session which had already completed all its major business. I felt that, in fairness to Parliament, announcements on such an important matter should be reserved for a new session, when Members would have adequate opportunity for the fullest consideration and debate.

The extended application of compulsion to national selective service is a highly complicated matter. It is, in itself, a selective process. The use of compulsion selectively is no less complicated in the mobilization of manpower than in the mobilization of material resources. However, the fact that further decisions were not announced in November has not delayed the further application of the principle. Indeed, it has rather facilitated the very careful planning and organization which is so essential before the extended application of selective service, whether on a voluntary or a compulsory basis, can be brought into effective operation.

Everyone will recognize that the effective use of the manpower - and the womanpower - of a nation is essential to the achievement of a total war effort. But it is not the total. It is, as I have already stated, only one factor in the total. In considering any extension of the application

D 42179

of selective service as a means of promoting a total war effort, it is important to remember that national selective service is not an end in itself, but is only a means to an end, that end being a total war effort.

The problems of mobilizing resources, and mobilizing manpower, are inseparable from one another and like all other aspects of our war effort must be kept in proper balance. Material resources cannot be mobilized without manpower to mobilize them, and no good purpose is served by mobilizing men unless they are provided with the necessary materials and tools to work with, and the necessary equipment and arms to fight with.

Under the authority of the National Resources Mobilization Act, a limited measure of national selective service on a compulsory basis has been applied since October, 1940, in the selection of young men for military training. The principles of selection have been age and marital status, with adequate safeguards, through postponements, for other essential forms of national service.

The Government now proposes to apply the compulsory powers of national selective service to other aspects of the war effort as well as to military service. These powers will be applied selectively and progressively

BELFAST BOND

D 42180

to those activities where it is considered by the Government that their application will contribute to the goal of a total effort. It has not been necessary, nor would it, indeed, have been helpful at an earlier stage to make demands upon the nation such as the government has in contemplation, and as will be set forth as the Session proceeds. In this connection I invite your attention particularly to what I am now about to say.

These demands will intimately affect the lives of many men and women. They will also affect the life of the nation in the following way. There will be a further very definite curtailment of the amenities we have hitherto been able to preserve. These demands will not affect physical health or that contentment of spirit that comes from serving great causes, but they will make further inroads upon the comfort and convenience of very large numbers, and upon the character and aspect of our daily life. It must not be supposed that there are large reserves of idle people leading a leisurely existence who can now be called to the national ranks. The entire adult Canadian population, with very few exceptions, gets up in the morning, works all day, and goes to bed tired out at night. In our form of society people have been accustomed to find their own jobs to a very large extent, thus saving vast Government machinery.

If all the efforts of everyone were really devoted solely to making war, there would be no food, or fuel, no transport, or clothes. We have to recognize the fact that a very large proportion of the population, particularly women, is occupied in ministering to the needs of the more actively engaged population, and that that number has increased since the last war with the increase of population who have to be ministered to.

The process which is now to be applied -- and has, indeed, been continuously applied -- much more vigorously, is not the calling of idle people to work, but the sharpening and shifting forward of a proportion of their effort into work which is more directly related to the war.] [Here I end the portion of the remarks to which I invited special attention.

It may surprise honourable members to learn that the words I have just used are not my own words. With the exception of the two words "Canadian population", which I have substituted for the words "British race", the statement is not mine. It is a statement by the Prime Minister of Great Britain. After all that has been said in Canada in recent months about all-out conscription in Britain, and its application to women as well as to men, it may occasion

D42182

still more surprise that this statement was made, not at the beginning of the war, nor at the end of the first year of war, nor even of the second year of war, but as recently as December 2nd last.

The explanation of the timing is simple. In war, correct timing is vital. Some steps must be completed, before others can be taken. The time of application of measures is quite as important as the extent of their application. No mechanical rule or order can be followed. The appropriate measures for one country will never exactly suit another country. In the case of each, local conditions must be considered; the nature of the tasks undertaken by each country, and their relative importance in the total effort of all, must be the decisive factor.

To achieve a total national effort everyone must contribute to the effort either directly or indirectly. All cannot do the same work. As far as possible, each must be fitted into the appropriate task. Many, perhaps the majority, can find the appropriate place for themselves, and, as Mr. Churchill said, save "vast government machinery". Certainly, no government is wise enough to decide the appropriate task for every individual in the nation. And,

D 2183

even if governments were all-knowing, the war would not wait while this stupendous job was being performed. What the government can do, and what we propose to undertake to do, is to meet the urgent needs by the best means we can devise.

I shall not attempt at this time to outline the measures which are contemplated in order to extend the scope of national selective service. I shall confine myself to saying that the extended policy of selective service will comprehend measures to increase the supply of manpower available for war industry and for the armed forces; also measures to safeguard and, where necessary, to assist in providing agricultural labour required to expand war production on the farm. These objects it is proposed to achieve by positive action to increase the mobility of available manpower, to add to the number of women available for employment, and to facilitate the transfer of labour from non-essential occupations to direct employment in the furtherance of the war effort. The policy also envisages improvements in the method of selecting men for compulsory military training and service.

The administrative machinery required to carry out the proposed measures equitably and efficiently will necessarily be intricate and complicated. The capacities of

D 42184

men and women cannot be weighed and measured and graded with the same certainty as the qualities of wheat or cement or steel can be determined. To perform the complicated task of selection with success will demand both time and skill.

The government, moreover, has no desire to add unduly -- which means wastefully -- to governmental machinery. It is imperative that we avoid using men and women for unnecessary tasks. In those aspects of our war effort in which voluntary methods are working satisfactorily, voluntary selection, including a measure of choice by the individual of the appropriate field of service, will be continued. The use of the more expensive and complicated methods of compulsion will be confined to those branches of our war effort where it is felt that compulsory selection will increase its efficiency.

HOWARD-SMITH
BELL-FAST BOND

D 42185

While the government, in its policies, has sought a total effort, it has never ceased to believe that only by a united effort could total effort be achieved. In every step the government has taken from the moment the threat of war appeared on the European horizon, we have sought so to direct our policies and the course of public affairs that the country would remain united in its support of the national effort.

Every honourable member of this House knows that, except for the assurance that, in the event of a European war, there would be no conscription for service overseas, this Parliament would never have decided, in the immediate and unanimous manner in which it did, to stand at the side of Britain in the resistance of aggression, and the defence of freedom.

Honourable members are also aware that if, at the time when Canada's participation in the war was challenged in an election in the province of Quebec by a government professing a different political faith, a like assurance with respect to service overseas had not been given in the name of the present government by the late Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, by the Minister of Public Works, and other Liberal leaders and

D 42186

members of this House of Commons from the Province of Quebec, the verdict of the people of that province might have been wholly different.

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

When, three months later, the direction of the war effort of Canada by the present administration was challenged -- though from an opposite extreme -- by a resolution of the Legislature of the province of Ontario, and the administration appealed to the people of Canada in a general election, the government gave the assurance that, if returned to power, it would continue to maintain the policy of no conscription for service overseas. Not only the government, but the then leader of the Conservative party, --a party disguised it is true, for the time being, as the

D42187

National Government Party,—took an equally strong stand in opposition to conscription for overseas service. The candidates, not of one political party only, but the vast majority of candidates in the general election gave their constituents to understand that they were opposed to a policy of conscription for overseas service. In so doing reference was continually made to the effect of the adoption of conscription ~~for overseas service~~ in the last war, and the serious wound which, at the time, its application had inflicted in the side of our country.

As I look at the membership of this House which represents the will of the nation as expressed in the general elections, held during this very war, I say there are not a dozen members -- if, indeed, there are that many -- regardless of party, who could rise in their seats and truthfully say that, in the last general election, they had advocated a policy of conscription for military service overseas.

Time and time again it has been said by some honourable members opposite that the present government would not have had the enormous majority it has in this present Parliament if it had not given the explicit assurance

D 42188

that, if returned to power, it would not adopt conscription for military service overseas. Others have held that it is unfair to say that any one issue should be singled out as the decisive issue in a general election. They maintain that many factors were in the minds of the people. It is said, for example, and I believe it to be true, that the present administration owes its vast majority to the belief, so generally held, at this time of war that no better administration could be found to administer Canada's war effort, and to conduct the country's affairs ~~at a time of war~~. Not the least of the reasons for this belief was the view that the present administration might be expected to harmonize differences more effectively, and thereby to avoid disunity at a time of war when, above all else, unity is vital.

In accordance with the general consensus of view as respects the mandate given by the people themselves, the government, throughout 1940 and 1941, proceeded to develop an all-out war effort. Until parliament was in session in November last, the government continued to carry on that effort, not without criticism, but certainly without the issue of conscription for overseas service being raised, in any authoritative manner, by any party or party leader in this House.

D42189

At the time of my tour of Western Canada, prior to my visit to Britain, an attempt was made to raise the issue of conscription. A cloud no larger than a man's hand appeared in the political sky at Calgary and in some other of the Western cities. I at once recognized that this was not due to a spontaneous movement on the part of the people themselves, but was rather the manifestation of a political movement carefully organized by opponents of the government, to force conscription to the fore as a political issue. I accordingly sought to meet this threat to our national unity in the only way in which I believed it could and should be met, if unity throughout Canada was to be maintained.

Speaking in the city of Vancouver before a very large audience, I said:

> "The policy of the government regarding conscription has been made abundantly clear. We have taken the position that every young man who is physically fit should be liable for military training and service in Canada for the defence of Canada. This policy is designed to provide our country with a second line of defence should the country be subject to direct attack. In the same way, Parliament has

D 42190

put at the disposal of the nation, all the material resources of the country.

"My colleagues and I, expressing, as we believe, the will of the Canadian people as expressed by themselves in a war-time election, have made it equally clear that service outside Canada in the armed forces of Canada at sea, on land and in the air -- service undertaken in the cause of freedom -- shall be freely undertaken.

"Before war came, the government gave a solemn pledge that in the event of war, we would follow that policy. When war came the pledge was solemnly re-affirmed. At the general elections during the war itself, that policy received the overwhelming approval of the people of Canada. Indeed, no political party can be said to have advocated conscription for overseas service. The Leader of the Official Opposition could scarcely have been more emphatic than he was in declaring that conscription was not an issue; that, having regard to the memories of the past, and experiences in the last war, anyone who might raise that issue was not true to the highest interest of his country.

D 42191

"The present unhappy state of the world is in large part the result of broken pledges. Nazi Germany has erected bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action. Bad faith, broken pledges, and disregard of the popular will are the very forces against which Canada is fighting today. That being so, I wish the more emphatically to affirm the government's intention to keep the pledge repeatedly given to the people of Canada."

This statement is representative of the views I everywhere expressed in the course of my western tour, and which everywhere met, if not with unanimous, certainly with general approval. With the people of Canada thus re-assured, there was little, if any, agitation on the matter during my absence in Britain and immediately after my return. In parliament there was little or no question or discussion raised concerning conscription until, while parliament was in session in November, it was announced that the leader of the Conservative Party in the Senate was to replace the present Leader of the Opposition, in the leadership of his Party, and would also replace him in the leadership of the official opposition in this House of Commons.

Prior to this announcement, I had re-stated in this House of Commons, the government's position with

D 42192

respect to national selective service, as I have already quoted it to the House. At the same time, as Leader of the government, I made clear my own position with respect to the application of conscription to service in the armed forces overseas, in the following words:

> "But so far as conscription for service overseas is concerned in the armed forces of Canada, that question was submitted to the people of Canada at the last general election, an election which was held in war-time, and in which the leaders of all political parties made their statements to the electorate, and the people of Canada decided against conscription for overseas service. So far as I am concerned, without any consultation of the people on that subject, I do not intend to take the responsibility of supporting any policy of conscription for service overseas."
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> (Unrevised Hansard, November 12, 1941, p. 4672)

This statement was made during the afternoon of November the 12th. On the evening of that day, the new Leader of the Conservative Party, without any previous attempt at consultation or conference with myself, or any member of the government, and before he himself had become a member of this House of Commons, issued a statement announcing his acceptance of the leadership of the Conservative

D 42193

party, in which he set forth as his policy "compulsory selective service over the whole field of war". In view of the position of the government with respect to national selective service, this statement narrows down simply to a demand for conscription for overseas service. It thereby made the single question of the application of conscription for military service overseas into a political issue of the first magnitude.

Outside parliament altogether, the political skies have now become so overcast with controversy, promoted by high pressure methods and highly financed publicity, that the nature and extent of Canada's war effort is not only being obscured, but is in danger of being seriously impaired.

If the issue of conscription for service overseas is to be fought out, the place for it to be fought out is on the floor of this Parliament. If, however, members of the government and, indeed, members of this House of Commons generally, are to be free to express their views irrespective of any previous commitments, it is necessary that all members be released from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service.

Quite apart from the controversy which has arisen, there are the strongest of reasons why the government should, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history,

D 42194

possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise, subject only to its responsibility to Parliament.

When, prior to its outbreak, the possibility of war in Europe was discussed in Canada, it was thought of in terms of another European war, the scene of which would be confined for the most part to Europe. The last war was still much in mind. The incidents connected with conscription and the results which flowed from its application remained vivid memories. The mere thought of the repetition of anything of the kind was abhorrent to the minds of most people in Canada. Few, if any, even dreamed at the time that war might so spread as to bring into the orbit of actual hostilities, any part of the western hemisphere. When people on this side of the Atlantic thought of war during the autumn and winter months of 1938 and the early spring of 1939, they thought of first the protecting power of the British fleet. The war between Japan and China, though it had been in existence for some years, seemed so remote as to have little or no bearing upon the security of the Pacific Coast of this continent.

When the general elections were held during the month of March in 1940, the recollections of 1917 were still vividly in mind. Also in the mind of the people were the commitments previously made in and out of parliament respecting no conscription

D 42195

for service in the armed forces overseas. The relatively greater part which the Air and Naval forces would play in the present war, in comparison with the last; the obligation which Canada had assumed with respect to the Commonwealth Air Training Plan; the need for the immediate development of the Navy, the importance of developing the manufacture of munitions on a large scale, all pointed to the unwisdom of raising any issue with respect to conscription.

It was not until the intent and might of Nazi aggression had become apparent by the subjugation of Denmark, Norway, The Netherlands, Belgium and France, that its danger to all free countries began to be appreciated. When Italy entered the war, concern was still mostly with what might happen around the shores of the Mediterranean and in Africa. It was difficult for many to believe that the enemy might, some day, be battering our own shores on the Atlantic, and even on the Pacific.

The bombardment of Britain from the air, the varying fortunes of her armies in a continuously increasing number of areas; the vast additions in resources and man-power gained by Germany through the countries she had overrun; the unrest in the Far East: all this, and much else, helped, during the past year, to change the picture vastly as viewed from this side.

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On the other hand, / Russia's entry into the war on the side of the Allies served, ~~if anything,~~ to lessen ~~rather than to increase the thought of need for additional men to serve in Canada's armed forces.~~ any urgency must respect to the need for our fourth armoured army.

Japan's declaration of war against the United States and the British Commonwealth, the consequences flowing from her treacherous attack upon United States' possessions in the Pacific, and upon British and Dutch possessions in Asia and the Indies; the present menace of her armed forces to the Island Dominions of Australia and New Zealand: all these have given rise to fresh anxiety throughout Canada.

The declaration of war by Germany and Italy, as well as Japan, against the United States has brought the United States into the conflict against the combined Axis Powers. This, in turn, has given rise to problems which the government is facing in meeting its obligations with respect to the joint defence of the two countries. The declaration signed at Washington on January [redacted] 1st by 26 nations to combine their efforts against the Axis Powers, has still further emphasized Canada's responsibilities.

In a world situation so involved, with enemies on every front, with no one able to say what the outcome of battle in other parts of the world may bring of immediate and increased danger to our own land, the

D 42197

Government feels though that it should be perfectly free to recommend to Parliament whatever course of action it deems essential to the security of our own country, and to the preservation of freedom in our own and other lands.

Such freedom the Government does not possess at the present time, not because of any limitations upon the powers of Parliament - Parliament is at all times supreme - but because of past commitments made by the government and regardless of party, by most members of this House.

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

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

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

D 42198

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

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

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

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

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

D 42199

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

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

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

D 42200

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

A course completely different from any one of the three I have mentioned has been suggested. It is that the government should ignore commitments altogether, [redacted] refrain from any consultation with or reference to the people, and here and now immediately put in force conscription for service overseas.

I am perfectly sure that were any government to proceed in any such arbitrary manner, completely disregarding the will of the people as expressed in the past, or as it might be expressed in the present, it would find any such attempt effectively thwarted by the peoples' representatives in Parliament.

Personally, I reject as unworthy of consideration, any course of action by this or any Parliament which ignores the authority from which Parliament and the government alike derive their power. I reject as still more unworthy the suggestion that the government should break the solemn pledges

42201

given a[redacted] time and again to the electorate. Let me repeat what I said at Vancouver:

> "The present unhappy state of the world is, in large part, the result of broken pledges. Nazi Germany has erected bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action. Bad faith, broken pledges, and disregard of the popular will, are the forces against which Canada is fighting today."

I do not propose to erect bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action. I propose at all times to do all in my power to see that the will of the people, not that of any particular section, or group, or interest, shall prevail in the government of this country.

Perhaps I should add that yet another course of action has been suggested. It is that I should resign and advise His Excellency the Governor General to call on some other person to form a government which would ignore all past commitments and undertake to enforce conscription without any prior consultation with the people. In other words, I am being asked, [redacted] to destroy whatever confidence the people of Canada may possess in my honour as a public man, and, in doing so, also to destroy the confidence they possess in the honour and integrity of the government.

BELFAST BONE D42202

Those who speak and write in that way might be prepared so to act, but I am not. If we wish to destroy, not at this time of war alone, but for all time, the last vestige of confidence which the people of ~~this Dominion~~ Canada have in their free political institutions, and their future use, that would be the most effective way to go about it.

The government, having, for the reasons I have mentioned, decided to seek from the people, by means of a plebiscite, release from any obligation arising out of any past commitments, proposes, without delay, to introduce legislation to set up the required machinery for conducting the plebiscite at the earliest possible date. The plebiscite will be taken with the minimum of expense consistent with equitable and efficient provision for a full and honest expression of the views of the people.

I need scarcely say that in the machinery which may be necessary for the conduct of the plebiscite, special provision will be made for ascertaining the views of the men on active service in the armed forces.

~~In asking the people at this time to release the government from its commitments, the government is, as I made clear at the outset of my remarks, not concerned with an immediate situation requiring immediate action. At present, the men required for military service overseas are being raised in sufficient numbers.~~

D 42203

I shall not go into detail regarding the procedure to be followed in holding the proposed plebiscite. The question which the government proposes to submit to the people is the simple and straightforward question:

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

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

In the presentation of the plebiscite to the electorate the desire of the Administration to possess complete freedom of action, will, of course, receive the vigorous and wholehearted support of all members of the government. It will, I hope, receive the support of every member of Parliament, and ~~of all loyal British people~~ must, I believe, receive the support of all loyal people

BELFAST BOND

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Vancouver Sun

Date Jan. 27/42

Subject

Gives Blueprint for Total War

Mr. King's speech last night must be accepted as a commitment to total war by any and every means, including overseas conscription. If it does not mean that, it means nothing.

It is true, and most regrettable, that Mr. King did not say in so many words that he proposed at any particular time to use overseas conscription. But the whole tenor of the speech, his plans for a plebiscite, his demand for an absolutely free hand, show that conscription will be used when it is needed. Otherwise the speech and the government's pledge of total war do not make sense.

The real test of Mr. King's government, of course, is not what it says in Parliament, but what it does in the war. Mr. King was able to prove by fact and figure that his government has made a contribution to the war far larger than most Canadians realize. He does not stop there. He proposes to increase the effort of every front, military, economic, financial, agricultural.

There is more than a general promise. There is the announcement of a large increase in the army overseas, the establishment of a second armored division, an enormous job of equipment and increase in home defense forces. There is the absolute pledge to use national selective service in mobilizing the nation's manpower to the limit. There is also this specific promise—"The government now proposes to apply the compulsory powers of national selective service to other aspects of the war effort as well as to military service."

There is finally the announcement that the policy of selective service, with compulsion where needed, will "comprehend measures to increase the supply of manpower available for war industry and for the armed forces; also measures to safeguard and, where necessary, to assist in providing agricultural labor required to expand war production on the farm." Finally Mr. King has committed Canada to a free gift of a billion dollars' worth of goods to Britain in the next year.

The people of Canada asked from Mr. King a blueprint of total war. This speech is perhaps as detailed an answer, as complete a plan, as could be expected at this moment within the limits of military secrecy—assuming, of course, as we must, that conscription will be applied wherever and whenever it is required. The blueprint is large enough, the scope of the war program wide enough as laid down by the Prime Minister. In his fulfillment of it the nation will judge Mr. King.

As for his plebiscite plan, Mr. King's defense was convincing. He rightly says that if he were to disregard his solemn pledge against overseas conscription, made in 1940, he would destroy the confidence of a large part of our people in the honesty of our political institutions, and would be following the very trail of broken treaties which has been laid down by our enemies.

On the other hand, a general election is desired by nobody. The plebiscite, not an ideal method, is the most practical method in this case of honoring past pledges and, equally important, of preventing a deep racial schism which might undermine the nation's war effort. It does not delay the nation's mobilization. It does not allow the government to dodge the responsibility of decision on any aspect of the war plan, but rather increases its responsibility by removing the single existing restriction on the war program.

And if Mr. King fulfills his promise, utilizes the whole resources of the nation, enforces conscription, and yet maintains the unity of the nation and its two races, who will say afterwards that he would have been wiser to follow a different course which would satisfy many of our people but outrage the deepest feelings of many others?

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
68		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	6 Dec. 1941	D 41963 - D 41964	
68		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Dec. 1941	D 41965 - D 41972	
68		Introduction of the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill. Speeches in Parliament	30 Dec. 1941	D 41973 - D 42004	
69		Tribute to the Memory of Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe. Speeches in Parliament	21 Jan. 1942	D 42005 - D 42014	
69		Speeches on the Address. Speeches in Parliament	26 Jan. 1942	D 42015 - D 42204	
69		Dinner, Saskatchewan. Member of Parliament. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Feb. 1942	D 42205	
69		Second Victory Loan, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Feb. 1942	D 42206 - D 42320	
69		Keeping Faith With the People. Speeches in Parliament	25 Feb. 1942	D 42321 - D 42337	
69		Plebiscite Act. Speeches in Parliament	25 Feb. 1942	D 42338 - D 42341	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN 5172/42

Date FEB 3 1942

Subject D 42205

Farmers' Visit Symbolizes Strength

Visit of a delegation of 400 western wheat farmers to Ottawa was "a symbol of the strength of the nation working to one common end", Prime Minister King said last night at a dinner tendered the delegation by the 21 Saskatchewan members of Parliament.

Dr. T. F. Connelly (Lib., Wood Mountain) was chairman of the informal gathering and Mr. King and M. J. Coldwell, acting C.C.F. House leader, as members of Parliament from Saskatchewan, were among the hosts to the delegation which on Monday presented to the Government a petition for higher wheat prices.

"The common end to which we are working is the triumph of right and security of freedom", Mr. King said. "At the moment of the world's greatest crisis, when the nation is putting forward its greatest effort, we are all met together in the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa in one spirit and one purpose.

"We are met in the companionship of a great cause", he said.

"This moment is prophetic of the finer feeling that will actuate mankind when this great struggle is ended."

Representatives of the prairie wheat-growers were assured officially Monday that their difficulties are recognized by the Federal Government and that every consideration will be given to them.

It was evident last night that the 400 western delegates would return home without definite statements on a revised Government wheat policy, since Cabinet Ministers told them at an afternoon meeting the whole question must receive Cabinet consideration after their representations had been heard.

Expect Results.

But the tenor of Government speakers' remarks caused delegates to comment later that an increased initial wheat price—one of their major objectives—seems likely to be announced soon.

The delegates want the initial wheat price increased by 30 cents a bushel to $1, basis No. 1 northern at Fort William. They also seek "parity prices" for agricultural products and other measures to improve their economic condition.

Today they will meet in the morning with representatives of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board under chairmanship of Donald Gordon, and the Agricultural Supplies Board, headed by A. M. Shaw, and with the wheat committee again in the afternoon.

Their first duty after breakfast will be to lay a wreath on the national monument to dead of the First Great War.

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69		Plebiscite Act. Speeches in Parliament	25 Feb. 1942	D 42338 - D 42341	

Dictated by the Prime Minister
February 7, 1942

D 42206

Outline of Points for Victory Loan Broadcast
February 15, 1942

I. Nothing has happened since the beginning of the war quite so important as what has now developed into the united effort of the United States and Britain.

(a) Tonight, you will hear an expression of that united effort through the manner in which the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom are joining together to support this new Victory Loan campaign.

(b) This effort is now all part of one great effort embracing all of the United Nations.

II. Appreciation of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill.

(a) On behalf of the government and people of Canada would like to express thanks for their co-operation with the government in efforts to make the Loan a success.

(Make clear the combination of united
(effort which has expanded into the
(United Nations.)

III. People of Canada are now aware of what the government's programme is - the task which Canada has undertaken for this year.

Set out 5 or 6 aspects.

(Army overseas, etc.)

Necessity for raising a vast war loan -
to carry out the "utmost effort" can
only be done by the success of this loan.

Dictated by the Prime Minister
February 7, 1942

D 42207

Outline of Points for Victory Loan Broadcast
February 15, 1942

I. Nothing has happened since the beginning of the war quite so important as what has now developed into the united effort of the United States and Britain.

(a) Tonight, you will hear an expression of that united effort through the manner in which the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom are joining together to support this new Victory Loan campaign.

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Set out 5 or 6 aspects.

(Army overseas, etc.)

Necessity for raising a vast war loan - to carry out the "utmost effort" can only be done by the success of this loan.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

9.ii.42

D 42208

MEMORANDUM

Prime Ministers

re Victory Loan Broadcast

These drafts for opening and closing speeches of broadcast with Mr Roosevelt and Mr Churchill represent a joint attempt by Mr Fairbairn and myself. The opening speech is a little too long for five minutes, but it was difficult to include the points in less space.

W.J.

Second Draft

D42209

Victory Loan Campaign.

Tomorrow the people of Canada will begin to subscribe to the Second Victory Loan in this war. Eight months ago the people of this country -- a million of them -- responded quickly and generously to the first Victory Loan. It was over subscribed freely by a free people. We can all remember how much stronger and how much more united Canada was as a result of that great voluntary demonstration of patriotism.

When the first victory loan campaign was opened, the British Commonwealth stood almost alone in armed opposition to the forces of evil. How different the situation is today. Germany by a wanton attack has ranged the military might of 180 million Russians against her. Japan, by her treacherous ~~attack~~ conduct has brought the 130 million people of the United States, and millions more of the peoples of the Caribbean region, into full participation in the struggle for freedom. The unfolding of the Axis designs of world domination has enlisted in the cause of freedom and justice the active sympathy of all the peoples of the western hemisphere. The broad highway of deepening ~~independence~~ understanding and growing co-operation between the British Commonwealth and the United States has been marked by such milestones ~~of~~ of freedom as the

D 42210

Ogdensburg Agreement, the exchange of destroyers for bases, the Lend-Lease Act, the Hyde Park Agreement, and the Atlantic Charter. The co-operation of the British and American peoples has no narrow racial basis; ~~it is~~ its objective is not the domination of the world by the English-speaking peoples. Its purpose is rather a union of all races and all peoples who cherish freedom, who believe in the equality of all men, and who seek the triumph of truth and justice in the world. This aim found expression in the signing in Washington, on the first day of this year, of the agreement of the 26 "United Nations".

We all know that the potential strength of the free peoples is far greater than the strength of the evil forces united against us. We must equally realize that wars cannot be won by potential strength, but only by actual strength. In actual, immediate fighting power, the Axis still has the upper hand. The issue is still in doubt. The very existence of the free world and ~~all~~ of every free country is at stake. The freedom of the world, the freedom of Canada, will never be secured until the evil forces have been crushed. To crush them will require the utmost effort, not merely of one free nation or of a few, but of every nation which still fights for freedom. Any nation which falters ~~cannot hope and will not deserve~~ to survive.

D 42211

(Then bring in paragraphs at the bottom
of page 2 and on page 3 of first draft)

In appealing tonight to each and every Canadian to undertake the greatest possible share of the financial burden of war, I ask each of you to look into his own heart and to examine his own conscience. A total response from all depends upon the utmost response of each individual. Let each of us ask himself the question: Am I doing my utmost to answer this new call to serve my country with my money? Have I denied myself of the luxuries and comforts which are the price of my freedom and my safety, the price of the freedom and safety of my family, of my country and of mankind? No weaker excuse for failure to answer the call can be given than the excuse that others are not making the same effort. No community is perfect; there will always be a selfish minority which will seek to escape a full and fair share of the burden. There will always be some who fail to see the magnitude of the danger and the full extent of their duty. We must all do our full part, not by coercion, but by persuasion and, above all, by example, to point out the ~~full~~ path of duty to our fellow men. The greatest of all examples is the full and ~~understanding~~ unstinting discharge of our own duty as individuals, as free citizens of a free country, fighting for its

D 42212

survival. Once let our people realize that it is their freedom, their future, their country's freedom and their country's future that is in terrible danger today, and there will be no doubt of the magnitude of their response to the call of duty.

Surely if it is possible freely to join together the free peoples of the world in a great alliance of the united nations, to work and fight together for their common survival, it is no less possible freely to join together the people of Canada in a union of hearts and a union of effort to save our freedom and to ensure our future as a nation among the free nations of a free world.

Free men throughout the world are today united in one great partnership. In that partnership lies the hope of crushing the evil forces which threaten civilization itself. That hope will only be fulfilled if each partner nation does its full part freely and willingly. By responding fully to this call, we in Canada will not only earn the right to our own survival as a free people, we will also make for ourselves an honourable place in the great association of free peoples on which the future of humanity depends.

That association of free peoples is being built on the firm foundation of the growing intimacy between the British Commonwealth and the United States. That intimacy

D 42213

in turn embodies the hopes and aspirations of all Canadians. We have striven hard as a people to achieve it. Its maintenance will depend in large part upon our efforts. Our pride as a people was stirred when the Prime Minister of Great Britain reminded us that "Canada occupies a unique position in the British Empire because of its unbreakable ties with Britain and its ever-growing friendship and intimate association with the United States. Canada is a potent magnet, drawing together those in the new world and in the old whose fortunes are now united in a deadly struggle for life and honour against the common foe."

We are all grateful to the President of the United States and to the Prime Minister of Great Britain for undertaking to join in this opening broadcast of our Second Victory Loan Campaign. Their words will serve to encourage us to achieve the ~~ultimate~~ immediate objective. They will serve equally to inspire us to strive to the end to discharge the heavy responsibilities which Canada has assumed in the common task of preserving and restoring freedom and justice in the world.

Draft/JAG

D 42214

This week the people of Canada are being asked to subscribe to the Second Victory Loan. It is for a sum of $600,000,000. This sum is more than the cost of the civil government of Canada for a whole year in any of the years before 1939. It is about one-fifth of the estimated cost of Canada's war effort for this year, 1942. It is the latest expression of Canada's determination to make the utmost effort of which we are capable.

Eight months ago the First Victory Loan, of the same amount, was oversubscribed by 20%. What the people of Canada have done before I feel sure they can do again. I invite all my listeners to have a share in this latest manifestation of our strength. I urge all the people who can subscribe - from the private citizen who ~~purchases a fifty or one hundred dollar bond~~ pledges a minimum amount to the vast corporations whose subscriptions are numbered in millions of dollars - I urge them all to subscribe willingly and promptly.

In this world war in which we are involved the lines of conflict are now sharply defined. In the war effort to which we are committed, and committed to the utmost of our strength, the issues are starkly clear. The struggle between servitude or freedom, between tyranny and fair dealing, is now being waged on all the continents.

D 42215

It must be waged increasingly on our part. It will make demands grimmer and deeper than we have yet realized. We must make sure that our response to these demands, individually and as a united nation, is the strongest response that we can give. We have our part to play on many fronts. Of these, the financial sector of our home front is now, this week, of first importance. I appeal to you all to take your share in ensuring that this great objective, six hundred million dollars, is attained.

Our war effort now is part of a greater effort which binds together the United Nations of the world, within the bastions of freedom which these nations - 26 in all - are valiantly defending.

In this world war in which we are involved the lines of conflict are now sharply defined. In the war effort to which we are committed, and committed to the utmost of our strength, the issues are starkly clear. The struggle between servitude or freedom, between tyranny and fair dealing, is now being waged on all the continents. It must be waged, unceasingly on our part. It will make demands grimmer and deeper than we have yet realized. We must make sure that our response to these demands, individually and as a united nation, is the strongest response that we can give. We have our part to play on many fronts. Of these, the financial sector of our home front is now, this week, of first importance.

D 42216

I appeal to you all to take your share in ensuring that this great objective, six hundred million dollars, is attained.

Our war effort now is part of a greater effort which binds together the United Nations of the world. Within the bastions of freedom which these nations -- 26 in all -- are valiantly defending, there has been no more encouraging development since the beginning of the war than the close understanding and co-operation of Britain and the United States. Already, we are beginning to see the magnitude of that co-operation, and the significance of the day to day working together of two great powers. For the material aid which they are able to furnish is now being extended to many of the nations resisting aggression. Behind and beyond material aid is a unity of purpose which animates all the defenders of freedom. Whatever the reverses, and however discouraging the reports of battle, it must be a part of our task to keep alive the flame of that spirit of resistance and that unity of purpose. Our response to this Victory Loan will help the flame to burn brightly in many hearts which must otherwise waver.

The unity of purpose which is reflected in the strong front of the United Nations is reflected in other directions as well. When the first Victory Loan was raised, the British Commonwealth stood almost alone in fighting the Axis powers. Then, there had been no wanton German attack upon Russia, no campaigns fought from the Artic to the Black Sea, and through

D 42217

the shadows of autumn days to the relentless snows of winter. Then there had been no meeting at sea between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, no Atlantic Declaration of the hope of a better world, to which all the United Nations have now given their adherance and support. Then there had been no Japanese treachery against the United States, Britain, and all the nations of the Pacific area; no penetration into Malaya and Burma; into Hong Kong; into the Netherlands Indies; into territory not far removed from Australia.

What is the situation today? Now the full might of the United States is ranged against the Axis Powers. Now the armed forces of the United States are fighting stubbornly in the newest theatres of war. Elsewhere, the armies of Russia have thrust back the German invader, and in the Western desert of Libya battles of mechanized forces have been fought on a tremendous scale. But the enemy is everywhere in force, and whether along the coast of Europe or in the Mediterranean, or in the western Pacific, or in the Netherlands Indies, he is pressing with forces well armed and often superior in numbers.

It is true that the potential strength of the free peoples represented in the United Nations, is greater than the strength of the enemy. But battles cannot be won by potential strength. They must be won by developed, actual strength. In this actual, immediate fighting power the Axis in many

D 42218

I appeal today to each of you, to all of you as Canadians, to undertake the greatest possible share you can in the financial burden of this war. I ask each of you to look into his own heart and to search his own conscience. Since total response from all depends upon the utmost response of each individual, let each of us ask himself this question: Am I doing all that I can to take my share of this obligation? Have I denied myself the luxuries and the comforts which are the price of my freedom and my safety, the price of the freedom and safety of my family, of my country and of mankind? Have I seen the magnitude of the danger, and have I grasped the full extent of my duty?

What then is the answer? We must all do our full part. We must do it not by coercion, but by persuasion and, above all, by example. We must point out the path of duty to all our fellow men. The greatest of all examples is proud and uncomplaining devotion to our own duty as individuals, as free citizens of a free country, fighting for survival and for freedom. Only let us - citizens of Canada - realize that it is our freedom, our future, our country's freedom and our country's future that is in terrible danger today, and there can be no doubt of the magnitude of our response.

Surely if it is possible freely to join together the free peoples of the world in a great alliance of the united nations, to work and fight together for their common survival,

D 42219

it is no less possible freely to join together the people of Canada in a union of hearts and a union of effort to save our freedom and to ensure our future as a nation among the free nations of a free world.

HOWARD SMITH
BELL-FAST BOND

Introductory paragraphs to precede
Revise by J.W.P.

D 42220

Re: Victory Loan

Tomorrow the people of Canada will begin to subscribe to the second Victory Loan in this war. The Canadian people are being asked to lend voluntarily huge sums of money to the Government. This money is required to continue the transformation of our potential strength in materials and manpower into actual fighting strength in terms of weapons and munitions, ships and planes, and foodstuffs, and trained fighting men. In actual immediate fighting power, the enemy is still stronger than the forces of freedom arrayed against him. The potential strength of the free peoples is far greater, but to save our freedom and to build a better world for mankind in the future, we must save and strive to make every man, every woman, every resource, and every dollar do its utmost for victory.

The issue is still in doubt. The events of the past two months, etc., etc.,

(Continue with page one of Revise)

Revised by J.W.P. of P.M.'s draft

Second Victory Loan Broadcast

D 42221

The events of the past two months; reverses suffered in the Far East and the Middle East alike give cause for the greatest possible concern. The reverses should not be allowed to obscure the other side of the picture. Other events in the past two months afford grounds for the highest hopes for the future. Virtually every nation on earth has taken sides in this struggle. The issue is clear. Whether world chaos will come in the wake of universal destruction, or security be re-established and the bounds of freedom widened depends upon the contribution of every nation still possessing its freedom. In each free nation, it depends upon the contribution of every individual citizen.

Neutrality is no more possible for the individual than it is possible for nations. The history of the last three years; the fate of the nations prostrate beneath the heel of the aggressor; the terrific task which faces the nations still battling for their freedom; all these go to show that neutrality is a myth and isolation an illusion. From every continent and from every ocean the call comes for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more men. It is a call to every individual to make the utmost contribution possible in some form of active service. It

D 42222

is equally a call to every man and woman to make through taxation and through loans the largest contribution of which they are capable.

The enemy has demonstrated how powerful his combined forces are on land, at sea and in the air, not in one part of the world only but on the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific and on the continents beyond their shores. The conflict today encompasses the globe. In that conflict, North America has come to hold, in association with the nations of the British Commonwealth, the place which Britain and the other nations of the Commonwealth held in solitary splendour only eight months ago. Today a great galaxy of free nations stand together where the British nations stood alone as defenders of the freedom of the world.

D 42223

To-day the British and American peoples are associated in a close union to preserve and to restore the freedom of mankind. In that union lies the hope of the future to which I have referred. It has been achieved so quickly and so completely that it is difficult to realize how significant it is to our own and to the world's future. More than once I have said that, if a new world order is to come into being it must already be on its way while the war is in progress or it may never come at all. Happily that new world order is already on its way. To the principles upon which it will rest, expression has been given in the Atlantic charter, signed at sea in August last, by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

~~The spirit of mutual goodwill and unity of purpose reflected in that charter~~

D 42224

The spirit of mutual good-will and unity of purpose reflected in the Atlantic Charter found further expression during Mr. Churchill's recent visit to Washington. It was expressed in the warmth of the welcome accorded to the Prime Minister of Great Britain by the President and people of the United States. Its most complete expression is to be found in the co-operative spirit in which the problems of strategy and command were worked out in their basic outlines by the Prime Minister and the President. The mutual understanding and good-will, so evident throughout that momentous visit, have established a firm foundation, not merely for the combined war effort of the nations of the British Commonwealth and the United States, but in the united effort of the twenty-six united nations who today are acting as one. It is upon such a foundation of mutual good-will, mutual trust, and mutual aid, that humanity can alone hope to build an enduring order of peace and good-will among nations.

I shall not say anything this evening of the part which Canada has played through the years in bringing about the closer union between the British and American

D 42225

peoples. On that theme Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt have spoken more than once in words of deep and sincere appreciation.

Mr. Churchill had hoped to participate in the Victory Loan Broadcast this evening. The postponement until today of his broadcast to the world has made that impossible. However, in addressing the world, Mr. Churchill was also addressing Canada. His words are no less inspiring to us because they are addressed to a wider audience. For them we are grateful.

We are no less grateful to the President of the United States for his kindness in consenting to address the Canadian people. In formally inviting the President to speak to you, it affords me special pleasure to introduce a man with whom I have shared a close personal friendship which, over many years, has deepened and strengthened as the understanding and good-will between our two peoples have also deepened and strengthened.

Draft RE: British-American Relations

D 42226

In this broadcast to-night, the President of the United States is to address the Canadian people. Mr. Roosevelt is to speak to us as the head of our great neighbour nation now sharing to the full with the British Commonwealth and the other free nations of the world in a great partnership. Nothing that has happened since the beginning of the war is so significant for the future of mankind as the united effort now being developed by the British Commonwealth and the United States.

The entry of the United States into the war came with shocking suddenness. The development of the united effort of the British and American peoples is neither shocking nor sudden. It is the product of years of growth in understanding and co-operation. In the establishment of that understanding and co-operation Canada has played no secondary part. The common background and the common history of Canada and the United States have contributed to our close understanding. But common background and common history would not alone have produced harmonious relations. The understanding and harmony which exists between us owe their vitality to positive and far-sighted statesmanship in both countries over more than a century.

I shall not turn back the pages of history, to-night, beyond 1938. On September 18th of that year Mr. Roosevelt spoke at Queen's University at Kingston. His words were

D 42227

addressed to all the people of Canada. In that speech, he disclosed the shape of things to come. Let me repeat a few of his words:

"We in the Americas are no longer a far away continent, to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas could bring no interest or no harm; instead, we in the Americas have become a consideration to every propaganda office and to every general staff beyond the seas. The vast amount of our resources, the vigour of our commerce and the strength of our men have made us vital factors in world peace whether we choose or not.

"Happily, you and we, in friendship and in entire understanding, can look clear-eyed at these possibilities, resolving to leave no pathway unexplored and no technique undeveloped which may, if our hopes are realized, contribute to the peace of the world. Even if those hopes are disappointed, we can assure each other that this hemisphere at least shall remain a strong citadel wherein civilization can flourish unimpaired.

"The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire."

D 42228

That declaration was more than an assurance to Canada; it was more than a stage in the development of closer relations between the United States and the British Commonwealth; it was a milestone - and an important milestone - of freedom.

Two days later at Woodbridge I spoke what was in the minds of the Canadian people when I said:

"The people of Canada deeply appreciate all that is implied by the President's visit. At the same time, they know they have their own responsibilities for maintaining Canadian soil as a homeland for free men in the western hemisphere. They will recognize that there is no room to-day for shirking these responsibilities. Indeed, the times being what they are, they will be quick to see that the assurance given by the President has, if anything, increased rather than lessened our responsibilities.

"We, too, have our obligations as a good friendly neighbour, and one of them is to see that, at our own instance, our country is made as immune from attack or possible invasion as we can reasonably be expected to make it, and that, should the occasion ever arise, enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way, either by land, sea or air to the United States, across Canadian territory.

"During the past two years, we have been making

D 42229

special efforts to put our own means of defence in order. The country has approved the many measures taken to this end, and I am confident that, within the limits of our capacities and responsibilities, the country intends that we shall keep on going forward on that course. In that way, I am equally confident, we shall best play the part of a good neighbour."

On the foundation laid in these reciprocal declarations, the Ogdensburg Agreement was reached, the Permanent Joint Board on Defence established, and the exchange of bases and destroyers effected. Out of the growing intimacy thus cemented came the Lend-Lease Act and the Hyde Park Declaration and the policy of reciprocity in war production.

When Japan made her wanton and treacherous attack on the territories of the British Commonwealth and the United States, it was a source of deep satisfaction to all Canadians to realize that in placing Canada at the side of her sister nations of the British Commonwealth in war against Japan, Canada was, at the same time and by the same act, implementing the Woodbridge declaration of 1938.

These and other developments smoothed the way for the speedy and complete development of the united effort which has been the result of Mr. Churchill's recent visit to the United States and Canada.

D42230

I should be the last to claim, as I have already said of the Ogdensburg Agreement, that the credit for these developments may be claimed exclusively by Canada and even less by the present administration. But I was happy to know that, in a moment of crisis, personal friendship and mutual confidence, shared over many years between Mr. Roosevelt and myself, made it so easy for us to conclude the agreement reached at Ogdensburg. To-day I am equally happy to realize that in the achievement of the larger unity of purpose and effort of the British Commonwealth and the United States, Canada has had so large a part. The heart of every Canadian must have been thrilled when Mr. Churchill reminded us that "Canada is a potent magnet, drawing together those in the new world and in the old whose fortunes are now united in a deadly struggle for life and honour against the common foe."

When we add up the elements which go to make the total of Canada's war effort, every Canadian is entitled to take particular pride in the share our country has had in the achievement of that united effort of the British and American peoples on which the fate of the world so largely hangs.

Dictated by the Prime Minister
Friday, February 13, 1942

D 42231

Second Victory Loan Broadcast

Events of the recent past give cause ~~in the present for the greatest possible~~ for grave concern. They equally afford, ~~as regards the future,~~ substantial reasons for the highest hopes. Whether world chaos is to follow in the wake of universal destruction, or security to be re-established and the bounds of freedom made wider yet, depends more than ever on the contribution to be made by every nation that still possesses its freedom, and within each nation by the possible contribution of every citizen.

In such a struggle, as respects the part to be played by individuals, neutrality is no longer possible than it was possible on the part of the nations that today lie prostrate beneath the heel of the aggressor, or today are battling to preserve their possessions and protect their shores from further invasion. As the call comes from all continents and oceans for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more men, more ships, more food, it is a call to every individual to make what contribution he or she is capable of making in some form of active service. It is equally a call to every man and woman also to make

D 42232

through taxation or by way of loans, such financial contribution for meeting these imperative needs as it is possible for him or her to make.

Events have shown how very powerful are the combined enemy forces on land, on sea and in the air, not in one part of the world only, but on the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific, and on the continents that lie beyond. In a conflict which encompasses the globe, the continent of North America today has come to hold, in association with Britain and other nations of the British Commonwealth, a place not unlike that which Britain, save for the Dominions, occupied in solitary splendour during the years that the regions of conflict were mainly those of Europe, Africa and the waters of the Atlantic. Today all stand together as Britain, over so many years, has stood, foremost as the bastions of freedom in a world where the issue,so far as the world itself is concerned,is one of freedom or serfdom, liberty or death.

In this closer union of British and American peoples in the preservation and furtherance of freedom lies the hope of the future to which I have referred. It has all come about so quickly and already so completely

D 42233

in many particulars in their combined planning of the strategy of war that it is difficult to realize how significant to our own and to the world's future it really is. On more than one occasion I have said that if a new world order is to come into being, if it were not already on the way, while the war was still in progress, it might never come at all. Happily, that new order is already on its way. To the principles upon which it will rest, expression has already been given in the Atlantic Charter, signed at sea by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, in August last.

The spirit of mutual good-will and unity of interest found further expression in the recent visit of Mr. Churchill to Washington and the warmth of the welcome accorded the Prime Minister of Great Britain by the President and the people of the United States. In nothing perhpas did it express itself more completely than in the co-operative spirit in which all matters pertaining to command and the strategy of war were discussed and worked out in their basic outlines by the Prime Minister and the President. In the mutual understanding and good-will so evident throughout the whole of that momentous visit, we have the new foundations not only of the combined war efforts

D 42234

of the nations of the British Commonwealth and of the United States but of the combined war efforts of other nations numbering some twenty-six in all, and acting today as one. We have, even more, the foundations of a new order of mutual good-will, mutual trust, and mutual aid, upon which alone can arise any enduring order of peace and good-will among nations.

I shall not say anything this evening of the part which Canadians, as a people, and our country as a nation, has through years running well into the past and more markedly in recent years, played in bringing about the closer union now so evident between the peoples whoom Mr. Churchill represents and those represented by Mr. Roosevelt. Of that, they themselves on more than one occasion have spoken in words of sincere and deep appreciation. Nothing, however, could perhaps be more eloquent of what the peoples of their respective countries, and they themselves feel of the co-operative part which Canada has taken in helping to bring into being the full partnership in which today we all so proudly share, than that each, in this week of gravest concern for all, should have consented to speak from their respective countries, to Canada direct, in helping to make clear, through aiding in its inauguration, how vastly significant to the cause

D 42235

will be the contribution which Canada will be making by her second Victory Loan.

As a memorable feature in the inauguration of Canada's Second Victory Loan, it is my high privilege this evening to thank Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill for their kindness in consenting to address the Canadian people at this time, on the occasion of the launching of this all-important loan, and of inviting them now to address you. In thus formally and officially calling upon Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill to speak, it affords me special pleasure, not only to be thus addressing the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, but, in the case of each, to be speaking to one with whom, over many years, I have been privileged to share a close personal friendship - a friendship which has deepened and strengthened manyfold through the great cause in which we are all so closly united today.

Dictated by the Prime Minister
Feb. 13, 1942

D 42236

Separate paragraph:

It is here, as in Britain, that the forces of freedom wherever they may be fighting today must look increasingly for sustenance, for the implements and munitions of war, for the fighting forces, to hold the enemy at bay and ultimately to destroy his might and power.

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D 42237

Victory Loan broadcast

Tomorrow the people of Canada will begin to subscribe to the second Victory Loan of the present war. A little more than eight months have passed since I, as Prime Minister of Canada, made the opening speech for the first Victory Loan. That speech, it will be recalled, was fittingly addressed to the people of Britain. The Prime Minister of Great Britain spoke in reply to the people of Canada.

It was fitting that my words on that occasion should have been addressed to the people of Britain. Nearly a year had then passed since the tragic collapse of France. One by one the remaining nations of the continent of Europe had submitted before the Nazi menace. Where they had defied its might they had been ruthlessly crushed. Britain, though scarred and battered by assaults from the skies, stood alone, erect and defiant to face the enemy. At her side, in armed resistance, were Canada and the other nations of the British Commonwealth.

The aspect of the conflict today has entirely changed. For nearly six months after the sudden and unprovoked Nazi assault on the Soviet Union, the gigantic clash of arms in Russia occupied the centre of the stage of war. In December, the Japanese made their treacherous attack on the British Commonwealth and the United States.

D 42238

Germany and Italy joined Japan in war against our great neighbour. What is far more deeply significant for the future of humanity the United States responded to the danger instantly, unitedly and with full determination. The result has been the consummation of the deepest wish of every true Canadian: a union of will and purpose of the peoples of the United States and the British Commonwealth. In that union, twenty-six nations are already associated in a common determination to crush the enemy and to restore to the world freedom, justice, security and peace.

While there are stronger grounds today than there were last June to hope for victory, victory will not come from hope alone. The forces of aggression are strong, cunning and resourceful. They will fight to the end to dominate the whole world. No nation is strong enough or remote enough to survive in isolation. Every nation must do its appropriate task to the utmost of its strength. Any nation which falters cannot hope and will not deserve to survive.

We in Canada must strive harder than ever before. The Canadian people have many tasks to perform. We must expand our navy as fast as ships can be acquired and the men trained to man them. The Canadian Army overseas is to be expanded from a single Army Corps to an Army of two

D 42239

Corps. The new formations must be raised and trained and the existing units and formations kept up to strength. Airmen must be trained to the utmost limit of Canada's gigantic air training facilities. Planes must be provided both for training and for operations. The defences of our coasts and of vulnerable areas must be continuously strengthened to meet the growing danger.

For the maintenance of our own armed forces Canada must provide ships and planes and tanks and guns and equipment and munitions of all kinds. But that is only the beginning of Canada's productive task. We must produce all these machines and munitions of war in even larger quantities for Britain, for Australia, for New Zealand, for South Africa, and for the allied powers. We must take a large and growing share of the task of feeding Britain.

We must provide one billion dollars to pay the Canadian producers of war supplies and foodstuffs for Britain. We must provide the immense sums required for the upkeep and expansion of our Canadian navy, army and air force. The Canadian people must not and will not fail in any of these tasks. All are vital to victory. All depend upon the raising of money. In this task all can help and all have a duty to help.

In appealing tonight to each and every Canadian to undertake the greatest possible share of the huge

D 42240

financial burden of war, let me remind all of you that free men throughout the world are today joined in one great partnership. In that partnership lies assurance of the destruction of the evil forces which threaten the very existence of civilization. The partnership of the United Nations for which we have hoped so long was formed at Washington under the leadership of two men who have earned and who enjoy the respect, the esteem and the affection of every Canadian. The association of the British Commonwealth and the United States which they personify is the greatest hope of mankind.

I know you are all eager to hear the voices of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. It is with the utmost pleasure and satisfaction that I introduce the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

Draft

D 42241

Victory Loan Broadcast

Thanks to Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill

This broadcast would not be complete without a word of thanks expressed on behalf of the Canadian people to Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill for their messages of encouragement and support on the eve of the second Victory Loan Campaign. We are all deeply grateful for the time and the thought they have given. Their words will, I believe, serve both as an inspiration and an incentive to every Canadian to do his full part towards the achievement of the objective of the loan. Let us not forget that Canada's utmost contribution to the united effort of the United Nations depends upon an all-out financial effort. The support we are willing to give to our fighting men and the contribution we are able to make to the nations allied with us in the common defence of civilization alike can be measured by what each and every Canadian is willing to lend to Canada. The hour of victory and the hope of a new and better order for mankind depend upon the efforts of every man, woman and child in Canada no less than on the efforts of the other peoples united in the great partnership of freedom and justice.

D 42242

during Mr. Churchill's recent visit to this continent. It was expressed in the warmth of the welcome accorded to the Prime Minister of Great Britain by the peoples of the United States and of Canada. It has found noteworthy expression in the co-operative manner in which the problems of wartime strategy and command have been worked out at Washington and Ottawa. The mutual understanding and goodwill, so evident throughout Mr. Churchill's momentous visit, have established a firm foundation for the combined war effort, not merely of the nations of the British Commonwealth and of the United States, but for the twenty-six nations which today are united as one. It is upon this foundation of mutual goodwill, mutual trust, and mutual aid that nations may hope to build an enduring order of peace and goodwill.

~~In a conflict which now encompasses the globe,~~ this continent of North America has come to hold, in association with the nations of the British Commonwealth, the place which, but eight months ago, Britain and the other nations of the Commonwealth held almost alone. Today a great galaxy of free nations stand together where but yesterday the British nations stood, alone, in arms, as ~~defenders of the freedom of the world.~~

Free men throughout the world are today united in one great partnership. In that partnership lies the

D 42243

Victory Loan Broadcast

By the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

(Sunday, February 15, 1942)

Tomorrow the people of Canada will begin to subscribe to a war loan of $600,000,000. Never was there a time when the need was so great, and so imperative for every man and every woman to make the utmost contribution to the winning of a war. Almost every nation on earth has taken sides in the ~~titanic~~ present struggle. At this very hour, the fate of mankind hangs in the balance. Reverses of the recent past give cause for the greatest concern. The issue of the world-wide conflict is in no place certain. Because it is in no place certain, the very existence of the free world, the survival of free countries and of free men is at stake. The forces of freedom are everywhere beset by the forces of aggression. Whether world chaos will follow in the wake of universal destruction, or world security be established, will depend upon the contribution of every nation still possessing its freedom.

The contribution of each free nation is the sum of the contributions of its individual citizens. There was a time, and it is not so very long ago, when some nations believed, or seemed to believe, that by maintaining a strict neutrality they might continue to enjoy security. The fortunes of battle since the outbreak of war; the fate of nations that today lie

D 42244

prostrate beneath the heel of the aggressor; the terrific tasks which face the nations still battling for their freedom -- all these go to show that neutrality has become a snare, and isolation an illusion.

What, however, many have still to learn is that in a fight unto death, neutrality and isolation are no more possible for individuals than they are for nations. One has only to look at the conquered countries to see how inescapable, for every individual, are the consequences of defeat.

The conflict today encompasses the globe. The enemy has demonstrated how powerful his combined forces are on land, at sea and in the air -- not in one part of the world only, but on the waters of the Atlantic, and the Pacific, and on the continents beyond their shores. From every continent and from every ocean, the call comes for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more men. It is a call to every individual to make the utmost personal contribution in that form of service for which he or she is best fitted. It is equally a call to every man and woman to make, through taxation and through loans, the largest financial contribution of which they are capable.

It is well that in subscribing to the loan, all should have a full appreciation of the contribution they are making. First of all, the proceeds of the loan will make possible a national war effort on a scale that otherwise

D 42245

could not be achieved. Secondly, they will make possible a greater combined effort on the part of the United Nations. It is true that the resources, the men and materials of the United Nations are far greater than those of the enemy nations. It is, notwithstanding, also true, that in actual immediate fighting power the enemy is still stronger than the forces of freedom arrayed against him. The proceeds of the loan are required to transform materials and manpower into actual fighting strength in terms of foodstuffs, weapons, munitions, ships, planes, and trained fighting men. It is because our enemies have increased in numbers and in power that the need for increasing our actual fighting strength, in all these directions, is greater today than at any time since the outbreak of war. Every enemy gain now, makes the battle that much harder to win in the end. For that reason money cannot be too quickly or too largely subscribed.

In Canada we have already done much, but we must now strive harder than ever before. We must make sure that our response to the needs of the hour, as individuals and as a nation, is the strongest response that we can give. We have our part to play on many fronts. Of these the financial sector of our home front is now -- this week -- of first importance. On this front the battle must be completely won if, in ways already planned, our utmost effort is to be achieved.

D 42246

That effort demands the expansion of Canada's navy as fast as ships can be acquired, and the men trained to man them. It demands that the new formations of the Canadian Army [redacted] shall be raised and trained, and the existing units and formations kept up to strength, so that Canada's Army overseas will be a thoroughly modern, well-balanced and hard-hitting striking force. It demands that airmen shall be trained to the utmost limit of Canada's gigantic air training facilities. It demands that the defences of Canada's coasts and of vulnerable areas shall be continuously strengthened. We must provide the immense sums required for the upkeep and expansion of our navy, army, and air force.

For our own armed forces, we must provide food, ships, planes, tanks, guns, equipment and munitions of all kinds. But that is only the beginning of Canada's productive task. All these machines and munitions of war must be produced in ever-larger quantities. We are producing them not only for ourselves but for Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the United States, and other of the Allied Powers. We have a large and growing share in the task of feeding Britain.

We have undertaken to provide one billion dollars to pay the Canadian producers of the war supplies and the

D 42247

foodstuffs which we have offered to Britain as a contribution to the defeat of the enemy.

But Canada's war loan has an even wider significance. It is essential not only to the immediate prosecution of the war, and the ultimate attainment of victory, but equally to the achievement of a new world order. On more than one occasion, I have said that if a new world order is not already on its way before the war is over, we may look for it in vain. Happily that new world order is already on its way. The forces which have combined to work such havoc throughout the world, have equally combined to bring together the forces of freedom.

Today the British and American peoples are associated in a close union to preserve and to restore the freedom of mankind. In that union will be found the foundation of the new world order. That union has been achieved so quickly and so completely that it is difficult to realize how significant it is to our own and to the world's future. The principles upon which the new order will rest have already found expression in the Atlantic Charter, signed at sea in August last by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

The spirit of mutual goodwill and unity of purpose reflected in the Atlantic Charter, found further expression

D 42248

during Mr. Churchill's recent visit to this continent. It was expressed in the warmth of the welcome accorded to the Prime Minister of Great Britain by the peoples of the United States and of Canada. It has found noteworthy expression in the co-operative manner in which the problems of wartime strategy and command have been worked out at Washington and Ottawa.

The mutual understanding and goodwill, so evident throughout Mr. Churchill's momentous visit, have established a firm foundation for the combined war effort, not merely of the nations of the British Commonwealth and of the United States, but also of the twenty-six nations which today are united as one. It is upon this foundation of [redacted], mutual trust, and mutual aid that nations may hope to build an enduring order of peace and goodwill.

Free men throughout the world are today united in one great partnership. In that partnership lies the

D 42249

hope of crushing the evil forces which threaten civilization. In that partnership also lies the hope of the future of mankind.

Of the part which, through the years, Canada has played in bringing about the closer union between the British and American peoples, much has been said by both the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States.

Referring in London to his meeting with the president, at sea, Mr. Churchill said: "Canada with those relations of friendly, affectionate, intimacy with the United States on the one hand, and with her unswerving fidelity to the British Commonwealth and Motherland on the other, is the link which joins together these great branches of the human family. . . . . Canada is the linchpin of the English-speaking world."

Our pride as a people was stirred when, on his recent visit to Canada, Mr. Churchill, speaking in the House of Commons Chamber, said: "Canada occupies a unique position in the British Empire because of its unbreakable ties with Britain and its ever-growing friendship and intimate associations with the United States. Canada is a potent magnet drawing together those in the new world and in the old whose fortunes are now united in a deadly struggle for life and honour against the common foe."

D42250

Our national pride was equally stirred when, in his recent speech in the British House of Commons, Mr. Churchill referred to Canada's great and growing contribution to the common cause, in men, in money, and in materials. Speaking of Canada's financial contribution which the present loan is intended in part to implement, Mr. Churchill said: "I know the House will wish me to convey to the Government of Canada our lively appreciation of their kind and most generous offer, unequalled in its scale in the whole history of the British Empire. It is a convincing proof of the determination of Canada to make her maximum contribution to the successful prosecution of the war."

I venture to recall these references Mr. Churchill has made to Canada because of a cable received yesterday from Canada's High Commissioner in Great Britain in which Mr. Massey says: "Mr. Churchill has asked me to express to you his deep regret that events deprive him of an opportunity to refer again publicly to the admiration with which the Government and people of Britain have heard of Canada's generous financial gift." Mr. Churchill had planned to participate in this broadcast. It is not difficult to understand the exceptional pressure on his time due to war developments of the moment. I am sure all of us would wish to spare Mr. Churchill any additional burden ~~at this time~~

D 42251

I am happy to say that we [redacted] are to be honoured in the opening of the present Victory Loan campaign by a personal word from our good neighbour and good friend the President of the United States. Nothing could better symbolize our common aim and purpose than this gracious act of friendship, and encouragement.

As we listen to the President's words, we will appreciate more than ever how true it is that nothing that has happened since the beginning of the war is so significant for the future of mankind as the combined effort in the cause of world freedom of the British Commonwealth and the United States.

On behalf of the Government and people of Canada, I wish to thank Mr. Roosevelt for this latest expression of the good-will towards Canada which he has always cherished, and which he has expressed in so many ways.

I have now the honour to introduce the President of the United States.

D 42252

Victory Loan Broadcast

By the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

(Sunday, February 15, 1942)

Tomorrow the people of Canada will begin to subscribe to a war loan of $600,000,000. Never was there a time when the need was so great, and so imperative for every man and every woman to make the utmost contribution to the winning of a war. Almost every nation on earth has taken sides in the present struggle. At this very hour, the fate of mankind hangs in the balance. Reverses of the recent past give cause for the greatest concern. The issue of the world-wide conflict is in no place certain. Because it is in no place certain, the very existence of the free world, the survival of free countries and of free men is at stake. The forces of freedom are everywhere beset by the forces of aggression. Whether world chaos will follow in the wake of universal destruction, or world security be established, will depend upon the contribution of every nation still possessing its freedom.

The contribution of each free nation is the sum of the contributions of its individual citizens. There was a time, and it is not so very long ago, when some nations believed, or seemed to believe, that by maintaining a strict neutrality they might continue to enjoy security. The fortunes of battle since the outbreak of war; the fate of nations that today lie

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prostrate beneath the heel of the aggressor; the terrific tasks which face the nations still battling for their freedom -- all these go to show that neutrality has become a snare and isolation an illusion.

What, however, many have still to learn is that in a fight unto death, neutrality and isolation are no more possible for individuals than they are for nations. One has only to look at the conquered countries to see how inescapable, for every individual, are the consequences of defeat.

The conflict today encompasses the globe. The enemy has demonstrated how powerful his combined forces are on land, at sea and in the air -- not in one part of the world only, but on the waters of the Atlantic, and the Pacific, and on the continents beyond their shores. From every continent and from every ocean, the call comes for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more men. It is a call to every individual to make the utmost personal contribution in that form of service for which he or she is best fitted. It is equally a call to every man and woman to make, through taxation and through loans the largest financial contribution of which they are capable.

It is well that in subscribing to the loan, all should have a full appreciation of the contribution they are making. First of all, the proceeds of the loan will make possible a national war effort on a scale that otherwise

D 42254

could not be achieved. Secondly, they will make possible a greater combined effort on the part of the United Nations. It is true that the resources, the men and materials of the United Nations are far greater than those of the enemy nations. It is, notwithstanding, also true that in actual immediate fighting power the enemy is still stronger than the forces of freedom arrayed against him. The proceeds of the loan are required to transform materials and manpower into actual fighting strength in terms of foodstuffs, weapons, munitions, ships, planes, and trained fighting men. It is because our enemies have increased in numbers and in power that the need for increasing our actual fighting strength in all these directions is greater today than at any time since the outbreak of war. Every enemy gain now makes the battle that much harder to win in the end. For that reason money cannot be too quickly or too largely subscribed.

In Canada we have already done much, but we must now strive harder than ever before. We must make sure that our response to the needs of the hour, as individuals and as a nation is the strongest response that we can give. We have our part to play on many fronts. Of these the financial sector of our home front is now -- this week -- of first importance. On this front the battle must be completely won if, in ways already planned, our utmost effort is to be achieved.

D 42255

That effort demands the expansion of Canada's navy as fast as ships can be acquired, and the men trained to man them. It demands that the new formations of the Canadian Army overseas shall be raised and trained, and the existing units and formations kept up to strength so that Canada's Army overseas will be a thoroughly modern, well-balanced and hard-hitting striking force. It demands that airmen shall be trained to the utmost limit of Canada's gigantic air training facilities. It demands that the defences of Canada's coasts and of vulnerable areas shall be continuously strengthened. We must provide the immense sums required for the upkeep and expansion of our navy, army and air force.

For our own armed forces, we must provide food, ships, planes, tanks, guns, equipment and munitions of all kinds. But that is only the beginning of Canada's productive task. All these machines and munitions of war must be produced in ever-larger quantities. We are producing them not only for ourselves but for Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the United States, and other of the Allied Powers. We have a large and growing share in the tasks of feeding Britain.

We have undertaken to provide one billion dollars to pay the Canadian producers of the war supplies and the

D 42256

foodstuffs which we have offered to Britain as a contribution to the defeat of the enemy.

But Canada's war loan has an even wider significance. It is essential not only to the immediate prosecution of the war, and the ultimate attainment of victory, but equally to the achievement of a new world order. On more than one occasion I have said that if a new world order is not already on its way before the war is over, we may look for it in vain. Happily that new world order is already on its way. The forces which have combined to work such havoc throughout the world, have equally combined to bring together the forces of freedom.

Today the British and American peoples are associated in a close union to preserve and to restore the freedom of mankind. In that union will be found the foundation of the new world order. That union has been achieved so quickly and so completely that it is difficult to realise how significant it is to our own and to the world's future. The principles upon which the new order will rest have already found expression in the Atlantic Charter, signed at sea in August last by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

The spirit of mutual goodwill and unity of purpose reflected in the Atlantic Charter, found further expression

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The mutual understanding and goodwill, so evident throughout Mr. Churchill's momentous visit, have established a firm foundation for the combined war effort, not merely of the nations of the British Commonwealth and of the United States, but for the twenty-six nations which today are united as one. It is upon this foundation of mutual goodwill, mutual trust, and mutual aid that nations may hope to build an enduring order of peace and goodwill.

Free men throughout the world are today united in one great partnership. In that partnership lies the

D 42258

hope of crushing the evil forces which threaten civilization. In that partnership lies the hope of the future of mankind.

Of the part which, through the years, Canada has played in bringing about the closer union between the British and American peoples, much has been said by both the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States.

Referring in London to his meeting with the President, at sea, Mr. Churchill said: "Canada with those relations of friendly, affectionate, intimacy with the United States on the one hand, and with her unswerving fidelity to the British Commonwealth and Motherland on the other, is the link which joins together these great branches of the human family. . . . . Canada is the linchpin of the English-speaking world."

Our pride as a people was stirred when, on his recent visit to Canada, Mr. Churchill, speaking in the House of Commons Chamber, said: "Canada occupies a unique position in the British Empire because of its unbreakable ties with Britain and its ever-growing friendship and intimate associations with the United States. Canada is a potent magnet drawing together those in the new world and in the old whose fortunes are now united in a deadly struggle for life and honour against the common foe."

D 42259

Our national pride was equally stirred when, in his recent speech in the British House of Commons, Mr. Churchill referred to Canada's great and growing contribution to the common cause, in men, in money, and in materials. Speaking of Canada's financial contribution which the present loan is intended in part to implement, Mr. Churchill said: "I know the House will wish me to convey to the Government of Canada our lively appreciation of their kind and most generous offer, unequalled in its scale in the whole history of the British Empire. It is a convincing proof of the determination of Canada to make her maximum contribution to the successful prosecution of the war."

I venture to recall these references Mr. Churchill has made to Canada because of a cable received yesterday from Canada's High Commissioner in Great Britain in which Mr. Massey says: "Mr. Churchill has asked me to express to you his deep regret that events deprive him of an opportunity to refer again publicly to the admiration with which the Government and people of Britain have heard of Canada's generahs financial gift." Mr. Churchill had planned to participate in this broadcast. It is not difficult to understand the exceptional pressure on his time due to war developments of the moment. I am sure all of us would wish to spare Mr. Churchill any additional burden at this time.

D 42260

I am happy to say that we in Canada are to be honoured in the opening of the present Victory Loan campaign by a personal word from our good neighbour and good friend the President of the United States. Nothing could better symbolize our common aim and purpose than this gracious act of friendship, and encouragement.

As we listen to the President's words, we will appreciate more than ever how true it is that nothing that has happened since the beginning of the war is so significant for the future of mankind as the combined effort in the cause of world freedom of the British Commonwealth and the United States.

On behalf of the Government and people of Canada, I wish to thank Mr. Roosevelt for this latest expression of the good-will towards Canada which he has always cherished, and which he has expressed in so many ways.

I have now the honour to introduce the President of the United States.

This week the people of Canada are being asked to subscribe to the Second Victory Loan. It is for a sum of $600,000,000. This sum is more than the cost of the civil government of Canada for a whole year in any of the years before 1939. It is about one-fifth of the estimated cost of Canada's war effort for this year, 1942. It is the latest expression of Canada's determination to make the utmost effort of which we are capable.

Eight months ago the First Victory Loan, of the same amount, was oversubscribed by 20%. What the people of Canada have done before I feel sure they can do again. I invite all my listeners to have a share in this latest manifestation of our strength. I urge all the people who can subscribe - from the private citizen who ~~purchases a fifty or one hundred dollar bond~~ pledges a minimum amount to the vast corporations whose subscriptions are numbered in millions of dollars - I urge them all to subscribe willingly and promptly.

In this world war in which we are involved the lines of conflict are now sharply defined. In the war effort to which we are committed, and committed to the utmost of our strength, the issues are starkly clear. The struggle between servitude or freedom, between tyranny and fair dealing, is now being waged on all the continents.

D 42262

It must be waged increasingly on our part. It will make demands grimmer and deeper than we have yet realized. We must make sure that our response to these demands, individually and as a united nation, is the strongest response that we can give. We have our part to play on many fronts. Of these, the financial sector of our home front is now, this week, of first importance. I appeal to you all to take your share in ensuring that this great objective, six hundred million dollars, is attained.

Our war effort now is part of a greater effort which binds together the United Nations of the world. Within the bastions of freedom which these nations - 26 in all - are valiantly defending.

In this world war in which we are involved the lines of conflict are now sharply defined. In the war effort to which we are committed, and committed to the utmost of our strength, the issues are starkly clear. The struggle between servitude or freedom, between tyranny and fair dealing, is now being waged on all the continents. It must be waged, unceasingly on our part. It will make demands grimmer and deeper than we have yet realized. We must make sure that our response to these demands, individually and as a united nation, is the strongest response that we can give. We have our part to play on many fronts. Of these, the financial sector of our home front is now, this week, of first importance.

D 42263

I appeal to you all to take your share in ensuring that this great objective, six hundred million dollars, is attained.

Our war effort now is part of a greater effort which binds together the United Nations of the world. Within the bastions of freedom which these nations -- 26 in all -- are valiantly defending, there has been no more encouraging development since the beginning of the war than the close understanding and co-operation of Britain and the United States. Already, we are beginning to see the magnitude of that co-operation, and the significance of the day to day working together of two great powers. For the material aid which they are able to furnish is now being extended to many of the nations resisting aggression. Behind and beyond material aid is a unity of purpose which animates all the defenders of freedom. Whatever the reverses, and however discouraging the reports of battle, it must be a part of our task to keep alive the flame of that spirit of resistance and that unity of purpose. Our response to this Victory Loan will help the flame to burn brightly in many hearts which must otherwise waver.

The unity of purpose which is reflected in the strong front of the United Nations is reflected in other directions as well. When the first Victory Loan was raised, the British Commonwealth stood almost alone in fighting the Axis powers. Then, there had been no wanton German attack upon Russia, no campaigns fought from the Arctic to the Black Sea, and through

D 42264

the shadows of autumn days to the relentless snows of winter. Then there had been no meeting at sea between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, no Atlantic Declaration of the hope of a better world, to which all the United Nations have now given their adherance and support. Then there had been no Japanese treachery against the United States, Britain, and all the nations of the Pacific area; no penetration into Malaya and Burma; into Hong Kong; into the Netherlands Indies; into territory not far removed from Australia.

What is the situation today? Now the full might of the United States is ranged against the Axis Powers. Now the armed forces of the United States are fighting stubbornly in the newest theatres of war. Elsewhere, the armies of Russia have thrust back the German invader, and in the Western desert of Libya battles of mechanized forces have been fought on a tremendous scale. But the enemy is everywhere in force, and whether along the coast of Europe or in the Mediterranean, or in the western Pacific, or in the Netherlands Indies, he is pressing with forces well armed and often superior in numbers.

It is true that the potential strength of the free peoples represented in the United Nations, is greater than the strength of the enemy. But battles cannot be won by potential strength. They must be won by developed, actual strength. In this actual, immediately fighting power the Axis in many

D 42265

regions still has the upper hand. The issue of the world-wide conflict is in no place certain; and because it is in no place certain, the very existence of the free world - the survival of free citizens of free countries - is at stake. What is certain is that the freedom of Canada, as of all the free nations of the world, will never be secured until the enemy is beaten, and the evil forces which underlie his grasping designs of world domination utterly and finally trampled out. To defend Canada, and to do our part in the common defence of all free nations, will require, and I repeat it yet again, our utmost effort. If we falter now, we cannot hope to win through. Any nation which falters now cannot hope to survive.

We in Canada have already done much, but we must now strive harder than ever before. Let me explain how. We must expand our navy as fast as ships can be acquired and the men trained to man them. The Canadian Army overseas is to be expanded from a single Army Corps to an Army of two Corps. The new formations must be raised and trained and the existing units and formations kept up to strength. Airmen must be trained to the utmost limit of Canada's gigantic air training facilities. Planes must be provided both for training and for operations. The defences of our coasts and of vulnerable areas must be

D 42266

continuously strengthened to meet the growing danger.

For our own armed forces Canada must provide ships and planes and tanks and guns and equipment and munitions of all kinds. But that is only the beginning of Canada's productive task. We must produce all these machines and munitions of war in even larger quantities. We must produce them for Britain, for Australia, for New Zealand, for South Africa, and for the allied powers. We must take a large and a growing share in the task of feeding Britain.

We must provide one billion dollars to pay the Canadian producers of the war supplies and the foodstuffs which we have offered as a gift to Britain. I appeal to all the people of Canada to help towards this amount. We must provide the immense sums required for the upkeep and expansion of our Canadian navy, army and air force.

When we are confronted by so great a task, by so many tasks, who shall say that we shall fail? While we have already done much, who is there who will say that we shall not accomplish more? All our hopes for the future, all our ideas of free government and public liberty, all our aspirations for a durable and equitable society, all the qualities of civilized existence which we count worthy and enduring -- these, all of these, are bound up in the struggle.

D 42267

I appeal today to each of you, to all of you as Canadians, to undertake the greatest possible share you can in the financial burden of this war. I ask each of you to look into his own heart and to search his own conscience. Since total response from all depends upon the utmost response of each individual, let each of us ask himself this question: Am I doing all that I can to take my share of this obligation? Have I denied myself the luxuries and the comforts which are the price of my freedom and my safety, the price of the freedom and safety of my family, of my country and of mankind? Have I seen the magnitude of the danger, and have I grasped the full extent of my duty?

What then is the answer? We must all do our full part. We must do it not by coercion, but by persuasion and, above all, by example. We must point out the path of duty to all our fellow men. The greatest of all examples is proud and uncomplaining devotion to our own duty as individuals, as free citizens of a free country, fighting for survival and for freedom. Only let us - citizens of Canada - realize that it is our freedom, our future, our country's freedom and our country's future that is in terrible danger today, and there can be no doubt of the magnitude of our response.

Surely if it is possible freely to join together the free peoples of the world in a great alliance of the united nations, to work and fight together for their common survival,

D 42268

it is no less possible freely to join together the people of Canada in a union of hearts and a union of effort to save our freedom and to ensure our future as a nation among the free nations of a free world.

Introductory paragraphs to precede
Revise by J.W.P.

Mr Gibson

D 42269

Re: Victory Loan

Tomorrow the people of Canada will begin to subscribe to the second Victory Loan in this war. The Canadian people are being asked to lend voluntarily huge sums of money to the Government. This money is required to continue the transformation of our potential strength in materials and manpower into actual fighting strength in terms of weapons and munitions, ships and planes, and foodstuffs, and trained fighting men. In actual immediate fighting power, the enemy is still stronger than the forces of freedom arrayed against him. The potential strength of the free peoples is far greater, but to save our freedom and to build a better world for mankind in the future, we must save and strive to make every man, every woman, every resource, and every dollar do its utmost for victory.

The issue is still in doubt. The events of the past two months, etc., etc.,

(Continue with page one of Revise)

Revised by J.W.P. of P.M.'s draft

Second Victory Loan Broadcast

D 42270

The events of the past two months; reverses suffered in the Far East and the Middle East alike give cause for the greatest possible concern. The reverses should not be allowed to obscure the other side of the picture. Other events in the past two months afford grounds for the highest hopes for the future. Virtually every nation on earth has taken sides in this struggle. The issue is clear. Whether world chaos will come in the wake of universal destruction, or security be re-established and the bounds of freedom widened depends upon the contribution of every nation still possessing its freedom. In each free nation, it depends upon the contribution of every individual citizen.

Neutrality is no more possible for the individual than it is possible for nations. The history of the last three years; the fate of the nations prostrate beneath the heel of the aggressor; the terrific task which faces the nations still battling for their freedom; all these go to show that neutrality is a myth and isolation an illusion. From every continent and from every ocean the call comes for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more men. It is a call to every individual to make the utmost contribution possible in some form of active service. It

D 42271

is equally a call to every man and woman to make through taxation and through loans the largest contribution of which they are capable.

The enemy has demonstrated how powerful his combined forces are on land, at sea and in the air, not in one part of the world only but on the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific and on the continents beyond their shores. The conflict today encompasses the globe. In that conflict, North America has come to hold, in association with the nations of the British Commonwealth, the place which Britain and the other nations of the Commonwealth held in solitary splendour only eight months ago. Today a great galaxy of free nations stand together where the British nations stood alone as defenders of the freedom of the world.

D 42272

To-day the British and American peoples are associated in a close union to preserve and to restore the freedom of mankind. In that union lies the hope of the future to which I have referred. It has been achieved so quickly and so completely that it is difficult to realize how significant it is to our own and to the world's future. More than once I have said that, if a new world order is to come into being it must already be on its way while the war is in progress or it may never come at all. Happily that new world order is already on its way. To the principles upon which it will rest, expression has been given in the Atlantic charter, signed at sea in August last, by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

The spirit of mutual goodwill and unity of purpose reflected in that charter

D42273

The spirit of mutual good-will and unity of purpose reflected in the Atlantic Charter found further expression during Mr. Churchill's recent visit to Washington. It was expressed in the warmth of the welcome accorded to the Prime Minister of Great Britain by the President and people of the United States. Its most complete expression is to be found in the co-operative spirit in which the problems of strategy and command were worked out in their basic outlines by the Prime Minister and the President. The mutual understanding and good-will, so evident throughout that momentous visit, have established a firm foundation, not merely for the combined war effort of the nations of the British Commonwealth and the United States, but in the united effort of the twenty-six united nations who today are acting as one. It is upon such a foundation of mutual good-will, mutual trust, and mutual aid, that humanity can alone hope to build an enduring order of peace and good-will among nations.

I shall not say anything this evening of the part which Canada has played through the years in bringing about the closer union between the British and American

D 42274

peoples. On that theme Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt have spoken more than once in words of deep and sincere appreciation.

Mr. Churchill had hoped to participate in the Victory Loan Broadcast this evening. The postponement until today of his broadcast to the world has made that impossible. However, in addressing the world, Mr. Churchill was also addressing Canada. His words are no less inspiring to us because they are addressed to a wider audience. For them we are grateful.

We are no less grateful to the President of the United States for his kindness in consenting to address the Canadian people. In formally inviting the President to speak to you, it affords me special pleasure to introduce a man with whom I have shared a close personal friendship which, over many years, has deepened and strengthened as the understanding and good-will between our two peoples have also deepened and strengthened.

Dictated by the Prime Minister
Friday, February 13, 1942

D 42275

Second Victory Loan Broadcast

Events of the recent past give cause in the present for the greatest possible concern. They equally afford, as regards the future, substantial reasons for the highest hopes. Whether world chaos is to follow in the wake of universal dâstruction, or security to be re-established and the bounds of freedom made wider yet, depends more than ever on the contribution to be made by every nation that still possesses its freedom, and within each nation by the possible contribution of every citizen.

In such a struggle, as respects the part to be played by individuals, neutrality is no longer possible than it was possible on the part of the nations that today lie prostrate beneath the heel of the aggressor, or today are battling to preserve their possessions and protect their shores from further invasion. As the call comes from all continents and oceans for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more men, more ships, more food, it is a call to every individual to make what contribution he or she is capable of making in some form of active service. It is equally a call to every man and woman also to make

D 42276

through taxation or by way of loans, such financial contribution for meeting these imperative needs as it is possible for him or her to make.

Events have shown how very powerful are the combined enemy forces on land, on sea and in the air, not in one part of the world only, but on the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific, and on the continents that lie beyond. In a conflict which encompasses the globe, the continent of North America today has come to hold, in association with Britain and other nations of the British Commonwealth, a place not unlike that which Britain, save for the Dominions, occupied in solitary splendour during the years that the regions of conflict were mainly those of Europe, Africa and the waters of the Atlantic. Today all stand together as Britain, over so many years, has stood, foremost as the bastions of freedom in a world where the issue,so far as the world itself is concerned,is one of freedom or serfdom, liberty or death.

In this closer union of British and American peoples in the preservation and furtherance of freedom lies the hope of the future to which I have referred. It has all come about so quickly and already so completely

D 42277

in many particulars in their combined planning of the strategy of war that it is difficult to realize how significant to our own and to the world's future it really is. On more than one occasion I have said that if a new world order is to come into being, if it were not already on the way, while the war was still in progress, it might never come at all. Happily, that new order is already on its way. To the principles upon which it will rest, expression has already been given in the Atlantic Charter, signed at sea by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, in August last.

The spirit of mutual good-will and unity of interest found further expression in the recent visit of Mr. Churchill to Washington and the warmth of the welcome accorded the Prime Minister of Great Britain by the President and the people of the United States. In nothing perhaps did it express itself more completely than in the co-operative spirit in which all matters pertaining to command and the strategy of war were discussed and worked out in their basic outlines by the Prime Minister and the President. In the mutual understanding and good-will so evident throughout the whole of that momentous visit, we have the new foundations not only of the combined war efforts

D42278

of the nations of the British Commonwealth and of the United States but of the combined war efforts of other nations numbering some twenty-six in all, and acting today as one. We have, even more, the foundations of a new order of mutual good-will, mutual trust, and mutual aid, upon which alone can arise any enduring order of peace and good-will among nations.

I shall not say anything this evening of the part which Canadians, as a people, and our country as a nation, has through years running well into the past and more markedly in recent years, played in bringing about the closer union now so evident between the peoples whoom Mr. Churchill represents and those represented by Mr. Roosevelt. Of that, they themselves on more than one occasion have spoken in words of sincere and deep appreciation. Nothing, however, could perhaps be more eloquent of what the peoples of their respective countries, and they themselves feel of the co-operative part which Canada has taken in helping to bring into being the full partnership in which today we all so proudly share, than that each, in this week of gravest concern for all, should have consented to speak from their respective countries, to Canada direct, in helping to make clear, through aiding in its inauguration, how vastly significant to the cause

D 42279

will be the contribution which Canada will be making by her second Victory Loan.

As a memorable feature in the inauguration of Canada's Second Victory Loan, it is my high privilege this evening to thank Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill for their kindness in consenting to address the Canadian people at this time, on the occasion of the launching of this all-important loan, and of inviting them now to address you. In thus formally and officially calling upon Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill to speak, it affords me special pleasure, not only to be thus addressing the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, but, in the case of each, to be speaking to one with whom, over many years, I have been privileged to share a close personal friendship - a friendship which has deepened and strengthened manyfold through the great cause in which we are all so closely united today.

D 42280

Dictated by the Prime Minister
Feb. 13, 1942

Separate paragraph:

It is here, as in Britain, that the forces of freedom wherever they may be fighting today must look increasingly for sustenance, for the implements and munitions of war, for the fighting forces, to hold the enemy at bay and ultimately to destroy his might and power.

First Revise

D 42281

Tomorrow the people of Canada will begin to subscribe to ~~the Second Victory Loan in this war.~~ a war loan of $600,000,000. Never ~~in the world's history~~ was so great and so imperative was there a time when the need for every man and woman to make the utmost contribution to the winning of ~~the war so great and so imperative.~~ a war that is before that At this very hour the fate of mankind hangs in the balance, ~~as never before.~~ at this very hour Reversed ~~Events~~ of the recent past have caused give cause for the greatest concern. The issue of the world-wide conflict is in no place certain, ~~and~~ because it is in no place certain the very existence of the free world, the survival of free countries citizens and of free ~~nations~~, is at stake. ~~Virtually~~ almost every nation on earth has taken sides in the titanic struggle. The forces of freedom are everywhere beset by the forces of aggression. Whether world chaos will follow in the wake of universal destruction, or world security be established, will depend upon the contribution now of every nation still possessing its freedom.

The contribution of each free nation ~~depends in some measure~~ upon the contribution in the sum of of its ~~every~~ individual citizen. There was a time, and it is not so very long ago, ~~that~~ when some nations believed, or seemed to believe, that by maintaining a strict neutrality they might continue to enjoy

D 42282

security. The fortunes of battle since the outbreak of war, the fate of nations that today lie prostrate beneath the heel of the aggressor, the terrific tasks which face the nations still battling for their freedom - all these go to show ~~how great is the snare that lies hidden in neutrality and what an illusion, the mere thought of isolation.~~

What, however, ~~we~~ have all still to learn is that ~~where the fight is one unto death, the forces that seek world domination and are prepared to gain their ends by methods however savage and barbaric,~~ neutrality, ~~is~~ not more possible for the individual than ~~it is possible~~ for nations. One has only to look at the conquered ~~countries~~ to see how inescapable for every individual are the consequences of defeat. The enemy has demonstrated how powerful his combined forces are on land, at sea and in the air, not in one part of the world only but on the waters of the Atlantic, and the Pacific, and on the continents beyond their shores. The conflict today encompasses the globe. From every continent and every ocean the call comes for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more men. It is a call to every individual to make the utmost personal contribution ~~possible~~ in that form of ~~service~~ service for which he or she is best fitted. It is equally a call to every man and woman to make, through taxation and through

to maintain and develop its national life. Citizens and
planned economic activity that enables it to live and grow
and develop its own culture, to make its contribution to
international life and to share in the solution of
problems that are the common concern of humanity.

Finally, the Universal Declaration
proclaims that everyone is entitled to a social and
international order in which the rights and freedoms
set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.
Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the
free and full development of his personality is possible.
These rights and duties can be secured only if they are
exercised within the framework of democratic political
institutions. They can be violated by the totalitarian
state which denies all political freedom, as well as by
the anarchic condition in which there is no government
at all. Between these two extremes of political
organization, which destroy human rights, lies the
solution of constitutional government, democratically
controlled. This is the middle way between anarchy and
totalitarianism, between the absolute power of the state
and the absolute freedom of the individual which would
destroy society itself. It is a difficult path to
follow, but it is the only path to freedom and
democracy, and it must be followed if human rights are
to be preserved.

* First draft, the words in the Universal Declaration
appear in a slightly different order which will make possible a smoother
United Nations x

D 42283

loans the largest financial contribution of which they are capable.

It is well that all should have a full appreciation of understand the exact nature of the contribution which they are ~~being asked to~~ making to the war effort of Canada, as distinct from make in subscribing to the Victory Loan. Compared with the contribution being made by those who, at this time of war, are placing their lives at the service of the state in its war effort, it is a contribution that scarcely admits of comparison. Compared with the contribution in human effort being put forth by those who year round, day in and day out, are engaged in the production of the munitions and supplies of war, it may even be light in comparison. The Victory Loan Since it is not money taken by the state in the form of taxation - occasioning the burden to be increasingly felt in the form of privation, but only a loan to the state, to be secured by the state, and paid for by the state - it may well represent the least in the way of personal sacrifice of in the many forms of contribution.

back p. 2.

While it may mean the minimum of contribution from the point of view of personal sacrifice, in actual fact the Victory Loan it helps to make possible a maximum of national effort that otherwise could not be achieved. What may be termed the potential strength of the ~~Allied peoples~~ United Nations - that is to say, It can be seen that the resources - human and material men and materials - ~~may be~~ are far greater than ~~that~~ those of the

D 42284

enemy in actual immediate fighting power the enemy is still stronger than the forces of freedom arrayed against him. The ~~money the people are being asked to loan to the government is~~ required to transform ~~the~~ ~~potential strength~~ in materials and manpower into actual fighting strength, in terms of weapons, munitions, ships and planes ~~and factories~~, and ~~to train~~ fighting men. ~~It is~~ just because our enemies have increased in numbers and in strength, ~~so~~ the need for increasing our actual fighting strength is greater today than ~~it has been~~ since the outbreak of war. [Moreover, as] every enemy gain ~~makes~~ the battle ~~so~~ much harder to win in the end, ~~money cannot be too largely~~ or too ~~quickly~~ subscribed.

~~In~~ In Canada we have already done much, but we must now strive harder than ever before. We must make sure that our response to the needs of the hour, as individuals and as a ~~united~~ nation, is the strongest response that we can give. We have our part to play on many fronts. Of these the financial sector of our home front is now, - this week, - of first importance. On this front the battle must be completely won if our utmost is to be achieved in ways ~~for which we have already planned.~~ That ~~home~~ ~~effort~~ ~~programme~~ demands the expansion of ~~our~~ navy as fast as ships can be acquired and the men trained to man them. ~~It~~

D 42285

~~If the Canadian army overseas~~ new formations shall be raised and trained, and the existing formations kept up to strength

demands that ~~the Canadian Army overseas shall be expanded from a single army corps to an army of two corps~~ so that Canada's army overseas will be a thoroughly modern, well-balanced striking force, hard-hitting ~~striking force~~.

~~It demands~~ that the new formations must be raised and trained and the existing units kept up to strength. It demands that airmen ~~must~~ shall be trained to the utmost limit of Canada's gigantic air training facilities. ~~Planes must be provided both for training and for operations.~~ But it demands that Canada's defences of ~~our~~ coasts and of vulnerable areas ~~must~~ shall be continuously strengthened ~~to meet the growing danger.~~

For our own armed forces ~~Canada~~ we must provide ships and planes and tanks and guns and equipment and munitions of all kinds. But that is only the beginning of Canada's productive task. ~~We must produce~~ All these machines and munitions of war must be produced in ever larger quantities. We ~~must produce~~ are producing them not only for our own use, but for Britain, for Australia, for New Zealand, for South Africa, and for the United States, and for the allied powers. We ~~must take~~ have a large and a growing share in the task of feeding Britain.

We ~~must~~ have undertaken to provide one billion dollars to pay the Canadian producers of the war supplies, and the foodstuffs which we have offered to Britain as a contribution on account to the defeat of the enemy ~~as a gift to Britain. I appeal to all the people of Canada to help~~ We must provide the immense sums required for the upkeep and expansion of our ~~Canadian~~ navy, army and air force.

D 42286

But Canada's new Victory Loan has even a wider significance than that which I have thus far sought to express. It relates not only to the immediate prosecution of the war and the attainment of victory but equally to the establishment of a new world order which constitutes Humanity's hope. On more than one occasion, I have said that if a new world order is to come into being, if it were not already on the way before the war is over we may look for it in vain if it might never come at all. Happily that new world order is already on its way. The forces which have combined to work such havoc throughout the world have equally combined to bring together the forces of freedom which already has firmly and broadly laid the foundation of that new order. In a conflict which encompasses the globe, this continent of North America has come to know to hold in association with the nations of the British Commonwealth, the place which Britain and the other nations of the Commonwealth held but eight months ago almost alone but yesterday. Today a great galaxy of free nations stand together where the British nations stood alone as defenders of the freedom of the world.

to p.7

Today the British and American peoples are associated in a close union to preserve and to restore the freedom of mankind. In that union will be found the foundations of the new world order the hope of the future to which I have referred. That union has been achieved so quickly and so completely that it is difficult to realise how significant it is to our own and to the world's future. The principles upon which the new order it will rest, already have already been expressed in the Atlantic Charter, signed at sea found expression

D 42287

in August last by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

The spirit of mutual goodwill and unity of purpose reflected in the Atlantic Charter found further expression during Mr. Churchill's recent visit to ~~Washington.~~ this continent It was expressed in the warmth of the welcome accorded to the Prime Minister of Great Britain by ~~the President and~~ the people of the United States and Canada. Its ~~most complete~~ has found its supreme expression ~~is to be found~~ in the co-operative ~~spirit~~ manner in which the problems of strategy and command were worked out ~~in their basic outlines~~ at Washington and Ottawa in the course of Mr. Churchill's visit to the continent. The mutual understanding and goodwill so evident throughout ~~that~~ the momentous visit have established a firm foundation, not merely for the combined war effort of the nations of the British Commonwealth and the United States but for the ~~united effort of the~~ twenty-six nations which today are united as one. It is upon this foundation of mutual goodwill, mutual trust, and mutual aid that ~~humanity~~ nations may hope to build ~~[illegible]~~ an enduring order of peace and goodwill.

Insert for p. 6.

Free men throughout the world are today united in one great partnership. In that partnership lies the hope of crushing the evil forces which threaten civilization ~~itself~~. ~~That hope~~ will only be fulfilled if each partner nation does its full part freely and willingly. By responding fully to this call, we in Canada will indicate not only the right to our survival as a free people, we will also continue to make for ourselves an honourable

In that partnership lies the hope of the future of mankind.

place in the great association of free peoples on which the future of Humanity depends.

I shall not say anything this evening on the part which Canada has played through the years in bringing about the closer union between the British and American peoples beyond mentioning that no recognition of that part could be greater than that, which, from time to time, has been expressed alike by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States.

Of Canada's special role in the promotion of Anglo-American friendship, Mr. Churchill more than ten years ago had this to say:

"Great Britain herself has for centuries been the proved and accepted champion of European freedom. She is the centre and head of the British Commonwealth of Nations. She is an equal partner in the English-speaking world.

It is at this point that the significance of Canada appears. Canada, which is linked to the British Empire, first by the growing importance of her own nationhood, and secondly, by the many ancient and sentimental ties precious to young and strong communities, is at the same time intimately associated with the United States.

The long, unguarded frontier, the habits and intercourse of daily life, the fruitful and profitable connections of business, the sympathies and even the antipathies of honest neighbourliness, make Canada a binder-together of the English-speaking peoples. She is a magnet exercising a double attraction, drawing both Great Britain and the United States towards herself and thus drawing them closer to each other. She is the only surviving bond which stretches from Europe across the Atlantic Ocean. In fact, no state, no country, no band of men can more truly be described as the linch-pin of peace and world progress."

Mr Churchill, speaking in the House of Commons Chamber,

-9-

D 42289

Our pride as a people was stirred when, on his recent visit to Canada, ~~the Prime Minister of Great Britain reminded us that~~ said: "Canada occupies a unique position in the British Empire because of its unbreakable ties with Britain and its ever-growing friendship and intimate associations with the United States. Canada is a potent magnet drawing together those in the New World and in the Old whose fortunes are now united in a deadly struggle for life and honour against the common foe. Our pride was equally stirred when in his recent speech ~~speaking to the Members of~~ the British House of Commons ~~on the 27th of last month~~, Mr. Churchill referred to Canada's great and growing contributions to the common cause, in men, in money and in materials, spoke in the following terms in reference ~~to this~~ financial contribution which the present loan is intended in part to implement, when he said:

"I know the House will wish me to convey to the Government of Canada our lively appreciation of their kind and most generous offer, unequalled in its scale in the whole history of the British Empire, ~~which~~ It is a convincing proof of the determination of Canada to make her maximum contribution to the successful prosecution of the war."

I venture to recall that ~~in reference to Canada~~ Mr Churchill had made to Canada ~~by name~~

~~In a cable which I received from our Hi on Friday last~~ received from Canada's High Commissioner in Great Britain --(the Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey)-- Mr. Massey ~~says that~~ informed me that Mr. Churchill has asked him to express to you his deep regret that events deprive him of an opportunity to refer again publicly to the admiration with which

Mr Churchill has found it impossible to participate, at the present time, as he had planned.

D 42290

the Government and people of ~~this country~~ Britain have heard of Canada's generous financial gift. ~~Mr. Churchill had arranged to broadcast from Great Britain to Canada in connection with the inauguration of the Victory Loan campaign. It is not difficult to understand the extraordinary pressure on the Prime Minister's time due to war developments of the moment, which has made it impossible.~~

Nothing could ~~be~~ more eloquent of the unity of our common aim and purpose than the fact that we are to be honoured ~~this evening~~ by ~~a word to be addressed in person to the Canadian people by~~ our good neighbour and good friend the President of the United States.

As we listen to the President's ~~this evening and recall~~ that nothing that has happened since the beginning of the war is so significant for the future of mankind as the ~~united~~ effort now being developed by the British Commonwealth and the United States will quickly return to the visit of the President to Canada when speaking at Queen's University on September 18th, 1938, and referring to Canada as a part of the sisterhood of the British Empire Mr. Roosevelt gave to us the long-to-be-remembered assurance of the part which the United States would be prepared to take if ever a foreign foe threatened the domination of Canadian soil. That declaration was more than an assurance to Canada. It was

more than a stage in the development of closer relations between

D 42291

the United States and the British Commonwealth. It was a milestone, and an important milestone of freedom. It was on the foundation laid out of the reciprocal declarations made on that occasion on behalf of the United States and Canada that the Ogdensburg agreement was reached, and the Permanent Joint Board on Defence established, and the exchange of bases and destroyers effected. Out of the growing intimacy thus cemented came the Lend-Lease Act, and the Hyde Park Declaration and the policy of reciprocity in war production.

We are proud to think tonight that these and other developments smooth the way for the speedy and complete development of the United effort which has been the result of Mr. Churchill's visit to the United States and Canada.

On behalf of the Government and people of Canada, I wish to thank The Roosevelt for this latest expression of ~~The~~ goodwill ~~which he has always felt for Canada~~ toward Canada which he has always cherished and which he has expressed in so many ways.

~~Ladies and gentlemen~~, I have now the honour to introduce the President of the United States.

D 42292

Extra paragraph

I should like to express the appreciation of Canada for the friendly interest shown in this Victory Loan by both the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States. The encouragement they have given emphasizes the urgency of our own task. If in this immediate objective we can succeed, fully and swiftly, we shall thereby ourselves be encouraged to continue to still greater achievement in our war effort.

HOWARD SMITH
BELL-FAST BOND

D 42293

Extra paragraph

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D 42294

Extra paragraph

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D 42295

Extra paragraph

I should like to express the appreciation of Canada for the friendly interest shown in this Victory Loan by both the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States. The encouragement they have given emphasizes the urgency of our own task. If in this immediate objective we can succeed, fully and swiftly, we shall thereby ourselves be encouraged to continue to still greater achievement in our war effort.

Extra paragraph

Separate page

D 42296

I should like to express the appreciation of Canada for the friendly interest shown in this Victory Loan by both the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom & the President of the United States. The encouragement they have given emphasizes the urgency of our own task. If in this immediate objective we can succeed, fully and swiftly, we shall thereby ourselves be encouraged to continue to do still greater achievement in our war effort.

(St. Laurent elected, Mitchell defeated)

(a) Much pleased that historic constituency of Quebec East has returned so distinguished a representative as Mr. St. Laurent.

Widely and favourably known for his professional attainments and qualifications for high public service, - glad that in addition to discharging important duties as Minister of Justice he will have wider avenues opened through House of Commons for contributions to public life and to war effort of Canada.

(b) As for Welland, can only deplore deliberate attempts made to becloud the issue and that membership of House of Commons will be denied to a former M.P. who had special qualifications to serve as Minister of Labour.

Defeat at polls of Mr. Mitchell must not be taken as open signal for those holding extreme views still further to confuse the course which our war effort must take; we shall in fact have to make the utmost effort of which we are capable.

Second Draft

(2)

Mr Gibson

D 42298

Victory Loan Campaign.

Tomorrow the people of Canada will begin to subscribe to the Second Victory Loan in this war. Eight months ago the people of this country -- a million of them -- responded quickly and generously to the first Victory Loan. It was over subscribed freely by a free people. We can all remember how much stronger and how much more united Canada was as a result of that great voluntary demonstration of patriotism.

When the first victory loan campaign was opened, the British Commonwealth stood almost alone in armed opposition to the forces of evil. How different the situation is today. Germany by a wanton attack has ranged the military might of 180 million Russians against her. Japan, by her treacherous attack conduct has brought the 130 million people of the United States, and millions more of the peoples of the Caribbean region, into full participation in the struggle for freedom. The unfolding of the Axis designs of world domination has enlisted in the cause of freedom and justice the active sympathy of all the peoples of the western hemisphere. The broad highway of deepening ~~independence~~ mutual understanding and growing co-operation between the British Commonwealth and the United States has been marked by such milestones of freedom as the

D 42299

Ogdensburg Agreement, the exchange of destroyers for bases, the Lend-Lease Act, the Hyde Park Agreement, and the Atlantic Charter. The co-operation of the British and American peoples is on no narrow racial basis; its objective is not the domination of the world by the English-speaking peoples. Its purpose is rather a union of all races and all peoples who cherish freedom, who believe in the equality of all men, and who seek the triumph of truth and justice in the world. This aim found expression in the signing in Washington, on the first day of this year, of the agreement of the 26 "United Nations".

We all know that the potential strength of the free peoples is far greater than the strength of the evil forces united against us. We must equally realize that wars cannot be won by potential strength, but only by actual strength. In actual, immediate fighting power, the Axis still has the upper hand. The issue is still in doubt. The very existence of the free world and that of every free country is at stake. The freedom of the world, the freedom of Canada, will never be secured until the evil forces have been crushed. To crush them will require the utmost effort, not merely of one free nation or of a few, but of every nation which still fights for freedom. Any nation which falters cannot hope and will not deserve to survive.

4

Free men throughout the world are today united in one great partnership. In that partnership lies the hope of ~~thwshing~~ the evil forces which threaten civilization itself. That hope will only be fulfilled if each partner nation does its full part freely and willingly. By responding fully to this call, we in Canada will not only earn the right to our own survival as a free people, we will also make for ourselves an honourable place in the great association of free peoples on which the future of humanity depends.

That association of free peoples is being built on the firm foundation of the growing intimacy between the British Commonwealth and the United States. That intimacy

D 42300

42301

in turn embodies the hopes and aspirations of all Canadians. We have striven hard as a people to achieve it. Its maintenance will depend in large part upon our efforts. Our pride as a people was stirred when the Prime Minister of Great Britain reminded us that "Canada occupies a unique position in the British Empire because of its unbreakable ties with Britain and its ever-growing friendship and intimate association with the United States. Canada is a potent magnet, drawing together those in the new world and in the old whose fortunes are now united in a deadly struggle for life and honour against the common foe."

We are all grateful to the President of the United States and to the Prime Minister of Great Britain for undertaking to join in this opening broadcast of our Second Victory Loan Campaign. Their words will serve to encourage us to achieve the ~~ultimate~~ immediate objective. They will serve equally to inspire us to strive to the end to discharge the heavy responsibilities which Canada has assumed in the common task of preserving and restoring freedom and justice in the world.

Draft

Copy for Mr Gibson

D 42302

Victory Loan broadcast

Tomorrow the people of Canada will begin to subscribe to the second Victory Loan of the present war. A little more than eight months have passed since I, as Prime Minister of Canada, made the opening speech for the first Victory Loan. That speech, it will be recalled, was fittingly addressed to the people of Britain. The Prime Minister of Great Britain spoke in reply to the people of Canada.

It was fitting that my words on that occasion should have been addressed to the people of Britain. Nearly a year had then passed since the tragic collapse of France. One by one the remaining nations of the continent of Europe had submitted before the Nazi menace. Where they had defied its might they had been ruthlessly crushed. Britain, though scarred and battered by assaults from the skies, stood (alone, erect and defiant to face the enemy. At her side, in armed resistance, were Canada and the other nations of the British Commonwealth.

The aspect of the conflict today has entirely changed. For nearly six months after the sudden and unprovoked Nazi assault on the Soviet Union, the gigantic clash of arms in Russia occupied the centre of the stage of war. In December, the Japanese made their treacherous attack on the British Commonwealth and the United States.

D 42303

financial burden of war, let me remind all of you that free men throughout the world are today joined in one great partnership. In that partnership lies assurance of the destruction of the evil forces which threaten the very existence of civilization. The partnership of the United Nations for which we have hoped so long was formed at Washington under the leadership of two men who have earned and who enjoy the respect, the esteem and the affection of every Canadian. The association of the British Commonwealth and the United States which they personify is the greatest hope of mankind.

I know you are all eager to hear the voices of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. It is with the utmost pleasure and satisfaction that I introduce the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

Draft

D 42304

Victory Loan Broadcast

Thanks to Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill

This broadcast would not be complete without a word of thanks expressed on behalf of the Canadian people to Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill for their messages of encouragement and support on the eve of the second Victory Loan Campaign. We are all deeply grateful for the time and the thought they have given. Their words will, I believe, serve both as an inspiration and an incentive to every Canadian to do his full part towards the achievement of the objective of the loan. Let us not forget that Canada's utmost contribution to the united effort of the United Nations depends upon an all-out financial effort. The support we are willing to give to our fighting men and the contribution we are able to make to the nations allied with us in the common defence of civilization alike can be measured by what each and every Canadian is willing to lend to Canada. The hour of victory and the hope of a new and better order for mankind depend upon the efforts of every man, woman and child in Canada no less than on the efforts of the other peoples united in the great partnership of freedom and justice.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette.

Date Feb. 16/42.

D 42305

Subject

Prime Minister King

Ottawa, February 15.—(CP)—Following is the text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's radio address tonight in support of the $600,000,000 second Victory Loan opening in Canada tomorrow:

Tomorrow the people of Canada will begin to subscribe to a war loan of $600,000,000.

Never was there a time when the need was so great and so imperative for every man and every woman to make the utmost contribution to the winning of a war.

Almost every nation on earth has taken sides in the present struggle. At this very hour, the fate of mankind hangs in the balance.

Reverses of the recent past give cause for the greatest concern. The issue of the world-wide conflict is in no place certain. Because it is in no place certain, the very existence of the free world, the survival of free countries and of free men is at stake. The forces of freedom are everywhere beset by the forces of aggression.

Whether world chaos will follow in the wake of universal destruction, or world security be established, will depend upon the contribution of every nation still possessing its freedom.

The contribution of each free nation is the sum of the contributions of its individual citizens.

There was a time, and it is not so very long ago, when some nations believed, or seemed to believe, that by maintaining a strict neutrality they might continue to enjoy security. The fortunes of battle since the outbreak of war; the fate of nations that today lie prostrate beneath the heel of the aggressor; the terrific tasks which face the nations still battling for their freedom—all these go to show that neutrality has become a snare, and isolation an illusion.

What, however, many have still to learn is that in a fight unto death, neutrality and isolation are no more possibile for individuals than they are for nations. One has only to look at the conquered countries to see how inescapable, for every individual, are the consequences of defeat.

The conflict today encompasses the globe. The enemy has demonstrated how powerful his combined forces are on land, at sea and in the air — not in one part of the world only, but on the waters of the Atlantic, and the Pacific, and on the continents beyond their shores.

ALL MUST DO SHARE.

From every continent and from every ocean, the call comes for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more men. It is a call to every individual to make the utmost personal contribution in that form of service for which he or she is best fitted. It is equally a call to every man and woman to make, through taxation and through loans, the largest financial contribution of which they are capable.

It is well that in subscribing to the loan, all should have a full appreciation of the contribution they are making.

First of all, the proceeds of the loan will make possible a national war effort on a scale that otherwise could not be achieved.

Secondly, they will make possible a greater combined effort on the part of the United Nations. It is true that the resources, the men and materials of the united nations are far greater than those of the enemy nations. It is, notwithstanding, also true, that in actual immediate fighting power the enemy is still stronger than the forces of freedom arrayed against him.

The proceeds of the loan are required to transform materials and manpower into actual fighting strength in terms of foodstuffs weapons, ships, planes, and trained fighting men.

It is because our enemies have increased in numbers and in power that the need for increasing our actual fighting strength, in all these directions, is greater today than at any time since the outbreak of the war.

Every enemy gain now, makes the battle that much harder to win in the end. For that reason money cannot be too quickly or too largely subscribed.

In Canada we have already done much, but we must now strive harder than ever before. We must make sure that our response to the needs of the hour, as individuals and as a nation, is the strongest response that we can give.

We have our part to play on many fronts. Of these the financial sector of our home front is now—this week—of first importance. On this front the battle must be completely won if, in ways already planned, our utmost effort is to be achieved.

That effort demands the expansion of Canada's Navy as fast as ships can be acquired, and the men trained to man them. It demands that the new formations of the Canadian Army shall be raised and trained, and the existing units and formations kept up to strength, so that Canada's army overseas will be a thoroughly modern, well-balanced and hard-hitting striking force. It demands that airmen shall be trained to the utmost limit of Canada's gigantic air training facilities. It demands that

D 42306

the defences of Canada's coasts and of vulnerable areas shall be continuously strengthened.

We must provide the immense sums required for the upkeep and expansion of our navy, army, and air force.

For our own armed forces, we must provide food, ships, planes, tanks, guns, equipment and munitions of all kinds. But that is only the beginning of Canada's productive task.

All these machines and munitions of war must be produced in ever-larger quantities. We are producing them not only for ourselves but for Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the United States, and other of the allied powers. We have a large and growing share in the task of feeding Britain.

We have undertaken to provide $1,000,000,000 to pay the Canadian producers of the war supplies and the foodstuffs which we have offered to Britain as a contribution to the defeat of the enemy.

But Canada's war loan has an even wider significance. It is essential not only to the immediate prosecution of the war, and the ultimate attainment of victory, but equally to the achievement of a new world order.

On more than one occasion, I have said that if a new world order is not already on its way before the war is over, we may look for it in vain. Happily that new world order is already on its way. The forces which have combined to work such havoc throughout the world, have equally combined to bring together the forces of freedom.

Today the British and American peoples are associated in a close union to preserve and to restore the freedom of mankind. In that union will be found the foundation of the new world order. That union has been achieved so quickly and so completely that it is difficult to realize how significant it is to our own and to the world's future.

The principles upon which the new order will rest have already found expression in the Atlantic Charter, signed at sea in August last by the President of the United States (Mr. Roosevelt) and the Prime Minister of Great Britain (Mr. Churchill).

The spirit of mutual goodwill and unity of purpose reflected in the Atlantic Charter, found further expression during Mr. Churchill's recent visit to this continent. It was expressed in the warmth of the welcome accorded to the Prime Minister of Great Britain by the peoples of the United States and of Canada. It has found noteworthy expression in the co-operative manner in which the problems of wartime strategy and command have been worked out at Washington and Ottawa.

LAUDS MUTUAL GOODWILL.

The mutual understanding and goodwill, so evident throughout Mr. Churchill's momentous visit have established a firm foundation for the combined war effort, not merely of the nations of the British Commonwealth and of the United States, but also of the 26 nations which today are united as one. It is upon this foundation of mutual trust and mutual aid that nations may hope to build an enduring order of peace and goodwill.

Free men throughout the world are today united in one great partnership. In that partnership lies the hope of crushing the evil forces which threaten civilization. In that partnership also lies the hope of the future of mankind.

Of the part which, through the years, Canada has played in bringing about the closer union between the British and American peoples, much has been said by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States.

Mr. Churchill had planned to participate in this broadcast. It is not difficult to understand the exceptional pressure on his time due to war developments of the moment... I am sure all of us would wish to spare Mr. Churchill any additional burden.

I am happy to say that we are to be honored in the opening of the present victory loan campaign by a personal word from our good neighbor and good friend the President of the United States. Nothing could better symbolize our common aim and purpose than this gracious act of friendship and encouragement.

As we listen to the President's words, we all appreciate more than ever how true it is that nothing that has happened since the beginning of the war is so significant for the future of mankind as the combined effort in the cause of world freedom of the British Commonwealth and the United States.

On behalf of the government and people of Canada, I wish to thank Mr. Roosevelt for this latest expression of the goodwill towards Canada which he has always cherished, and which he has expressed in so many ways.

I have now the honor to introduce the President of the United States.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date FEB 16 1942

D 42307

Prime Minister King

Ottawa, February 15.—(CP)—Following is the text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's radio address tonight in support of the $600,000,000 second Victory Loan opening in Canada tomorrow:

Tomorrow the people of Canada will begin to subscribe to a war loan of $600,000,000.

Never was there a time when the need was so great and so imperative for every man and every woman to make the utmost contribution to the winning of a war.

Almost every nation on earth has taken sides in the present struggle. At this very hour, the fate of mankind hangs in the balance.

Reverses of the recent past give cause for the greatest concern. The issue of the world-wide conflict is in no place certain. Because it is in no place certain, the very existence of the free world, the survival of free countries and of free men is at stake. The forces of freedom are everywhere beset by the forces of aggression.

Whether world chaos will follow in the wake of universal destruction, or world security be established, will depend upon the contribution of every nation still possessing its freedom.

The contribution of each free nation is the sum of the contributions of its individual citizens.

There was a time, and it is not so very long ago, when some nations believed, or seemed to believe, that by maintaining a strict neutrality they might continue to enjoy security. The fortunes of battle since the outbreak of war; the fate of nations that today lie prostrate beneath the heel of the aggressor; the terrific tasks which face the nations still battling for their freedom—all these go to show that neutrality has become a snare, and isolation an illusion.

What, however, many have still to learn is that in a fight unto death, neutrality and isolation are no more possibile for individuals than they are for nations. One has only to look at the conquered countries to see how inescapable, for every individual, are the consequences of defeat.

The conflict today encompasses the globe. The enemy has demonstrated how powerful his combined forces are on land, at sea and in the air — not in one part of the world only, but on the waters of the Atlantic, and the Pacific, and on the continents beyond their shores.

ALL MUST DO SHARE.

From every continent and from every ocean, the call comes for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more men. It is a call to every individual to make the utmost personal contribution in that form of service for which he or she is best fitted. It is equally a call to every man and woman to make, through taxation and through loans, the largest financial contribution of which they are capable.

It is well that in subscribing to the loan, all should have a full appreciation of the contribution they are making.

First of all, the proceeds of the loan will make possible a national war effort on a scale that otherwise could not be achieved.

Secondly, they will make possible a greater combined effort on the part of the United Nations. It is true that the resources, the men and materials of the united nations are far greater than those of the enemy nations. It is, notwithstanding, also true, that in actual immediate fighting power the enemy is still stronger than the forces of freedom arrayed against him.

The proceeds of the loan are required to transform materials and manpower into actual fighting strength in terms of foodstuffs weapons, ships, planes, and trained fighting men.

It is because our enemies have increased in numbers and in power that the need for increasing our actual fighting strength, in all these directions, is greater today than at any time since the outbreak of the war.

Every enemy gain now, makes the battle that much harder to win in the end. For that reason money cannot be too quickly or too largely subscribed.

In Canada we have already done much, but we must now strive harder than ever before. We must make sure that our response to the needs of the hour, as individuals and as a nation, is the strongest response that we can give.

We have our part to play on many fronts. Of these the financial sector of our home front is now—this week—of first importance. On this front the battle must be completely won if, in ways already planned, our utmost effort is to be achieved.

That effort demands the expansion of Canada's Navy as fast as ships can be acquired, and the men trained to man them. It demands that the new formations of the Canadian Army shall be raised and trained, and the existing units and formations kept up to strength, so that Canada's army overseas will be a thoroughly modern, well-balanced and hard-hitting striking force. It demands that airmen shall be trained to the utmost limit of Canada's gigantic air training facilities. It demands that the defences of Canada's coasts and of vulnerable areas shall be continuously strengthened.

We must provide the immense sums required for the upkeep and expansion of our navy, army, and air force.

For our own armed forces, we must provide food, ships, planes, tanks, guns, equipment and munitions of all kinds. But that is only the beginning of Canada's productive task.

All these machines and munitions of war must be produced in ever-larger quantities. We are producing them not only for ourselves but for Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the United States, and other of the allied powers. We have a large and growing share in the task of feeding Britain.

We have undertaken to provide $1,000,000,000 to pay the Canadian producers of the war supplies and the foodstuffs which we have offered to Britain as a contribution to the defeat of the enemy.

But Canada's war loan has an even wider significance. It is essential not only to the immediate prosecution of the war, and the ultimate attainment of victory, but equally to the achievement of a new world order.

On more than one occasion, I have said that if a new world order is not already on its way before the war is over, we may look for it in vain. Happily that new world order is already on its way. The forces which have combined to work such havoc throughout the world, have equally combined to bring together the forces of freedom.

Today the British and American peoples are associated in a close union to preserve and to restore the freedom of mankind. In that union will be found the foundation of the new world order. That union has been achieved so quickly and so completely that it is difficult to realize how significant it is to our own and to the world's future.

The principles upon which the new order will rest have already found expression in the Atlantic Charter, signed at sea in August last by the President of the United States (Mr. Roosevelt) and the Prime Minister of Great Britain (Mr. Churchill).

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 42308

Name of Publication ----------

Date ----------

Subject ----------

The spirit of mutual goodwill and unity of purpose reflected in the Atlantic Charter, found further expression during Mr. Churchill's recent visit to this continent. It was expressed in the warmth of the welcome accorded to the Prime Minister of Great Britain by the peoples of the United States and of Canada. It has found noteworthy expression in the co-operative manner in which the problems of wartime strategy and command have been worked out at Washington and Ottawa.

LAUDS MUTUAL GOODWILL.

The mutual understanding and goodwill, so evident throughout Mr. Churchill's momentous visit have established a firm foundation for the combined war effort, not merely of the nations of the British Commonwealth and of the United States, but also of the 26 nations which today are united as one. It is upon this foundation of mutual trust and mutual aid that nations may hope to build an enduring order of peace and goodwill.

Free men throughout the world are today united in one great partnership. In that partnership lies the hope of crushing the evil forces which threaten civilization. In that partnership also lies the hope of the future of mankind.

Of the part which, through the years, Canada has played in bringing about the closer union between the British and American peoples, much has been said by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States.

Mr. Churchill had planned to participate in this broadcast. It is not difficult to understand the exceptional pressure on his time due to war developments of the moment... I am sure all of us would wish to spare Mr. Churchill any additional burden.

I am happy to say that we are to be honored in the opening of the present victory loan campaign by a personal word from our good neighbor and good friend the President of the United States. Nothing could better symbolize our common aim and purpose than this gracious act of friendship and encouragement.

As we listen to the President's words, we all appreciate more than ever how true it is that nothing that has happened since the beginning of the war is so significant for the future of mankind as the combined effort in the cause of world freedom of the British Commonwealth and the United States.

On behalf of the government and people of Canada, I wish to thank Mr. Roosevelt for this latest expression of the goodwill towards Canada which he has always cherished, and which he has expressed in so many ways.

I have now the honor to introduce the President of the United States.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

The Pm to see

D 42309

Name of Publication London Times.

Date Feb. 17/42.

Subject

The Canadian Bridge

MR. MACKENZIE KING in a broadcast launching the second Canadian Loan dwelt, as MR. CHURCHILL did on Sunday, upon the significance of the close association achieved between the British and American peoples. He described it as a "close union to preserve and restore the "freedom of mankind." He added very truly that this union, in which would be found the basis of a new world order, had been achieved so quickly and so completely that it is difficult to realize how important it is for the future of the two peoples and of the world. A mark of the progress made in this direction was MR. ROOSEVELT'S participation in the proceedings in a broadcast from Washington—surely the first time that the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES has helped to launch a loan campaign in a British Dominion. But, as MR. CHURCHILL prophesied in the House of Commons so long ago as August 20, 1940, "the British Empire and the United "States will have to be somewhat mixed "up together in some of their affairs for "mutual and general advantage." In that process, which has now reached the stage of a common policy, a common strategy, and the pooling of resources, the leading parts have been played necessarily by the PRESIDENT and the PRIME MINISTER. But the contribution made by Canada to this ever-growing intimacy is not the least of the services rendered by the Dominion to the common cause.

Canada was helpful in the negotiations which eighteen months ago led to the exchange of West Indian bases for American destroyers and in every measure which has been taken since with the same purpose. She herself has entered into close cooperation with the United States for the common defence of North America under a joint direction representing both the Dominion and the Republic; and last month a Joint Materials Co-ordination Board was set up, empowered to regard the United States and Canada as a single territory and thus foreshadowing the pooling arrangements which are being worked out by MR. DONALD NELSON and LORD BEAVERBROOK. Canadian financial resources have helped to ease the strain on the sterling-dollar exchange. The floating of the second Victory Loan is a reminder that the contribution she has made in finance is hardly less remarkable than what she has put into the common pool in man-power, munitions, and food, as well as through the great air training scheme to which MR. ROOSEVELT paid a special tribute in his broadcast. Canada is providing as a free gift all the great supplies of food, munitions, and raw materials which she is sending to this country; and this is only part of a comprehensive and generous arrangement to help in overcoming financial difficulties which without this assistance would have obstructed the common effort. In this as in her other contributions she has been able to act the more freely and the more effectively by the close and mutually helpful relations which she maintains with her great neighbour. They have been and will be of the greatest service in promoting the ever closer collaboration that war and peace alike require between the United States and the whole British Empire.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Herald.

Date Feb. 19/42.

Subject

Mr. King - Radio
re Canada & Britain

D 42310

Canadian War Machines Now Rolling Swiftly On To Victory

"AS soon as the cloud on the horizon, no larger than Hitler's hand, resolved itself into the storm of conflict, we determined that we would not wait till the enemy was at our gates. We went to meet him at sea, in the air and on land."

When Prime Minister Mackenzie King spoke these words Canada took up the gage of battle thrown to her and declared war.

That was a little more than two years ago and today Canada is taking an ever-increasing part in that war on sea, on land and in the air.

But to equip an army today is a gargantuan problem, one that not only taxes the wealth of the nation but makes it imperative that a new conception of industrial economy must be arranged.

At the time Canada accepted Hitler's challenge to world domination it could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be said that this Dominion was an industrial nation. It was pre-eminently an agricultural nation and as such, the bread-basket of the world.

It is still the dominant factor in food production not only for itself but for Great Britain, certain nations of the Commonwealth of British Nations and for foreign countries.

But its role has been greatly enlarged and now Canada is industrialized to an extent that is positively astonishing when viewed in the light of her former capacity to produce munitions of war.

"Munitions from Canada are now reaching every theatre of war in quantities that are impressive to those receiving them," the Hon. C. D. Howe, Minister of Munitions and Supply has recorded. "We have established a reputation for quality and prompt delivery."

How necessary and valuable these Canadian munitions have been is exemplified in no better manner than by the enthusiastic reports received regarding Canadian-made automotive equipment for the victorious armies in Libya. Here, indeed, they were worth their weight in gold.

Two years ago Canada could not have equipped an infantry division yet today she can supply a division with everything it requires in six weeks. Gone are the days when every single part of Canada's military equipment was imported—the position is reversed and Canada exports the finest war equipment in the world—to all parts of the world.

Increasing her exports of much-needed war materiel, often by unheard of figures, Canada today manufactures right within her own borders every article of war materiel used by her troops, her navy and much of the equipment used by the air force.

Ten types of guns are made in Canada ranging from anti-tank guns to great naval weapons and field guns. Two kinds of tanks are made, cruiser and infantry tanks in both of which the workmanship and material compares with the world's best.

In the field of small arms Canada's record output is so great that a partial list of the weapons includes Bren, Sten, Owen and Vickers machine guns, Browning guns for the RCAF, special machine guns for the Royal Canadian Navy, Lee-Enfield rifles, the new stiletto bayonet and anti-tank rifles.

In the First Great War Canada produced small arms ammunition, but this was manufactured by the hundreds of millions. Shells, too, came off Canadian production belts. But in this war she is producing [illegible]

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In the First Great War Canada produced small arms ammunition, but this she manufactured by the hundreds of millions. Shells, too, came off Canadian production belts. But in this war she is producing twenty sizes of heavy ammunition shells, ten sizes of cartridge cases,

REPEAT
REPETITION

nine types of small arms ammunition, bombs, grenades, anti-tank mines, fuses, primers, and millions of complete rounds, bomb throwers, smoke projectors, eight types of explosives and 12 types of war chemicals.

In a field in which the greatest exertions had to be made to meet schedules and repair war losses Canada has developed a shipbuilding program which is remarkable.

Today she makes destroyers, corvettes, minesweepers and cargo boats, motor torpedo boats and rescue ships, patrol boats and a hundred other varieties of small vessels needful for the ever-expanding Canadian Navy, the Royal Canadian Air Force and auxiliary services.

To transport troops and equipment Canada builds completely universal and Bren gun carriers, wireless trucks and ambulances, field workshops and one hundred and sixty different types of mechanical transports for the Canadian army within its borders, on foreign service and for the united nations all over the world.

For the tremendous expansion of the RCAF elementary trainers, advanced trainers, reconnaissance planes, bombers and fighters are turned out rapidly yet with unimpaired quality. Canadian pilots,

"In this war of machines we are making machines of war for you (Great Britain), as well as for ourselves. We will continue to send you all the food which ships can be found to carry. But we will not stop there. We recognize the tremendous financial burden you are bearing. That burden as well we are ready to continue to share in increasing measure. The loan now being launched is to continue our great endeavor".

Prime Minister Mackenzie King in a broadcast to the people of the British Isles on the occasion of the successful 1941 Victory Loan campaign.

trained on Canadian-made machines, learn to fight in the air as only Canadians can—and everything they wear, use or eat is Canadian-produced.

Finally, among the multitudinous ways in which Canadian dollars go to aid the march of victory Canada produces today and will add to that production tomorrow and for months to come the following:—

All clothing, boots and personal equipment for the three services, optical, military, naval and hospital instruments, radios, radiolocators, gas masks, steel helmets, parachutes and flare parachutes, minesweeping gear, technical naval and military equipment, searchlights, marine smoke floats, hospital equipment and supplies, gas decontamination equipment, air raid equipment and firefighting appliances, Link trainers, asbestos rescue suits, machine tools, gauges, military and run-flat tires, anti-submarine gear and a thousand and one other items contributing to the efficiency of the men entrusted to gain us the victory.

This, then, is where your war savings dollars go—to arm and equip the men who are guarding the Canadian way of life—the way of life that a democratic nation will die to maintain—the way of life, liberty and happiness that must be defended to the last ditch.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

3166.

Date FEB 16 1942

Subject

D 42312

Prime Minister King, President Roosevelt Appeal To Canadians

Leaders of Two Nations Speak in Connection With Launching of Victory Loan. "Fate of Mankind Hangs in Balance," Says Mr. King. Mr. Roosevelt Sees Peril Ahead But Looks Forward to Time When Sun Again Will Shine Down on Free World.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King and President Roosevelt united last night in a radio appeal to Canadians to support the $600,000,000 second Victory Loan opening today—at a time, Mr. King said, when "the fate of mankind hangs in the balance."

Over a national network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation the two leaders spoke of the perils and responsibilities which they said would demand the best from every citizen.

Both talks were recorded before the broadcast.

Prime Minister Churchill of Great Britain was to have taken part in the broadcast but Mr. King was advised that a pressure of other duties made it impossible.

Both Mr. King and Mr. Roosevelt stressed the dangerous developments the war has taken and stressed the urgent need of translating the potential resources of their countries into powerful striking units.

[illegible] and Partners.

Mr. [illegible] said he spoke "as a partner in a great enterprise which [illegible] to which [illegible] to the [illegible] sacrifice and [illegible]

[illegible] the partnership [illegible] fellow [illegible]

President Roosevelt recalled that for 58 years he had been closely associated with Canada because from the time he was two years old he had been accustomed to spending his summers "on a delightful island off the coast of New Brunswick," and he addressed his audience as "my neighbors of Canada."

"There is peril ahead for us and sorrow for many," the President said. "Let us, remembering the price some have paid for our survival, make our own contribution worthy to lie beside theirs upon the altar of man's faith."

Following is the text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's radio address last night in support of the $600,000,000 Second Victory Loan opening in Canada today:

Tomorrow the people of Canada will begin to subscribe to a war loan of $600,000,000.

Never was there a time when the need was so great and so imperative for every man and every woman to make the utmost contribution to the winning of a war.

Almost every nation on earth has taken sides in the present struggle. At this very hour, the fate of mankind hangs in the balance.

Reverses of the recent past give cause for the greatest concern. The issue of the world-wide conflict is in the [illegible]

Whether world chaos will follow in the wake of universal destruction, or world security be established, will depend upon the contribution of every nation still possessing its freedom.

The contribution of each free nation is the sum of the contributions of its individual citizens.

Isolation an Illusion.

There was a time, and it is not so very long ago, when some nations believed, or seemed to believe, that by maintaining a strict neutrality they might continue to enjoy security. The fortunes of battle since the outbreak of war; the fate of nations that today lie prostrate beneath the heel of the aggressor; the terrific tasks which face the nations still battling for their freedom—all these go to show that neutrality has become a snare, and isolation an illusion.

What, however, many have still to learn is that in a fight unto death, neutrality and isolation are no more possible for individuals than they are for nations. One has only to look at the conquered countries to see how inescapable, for every individual, are the consequences of defeat.

The conflict today encompasses the globe. The enemy has demonstrated how powerful his combined forces are on land, at sea and in the air—not in one part of the world only, but on the waters of the Atlantic, and the Pacific, and on the continents beyond their shores.

The Call Comes.

From every continent and from every ocean, the call comes for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more [illegible] It is a call to every [illegible] to make the utmost personal contribution in that form of service for which he or she is best fitted. It is equally a call to every [illegible] to make [illegible] through [illegible] loans, the contribution of which they are capable.

It is well that in subscribing to the loan, [illegible] a full [illegible]

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date FEB 16 1942

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Both Mr. King and Mr. Roosevelt stressed the dangerous developments the war has taken and stressed the urgent need of translating the potential resources of their countries into powerful striking units.

Neighbors and Partners.

Mr. Roosevelt said he spoke "as a partner in a great enterprise which concerns us equally and in which we are equally pledged to the uttermost sacrifice and effort."

After emphasizing the seriousness of the war situation Mr. King said: "Whether world chaos will follow in the wake of universal destruction, or world security will be established, will depend upon the contribution of every nation still possessing freedom."

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Almost every nation on earth has taken sides in the present struggle. At this very hour, the fate of mankind hangs in the balance.

Reverses of the recent past give cause for the greatest concern. The issue of the world-wide conflict is in no place certain. Because it is in no place certain, the very existence of the free world, the survival of free countries and of free men is at stake. The forces of freedom are everywhere beset by the forces of aggression.

Whether world chaos will follow in the wake of universal destruction, or world security be established, will depend upon the contribution of every nation still possessing its freedom.

The contribution of each free nation is the sum of the contributions of its individual citizens.

Isolation an Illusion.

There was a time, and it is not so very long ago, when some nations believed, or seemed to believe, that by maintaining a strict neutrality they might continue to enjoy security. The fortunes of battle since the outbreak of war; the fate of nations that today lie prostrate beneath the heel of the aggressor; the terrific tasks which face the nations still battling for their freedom—all these go to show that neutrality has become a snare, and isolation an illusion.

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The conflict today encompasses the globe. The enemy has demonstrated how powerful his combined forces are on land, at sea and in the air—not in one part of the world only, but on the waters of the Atlantic, and the Pacific, and on the continents beyond their shores.

The Call Comes.

From every continent and from every ocean, the call comes for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more men. It is a call to every individual to make the utmost personal contribution in that form of service for which he or she is best fitted. It is equally a call to every man and woman to make, through taxation and through loans, the largest financial contribution of which they are capable.

It is well that in subscribing to the loan, all should have a full appreciation of the contribution they are making.

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication _____

Date _____

Subject _____

D 42313

First of all, the proceeds of the loan will make possible a national war effort on a scale that otherwise could not be achieved.

Secondly, they will make possible a greater combined effort on the part of the United Nations. It is true that the resources, the men and materials of the United Nations are far greater than those of the enemy nations. It is, notwithstanding, also true, that in actual immediate fighting power the enemy is still stronger than the forces of freedom arrayed against him.

The proceeds of the loan are required to transform materials and manpower into actual fighting strength in terms of foodstuffs, weapons, munitions, ships, planes, and trained fighting men.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication _____

Date _____

Subject _____

D 42814

Need Is Greater Than Ever Before

It is because our enemies have increased in numbers and in power that the need for increasing our actual fighting strength, in all these directions, is greater today than at any time since the outbreak of the war.

Every enemy gain now, makes the battle that much harder to win in the end. For that reason money cannot be too quickly or too largely subscribed.

In Canada we have already done much, but we must now strive harder than ever before. We must make sure that our response to the needs of the hour, as individuals and as a nation, is the strongest response that we can give.

We have our part to play on many fronts. Of these the financial sector of our home front is now—this week—of first importance. On this front the battle must be completely won if, in ways already planned, our utmost effort is to be achieved.

That effort demands the expansion of Canada's navy as fast as ships can be acquired, and the men trained to man them. It demands that the new formations of the Canadian army shall be raised and trained, and the existing units and formations kept up to strength, so that Canada's army overseas will be a thoroughly modern, well-balanced and hard-hitting striking force. It demands that airmen shall be trained to the utmost limit of Canada's gigantic air training facilities. It demands that the defences of Canada's coasts and of vulnerable areas shall be continuously strengthened.

We must provide the immense sums required for the upkeep and expansion of our navy, army, and air force.

Only the Beginning.

For our own armed forces, we must provide food, ships, planes, tanks, guns, equipment and munitions of all kinds. But that is only the beginning of Canada's productive task.

All these machines and munitions of war must be produced in ever-larger quantities. We are producing them not only for ourselves but for Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the United States, and other of the Allied powers. We have a large and growing share in the task of feeding Britain.

We have undertaken to provide $1,000,000,000 to pay the Canadian producers of the war supplies and the foodstuffs which we have offered to Britain as a contribution to the defeat of the enemy.

But Canada's war loan has an even wider significance. It is essential not only to the immediate prosecution of the war, and the ultimate attainment of victory, but equally to the achievement of a new world order.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication _____

Date _____

Subject _____

D 42315

New World Order On Its Way

On more than one occasion, I have said that if a new world order is not already on its way before the war is over, we may look for it in vain. Happily that new world order is already on its way. The forces which have combined to work such havoc throughout the world, have equally combined to bring together the forces of freedom.

Today the British and American peoples are associated in a close union to preserve and to restore the freedom of mankind. In that union will be found the foundation of the new world order. That union has been achieved so quickly and so completely that it is difficult to realize how significant it is to our own and to the world's future.

The principles upon which the new order will rest have already found expression in the Atlantic charter, signed at sea in August last by the President of the United States (Mr. Roosevelt) and the prime minister of Great Britain (Mr. Churchill).

Mutual Goodwill.

The spirit of mutual goodwill and unity of purpose reflected in the Atlantic charter, found further expression during Mr. Churchill's recent visit to this continent. It was expressed in the warmth of the welcome accorded to the prime minister of Great Britain by the peoples of the United States and of Canada. It has found noteworthy expression in the cooperative manner in which the problems of wartime strategy and command have been worked out at Washington and Ottawa.

The mutual understanding and goodwill, so evident throughout Mr. Churchill's momentous visit, have established a firm foundation for the combined war effort, not merely of the nations of the British Commonwealth and of the United States, but also of the 26 nations which today are united as one. It is upon this foundation of mutual trust and mutual aid that nations may hope to build an enduring order of peace and goodwill.

Free men throughout the world are today united in one great partnership. In that partnership lies the hope of crushing the evil forces which threaten civilization. In that partnership also lies the hope of the future of mankind.

Of the part which, through the years, Canada has played in bringing about the closer union between the British and American peoples, much has been said by the prime minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States.

Pressure on Time.

Mr. Churchill had planned to participate in this broadcast. It is not difficult to understand the exceptional pressure on his time due to war developments of the moment. I am sure all of us would wish to spare Mr. Churchill any additional burden.

I am happy to say that we are to be honored in the opening of the present victory loan campaign by a personal word from our good neighbor and good friend, the President of the United States. Nothing could better symbolize our common aim and purpose than this gracious act of friendship and encouragement.

As we listen to the President's words, we will appreciate more than ever how true it is that nothing that has happened since the beginning of the war is so significant for the future of mankind as the combined effort in the cause of world freedom of the British Commonwealth and the United States.

On behalf of the government and people of Canada, I wish to thank Mr. Roosevelt for this latest expression of the goodwill towards Canada which he has always cherished, and which he has expressed in so many ways.

I have now the honor to introduce the President of the United States.

3166.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date FEB 17 1942

D 42316

Subject

THERE MUST BE NO SLACKENING NOW.

In Prime Minister King's radio address of Sunday night these statements were made: "For "our own armed forces we must provide food, "ships, planes, tanks, guns, equipment and muni- "tions of all kinds. But that is only the begin- "ning of Canada's productive task. All these "machines and munitions of war must be pro- "duced in ever-larger quantities. . . ." Mr. King had already said that the Canadian Navy must be expanded as fast as ships can be acquired and the men trained to man them, that the new formations of the Canadian army must be raised and trained and made thoroughly modern, that airmen must be trained to the utmost limit of the Dominion's gigantic air training facilities. The Prime Minister was making a Victory Loan appeal. The money, he said, "will make possible "a national war effort on a scale that otherwise "could not be achieved."

If all this means that Canada is to develop and use all its force in all the fields which Mr. King has mentioned, we shall have a war effort equal to our capacity. If we do not exert such an effort we are courting disaster. Donald Nelson, Chief of War Production at Washington, has said that this is the crucial year, that the war can be lost in 1942. Any one who doubts this after the disasters that have come upon us is blind, and stupidly blind. Ralph Bell, Director of Aircraft Production, told a Halifax audience last week that the growth of Canada's aircraft industry constitutes one of the industrial miracles of the British Empire. So it does, and no small share of the credit goes to Mr. Bell himself, but what Canadians want to know now is how much more can be done and how soon. Comparisons of present production figures with the astonishingly small totals of an initial output do not satisfy anybody, or should not. What does matter is the volume that can be obtained and the rapidity with which that attainment is possible. This is true of all the material part of naval and military equipment, of everything that goes into the war. We must not do less than our enemies are doing.

If we are to do all the things that have to be done in the short time available to us we will have to apply what the New York Herald Tribune calls the rough rule. There must be confidence in leadership and management everywhere. Confidence in the United States, says the Herald Tribune, was badly shaken at Pearl Harbor, was not improved by the paralyzingly heavy losses of aircraft in the first days of the war in the Far East, has not been increased by the seeming inability of the Navy or the Army to find any means for even checking the swift disintegration of the Indies front, and is not increased "by the explanations, exculpations and silences" surrounding "the immense ruin of the Normandie . . . "silent testimony to another gross failure by "somebody somewhere." The Herald Tribune goes back into history for examples of the rough rule—the hard rule—that it now deems necessary. Its criticism is directed against administrative conditions in the United States, but in the main its final argument applies to Canada. It is that competence must be the only measure of fitness. Personal considerations must be brushed aside, and upon the speed with which this is done, "more than upon any other factor depends our winning of the war."

Here in Canada industrialists of great ability are giving voluntary service to the State. Their hands must be strengthened wherever vision and energy have been demonstrated. Wherever these qualities are found lacking, changes will have to be made, not on the industrial front alone, but wherever incompetence may be standing in the way of a maximum war effort. If it be true that the war can be lost this year the only sane thing to do is to fight with everything we have, and to waste no time about it. Talking of what we [illegible] will not do. Talking of what we can accomplish will not do. Only action will serve quick action, the utmost effort of our

3166.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date FEB 17 1942

Subject P.M. Radio

D 42317

OUR JOB BECOMES HARDER.

Prime Minister King stated indisputable facts on Sunday night when he said the fate of mankind hangs in the balance at this very hour, that reverses of the recent past give cause for the gravest concern, and every enemy gain now makes the battle that much harder to win in the end. No one can view the fall of Britain's Far East Gibraltar and the spreading of Japanese forces to the edge of the Indian Ocean and the gates of Australia without deepest concern, or consider lightly the passage of the German fleet through the Dover bottleneck, no matter how obvious the contributing factors.

What made these and other reverses possible, rather than the incidents themselves, must be looked at now. True as Mr. King's words are today, they have not been less true for two years and a half. There has been no time since the war started when the Allied Nations could meet the enemy with strength to tip the scales of mankind's fate. Men, equipment and materials have not been available to keep pace with the growing needs.

Mr. Churchill spoke of some of the deficiencies when he told how British resources were strained to the utmost. Lord Beaverbrook supplied other details a few days ago in the House of Lords. "In 1941," he explained, "we sent out of this country 9,781 aircraft and brought in only 2,134. We sent abroad some 3,000 tanks and imported only 200." Now, he added, it was his job to persuade producers in Canada, the United States and all other Allied countries "to bring forward their programs consistently with the Allied needs in the battle line all over the world." He counted on Canada's production as of the highest importance.

No point is gained by recalling the unpreparedness and failures of the past unless there is a lesson for the present. Mr. Churchill was able to say the position in August, 1[illegible], seemed vastly better than a year earlier, [illegible] France was prostrated. It would be close to hopeless today against the added aggression of Japan without the United States, and with due regard for Russia's remarkable achievements. [illegible] Donald M. Nelson, United States [illegible] said, has said something that [illegible] the keynote for every [illegible]

Every weapon made now is worth ten times what we can produce next year. We must stop thinking about what we can do to the enemy in 1943 and start thinking about what we're going to do to him in February and March, 1942. Let's stop thinking what we'll do when it is all over and start to think about what we're going to do to prevent it from being all over for us.

Says Prime Minister Curtin of Australia: "It is now work or fight as we have never done before." Australia is calling up every man fit to shoulder a rifle.

How seriously will Canada take these statements of Mr. Nelson, the warnings of Mr. Curtin and the pleas of Lord Beaverbrook? We hear much about the job we've done, and it is a great job for this small nation. But have we done enough? Can we do more and do it more quickly? Can we stop thinking of what we're going to do in 1943 and 1944, and think of what we can do now?

In no spirit of rancor, it is recalled that it was on June 17, 1940, the Prime Minister announced the purpose of the pending national registration as a means to make the whole material resources of the country available wherever they are required to meet the needs of the war—the skilled worker in the factory, the transport worker, the farmer and the rest, with the exception of compulsory service for overseas. Nearly two years have passed. Can it be said that today the whole material resources of the country are employed where they will serve best? If so, the Government would hear fewer complaints.

The Canadian people have responded promptly to every demand made upon them. If, after two and a half years, we have failed to reach the peak of the war effort, it is not because of lack of required funds. But in war, as with everything else, the past is gone, and the future is what the present makes it. There is only one time for action.

Every enemy gain makes the battle that much harder to win. Our job today is harder than two years ago, harder than one week ago — because we didn't drive ahead fast enough. Canada has to make up for lost time. The people are willing, but can go only as fast as the Government per[illegible]

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No point is gained by recalling the unpreparedness and failures of the past unless there is a lesson for the present. Mr. Churchill was able to say the position in August, 1941, seemed vastly better than a year earlier, when France was prostrated. It would be close to hopeless today against the added aggression of Japan without the United States, and with due regard for Russia's remarkable achievements. But Mr. Donald M. Nelson, United States production chief, has said something that ought to be the keynote for every Allied nation:

> Every weapon made now is worth ten times what we can produce next year. We must stop thinking about what we can do to the enemy in 1943 and start thinking about what we're going to do to him in February and March, 1942. Let's stop thinking what we'll do when it is all over and start to think about what we're going to do to prevent it from being all over for us.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Gazette ?

Date ?

Subject

D 42818

THE ROOSEVELT-KING BROADCAST.

It was a happy thought of Prime Minister King to invite President Roosevelt to join him in opening Canada's 1942 Victory Loan campaign with a broadcast address, and for Mr. Roosevelt's acceptance, as well as for his speech, we are grateful. For in truth the act itself was symbolic, aside from the words. A reminder, not only that we are not alone but that our duties as well as our protections relate to others than ourselves, was implicit in the fact that the leaders of two nations spoke to us together.

Their joint message could be summed up in three words: "Lend for victory." Mr. Roosevelt's tribute to the Canadian nation was pleasant to hear, and handsomely stated; it made us the more ready to heed Prime Minister King's appeal for the wherewithal to "transform materials and manpower into actual fighting strength."

Mr. King is to be congratulated, too, on the emphasis he put upon the achievement of a new world order. In the United Nations, a worldwide union of the free, the Prime Minister sees that new order's foundations: "The forces which have "combined to work such havoc throughout the "world, have equally combined to bring together "the forces of freedom." In a dark hour it is well to be reminded that "westward, look, the land is bright."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Tribune.

Date March 12/42.

Subject

P.M. Refile 1166
D 42819

"This Is The Crucial Year"

THE desperate nature of our present crisis is self-evident. Every Canadian possessing a grain of realism must agree with Prime Minister KING'S statement of Tuesday night, as reported by The Canadian Press:

"Prime Minister Mackenzie King told the nation last night that Germany and Japan are staking everything on 1942. . . .

"From every continent and from every ocean the call continues to come for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more fighting men.

"The present is the crucial year," the Prime Minister continued. "Germany and Japan are staking everything on 1942.

"The pattern of world conquest, planned from the outset, is only too apparent in their combined and co-ordinated action. The survival of every nation is at stake. Now, more than at any time, the maximum force of the United Nations must be brought into action."

* * *

So 1942 is to be the crucial year, according to Mr. King. And how are we prepared to meet it? Canada has been at war now for two and a half years. And how does the score stand?

In a moment of lucidity, after the fall of France, the government put through the National Resources Mobilization Act, modelled upon the British Act, as long ago as June, 1940. Have we yet made full use of that Act? We have not. We have hardly begun to tackle the problem of selective service, even without reference to overseas conscription. That Act was passed twenty months ago. Now, well into 1942, our government admits that this is the crisis, here and now. It must accept full responsibility if we are not prepared to meet this crisis.

Only now, at what Mr. King implies is the eleventh hour, is the nation even beginning to edge, tentatively, toward facing the manpower issue—including conscription for overseas service. We are to have a plebiscite in April. Meanwhile the world is falling about our ears. The only thing for the patriotic Canadian to do is to vote "yes" on the plebiscite and then tell the government to get on with the job without a moment's delay.

Mr. King's own admission that this is the crucial year makes it certain that pressure upon the government for all-out selective service and conscription of manpower will grow greater and greater. The plebiscite will only increase the demand. It is already plain that we cannot have all-out national mobilization in time to gird our whole people for the crisis of 1942. The time to organize for today's crisis was in 1940, at the latest.

Next year, provided we come through, and the year after perhaps, we shall again be told that we are facing a crucial year. Shall we still be unprepared? Shall we still be edging tentatively toward total mobilization?

If the United Nations are to survive we must have universal mobilization here and now. How can Canada comtemplate the fate of other nations which did "too little, too late," when we ourselves are giving the whole world a horrible example of too little and too late, even now, in mobilizing our manpower. The earth is strewn with the mangled wreck of nations which did not realize—or would not realize—that we have got to meet total war with total war.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date MAR 12 1942

Subject

D 42320

Prime Minister King Warns Axis Stakes Everything on 1942

Thanks Canadians for Support Given Loan But Says the Job Is Not Yet Done

By The Canadian Press.

Prime Minister King told the nation Wednesday night that Germany and Japan are "staking everything on 1942" as he thanked Canadians for their support of the second Victory Loan and warned that "we cannot . . . even for a moment, afford to be content with what we have achieved".

Mr. King spoke on a national "thank you" broadcast over facilities of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Finance Minister Ilsley and G. W. Spinney, chairman of the National War Finance Committee which conducted the loan drive, also spoke briefly.

Mr. Ilsley outlined for Canadians a two-point program: "Work and save."

Mr. Spinney, saying success in the loan did not mean Canadians had finished, like Mr. Ilsley appealed for continuation of "the great plan of saving for victory".

(Earlier in the day national loan [illegible] announced that [illegible] purchases subscribed for [illegible] assets $878,217,000 in the [illegible] campaign which ended [illegible]. Reports are not yet [illegible]. Nominal objective of the [illegible] $900,000,000.)

At the outset of the (Loan) campaign, it was [illegible]

"The response to that call, as expressed in this second Victory Loan, has been splendid. We cannot, however, even for a moment, afford to be content with what we have achieved.

"Never in this world's history has the danger to civilization itself been comparable to what it is at this very hour. Even in the short period since the launching of the Loan, the enemy, on all fronts but one, has gained an almost continuous series of military successes. He is continuing to make further and far-reaching gains.

"From every continent and from every ocean the call continues to come for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more fighting men.

"The present is the crucial year", the Prime Minister continued. "Germany and Japan are staking everything on 1942."

"The [illegible] of world conquest, planned from the outset, is only [illegible] their combined and co-ordinated action. The survival of every nation is at stake. Now, more than at any other time, the maximum force of the United Nations must be brought into action."

Mr. Ilsley's Plan.

Mr. Ilsley said that Canadians, whatever their position, could do two things:

[illegible]

paigns was to get everyone to save who could do so—to cut down expenditures so they would not compete for supplies with war expenditures by the Government.

"The figures show we have succeeded to a very great degree in achieving that purpose as well as in raising the money we need", Mr. Ilsley said.

"The widespread popular response to our appeal is most convincing evidence of the zeal of all Canadians to do their share, not only in the work of the war, but in financing it as well.

"Each of us is coming to realize that saving is a form of war service in which nearly everyone can actively take part. That realization means a great deal to me as Minister of Finance."

Job Not Yet Done.

Like Mr. Ilsley, Mr. Spinney also warned Canadians that success in the loan did not mean the job was done.

"I know, of course, that many purchasers will have to economize to meet the instalments on their subscriptions over the coming months", Mr. Spinney said. "To others, who have made their subscriptions from their current service, it is incumbent that they begin again to save for future loans or to purchase War Savings Certificates and Stamps.

"It is important to remember that all [illegible] necessary [illegible] whether in [illegible] Loans, War [illegible] stamps [illegible] subscribe [illegible] part in the great [illegible] victory."

Mr. Spinney, as chairman [illegible] committee which [illegible] campaign, spent most [illegible] on the six thousand [illegible] groups which helped [illegible] loan a success.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date OCT 9 1942

Subject D 42830

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Mr. Ilsley outlined for Canadians a two-point program: "Work and save."

Mr. Spinney, saying success in the loan did not mean Canadians had finished the job, appealed for continuation of "the great plan of saving for victory".

(Earlier in the day national loan headquarters announced that 1,506,401 persons subscribed for bonds worth $979,217,100 in the three-week campaign which ended last Saturday. Reports are not yet complete. Nominal objective of the drive $600,000,000.)

"At the outset of the (Loan) campaign, I said that the enemy's superiority in numbers of trained fighting men and munitions of war disclosed the need for every individual to make the utmost personal contribution", said Mr. King. "I said it was equally a call to every man and woman to make the greatest possible financial contribution.

"The response to that call, as expressed in this second Victory Loan, has been splendid. We cannot, however, even for a moment, afford to be content with what we have achieved.

"Never in this world's history has the danger to civilization itself been comparable to what it is at this very hour. Even in the short period since the launching of the Loan, the enemy, on all fronts but one, has gained an almost continuous series of military successes. He is continuing to make further and far-reaching gains.

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Mr. Ilsley's Plan.

Mr. Ilsley said that Canadians, whatever their position, could do two things:

"First, work hard and well at our own particular jobs, to keep production up to the limit.

"Secondly, save all we can, all the time, so that as much as possible of our production can be spared for war purposes.

"We must accept and discharge both of these responsibilities if each of us is to do his share to bring about a sure and speedy victory."

One of the main purposes of the Government's borrowing campaigns was to get everyone to save who could do so—to cut down expenditures so they would not compete for supplies with war expenditures by the Government.

"The figures show we have succeeded to a very great degree in achieving that purpose as well as in raising the money we need", Mr. Ilsley said.

"The widespread popular response to our appeal is most convincing evidence of the zeal of all Canadians to do their share, not only in the work of the war, but in financing it as well.

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"I know, of course, that many purchasers will have to economize to meet the instalments on their subscriptions over the coming months", Mr. Spinney said. "To others, who have made their subscriptions from their cash reserves, it is incumbent that they begin again to save for future loans or to purchase War Savings certificates and stamps.

"It is important to remember that all forms of savings are necessary for our war effort, whether in the form of Victory Loans, War Savings certificates or stamps, bank deposits or life insurance premiums—all have their part in the great plan of saving for victory."

Mr. Spinney, as chairman of the committee which organized the campaign, spent most of his time on the air thanking the various groups which helped make the loan a success.

REPEAT
REPETITION

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
68		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	6 Dec. 1941	D 41963 - D 41964	
68		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Dec. 1941	D 41965 - D 41972	
68		Introduction of the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill. Speeches in Parliament	30 Dec. 1941	D 41973 - D 42004	
69		Tribute to the Memory of Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe. Speeches in Parliament	21 Jan. 1942	D 42005 - D 42014	
69		Speeches on the Address. Speeches in Parliament	26 Jan. 1942	D 42015 - D 42204	
69		Dinner, Saskatchewan. Member of Parliament. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Feb. 1942	D 42205	
69		Second Victory Loan, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Feb. 1942	D 42206 - D 42320	
69		Keeping Faith With the People. Speeches in Parliament	25 Feb. 1942	D 42321 - D 42337	
69		Plebiscite Act. Speeches in Parliament	25 Feb. 1942	D 42338 - D 42341	

D 4232 (2 36)

KEEPING FAITH WITH THE PEOPLE

A SPEECH

BY

Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister

IN

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
FEBRUARY 25, 1942

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

D 42322

KEEPING FAITH WITH THE PEOPLE

A Speech by

Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister

in

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
FEBRUARY 25, 1942

The Purpose of the Plebiscite

Let me first of all make quite clear the purpose of the plebiscite. As I have said, the purpose is to give the government—I put it in general terms—a perfectly free hand to deal with all matters affecting the war in the manner which, in its judgment, is most in the national interest.

There is a distinction to be made between the legal powers which the government has and the moral authority which it possesses. With respect to the legal power, there can be no question whatever that this parliament has full power to do whatever it may decide to do with respect to the management of matters pertaining to the war. The one limitation

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which exists on that power so far as this parliament is concerned is not a legal limitation but a moral obligation.

There may be some who take the view that, in matters of government, in time of war, moral obligations count for nothing. May I say that, in my opinion, moral obligations, especially where they relate to a specific measure, a concrete matter related to the war on which the government of the country itself has given a pledge, are as binding as any obligation could possibly be.

To say that the parliament of Canada, which derives its powers from the people, after a solemn pledge has been given to the people on a matter which is of deep concern to them, is released from this pledge the moment the people have elected it, is simply for parliament itself to create a precedent which would be subversive of parliamentary institutions.

Let me ask first of all how this limitation arose. It arose out of a situation that existed several years ago in this country. That of itself is significant as indicating how long the public memory is with respect to matters which affect the people themselves. I would pause here to say that the public memory is going to be long in the matter of how this parliament views its moral obligations as well as its legal powers.

It is because I feel very strongly that the people of Canada will wish to have their present and their future governments pay the utmost regard to pledges given to the electorate that I feel it all important that this matter of past commitments should be presented to the people in the form of a question which will secure their opinion, before the time comes when the government may be called upon to consider whether further action than it is empowered now to take, should or should not become necessary later on.

As I see it, either we are going to destroy the faith of the people of Canada in their public men and in the responsibility of parliament to the people themselves, if we ignore these pledges, or we are going to maintain that faith by making it perfectly clear to the people that we regard such power as we have as coming from the people themselves and that we intend to be ever mindful of this, and that if we have given a solemn pledge to them we intend to carry out that pledge.

If, after situations have arisen which did not exist at the time a pledge was made, we believe in their own interests we should be released from that pledge and we take the necessary steps to that end, by consulting the people first, then I say we are helping to keep the faith of the people in their public men and in their parliament.

That is why to my mind this question is fundamental. It goes to the very roots of government itself, the very source from which power is derived by a parliament. Has my hon. friend any authority other than that which comes from the people? Have I any power except that which comes from the people? Is that power changed the moment I get into parliament? Being returned by the votes of the people themselves, I have constantly to keep in mind, as I think every member of parliament must, that obligation, which is an abiding obligation with respect to membership in any House of Commons worthy of the name.

Freedom of Action Wanted

Well, now that being the purpose of the plebiscite, let me state the present position. The position is that the government has full power with respect to everything, excepting one thing; and that one thing is that

commitment, that obligation, with respect to the enlisting of men for overseas service. There the government is not free. You may ask why the government should come forward at the present time and ask to be made free.

First of all may I make it clear that it is not because of any situation that exists at the moment. The Minister of National Defence (Mr. Ralston) has made it perfectly clear that with respect to voluntary enlistment we are obtaining men for overseas service at the present time as rapidly as we can train them. For our programme this year, and up to March, 1943, there is an honest belief on the part of the government that we will be able to get the men by voluntary enlistment for service overseas, and will not have to resort to conscription. But no one can say how long this war is going to last. No one can say what particular turn it is going to take. None of us knows what the conditions are going to be a few months hence, or several months hence, or a year or two hence. What we all know is this, that every month of this war has made it apparent to every member of this House of Commons, and I think should have made it apparent to every citizen of Canada, that a government cannot be too free to take the course that may be demanded in the national interest at a time like the present.

It is because of this we want to have perfect freedom of action as an administration, to have all the right to do what is in the public interest at the time the situation may demand it, and we feel we ought to be given this freedom as quickly as possible. The reason we want it, as I have stated already, is to be free to act in the manner which will best serve the interests of the people of Canada to serve in the manner that will make Canada's war effort the most effective. That is the sole reason, and that is all that

is involved in this plebiscite. Hon. members have been talking about conscription, about no conscription and the like. That is not the issue in this plebiscite. This is the issue: Is the government of Canada, in time of war, to have freedom to take whatever action it thinks most advisable with respect to the furtherance of Canada's war effort?

That is the only question, and I am amazed that any person who has to do with the making of public opinion in Canada, with the making of its laws or to do with any political institutions, could for a moment hesitate to give immediate support to a demand of that kind. What argument can be urged against giving to a ministry the right to have full power in time of war to deal with any question, just as in time of peace it has full power to deal with any question that may come before it?

Wrong Impression Created

But there is another point I wish to bring out in connection with the special need for the plebiscite at this time, and it is this. First of all, the government is being put in an entirely wrong position before the people of this country and before the world just because we have not that full power. I have said that the public has a long memory. Other countries, other nations have memories as well. To-day we are in a great partnership with a large number of nations, who are helping us as we are helping them. It is important that our position should be perfectly clear. It is being represented to the people of this country, as it is being represented to the people of Britain, the people of the United States and the people of all the allied nations, that this government is not seeking to have an all out war effort. Why? Because it is precluded, under a commitment which

it has given and to which it is adhering, from resorting to conscription for men for service overseas. In other words the all out war effort is being identified with that one single thing, namely the commitment against having conscription for overseas service whether that should ever become necessary or not.

That is putting the government in an entirely false position. Let us take the position as it is to-day. Would anyone say that we have not been working as hard as we possibly could toward a full out war effort? Will anyone say that at the present time, if we had that full power, we would be resorting to conscription for overseas service? No one will say that, because it is not necessary, has not become necessary, and may never become necessary. Nevertheless as long as that commitment is there we are being represented to the people of our own and other countries as a government unwilling to go the lengths other countries are willing to go, even should necessity for it become manifest in every way. That is a false position and a very wrong one in which to put the government.

Moreover, the present position in regard to that one commitment places the parliament of Canada, as well, in a false position. Suppose the question of conscription were urgent at this time, and we wished to discuss it on the floor of the house, could we have a free discussion of conscription on its merits, with that commitment binding many hon. members at the present time?

I have not any fear, personally, that parliament will not take the right course with respect to any phase of the war effort, once it is debated on its merits. I have faith in the judgment of the House of Commons to do what is the wisest and the right thing, having respect to the merits of the case. But in existing circumstances I do not want to see this

parliament placed longer in a position where it cannot even discuss the merits of an all-important question with regard to Canada's war effort. And so I say to those who are taking exception to the course which the government is pursuing that they are helping only to place their own parliament in a position in which no parliament should be placed in a time of war.

Canada in False Position

I would say further, that not only is it putting the government in a false position to have its hands tied at this time, in the manner indicated, and that it is putting parliament in a false position, but it is also putting Canada in a false position, before all countries of the world, including her allies in the war.

We have seen in communications which have appeared from time to time, and we have heard in the public addresses, what has been said recently about the position of the United States vis-a-vis Canada. Notwithstanding the fact that for over two years Canada has been sending thousands of men across the seas, we have in the last month or two heard it said that Canada's war effort is not as fine as that of the United States, and why, forsooth, not that they have sent large numbers of men overseas, not that the United States have thousands of men, men who have been in the war for two years, but solely because there are alleged limitations on our war effort since we are not able to send a man overseas under compulsion, regardless of the fact that up to the present we have been and may continue to be able to get all we require under the voluntary system.

I do not believe Canada should be placed in that false position. We should not be placed in that position before the United States. We should not be placed in that false position before Great Britain and,

not only before our allies, but also before the enemy. It must be remembered that, as some are only too anxious to do in this country, the enemy will construe this commitment as a limitation on the war effort of Canada.

On these grounds I feel very strongly the time has come when that limitation should be removed, and when the government should be given the utmost freedom to deal with any phase of the war effort as it thinks best subject always to its responsibility to parliament.

No Delay Involved

It is said that the taking of this plebiscite means that it will delay matters in a time of war. What is it going to delay? Is it going to delay the production of munitions or equipment of war, or of ships? Is it going to delay the sending of airmen overseas? Is it going to delay the enlistment of men in the navy? Is it going to delay the enlistment of men in the army, either for service in Canada or overseas? I say it is not, not by one minute. More men are offering themselves for training to-day than the administration is able to train, and that will be so for some time to come. Is it delaying the production of food?

There is no delay anywhere. But there is a pause sufficiently long to allow the people to express their own views with respect to the future freedom of action that the government of this country should have the right to take.

Something has been said about the cost. I assume that it will cost something to take the plebiscite. But we are spending a good many billions of dollars at the present time and those billions of dollars are coming from the people. When this house undertakes

to put through estimates amounting to something like three billion dollars in a year, I think the people of this country will be relieved to know that the government submitting those estimates wants to be perfectly sure of their confidence in everything that it does; that it is prepared to trust them by going before them for increased powers when it feels that these increased powers are necessary in the public interest.

The taking of this plebiscite will not be using up war materials except perhaps the paper that will be necessary for the instructions, the ballots and the like. That is the only material that I can see that is going to be used.

True to Democracy

The present government, as I think my colleagues will bear me out, is not a one-man government. We are not imitating dictators; we are trying to remain the government of a democracy and to get as far away from dictatorship as we possibly can in all our actions. Any decision that is going to be made with respect to what will be done in a matter of future policy is not going to be made by any one member of the government or any two members; it is going to be made by all the members that sit in the government.

Every member in the government will have his voice in the shaping of policy, and those who cannot accept the policy of the majority will find it convenient to retire, and a government will remain in office which will stand as one with respect to policy.

I could not if I wished, therefore, undertake to tell the people of Canada to-day what was going to be done some months hence by a government of which I might not be a member, or with respect to which

D 42331

different views might be entertained from those which I have, or which some of the present members of the administration may have.

These facts are elementary. They should appeal to everyone who has to do with parliamentary procedure and government. Perhaps I can give an illustration that will help to make clear the wisdom of not indicating at the present time just what decision may be reached a little later on in certain circumstances.

The Two Methods

In order to carry on war men are necessary, money is necessary. Both have to be raised, one in large numbers and the other in large quantities. With respect to the men that are being raised at the present time we have two methods. They are not ends in themselves but methods, and we are taking methods which we believe will be most effective and serviceable to Canada's war effort when we resort to the one or to the other. We have two methods of raising men for the army. Some of them are raised by compulsion; they are serving within the territorial limits of Canada. Others are being raised by voluntary enlistment, some of them also are serving in Canada. But all that are going overseas are being raised by the voluntary enlistment system, which has proved effective up to the present.

Now with respect to the raising of money, we are using the same two methods. We are raising money by compulsion, under taxation in its different forms; and we are raising money voluntarily by the loan system which is in progress at the present time, and which the people of the country are supporting splendidly, and, I believe, will continue to support. Supposing my hon. friend were to ask me, "What are you going to do if the voluntary system fails in the matter of

D 42332

the loan? Will you tell the people that now?" Could I tell them that? Would it be wise to tell them that?

But a decision will have to be made if the voluntary system in the matter of loans should fail to produce the results which it is necessary should be produced in the securing of an amount of money requisite for the purpose. Under such circumstances I think probably there would be resort to the conscription of wealth. I do not see any other alternative than for the government just to come along and take the wealth that exists, if the required sums cannot be raised voluntarily.

I wish to have that parallel kept in mind. What the government is going to do when the voluntary method fails in the matter of loans it will decide when the time comes; and it will do exactly the same thing as respects the matter of raising men. When we find that we cannot raise the required number of men for enlistment overseas by the voluntary method, and it is absolutely necessary to raise more men by other methods, then we will make our decision, present it to parliament and have it discussed on its merits.

I am putting this forward now so that the public may understand quite clearly why it is impossible to give any immediate decision. And may I say this: I think the people of the country will see to it that both things are linked pretty closely together if one or the other becomes necessary.

The people themselves will realize that the government would not ask for this full power unless it was in the interest of the people themselves that it should be given to the government. This matter is one that affects their lives. The situation is different from a general election; it is not a general election to decide between one party and another, but it is a matter that

affects the home of every individual, that may affect the life of every individual in the country, certainly will affect the future of every individual, and will determine to what extent every man, woman and child in this country is to be half slave or half free or wholly slave or wholly free.

The People's Role

A great deal has been said in different parts of the world, and in our own country, about the New Order that is to come when this war is over.

What is the old order that is to give place to something new? The old order, the order which has brought on this war through gaining control, is an order which attaches no value whatever to any treaty, to any contract, to any pledge, to any obligation, to anything that is honourable, but which says that no matter how deceitful, how crooked, how wrong, whatever will get results through might and force, is the order that should be followed in the world. In other words, its supporters seek to build a totalitarian world on deceit, and betrayal, doing away with free institutions, doing away with democratic government, doing away altogether with any real relationship between the people and their governing institutions.

Does anyone in this assembly believe that Hitler would ever have been permitted or able to go to war if a free parliament had been maintained in Germany? Does anyone believe that Mussolini if he had not worked into the position that he did of complete control himself over his people and above them would ever have had the freedom to bring that country into the war?

Canada has taken a great place in this war. Canada's war effort, I believe, is something that when the war is over and we get through with political controversy

the people of this country will be more proud of than any other thing in the history of this Dominion; because it has been, in Mr. Churchill's own words, a magnificent effort and all of us should seek to have it known as such. And as I have said over and over again, it is not the effort of the government, it is the effort of the people of Canada. What the government has been able to do has been done only by virtue of what the people have been prepared to allow them to do.

Session 1942

18.II.42

D 12335

Is not a correct inference to be drawn from the statement of govt. policy in Speech from Throne?

The very opposite inference might be drawn with equal justice.

If admendment had been drawn in opposite terms, I would have equally condemned it.

Statement of policy.

Made clear in speech on address - question to be submitted.

On order paper is resolution for plebiscite.

Is it permissible to present in the form of amendment to the address a statement that would not be permitted in debate - if challenged by govt.?

If statement were true, would it not anticipate govt. policy, and as such be out of order as a motion to be debated at this time?

Say to mover and seconder:

(1) They place their province in a false position before rest of Canada as a provin that would be unwilling to allow the govt. of the country to do that which it believe to be most in the interest of the country.

D42330

(2) It places Canada in a false position before other countries of world:

(a) allied countries fighting for our liberties as well as theirs;

(b) enemy countries, by having it appear we are divided as regards our interest in the outcome of the war.

(3) Place the govt. in a false position:

(a) by having it appear we are desirous of having powers limited at a time of war.

(b) having it appear not trusted by its own followers.

Amendment is certainly a want of confidence in the govt.

Wd. ask if hon. members do not trust the present administration at this time of war, will they tell us what administration they are prepared to trust?

Until they are desirous of giving their support to another administration, they had better not withhold any measure of their support from present govt.

The Need for Unity

Any motion that is calculated to occasion disunity is certain to harm war effort of country

war effort of allied nations.

D 42337

At fall of France H. of C. rallied to united effort.

Situation graver than at time of France.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
68		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	6 Dec. 1941	D 41963 - D 41964	
68		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Dec. 1941	D 41965 - D 41972	
68		Introduction of the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill. Speeches in Parliament	30 Dec. 1941	D 41973 - D 42004	
69		Tribute to the Memory of Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe. Speeches in Parliament	21 Jan. 1942	D 42005 - D 42014	
69		Speeches on the Address. Speeches in Parliament	26 Jan. 1942	D 42015 - D 42204	
69		Dinner, Saskatchewan. Member of Parliament. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Feb. 1942	D 42205	
69		Second Victory Loan, Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Feb. 1942	D 42206 - D 42320	
69		Keeping Faith With the People. Speeches in Parliament	25 Feb. 1942	D 42321 - D 42337	
69		Plebiscite Act. Speeches in Parliament	25 Feb. 1942	D 42338 - D 42341	

~~Session 1942~~

Notes for Speech - House of Commons

February 25, 1942

D 42338

1. The Bill - a general plebiscite act.

2. Purpose of plebiscite to remove a certain limitation
   on freedom of action;
   present position;
   moral, not legal, obligation;
   differences in position of government and opponents.

3. How did limitation arise?
   issue conscription last war;
   to preserve national unity;
   by both parties - (see Manion's pledge - A)
   recognized by Parliament:
   March 1939, September 1939,
   general elction 1940, and Mobilization Act;
   no conscription for home service;

4. How remove limitation now change in war through government
   being placed in false position re: total effort;
   Identified with one limitation whether a factor or not.

5. Canada in false position vis-a-vis partners in war -
   U. S. and others.

6. Parliament in false position -
   unable to discuss conscription on merits.

D42339

7. What plebiscite is for:

full powers re freedom

8. What plebiscite is not:

decision for or against conscription.

9. Differences between referendum and plebiscite -

no political or military decision on people.

10. Re Responsible Government -

Parliament freeing the Ministry

not evasion, subterfuge or lack of courage.

11. Re Delay and Cost -

nothing being delayed: production, expansion of

navy or army:

plebiscite not related to immediate programme:

cost - small.

12. A moral issue -

good faith, promises, confidence of people in public men.

13. Attitude of opposition press -

for political reasons

beloud government's war record

beloud real issue.

D 42340

14. Conscription versus no conscription -

best serve the purpose

a dishonest business

removes legitimate excuse for controversy.

15. Position of parties:

Hanson's questions:

re future action

what action taken

(1) if plebiscite decides in affirmative

(2) " " indecisive ("enemy knocking at door")

(3) " " 27% of electorate

(4) " " carries in a number of provinces and not in one or two

(5) " large majority against

Questions ignore factors of most importance in decision:

State of war

State of country - "enemy knocking at the door"

(1) Commitments - (see page 39 of Hansard)

(2) I am not only Member of Government

(3) Matter of government policy made known in due course.

Government's decision will be what will best serve the

effectiveness of Canada's war effort.

D 42341

Attitude of government vigorously for (see page 52 of Hansard)

16. Blank cheque - what government has now on everything except overseas service

17. Re conduct of campaign

time of campaign

18. Educational work

19. Re new order -

restore faith in democratic government

will of people to be respected,

pledges, treaties, contracts.

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

2VLB

D 42342

Broadcast of Thanks for Response

to Second Victory Loan

It is my privilege, tonight, to express the Government's appreciation of the whole-hearted manner in which the people of Canada have subscribed to the Second Victory Loan.

It is no small achievement for a nation of less than twelve million people to subscribe nearly a billion dollars. The amount is impressive. Even more impressive is the fact that one Canadian out of every ten is a subscriber. This splendid response reflects a growing appreciation of the gravity of the struggle. It reveals how generally, and how deeply the Canadian people have come to feel the need, on the part of all, for the utmost effort.

The success of the Victory Loan is gratifying to the government. It should be equally so to all the citizens of Canada. It is a magnificient demonstration of national determination. It will be a source of profound encouragement to the United Kingdom, the United States and indeed to all the United Nations. The vast sum of money subscribed in this war will be added to the immense sums collected in taxes to further the maximum war effort of which our country is capable. It

D 42343

will help to expand our navy, our army and our air force. It will help to strengthen the defences of our coasts and of vulnerable areas within the country. It will mean more complete equipment for Canadian fighting men. It will mean more tanks, more bombers, more corvettes. It will help to provide food, weapons and munitions of all kinds for our own armed forces, and for the other nations with whom we are joined in the common struggle. It will help to shorten the war. It will mean the loss of fewer lives.

I desire to thank all who have subscribed to the loan, and all who have contributed to the success of the campaign. Large subscriptions have given volume to the total, but the hundreds of thousands of small subscriptions have given it national significance. I should like to make special reference to the contributions of wage earners. In every free country, Labour has clearly understood the issues of the present war. The workmen of Canada have made this understanding count in their subscriptions to this loan. Through the employee canvass plan, almost half a million employees subscribed to the Loan.

In your name, as well as on behalf of the government, I wish to thank Mr. C. W. Spinney, the chairman of the committee in charge of the organization of the loan, who this year, as last, has been indefatigable in his labours. Mr. Spinney's associates, and the voluntary workers who conducted the

D42344

canvass, were equally devoted and tireless in the discharge of their self-imposed tasks. In planning and in execution, the campaign has been a triumph of efficiency.

I should like also to express appreciation of the valuable help given in the campaign by the newspapers, the radio, the motion picture industry, and by others who contributed to the publicity for the loan. I feel that we owe a special debt of thanks to the artists and speakers from our own and other lands whose contributions lent so much colour and vitality.

I am sure, it will not be taken amiss, if I add a word of appreciation of the important contribution made by my colleague the Minister of Finance, to the success of the loan, and if I venture to extend to Mr. Ilsley warm congratulations upon what has been so splendidly achieved.

At the outset of the campaign I said that the enemy's superiority in equipment, ships, tanks, planes and fighting men disclosed the need for every individual to make the utmost personal contribution. I said it was equally a call to every man and woman to make the greatest possible financial contribution. The response to that call, as expressed in this second victory loan has been splendid. We cannot, however, afford to be content with what we have achieved. Even in the short period since the launching of the loan the enemy, on all fronts but one, has gained an almost

D 42345

continuous series of military successes. He is continuing to make further and far reaching gains. From every continent and from every ocean the call continues to come for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more fighting men.

Now more than at any other time we must make absolutely certain that the maximum force of the United Nations is brought into action. The present is the crucial year: Germany and Japan are staking everything on 1942. Never has the peril been so great. The survival of every free nation; the freedom of every man and woman is at stake. On the efforts of each and all depend the future well-being of mankind. To equal, and finally to surpass the enemy in fighting strength will demand the utmost effort of every free nationand every free man.

In the past three weeks the people of Canada have subscribed $ _____ to the 2nd Victory Loan

I am speaking tonight to them D 42346 the more than 1 200 000 people of Canada who shared in this magnificent effort.

I am speaking also to the ~~families~~ all homes of Canada from which the contributions to this Victory Loan represent a measure of personal sacrifice, both now & for the future.

I am speaking to the workers of Canada, who have given, gladly and generously, through the employees canvass plan.

I am speaking to express the appreciation of the Government of Canada to the Chairman of the National War Finance Committee, the G. W. Spinney, to his associates; to provincial and local chairmen; and to the many thousands of volunteer workers, who went out to every corner of this land in wintry weather ~~& both to~~ and by night as well as by day. I should like also to mention ~~do not forget~~ the valuable help of the newspapers, the radio, the motion pictures in their strips, ~~and~~ as well as artists who gave willingly of their talents.

The total of these efforts surpasses anything ever undertaken in Canada before. The success of the campaign in ~~reaching and surpassing~~ exceeding two different objectives is gratifying as a mark of the national solidarity of Canada in advancing our war effort. It is a symbol of the

unity of purpose which must make all of us in Canada
– free citizens of a still free nation – work even harder
to ensure that victory shall be achieved.

42347

We have been passing through ~~dark~~ Days, so
dark and so clouded that some must have wondered
how the efforts of the United Nations could ever prevail against
the constantly – widening aggression of the Axis Powers. We
have scored an important victory on the financial sector of
our home front. ~~We must now make certain – certain~~
~~beyond any doubt – that all the enemies within within the~~
~~home front are put speedily upon~~ We must mobilize
~~completely~~.

1st draft by Prime Minister

D 42348

Broadcast of Thanks for Response to Second Victory Loan

It is my privilege, tonight, to express the appreciation felt by the government of the whole-hearted manner in which the people of Canada have subscribed to the Second Victory Loan.

It is no small achievement for a nation of less than twelve million people to subscribe nearly a billion dollars. The amount is very impressive. Even more impressive is the fact that more than one Canadian out of every ten is an individual subscriber. This magnificent response shows how generally, and how deeply, our people have come to feel the need, on the part of all, for the utmost effort.

The success of the Victory Loan is gratifying not only to the government but must be equally so to all the citizens of Canada. It is a magnificent demonstration of national determination. It will be a source of profound encouragement to the United Kingdom, the United States and indeed to all the United Nations. The vast sum of money subscribed will be added to the immense sums collected in taxation in order to finance the maximum war effort of which

D 42349

our country is capable. It will help to expand our navy, our army and our air force. It will help to strengthen the defences of our coasts and of vulnerable areas within the country. It will help to provide food, ships, planes, tanks, guns, equipment and munitions of all kinds for our own armed forces, and for the other nations with whom we are joined in the common struggle.

In thanking those who have contributed to the success of the Victory Loan, I should like to make special reference to the workers of Canada. In every free country, Labour has clearly understood the issues of the present war. The workmen of Canada have made their understanding count in their subscriptions to this loan. Through the employee canvass plan, almost half a million employees subscribed to the Loan.

In your name, as well as in the name of the government, I wish to thank those who have made the campaign the outstanding success that it has been. This year, as last year, Mr. G. W. Spinney, the chairman of the committee in charge of the organization of the loan, has been indefatigable in his labours. His associates, and the thousands of voluntary workers who conducted the canvass, were equqlly devoted and tireless in the discharge of their self imposed tasks. In planning and in execution, nthe campaign has been a triumph of efficiency.

D 42350

I should like to express a special word of appreciation of the valuable help given by the newspapers, the radio, the motion picture industry, and of all of those who gave of their individual, and in many cases exceptional, artistic genius to the great cause. The aid contributed so generously by these various groups served to bring the campaign to the climax which has proven so gratifying to all.

In the short period since the launching of the Second Victory Loan, the enemy on all but one front has won an almost continuous series of military successes. These successes have been achieved because the enemy had superior weight of equipment, of ships, of tanks and of planes. At the outset of the campaign I said this great need constituted a call to every individual to make his utmost personal contribution. I said it was equally a call to every man and woman to make the greatest possible financial contribution.

The response to that call, as expressed in this Second Victory Loan has been splendid. We cannot, however, afford to be content with what we have achieved. The enemy continues to make further and far reaching gains. From every continent and from every ocean the call continues to come for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more men. The need for saving has not ended. It will not end until the war has been won. We can all make a Through

D 42351

continuous War Savings we can all make a constant and unremitting effort.

Now more than at any other time we must make very sure that the maximum force of the United Nations comes into action. The present is the crucial year: Germany and Japan are staking everything on 1942. Never has the peril been so great. The survival of every free nation; the freedom of every man and woman is at stake. On the efforts of each and all depends the future and the welfare of all mankind. To equal and finally to surpass the enemy in fighting strength will demand the utmost effort of every free nation and every free man.

DRAFT

Copy for Mr Gibson

Broadcast of Thanks for Response

to Second Victory Loan

D 42352

Tonight I have before me a most agreeable duty. To the people of Canada I desire to convey the deep appreciation felt by the government for the magnificent response that has been given during the past three weeks to the nation-wide appeal to buy Victory bonds.

The second Victory loan has been vastly over-subscribed. The original objective of six hundred million dollars was surpassed many days before the end of the campaign. A second objective was set, fifty percent greater than the first: an objective of nine hundred million dollars. This new objective has also been surpassed. Almost a billion dollars have been invested by the people of Canada to make sure that the Canadian war effort continues to be a maximum effort.

The impressiveness of that sum needs no underlining. But I should like to point to another sum, no less impressive, and even more significant. In the great campaign for the first Victory loan, less than a year ago, the total number of individuals who subscribed fell a little short of a million. That was an impressive number; but to this second Victory loan almost a million and a quarter individual Canadians have subscribed.

D 42353

The number of individual subscriptions to the loan reflects, I believe, how strongly the desperate gravity of the struggle has come home to all of us. May I, in this connection, add a word of special thanks to the workers of Canada, almost half a million of whom subscribed through the employee canvass plan. More clearly perhaps than any others, Labour has understood the issues of this war in all their grim plainness, and they have made their understanding count in the subscriptions it has inspired.

The vast sum of money subscribed will be used to strengthen the armed forces of Canada and to provide weapons and munitions for our allies. It will mean more complete equipment for Canada's fighting men. It will mean more tanks, more corvettes, more bombers. It will mean the loss of fewer lives. It will help to shorten the war.

In thanking all who have subscribed to this Victory loan, I wish to thank also, in your name as well as in the name of the government, those who have striven hard and devotedly to make of this campaign the outstanding success that cheers us all. This year as last year, Mr. G. W. Spinney, the chairman of the committee in charge of the organization of the loan, his associates, and the countless thousands of voluntary workers who went up and

D 42354

down the streets and roads of the land, have toiled devotedly and effectively. In planning and in execution the campaign has been a triumph of efficiency. In thanking all who have had a part in its success, I do not forget the valuable help given by the newspapers, the radio, the motion picture industry, and those who gave their artistic genius to the great cause. Without such aid as flowed so generously from these various groups, the result would not have swelled to such a gratifying climax.

Since this year of 1942 began, since the Victory loan appeal first went out, the grim and desperate nature of the struggle in which we are locked has become even plainer than before. Our new foe, the empire of Japan, has been winning an almost continuous series of bitterly contested successes. The Japanese tentacles have closed around the peninsula of Malaya, the island fortress of Singapore, most of the Philippine Islands, the main centres in the Netherlands East Indies, the approaches to the Burma Road and to India. Our sister nation, the Commonwealth of Australia, is in deadly peril.

How have these successes been achieved? They have been achieved because the weight of equipment, of warships, of tanks, of airplanes, has been enormously in favour of the aggressive invader.

D42355

None of us can know where the next blow will be struck. But it is easy for us all to know what we must do. We must make our war effort, great as it has been, far greater. Where we have subscribed one dollar we must subscribe two, or five, or ten dollars. The Victory loan campaign is over. But the need for saving will not end until the war is won. The funds flowing into the Treasury by way of the War Savings Certificates must be increased. Not a dollar dare we spare. Not a moment dare we lose.

Every dollar that we do not set to work for the war effort, every moment that we put off setting it to work is an aid to the enemy. Now more than at any other time we must make very sure that the maximum force of the free nations comes into action. 1942 is the crucial year: on 1942 the dictators are staking everything. If we hold them in 1942, we may then hope to crush them for ever: to hold in 1942 is to save the sum of all we cherish on this side of the grave.

"And so we strike at Hitler and the tribes
Infused with the contagion of his ill.
We strike to halt a rot at the root of living.
We strike instinctively,
Strike to survive;
Not as man, not as a nation, not as a race
But as mankind.
But as mankind -- as the warm branch of nature
That found good will a necessary shaft
To fend off death--
Found it a need and made of it a faith."

From Charles Bruce: A Personal Note
(Ryerson Press)

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 3-12356

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date MAR 12 1942

Subject

Enemy Is Staking All On 1942 Says Prime Minister

Mr. King, Thanking Canadians for Victory Loan Success, says 'We Cannot Afford to Be Content.'

Prime Minister Mackenzie King told the nation last night that Germany and Japan are "staking everything on 1942" as he thanked Canadians for their support of the second Victory Loan and warned that "we cannot . . . even for a moment, afford to be content with what we have achieved."

Mr. King spoke on a national "thank you" broadcast over facilities of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Finance Minister [illegible], C. V. Bruneau, district [illegible] of the second Victory Loan [illegible] conducted the [illegible] proceeds briefly.

Mr. Ilsley outlined for Canadians a two-point program: "work and save."

[illegible] saying success in the second Victory Loan [illegible] Canadians [illegible] part of [illegible] Chief Justice [illegible] Chairman [illegible] Canadian [illegible] Canadian [illegible] Canadian

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date MAR 1942

Subject

D 51656

Enemy Is Staking All On 1942 Says Prime Minister

Mr. King, Thanking Canadians for Victory Loan Success, says 'We Cannot Afford to Be Content.'

Prime Minister Mackenzie King told the nation last night that Germany and Japan are "staking everything on 1942" as he thanked Canadians for their support of the second Victory Loan and warned that "we cannot . . . even for a moment, afford to be content with what we have achieved."

Mr. King spoke on a national "thank you" broadcast over facilities of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Finance Minister Ilsley and G. W. Spinney, chairman of the national war finance committee which conducted the loan drive, also spoke briefly.

Mr. Ilsley outlined for Canadians a two-point program: "work and save."

Mr. Spinney, saying success in the loan did not mean Canadians had finished the job, appealed for continuation of "the great plan of saving for victory."

(Earlier in the day national loan headquarters announced that 1,506,401 persons subscribed for bonds worth $979,217,100 in the three-week campaign which ended last Saturday. Reports are not yet complete. Nominal objective of the drive was $600,000,000.)

"At the outset of the (loan) campaign, I said that the enemy's superiority in numbers of trained fighting men and munitions of war disclosed the need for every individual to make the utmost personal contribution," said Mr. King. "I said it was equally a call to every man and woman to make the greatest possible financial contribution.

Splendid Response.

"The response to that call, as expressed in this second Victory Loan, has been splendid. We cannot, however, even for a moment, afford to be content with what we have achieved.

"Never in this world's history has the danger to civilization itself been comparable to what it is at this very hour. Even in the short period since the launching of the loan, the enemy, on all fronts but one, has gained an almost continuous series of military successes. He is continuing to make further and far-reaching gains.

"From every continent and from every ocean the call continues to come for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more fighting men."

"The present is the crucial year," the Prime Minister continued. "Germany and Japan are staking everything on 1942."

"The pattern of world conquest, planned from the outset, is only too apparent in their combined and co-ordinated action. The survival of every nation is at stake. Now, more than at any other time, the maximum force of the United Nations must be brought into action.

"By their response to the second Victory Loan appeal the Canadian people have again evidenced, on the financial front, their united support of a maximum national effort. The gravity of the hour demands a like united determination in the prosecution of its every aspect."

Success of the loan was "a magnificent demonstration of national determination," and a source of "profound encouragement" to the United Kingdom, the United States, and all the United Nations.

Mr. King thanked all who subscribed to the loan, and all who contributed to the success of the campaign. The hundreds of thousands of small subscriptions had given the total national significance.

Can Do Two Things.

Mr. Ilsley said that Canadians, whatever their position, could do two things:

"First, work hard and well at our own particular jobs, to keep production up to the limit.

"Secondly, save all we can, all the time, so that as much as possible of our production can be spared for war purposes.

"We must accept and discharge both of these responsibilities if each of us is to do his share to bring about a sure and speedy victory."

One of the main purposes of the government's borrowing campaigns was to get everyone to save who could do so—to cut down expenditures so they would not compete for supplies with war expenditures by the government.

"The figures show we have succeeded to a very great degree in achieving that purpose as well as in raising the money we need," Mr. Ilsley said.

Mr. Ilsley said that now the loan was over Canadians must not think their work was finished "in this field or any other." Many must still pay for bonds, must carry into effect the economies to which they had committed themselves.

Job Not Done.

Like Mr. Ilsley, Mr. Spinney also warned Canadians that success in the loan did not mean their job was done.

Mr. Spinney, as chairman of the committee which organized the campaign, spent most of his time on the air thanking the various groups which helped make the loan a success.

"The press and the radio were commissioned with certain duties by this committee, but they have given us help far beyond anything we asked them to undertake," Mr. Spinney said. "The great business institutions of this country have contributed extensive advertising space in the newspapers and time over the radio, and have helped in many other ways to develop the publicity program and the organization for canvass and salesmanship among their staffs."

REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date MAR 12 1942

D42357

Subject

1942 IS CRUCIAL KING DECLARES

Warns Canadians Axis Staking All on This Year

Thanks People for Support of Loan Drive—Ilsley and Spinney Also Speak

Ottawa, March 11 — (CP) — Prime Minister Mackenzie King told the nation tonight that Germany and Japan are "staking everything on 1942" as he thanked Canadians for their support of the Second Victory Loan and warned that "we cannot . . . even for a moment, afford to be content with what we have achieved."

Mr. King spoke on a national Thank You broadcast over facilities of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Finance Minister Ilsley and G. W. Spinney, chairman of the National War Finance Committee which conducted the loan drive, also spoke briefly.

Mr. Ilsley outlined for Canadians a two-point program: "Work and save."

Mr. Spinney, saying success in the [illegible] Canadians had [illegible] for continuation of the great plan of saving for victory.

(Earlier in the day national loan headquarters announced that 1,[illegible]401 persons subscribed for bonds worth $[illegible]70,317,100 in the three-week campaign which ended last Saturday. Reports are not yet complete. Nominal objective of the drive was $600,000,000.)

"At the outset of the (loan) campaign, I said that the enemies [illegible] parallel to the [illegible] of trained fighting men and munitions of war [illegible] every [illegible] division in the [illegible] some corresponding [illegible] Mr. King. "I said [illegible] every man [illegible] greatest possible financial [illegible]

"Never in this world's history has the danger to civilization itself been comparable to what it is at this very hour. Even in the short period since the launching of the loan, the enemy, on all fronts but one, has gained an almost continuous series of military successes. He is continuing to make further and far-reaching gains.

"From every continent and from every ocean the call continues to come for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more fighting men."

"The present is the crucial year," the Prime Minister continued. "Germany and Japan are staking everything on 1942."

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Mr. Ilsley [illegible]

"The task was not an easy one, and it took a great deal of effort to fulfil it," Mr. Ilsley said.

Mr. Ilsley said that now the loan was over Canadians must not think their work was finished "in this field or any other." Many must still pay for bonds, must carry into effect the economies to which they had committed themselves.

"Others may be tempted to sell their bonds rather than carry out severe economies," he said. 'Don't yield, if this situation confronts you.

"If you sell your bond you are cancelling the help you gave the nation in buying it."

Like Mr. Ilsley, Mr. Spinney also warned Canadians that success in the loan did not mean their job was done.

"I know, of course, that many purchasers will have to economize to meet the instalments on their subscriptions over the coming months," Mr. Spinney said. "To others, who have made their subscriptions from their cash reserves, it is incumbent that they begin again to save for future loans or to purchase war savings certificates and stamps.

Mr. Spinney, as chairman of the committee which organized the campaign, spent most of his time on the air thanking the various groups which helped make the loan a success.

He mentioned the large number of citizens who helped local committees, members of parliament, mayors and other civic and town officials, various public speakers and other volunteers. He thanked members of the armed forces who took part in parades and displays and others who assisted in publicity efforts. And finally he [illegible] ed deep gratitude for the work of all members of the victory loan organization.

Investment houses had virtually closed their doors since last November to give full time to the Victory loan, and the staffs of banks, trust and loan companies had been of great assistance.

"The press and the radio were commissioned with certain duties by this committee, but they have given us help far beyond [illegible] we asked them to undertake," Mr. Spinney said. "The great business institutions of this country have contributed extensive advertising space in the newspapers, time over the radio, and have [illegible] many other ways to [illegible] publicity [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication.....

Date.....

Subject.....

MONTREAL GAZETTE
MAR 12 1942
D 12357

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Mr. King spoke on a national Thank You broadcast over facilities of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Finance Minister Ilsley and G. W. Spinney, chairman of the National War Finance Committee which conducted the loan drive, also spoke briefly.

Mr. Ilsley outlined for Canadians a two-point program: "Work and save."

Mr. Spinney, saying success in the loan did not mean Canadians had finished the job, appealed for continuation of "the great plan of saving for victory."

(Earlier in the day national loan headquarters announced that 1,506,401 persons subscribed for bonds worth $979,217,100 in the three-week campaign which ended last Saturday. Reports are not yet complete. Nominal objective of the drive was $600,000,000.)

"At the outset of the (loan) campaign, I said that the enemy's superiority in numbers of trained fighting men and munitions of war disclosed the need for every individual to make the utmost personal contribution," said Mr. King. "I said it was equally a call to every man and woman to make the greatest possible financial contribution.

"The response to that call, as expressed in this second victory loan, has been splendid. We cannot, however, even for a moment, afford to be content with what we have achieved.

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Success of the loan was "a magnificent demonstration of national determination," and a source of "profound encouragement," to the United Kingdom, the United States, and all the United Nations.

Mr. King thanked all who subscribed to the loan, and all who contributed to the success of the campaign. The hundreds of thousands of small subscriptions had given the total national significance.

On behalf of the Canadian people and the Government, the Prime Minister thanked Mr. Spinney, his associates and the voluntary workers who conducted the loan canvass. He expressed appreciation for the part played by Mr. Ilsley and the valuable help given in the campaign by the newspapers, the radio, the motion picture industry, and by others who contributed to the publicity for the loan.

Mr. Ilsley said that Canadians, whatever their position, could do two things:

"First, work hard and well at our own particular jobs, to keep production up to the limit.

"Secondly, save all we can, all the time, so that as much as possible of our production can be spared for war purposes.

"We must accept and discharge both of these responsibilities if each of us is to do his share to bring about a sure and speedy victory."

Mr. Ilsley expressed pride in the "hard-working and efficient organization" which made the loan a success and in "the very real co-operation we have received on all sides, including that of the press, the radio and the motion picture theatre."

"The task was not an easy one, and it took a great deal of effort to fulfil it," Mr. Ilsley said.

Mr. Ilsley said that now the loan was over Canadians must not think their work was finished "in this field or any other." Many must still pay for bonds, must carry into effect the economies to which they had committed themselves.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Globe and Mail.

Date March 12/42.

D 42858

Subject

FOE STAKING ALL ON 1942, SAYS KING

Never Has Danger Been Greater Than Now, Canada Told

LOAN 'SPLENDID'

Ottawa, March 11 (CP). — Prime Minister Mackenzie King told the nation tonight that Germany and Japan are "staking everything on 1942" as he thanked Canadians for their support of the Second Victory Loan and warned that "we cannot . . . even for a moment, afford to be content with what we have achieved."

Mr. King spoke on a national "Thank You" broadcast over facilities of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Finance Minister Ilsley and G. W. Spinney, chairman of the National War Finance Committee which conducted the loan drive, also spoke briefly.

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Call to Every Citizen.

"At the outset of the (loan) campaign, I said that the enemy's superiority in numbers of trained fighting men and munitions of war disclosed the need for every individual to make the utmost personal contribution," said Mr. King. "I said it was equally a call to every man and woman to make the greatest possible financial contribution.

"The response to that call, as expressed in this Second Victory Loan, has been splendid. We cannot, however, even for a moment, afford to be content with what we have achieved.

"Never in the world's history has the danger to civilization itself been comparable to what it is at this very hour. Even in the short period since the launching of the loan, the enemy, on all fronts but one, has gained an almost continuous series of military successes. He is continuing to make further and far-reaching gains.

"From every continent and from every ocean the call continues to come for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more fighting men."

"The present is the crucial year," the Prime Minister continued. "Germany and Japan are staking everything on 1942."

"The pattern of world conquest, planned from the outset, is only too apparent in their combined and coordinated action. The survival of every nation is at stake. Now, more than at any other time, the maximum force of the United Nations must be brought into action.

"By their response to the Second Victory Loan appeal the Canadian people have again evidenced, on the financial front, their united support of a maximum national effort. The gravity of the hour demands a like united determination in the prosecution of its every aspect."

Amount Impressive.

It is no small achievement for a nation of less than 12,000,000 people to subscribe nearly $1,000,000,000, said Mr. King. The amount, of itself, was impressive. Even more impressive was the fact there were over 1,500,000 individual subscribers —"one Canadian out of every eight."

"This splendid response reflects a growing appreciation of the gravity of the struggle," Mr. King said. "It reveals how generally, and how deeply, the Canadian people have come to feel the need, on the part of all, for the utmost effort.

"I should like to make special reference to the contributions of wage-earners," said Mr. King. "In every free country, labor has clearly understood the issues of the present war. The workmen of Canada have made this understandng count in their subscriptions to this loan. Through the employee canvass plan, almost 500,000 employees subscribed to the loan."

Thanks Workers.

On behalf of the Canadian people and the Government, the Prime Minister thanked Mr. Spinney, his associates and the voluntary workers who conducted the loan canvass. He expressed appreciation for the part played by Mr. Ilsley and the valuable help given in the campaign by the newspapers, the radio, the motion picture industry, and by others who contributed to the publicity for the loan.

Mr. Ilsley said that Canadians, whatever their position, could do two things:

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

5166/42

Name of Publication Montreal Star.

Date March 18/42.

Subject Mr King Radio Re War Loan D 42359

Hon. W. L. M. King

It is my privilege tonight to express the Government's appreciation of the whole-hearted manner in which the people of Canada have subscribed to the Second Victory Loan.

It is no small achievement for a nation of less than twelve million people to subscribe nearly a billion dollars. The amount, of itself, is impressive. Even more impressive is the fact that there were over 1,500,000 individual subscribers to the Loan. In other words, one Canadian out of every eight is a subscriber.

This splendid response reflects a growing appreciation of the gravity of the struggle. It reveals how generally, and how deeply, the Canadian people have come to feel the need, on the part of all, for the utmost effort.

The self-denial which has made possible subscriptions in such numbers is the surest guarantee of the enduring quality of our effort.

There is a story of an old man who had cast bells all his life. "Each bell I cast," he said, "goes away from me and I never see it again, but I know that afar off it is ringing in the clouds and I hear it in my dreams."

While their savings are secured to them by the State, and will be returned with interest later on, those who have sacrificed in order to save, and who have saved in order to contribute to the cause of freedom, have nevertheless reason to feel that, in some field of action, now or remote, their subscriptions will continue to make a vital contribution to the winning of the war.

PUT TO MANY USES

The vast sum of money subscribed in this loan will be added to the immense sums collected in taxes to further the maximum war effort of which our country is capable. It will help to expand our navy, our army and our air force. It will help to strengthen the defences of our coasts and of vulnerable areas within the country. It will mean more complete equipment for Canadian fighting men. It will mean more tanks, more bombers, more corvettes. It will help to provide food, weapons and munitions, not only for our armed forces, but also for the armed forces of other nations with whom we are joined in the common cause. It will help [illegible]

The success of the Victory Loan is gratifying to the Government. It should be equally so to all the citizens of Canada. It is a magnificent demonstration of national determination. It will be a source of profound encouragement to the United Kingdom, the United States, and, indeed, to all the United Nations.

I desire to thank all who have subscribed to the loan, and all who have contributed to the success of the campaign. Large subscriptions have given volume to the total, but the hundreds of thousands of small subscriptions have given it national significance. I should like to make special reference to the contributions of wage earners. In every free country, Labor has clearly understood the issues of the present war. The workmen of Canada have made this understanding count in their subscriptions to this loan. Through the employees canvass plan, almost half a million employees subscribed to the Loan.

THANKS TO WORKERS

In your name, as well as on behalf of the Government, I wish to thank Mr. G. W. Spinney, the Chairman of the Committee in charge of the organization of the Loan, who, this year, as last, has been indefatigable in his labors. Mr. Spinney's associates, and the voluntary workers who conducted the canvass, were equally devoted and tireless in the discharge of their self-imposed tasks. In planning and in execution, the campaign has been a triumph of efficiency.

I should like also to express appreciation of the valuable help given in the campaign by the newspapers, the radio, the motion picture industry, and by others who contributed to the publicity for the Loan. To the artists and speakers from our own and other lands whose contributions lent so much color and vitality to the different programs, we owe a special debt of thanks.

I am sure it will not be taken amiss if I add a word of appreciation of the important contribution made by my colleague, the Minister of Finance, and if I venture to extend to Mr. Ilsley warm congratulations upon what has been so splendidly achieved.

At the outset of the campaign, I said that the enemy's superiority in numbers of trained fighting men and munitions of war disclosed the need of every individual to make the utmost personal [illegible]

a call to every man and woman to make the greatest possible financial contribution. The response to that call expressed in this Second Victory Loan, has been splendid.

CANNOT BE CONTENT

We cannot, however, even for a moment, afford to be content with what we have achieved. Never in this world's history has the danger to civilization itself been comparable to what it is at this very hour. Even in the short period since the launching of the Loan, the enemy, on all fronts but one, has gained an almost continuous series of military successes. He is continuing to make further and far-reaching gains. From every continent and from every ocean the call continues to come for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more fighting men.

The present is the crucial year. Germany and Japan are staking everything on 1942. The pattern of world conquest, planned from the outset, is only too apparent in their combined and co-ordinated action. The survival of every nation is at stake. Now, more than at any other time, the maximum force of the United Nations must be brought into action. By their response to the second Victory Loan appeal the Canadian people have evidenced, on the financial front, their united support of a maximum national effort. The gravity of the hour demands a like united determination in the prosecution of [illegible] every aspect.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
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Name of Publication Montreal Star.

Date March 10/42.

Subject

5166/42

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The success of the Victory Loan is gratifying to the Government. It should be equally so to all the citizens of Canada. It is a magnificent demonstration of national determination. It will be a source of profound encouragement to the United Kingdom, the United States, and, indeed, to all the United Nations.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

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

D42360

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

OF

Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M. P.

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

ON

NATIONAL SELECTIVE SERVICE

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON TUESDAY, MARCH 24, 1942

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, the speech from the throne at the opening of the present session of parliament contained the following paragraph:

> The government's policy of national selective service will be extended, as generally and rapidly as may be necessary to effect the orderly and efficient employment of the men and women of Canada for the varied purposes of war. You will be advised of the means the government proposes to adopt to effect as complete as possible a mobilization of the material resources and man-power of the country in direct furtherance of a total national effort.

I propose in the statement I am now about to make to set forth means the government proposes to adopt to effect increased mobilization of the man-power of the country in direct furtherance of a total national effort, and to outline the measures themselves as already adopted.

Modern total war is not confined to the struggle between opposing armies and navies and air forces. It is a struggle between whole peoples, in which all of each nation's resources, both human and material, must be mobilized and brought into action. It is therefore a misconception to assume that the war-time man-power problem is merely a problem of raising men for the armed forces. This is only a part, and not necessarily the most difficult part, of the problem of mobilizing the man-power of a nation for modern war.

Man-power—and in that term I include woman-power—is required for many and varied tasks. In the first place, essential civilian services must be maintained as the foundation of community life on which the war effort rests. These essential tasks are a form of service just as truly as making munitions or serving in the armed forces. In order, however, to free younger men for direct war service, civilian tasks, as far as may be possible, should be performed by older men or by women.

The production of food, in war time, is one of the most essential civilian tasks. To the extent that food is produced for Britain, or other allied countries, or for Canada's own fighting men, it is a direct war service. If this aspect of Canada's total effort is not to suffer, the man-power required for food production must be kept available.

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

D42361

The man-power requirements for munitions production must also be filled. Some 600,000 workers are already engaged in the production of munitions. It is estimated that in the course of the next twelve months an additional 100,000 workers will be required.

In the armed forces our estimated requirements for the ensuing twelve months are a further 13,000 men for the navy, 90,000 to 100,000 for the active army, and 70,000 to 80,000 for the air force. These figures were given to parliament on February 10th by the Minister of National Defence. In addition, men will continue to be called up for military service within Canada; and this on a considerably increased scale.

Definition of National Selective Service

When, on January 26th, I announced the war programme for the coming year, I stated that the men and women required to carry out the programme would be mobilized by an extension of the application of national selective service.

It might be helpful were I to repeat the definition I then gave of national selective service as understood by the government.

By national service is meant any form of service, either voluntary or compulsory, which contributes directly to Canada's war effort. By national selective service is meant the selection of men and women for the various forms of national service according to the method or methods calculated to produce the most satisfactory results.

In order to be selective, national service does not necessarily need to be compulsory. The selective aspect applies also to voluntary service. The army, for example, does not accept every man who offers to enlist. As a war measure, compulsion is only of value where it serves to ensure a greater total effort.

Organization and Administration of National Selective Service

In speaking on the war programme in January, I made it clear that the extended application of compulsion to national selective service was a highly complicated matter, one which required very careful planning and organization. I also stated that, to carry out the proposed measures equitably and efficiently, the administrative machinery would necessarily be intricate and complicated.

Final responsibility for the allocation of man-power, as for all other phases of our war programme, necessarily rests with the war committee of the cabinet. The war committee determines, in all its aspects, the scope and extent of the war programme. The distribution of men and women among the various kinds of war service obviously depends upon the war programme. The objectives are set forth in the programme. National selective service is a method employed to help achieve these objectives.

To the problems of mobilizing man-power, the war committee has given close and continuous attention. Under the authority of the war committee, a special committee of the cabinet on man-power, presided over by the Minister of National War Services, has given detailed study to the problems involved. The recommendations of this committee have in turn been carefully considered by the whole cabinet.

I shall now set forth the procedures and measures which have been taken to organize and administer the government's policy of national selective service.

The primary responsibility for the extended scheme of national selective service has been placed upon the Minister of Labour. Under the Minister of Labour, the administrative responsibility for the direction and coordination of the policy has been vested in a director of national selective service and an associate director. Mr. Elliott M. Little has been appointed the Director of National Selective Service, and Mr. Paul Goulet, the Associate Director.

The responsibility for increasing the total man-power available for war service has been largely centred in the Department of Labour. It would not, however, be possible, even if it were desirable, to centralize in one department of government all the administrative responsibility for allocating man-power, and for directing men and women into the most useful form of service.

The other departments of government which share in greater or less degree in the tasks of making man-power available for war service and in the allocation of the available man-power are the departments of National War Services, Pensions and National Health, Munitions and Supply, Agriculture, and the three Defence departments. The interdepartmental committee on labour coordination, on which all these departments are represented, assists in coordinating the functions of the various departments, in so far as they relate to the mobilization of man-power. The committee has been strengthened by the addition of the employer and employee representatives on the executive of the National War Labour Board.

A national selective service advisory board has been established to advise on major

D42362

questions of policy. This board includes, in addition to the members of the labour coordination committee, the full membership of the National War Labour Board and such other persons as the Minister of Labour may designate. This latter provision will ensure the representation on the board of the agricultural community and of women.

In the programme of national selective service, extensive use is being made of the facilities of the Employment Service of Canada. In each area covered by an employment and claims office of the Unemployment Insurance Commission the director of national selective service will shortly appoint a national selective service officer. The national selective service officers will have local charge of the administration of the selective service programme for their respective areas. They will be advised and assisted in their work by voluntary unpaid citizens' committees which will be set up in each of the areas.

A central registry has been established in the Department of Labour to aid in promptly finding the appropriate men and women needed at any particular time. The registry is based upon the unemployment insurance records, and the records of the 1940 national registration. To the registry will be added the records of such further surveys of man-power as may be made from time to time, with a view to building up a complete inventory of man-power available for war and essential civilian purposes. To consolidate records and to avoid duplication, the administrative responsibility for national registration has been transferred from the Department of National War Services to the Department of Labour.

Under the programme now adopted, the mobilization of industrial man-power will, in the main, be effected through the agency of the Employment Service of Canada. The armed forces will continue to recruit men for the active army, the navy and the air force by the present voluntary methods. The calling up of men for compulsory military training and service will continue to be the responsibility of the Department of National War Services.

Compulsion is now being applied in aspects of the mobilization of man-power, other than military service within Canada, to which it has been applied since October, 1940. It is recognized that no hard and fast compulsory regulations can be made which may not work injustices in individual cases. As a consequence, considerable discretion has been vested in the national war services boards to decide appeals from the compulsory or restrictive regulations of the government, and from the orders of the director of national selective service and the national selective service officers.

The right of appeal will be enjoyed, not only by employers, employees, farmers, farm labourers and others directly affected, but also by interested government departments. The duty of hearing civilian appeals will add greatly to the work of the national war services boards, now mainly concerned with the appeals of men called up for military service. In order to cope with the increased duties which will fall upon the boards, it may become necessary to increase their number and in some cases to divide their territorial jurisdictions.

Aspects of National Selective Service

The war-time mobilization of man-power has three important aspects:

1. Estimating the number of men and women required for the different kinds of war service;

2. Increasing the total man-power resources available for war purposes. In other words, making available for some part in the war effort the largest possible number of men and women.

3. Directing the available men and women into the most useful form of war service.

All of these tasks have to be carried on at one and the same time, and, in part at least, through the same channels.

The whole programme is interrelated and interdependent. I shall now give a brief outline of each of the measures, indicating, as far as possible, how each relates to and affects the other.

Estimating Man-Power Requirements

Estimating the number of men and women needed in the war effort, and the most effective distribution of the total among the armed services, war industry and essential civilian pursuits, is a difficult task. A constantly changing war necessitates constant changes in military and production plans. These changes, in turn, involve continuous revision of the estimates of man-power requirements, and the proposed allocation of man-power reserves. To this end, the director of national selective service has been given authority to obtain information from government departments, and empowered to secure from employers, by compulsion if necessary, full information, regarding prospective labour requirements, existing labour forces, wage scales and working conditions.

D 42363

Making Men and Women Available for War Service

In the early months of the war, there were large reserves of available man-power for war service because of the unemployment and under-employment of many thousands of Canadians. If we except women who, for domestic or social reasons, have not desired or sought employment, we are now well past the stage where there is any considerable reserve of employable unemployed persons. Women, therefore, constitute the most important available reserve of man-power. It is, however, not so much by bringing women directly into the armed forces, though that is being done, that the total man-power available for war service can actually be increased; rather is this end accomplished by the substitution of women for men in essential civilian tasks, and in war industry.

Additional man-power is becoming potentially available for war service as an indirect result of the curtailment of civilian production. To the achievement of a maximum effort, it is vital that man-power thus released be shifted as speedily and efficiently as possible into some form of war service. The process of shifting man-power from civilian occupations into war service has, of course, gone on steadily since the outbreak of war. It has now been given more definite governmental direction and is being accelerated.

For more than a year, the Department of Labour, in cooperation with the provinces and industry, has been increasing the man-power available through training men and women for employment in war industries. During the past year, more than 60,000 trainees received instruction in about one hundred technical schools. Industries cooperating with the Department of Labour, and often on their own initiative, trained at least an equal number. Through the Department of Labour services, and directly in industry, greater provision is now being made for training and retraining men for essential war production; for diluting present working forces by employment of men of lesser skill for simpler operations; and for the constant up-grading, as a result of training and experience, of existing working forces.

The programme of increasing war-time man-power reserves has a threefold objective:

First, to increase the total male labour force available for war production.

Second, to make possible the replacement of able-bodied men of military age with older men, or men less fit physically for arduous tasks.

Third, to increase war-time man-power reserves by bringing women into industry. This is the most important single feature of the programme.

The first two objectives are being accelerated by governmental and industrial assistance. The assistance is similar in character, although on a smaller scale, to that being afforded for recruiting female labour.

The series of measures being undertaken to bring women into industries include:

1. Recruiting campaigns, planned and publicized to attract women into the needed work;

2. The provision of appropriate and adequate facilities for interviewing women applicants and for giving them advice and direction;

3. The establishment of competent job information and placement services, specializing in female labour;

4. Advances, where necessary, to meet transportation costs in getting women workers to places where work is available;

5. The provision of hostels or other satisfactory housing arrangements;

6. The provision of nurseries and other means of caring for children;

7. The provision, where needed, of medical and recreational facilities;

8. The provision in industry, as well as under direct governmental auspices, of training programmes, specifically designed for women;

9. Pressure upon employers who may be reluctant to engage female labour;

10. Changes in civil service and institutional restrictions on the employment of female, and, particularly, married female labour.

Some of these measures have already been applied over a considerable period of time. From now on, they will be more extensively applied.

Making Supervisors Available to War Industries

An important phase of the man-power problem has to do with providing in war industries the necessary supervisory personnel. It has been found that, as war industries continue to expand, it is increasingly difficult to secure sufficient supervisors, personnel managers, and foremen, to direct the enlarged work forces. Many plants producing urgently needed war materials are now operating day and night, seven days in the week. Others that might be operating on the same basis are hampered by lack of supervisors.

A recent statement by Mr. Bevin on the importance of personnel factors in war production in Great Britain is equally applicable to Canada. It reads:

D 42364

In the layout of our war effort, sufficient attention was not paid to the personnel problem. . . . The longer the war goes on, the more necessary it becomes to pay greater regard to this personnel side of industry. The absence of a proper understanding of the problem has been one of our greatest handicaps in this great struggle. . . . Hence my additional plea for the personnel manager, who should be specially trained to have an equal position in industry with other members of the executive. Indeed, I am sure—and I would emphasize this—that our post-war position will be materially helped, and the future prospects of British industry enhanced, by a full appreciation of this important fact.

To assist our Canadian employers to meet their personnel problem, provision has been made by the government for training in personnel management. The universities have agreed to cooperate. Experienced personnel men will serve as instructors and sponsors. Trainees will be given practical instruction in the classroom, and on the job.

If the experience of this undertaking warrants, these facilities will be extended to foremen and other supervisors. It is hoped by this means greatly to reduce an important area of difficulty in war production. Moreover, better personnel policies and practice should minimize friction between management and men, improve morale, and thereby increase output.

Re-Conditioning the Physically Unfit

The government is also undertaking an extended programme of reconditioning men to fit them physically for military service.

It is and has been standard practice for the army to accept men for service who require only dental treatment, provision of glasses, or nutritional improvement. After enlistment or enrolment, treatment is provided for these men as a matter of routine.

There are, however, men volunteering for the active army, or called up for training and service, who at present have to be rejected because of some condition other than those just mentioned, and which, though not a serious disability, is important enough to require more than routine treatment.

It has been decided that when disabilities of this class are mendable within a comparatively short time, free remedial treatment will be provided to restore the standard of physical fitness of these men. Such a policy is in the interests of the armed services and also of benefit to the health of the nation as a whole.

Free treatment will be available to those who volunteer and undertake in writing to enlist as soon as they are physically eligible, provided they are certified by a competent board to be cases in which the disability can be removed or mended by treatment so as to make them physically fit for enlistment within a specified reasonable period.

Free treatment will also be available to those who are called up for compulsory training and service provided it is similarly certified, as in the case of volunteers, that the disability is such that it can be removed or mended within a specified reasonable period. When the treatment is successfully completed, these men will be available for military training and service.

In giving treatment, the Departments of National Defence, Pensions and National Health, and National War Services, will cooperate.

The treatment, both for volunteers and for men called up for training and service, will be provided or arranged for by the Department of Pensions and National Health. In neither case will men undergoing treatment be accepted into the army unless, and until, the treatment has been successfully completed. In both cases, in addition to free treatment and, if necessary, hospitalization, men undergoing treatment will be paid an allowance for time actually and necessarily lost during the remedial period.

It should be added that free treatment on precisely the same terms as in the case of volunteers for the active army, will be provided for men who volunteer for the air force, and would now be rejected for physical unfitness.

Compulsory Military Service

Until recently, the most important form of direct compulsion in mobilizing men has been the compulsory military training and service of unmarried men and of widowers without children. This, of course, is being continued, although with certain changes in the selective procedure.

A proclamation is being issued making liable to call for military training and service all men born in the years from 1912 to 1921, who on July 15, 1940, were unmarried or widowers without children. In other words, the age limit for compulsory service has been raised from 24 to 30. It has also been decided to select the men to be called up for service by drawing lots over the whole field of those who are subject to the proclamation. As soon as the necessary administrative arrangements have been worked out for this plan of selection by lot, a detailed announcement will be made by the Minister of National War Services.

D 42365

Liability for compulsory military service is, at present, confined to citizens of Canada. It has been decided to extend this liability to all residents of Canada, whether citizens or not, as far as may be expedient in the light of all the circumstances. As reciprocal arrangements and other international considerations are involved in the proposal. its details cannot be announced immediately.

The liability to compulsory military service will continue to be general for the age categories affected. The burden of demonstrating the case for postponements is unchanged, except in the case of persons wholly or mainly employed in agriculture on March 23, 1942, as defined in the amended national war services regulations.

Stabilization of Employment in Agriculture

One of the man-power problems with which the country is faced is the growing shortage of agricultural labour. Means. accordingly, have had to be devised to ensure that the supply of farm labour is not depleted. To that end, regulations have been enacted to stabilize employment in agriculture.

With three exceptions, the regulations provide that no male person wholly or mainly employed in agriculture on March 23, 1942, as defined by the regulations shall enter into any employment outside agriculture unless he has obtained written permission from the national selective service officer to enter such employment. They also provide that no person shall take into employment outside agriculture, any male person wholly or mainly employed in agriculture unless such male person has obtained such permission.

The three exceptions provided for are active service in the armed forces by voluntary enlistment, seasonal employment in a primary industry, and compulsory military training if it is established that the person concerned is not an essential worker in agriculture.

The exception of seasonal employment in other primary industries, which include lumbering, logging, forestry, fishing and trapping is, in reality, not an exception. In many parts of the country, agriculture and the the primary pursuits specified are complementary aspects of what is, in effect, a single occupation.

The other specific exceptions both relate to service in the armed forces. Voluntary enlistment of farmers and agricultural workers in the active army, the navy and the air forces will continue to be encouraged. It is felt that the privilege of serving voluntarily in the armed forces should not be completely denied to a whole class of the community, however important may be the service its members are at present performing.

On the other hand, the growing scarcity of labour on the farms and the increasing importance of maintaining, and, indeed, of increasing food production, has been recognized. This has been accomplished by a fundamental alteration of the policy regarding compulsory military training and service where such service touches persons wholly or mainly employed in agriculture. Up to the present there has been a general obligation to serve, and the responsibility for proving a case for postponement of service has rested with the individual. Under the new regulations, farmers, farmers' sons and agricultural labourers will normally not be obliged to undertake compulsory military training and service. It is realized, however, that in a limited number of cases, men on the farms are not, in fact, essential agricultural workers. If it is established to the satisfaction of the national war services boards concerned that such persons are not essential workers in agriculture, they will continue to be called for service in the appropriate age groups.

This change of policy regarding compulsory military service applies only to those who were wholly or mainly employed in agriculture, on March 23, 1942, in accordance with the terms of the regulations. Persons who subsequent to that date may return to employment in agriculture, except from normal seasonal occupations, will continue to be liable for military service. In such cases, the earlier regulations regarding postponement will continue to apply.

Apart from the three specified exceptions to the rule that persons engaged in agriculture shall not enter into other employments, the regulations also empower the national selective service officer, having jurisdiction in the district in which a person resides, to give permission to farmers and agricultural workers to enter other employment. This provision has been included in the regulations so as to maintain a reasonable degree of flexibility in policy. It is recognized that there may be those engaged in agricultural pursuits, who, because of the limited character of their production or on other grounds, are not performing an essential war service. At the same time, such persons, because of age or physical condition, or for other reasons, may not be suitable for military service. Unless the way were left open for such persons to move into other fields of activity, great individual hardships might result, and valuable service in other fields be lost to the country.

D 42366

It will, therefore, be open to farmers and others engaged in agricultural work, who desire to enter some other field of employment, to apply to the national selective service officer, having jurisdiction in the district in which they reside, for permission to change their employment. Detailed regulations to guide national selective service officers in determining whether such permission shall be granted or refused will be made and revised from time to time in the light of experience. Two governing factors will be taken into account in determining these regulations, namely, the maintenance of the necessary agricultural production in Canada, and the extent to which the applicant is essential to the maintenance of such production.

The policy of stabilizing employment in agriculture represents what, in effect. is a block allocation to agriculture of the persons best fitted for food production. It constitutes a form of large scale selection for national service which should go far to ensure the supply of man-power essential to the food production aspect of the national war effort.

Diversion of Technicians to War Services

Another step in the allocation of man-power recently taken, relates to the diversion of technicians to war service. It concerns persons normally engaged in the engineering profession as civil, mechanical, electrical, chemical, metallurgical or mining engineers; also production and industrial engineers, college teachers of engineering science, persons trained in any branch of the science of chemistry, research scientists and persons other than teachers holding university degrees in engineering, chemistry, physics, geology, mathematics, architecture, or in any natural science; also all technically qualified members of the Engineering Institute of Canada, the Canadian Institute of Chemistry, the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada and of any provincial association of professional engineers, chemists or architects.

About a year ago, with the aid of the professional engineering societies, there was established in the Department of Labour a war-time bureau of technical personnel. The bureau has accumulated information on most of the professional engineers of the country. It has sought to make engineers available as needed in the armed services and in war industry. The time has come, when in the opinion of the government, all technical men should be shifted from non-essential activities to war or other essential services.

Under regulations at present in force, if, at the request of the Minister of Labour an engineer is willing to transfer to more essential work, his present employer is obliged to release him and to reinstate him when his undertaking on essential work is completed. Employers who hire or release technical employees are required to notify the bureau so that technical men as needed in the war effort may be quickly located. Contracts of employment for the services of technicians require the approval of the Minister of Labour.

This measure is restricted for the present to professional technicians. It may, however, become necessary as an essential war service, also to require skilled workmen in certain categories, to remain in their existing occupations in war industries, or to move from one war industry to another, or to remain in certain essential civilian occupations. Should such widespread control become necessary, every effort will be made to reduce its arbitrary aspects to a minimum, and to secure, from workmen and employers alike, the largest measure of voluntary cooperation.

Restriction of Entry into Certain Occupations

In order to increase the numbers of men available for service in the armed forces, in war industry, or in other essential occupations, regulations have been made which prohibit the entry into employment in a wide variety of occupations, of men who are of military age and physically fit. These occupations will be known in future as restricted occupations. The regulations include a schedule of the restricted occupations. The schedule comprises:

Bookkeepers, cashiers, stenographers, typists, clerks, office appliance operators, messengers, salesmen and sales clerks, taxicab drivers.

Any occupation in wholesale or retail trade, advertising, and real estate.

Any occupation in, or directly associated with, entertainment, recreational or personal service, including but not restricted to theatres; film agencies; motion picture companies; clubs; bowling alleys; pool rooms; sports; barbering and hairdressing; domestic service; dyeing; cleaning and pressing; laundering; hotels and lodging houses; baths; restaurants; cafes and taverns; shoe shining, guide service, and funeral service.

Any occupation in the manufacture or production of

1. Biscuits, confectionery, cocoa.
2. Bread and bakery products.
3. Aerated and mineral waters and other beverages.
4. Liquors, wines, beer.
5. Rubber products.
6. Tobacco, cigars, cigarettes.
7. Leather and fur products.
8. Textile products.
9. Furniture and upholstering.

D42367

10. Photography.
11. Printing, publishing and engraving.
12. Radios, refrigerators, washing machines, and vacuum cleaners.
13. Jewellery and watchmaking.
14. Pottery and china.
15. Soaps, and toilet preparations and articles.
16. Mattresses.
17. Musical instruments.
18. Barber and beauty shop equipment.
19. Cameras and films.
20. Sporting goods.
21. Games, toys and novelties.

Any occupation in the repair of clothing, boots and shoes, furniture and household equipment, jewellery or watches, musical instruments.

It is provided that, on and after March 23, 1942, no male person shall accept employment, and no employer shall engage any male person in any of these restricted occupations, unless such person presents to the prospective employer a birth certificate or other incontrovertible evidence that his age is less than seventeen or more than forty-five years; or a certificate of honourable discharge from the armed forces; or evidence of rejection on grounds of physical unfitness for active service in the armed forces during the present war; or a permit from a national selective service officer authorizing him to accept such employment.

The conditions which govern the granting or refusing of permission by national selective service officers are to be made, and may be revised from time to time, by the Minister of Labour. Permits are necessarily subject to cancellation at any time.

The Minister of Labour is authorized to require employers to furnish reports about all persons engaged for or released from restricted occupations. The governor in council is empowered to amend the schedule of restricted occupations, by the deletion or addition of any occupation.

By applying the negative compulsion of restriction, where possible, in preference to the positive compulsion of allocation, the waste of man-power in unessential activities is prevented. At the same time, men and women are maintained in or directed into the form of service they prefer. It is obvious that the greater the measure of willingness that can be preserved, the more effective the service will be.

Scope of Selective Service

May I say, in conclusion, while the government has not hesitated and will not hesitate to apply compulsion where compulsion will serve to increase the total war effort, the government has no desire to add unduly —which means wastefully—to governmental machinery. It is essential that at a time of war, the services of men and women should not be consumed in unnecessary tasks. It is imperative that the services of all should be directed into war-time tasks. In those aspects of our war effort in which voluntary methods are working satisfactorily, voluntary selection, including a measure of choice by the individual of the appropriate field of service, has been and will be continued. The more expensive and complicated methods of compulsion have been employed only where it is felt that compulsory selection is necessary in order to increase efficiency in the prosecution of the war. Compulsion, however, will be applied without fear or favour wherever in the opinion of the government its use will aid in the achievement of a maximum war effort.

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42368

NATIONAL SELECTIVE SERVICE

Statement by the Prime Minister, House of Commons, March 24, 1942

THE MANPOWER PROBLEM

The Speech from the Throne at the opening of the present session of Parliament contained the following paragraph:

> "The government's policy of national selective service will be extended as generally and rapidly as may be necessary to effect the orderly and efficient employment of the men and women of Canada for the varied purposes of war. You will be advised of the means the government proposes to adopt to effect as complete as possible a mobilization of the material resources and manpower of the country in direct furtherance of a total national effort."

I propose in the statement I am now about to make to set forth ~~not only~~ the means the government proposes to adopt to effect the mobilization of the ~~material resources and the~~ manpower of the country in direct furtherance of a total national effort, ~~and~~ to outline the measures themselves as already adopted.

Modern total war is not confined to the struggle between opposing armies and navies and air forces. It is a struggle between whole peoples, in which all of each nation's resources, both human and material, must be mobilized and brought into action. It is therefore a misconception to assume that the wartime manpower problem is merely a problem of raising men for the armed forces. This is only a part, and not necessarily the most difficult part, of the problem of mobilizing the manpower of a nation for modern war.

42369

Manpower - and in that term I include womanpower - is required for many and varied tasks. In the first place, essential civilian services must be maintained as the foundation of community life on which the war effort rests. These essential tasks are a form of service just as truly as making munitions or serving in the armed forces. In order, however, to free younger men for direct war service, civilian tasks, as far as may be possible, should be performed by older men or by women.

The production of food, in wartime, is one of the most essential civilian tasks. To the extent that food is produced for Britain, or other allied countries, or for Canada's own fighting men, it is a direct war service. If this aspect of Canada's total effort is not to suffer, the manpower required for food production must be kept available.

The manpower requirements for munitions production must also be filled. Some 600,000 workers are already engaged in the production of munitions. It is estimated that, in the course of the next twelve months, an additional 100,000 workers will be required.

In the armed forces our estimated requirements for the ensuing twelve months are a further 13,000 men for the Navy; 90 to 100,000 for the active Army; and 70 to 80,000 for the Air Force. These figures were given to Parliament on February 10th by the Minister of National Defence. In addition, men will continue to be called up for military service within Canada; and this on a considerably increased scale.

42370

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When, on January 26th, I announced the war programme for the coming year, I stated that the men and women required to carry out the programme would be mobilized by an extension of the application of national selective service.

It might be helpful were I to repeat the definition I then gave of national selective service as understood by the Government.

By national service is meant any form of service, either voluntary or compulsory, which contributes directly to Canada's war effort. By national selective service is meant the selection of men and women for the various forms of national service according to the method or methods calculated to produce the most satisfactory results.

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42371

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To the problems of mobilizing manpower, the War Committee has given close and continuous attention.

42372

Under the authority of the War Committee, a special Committee of the Cabinet on manpower, presided over by the Minister of National War Services, has given detailed study to the problems involved. The recommendations of this Committee have in turn been carefully considered by the whole Cabinet.

I shall now set forth the procedures and measures which have been taken to organize and administer the government's policy of National Selective Service.

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The responsibility for increasing the total manpower available for war service has been largely centred in the Department of Labour. It would not, however, be possible, even if it were desirable, to centralize in one department of government all the administrative responsibility for allocating manpower, and for directing men and women into the most useful form of service.

42873

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A National Selective Service Advisory Board has been established to advise on major questions of policy. This Board includes, in addition to the members of the Labour Co-ordination Committee, the full membership of the National War Labour Board and such other persons as the Minister of Labour may designate. This latter provision will ensure the representation on the Board of the agricultural community and of women.

42374

In the programme of National Selective Service, extensive use is being made of the facilities of the Employment Service of Canada. In each area covered by an employment and claims office of the Unemployment Insurance Commission, the Director of National Selective Service will shortly appoint a National Selective Service Officer. The National Selective Service Officers will have local charge of the administration of the selective service programme for their respective areas. They will be advised and assisted in their work by voluntary unpaid citizens committees which will be set up in each of the areas.

A Central Registry has been established in the Department of Labour to aid in promptly finding the appropriate men and women needed at any particular time. The Registry is based upon the Unemployment Insurance records, and the records of the 1940 National Registration. To the Registry will be added the records of such further surveys of manpower as may be made from time to time, with a view to building up a complete inventory of manpower available for war and essential civilian purposes. To consolidate records and to avoid duplication, the administrative responsibility for National Registration has been transferred from the Department of National War Services to the Department of Labour.

Under the programme now adopted, the mobilization of industrial manpower will, in the main, be effected through the agency of the Employment Service of Canada. The armed forces will continue to recruit men for the active army, the navy and the air force by the present voluntary methods. The calling up of men for compulsory military training and service will continue to be the responsibility of the Department of National War Services.

Compulsion is now being applied in [redacted] aspects of the mobilization of manpower, other than military service within Canada, to which it has been applied since October, 1940. It is recognized that no hard and fast compulsory regulations can be made which may not work injustices in individual cases. As a consequence, considerable discretion has been vested in the National War Services Boards to decide appeals from the compulsory or restrictive regulations of the government, and from the orders of the Director of National Selective Service and the National Selective Service Officers.

42376

The right of appeal will be enjoyed, not only by employers, employees, farmers, farm labourers and others directly affected, but also by interested government departments. The duty of hearing civilian appeals will add greatly to the work of the National War Services Boards, now mainly concerned with the appeals of men called up for military service. In order to cope with the increased duties which will fall upon the Boards, it may become necessary to increase their number and in some cases to divide their territorial jurisdictions.

Aspects of National Selective Service

The wartime mobilization of manpower has three important aspects:

1. Estimating the number of men and women required for the different kinds of war service;

2. Increasing the total manpower resources available for war purposes. In other words, making available for some part in the war effort the largest possible number of men and women.

3. Directing the available men and women into the most useful form of war service.

42377

All of these tasks have to be carried on at one and the same time; and, in part at least, through the same channels.

The whole programme is inter-related and interdependent. I shall now give a brief outline of each of the measures, indicating,as far as possible, how each relates to and affects the other.

Estimating Manpower Requirements

Estimating the number of men and women needed in the war effort, and the most effective distribution of the total among the armed services, war industry and civilian essential/pursuits, is a difficult task. A constantly changing war necessitates constant changes in military and production plans. These changes, in turn, involve continuous revision of the estimates of manpower requirements, and the proposed allocation of manpower reserves. To this end, the Director of National Selective Service has been given authority to obtain information from government departments, and empowered to secure from employers, by compulsion if necessary, full information regarding prospective labour requirements, existing labour forces, wage scales and working conditions.

42378

Making Men and Women Available for War Service.

In the early months of the war, there were large reserves of available manpower for war service because of the unemployment and under-employment of many thousands of Canadians. ~~This does not mean that the armed forces, and war industry, have necessarily or even mainly been manned from the unemployed or the partially employed. The manpower movement was much more complex. As men gave up ordinary civilian employment to enlist, or to go into war industries, their previous positions were often filled with others who had been unemployed or partially employed.~~

If we except women who, for domestic or social reasons, have not desired or sought employment, we are now well past the stage where there is any considerable reserve of employable unemployed persons. Women, therefore, constitute the most important available reserve of manpower. It is, however, not so much by bringing women directly into the armed forces, though that is being done, that the total manpower available for war service can actually be increased; rather is this end accomplished by the substitution of women for men in essential civilian tasks, and in war industry.

42379

Additional manpower is becoming potentially available for war service as an indirect result of the curtailment of civilian production. To the achievement of a maximum effort, it is vital that manpower thus released be shifted as speedily and efficiently as possible into some form of war service. The process of shifting manpower from civilian occupations into war service has, of course, gone on steadily since the outbreak of war. It has now been given more definite governmental direction and is being accelerated.

For more than a year, the Department of Labour, in co-operation with the provinces and industry, has been increasing the manpower available through training men and women for employment in war industries. During the past year, more than 60,000 trainees received instruction in about one hundred technical schools. Industries co-operating with the Department of Labour, and often on their own initiative, trained at least an equal number. Through the Department of Labour services, and directly in industry, greater provision is now being made for training and retraining men for essential war production; for diluting present working forces by employment of men of lesser skill for simpler operations; and for the constant up-grading, as a result of training and experience, of existing working forces.

42380

The programme of increasing wartime manpower reserves has a three-fold objective:

First - to increase the total male labour force available for war production.

Second - to make possible the replacement of able-bodied men of military age with older men, or men less fit physically for arduous tasks.

Third - to increase wartime manpower reserves by bringing women into industry. This is the most important single feature of the programme.

The first two objectives are being accelerated by governmental and industrial assistance. The assistance is similar in character, although on a smaller scale, to that being afforded for recruiting female labour.

The series of measures being undertaken to bring women into industries include:

(I) Recruiting campaigns, planned and publicized to attract women into the needed work;

(2) The provision of appropriate and adequate facilities for interviewing women applicants and for giving them advice and direction;

(3) The establishment of competent job information and placement services, specializing in female labour;

42381

(4) Advances, where necessary, to meet transportation costs in getting women workers to places where work is available;

(5) The provision of hostels or other satisfactory housing arrangements;

(6) The provision of nurseries and other means of caring for children;

(7) The provision, where needed, of medical and recreational facilities;

(8) The provision in industry, as well as under direct governmental auspices, of training programmes, specifically designed for women;

(9) Pressure upon employers who may be reluctant to engage female labour;

(IO) Changes in civil service and institutional restrictions on the employment of female, and particularly married female labour.

Some of these measures have already been applied over a considerable period of time. From now on, they will be more extensively applied.

42382

Making Supervisors Available to War Industries.

An important phase of the manpower problem has to do with providing in war industries the necessary supervisory personnel. It has been found that, as war industries continue to expand, it is increasingly difficult to secure sufficient supervisors, personnel managers, and foremen, to direct the enlarged work forces. Many plants producing urgently needed war materials are now operating day and night, seven days in the week. Others that might be operating on the same basis are hampered by lack of supervisors.

A recent statement by Mr. Bevin on the importance of personnel factors in war production in Great Britain is equally applicable to Canada. It reads:

"In the layout of our war effort, sufficient attention was not paid to the personnel problem. ...The longer the war goes on, the more necessary it becomes to pay greater regard to this personnel side of industry. The absence of a proper understanding of the problem has been one of our greatest handicaps in this great struggle. ...Hence my additional plea for the personnel manager, who should be specially trained to have an equal position in industry with other members of the executive. Indeed, I am sure - and I would emphasize this - that our post-war position will be materially helped, and the future prospects of British industry enhanced, by a full appreciation of this important fact."

42383

To assist our Canadian employers to meet their personnel problem, provision has been made by the government for training in personnel management. The universities have agreed to co-operate. Experienced personnel men will serve as instructors and sponsors. Trainees will be given practical instruction in the classroom, and on the job.

These facilities, if the experience of this undertaking warrants, will be extended to foremen and other supervisors. It is hoped by this means greatly to reduce an important area of difficulty in war production. Moreover, better personnel policies and practice should minimize friction between management and men, improve morale, and thereby increase output.

Re-conditioning the Physically Unfit

~~In addition to the measures already outlined for making men and women available for war service~~, the Government is also undertaking an extended programme of reconditioning men to fit them physically for military service.

It is and has been standard practice for the army to accept men for service who require only dental treatment, provision of glasses, or nutritional improvement. After enlistment or enrolment, treatment is provided for these men as a matter of routine.

42384

There are, however, men volunteering for the Active Army, or called up for training and service, who at present have to be rejected because of some condition, other than those just mentioned and which, though not a serious disability, is important enough to require more than routine treatment.

It has been decided that when disabilities of this class are ~~readily~~ mendable within a comparatively short time, free remedial treatment will be provided to restore the standard of physical fitness of these men. Such a policy is in the interests of the Armed Services and also of benefit to the health of the nation as a whole.

Free treatment will be available to those who volunteer and undertake in writing to enlist as soon as they are physically eligible, ~~and~~ provided they are certified by a competent board to be cases in which the disability can be removed or mended by treatment so as to make them physically fit for enlistment within a specified reasonable period.

Free treatment will also be available to those who are called up for compulsory training and service provided it is similarly certified, as in the case of volunteers, that the disability is such that it can be

42385

removed or mended within a specified reasonable period. When the treatment is successfully completed, these men will be available for military training and service.

In giving [redacted] treatment, the Departments of National Defence, Pensions and National Health and National War Services will co-operate.

The treatment, both for volunteers and for men called up for training and service will be provided, or arranged for, by the Department of Pensions and National Health. In neither case will men undergoing treatment be accepted into the Army unless, and until, the treatment has been successfully completed. In both cases, in addition to free treatment and, if necessary, hospitalization, men undergoing treatment will be paid an allowance for time actually and necessarily lost during the remedial period.

It should be added that free treatment on precisely the same terms as in the case of volunteers for the active army, will be provided for men who volunteer for the air force, and would now be rejected for physical unfitness.

42386

Compulsory Military Service

Until recently, the most important form of direct compulsion in mobilizing men has been the compulsory military training and service of unmarried men and of widowers without children. This, of course, is being continued, although with certain changes in the selective procedure.

A proclamation is being issued making liable to call for military training and service all men born in the years from 1912 to 1921, who, on July 15th, 1940, were unmarried or widowers without children. In other words, the age limit for compulsory service has been raised from 24 to 30. It has also been decided to select the men to be called up for service by drawing lots over the whole field of those who are subject to the proclamation. As soon as the necessary administrative arrangements have been worked out for this plan of selection by lot, a detailed announcement will be made by the Minister of National War Services.

Liability for compulsory military service is, at present, confined to citizens of Canada. It has been decided to extend this liability to all residents of Canada, whether citizens or not, as far as may be expedient in the light of all the circumstances. As reciprocal

42387

arrangements and other international considerations are involved in the proposal, its details cannot be announced immediately.

The liability to compulsory military service will continue to be general for the age categories affected. The burden of demonstrating the case for postponements is unchanged, except in the case of persons wholly or mainly employed in agriculture on March 23rd, 1942, as defined in the amended National War Services regulations.

Stabilization of Employment in Agriculture

One of the manpower problems with which the country is faced is the growing shortage of agricultural labour. Means, accordingly, have had to be devised to ensure that the supply of farm labour is not depleted. To that end, regulations have been enacted to stabilize employment in agriculture.

With three exceptions, the regulations provide that no male person wholly or mainly employed in agriculture on March 23, 1942, as defined by the regulations, shall enter into any employment outside agriculture unless he has obtained written permission from the National Selective Service Officer to enter such employment. They also provide that no person shall take into employment outside agriculture,

42388

any male person wholly or mainly employed in agriculture unless such male person has obtained such permission.

The three exceptions provided for are active service in the armed forces by voluntary enlistment; seasonal employment in a primary industry; and compulsory military training if it is established that the person concerned is not an essential worker in agriculture.

The exception of seasonal employment in other primary industries, which include lumbering, logging, forestry, fishing and trapping is, in reality, not an exception. In many parts of the country, agriculture and the primary pursuits specified are complementary aspects of what is, in effect, a single occupation.

The other specific exceptions both relate to service in the armed forces. Voluntary enlistment of farmers and agricultural workers in the active army, the navy and the air forces will continue to be encouraged. It is felt that the privilege of serving voluntarily in the armed forces should not be completely denied to a whole class of the community, however important may be the service its members are at present performing.

On the other hand, the growing scarcity of labour on the farms and the increasing importance of maintaining,

42389

and, indeed, of increasing food production, has been recognized. This has been accomplished by a fundamental alteration of the policy regarding compulsory military training and service where such service touches persons wholly or mainly employed in agriculture. Up to the present there has been a general obligation to serve, and the responsibility for proving a case for postponement of service has rested with the individual. Under the new regulations, farmers, farmers' sons and agricultural labourers will normally not be obliged to undertake compulsory military training and service. It is realized, however, that in a limited number of cases, men on the farms are not, in fact, essential agricultural workers. If it is established to the satisfaction of the National War Services Boards concerned that such persons are not essential workers in agriculture, they will continue to be called for service in the appropriate age groups.

This change of policy regarding compulsory military service applies only to those who were wholly or mainly employed in agriculture, on March 23, 1942, in accordance with the terms of the regulations. Persons who subsequent to that date may return to employment in agriculture, except from normal seasonal occupations, will continue to be liable

42390

for military service. In such cases, the earlier regulations regarding postponement will continue to apply.

Apart from the three specified exceptions to the rule that persons engaged in agriculture shall not enter into other employments, the regulations also empower the National Selective Service officer, having jurisdiction in the district in which a person resides, to give permission to farmers and agricultural workers to enter other employment. This provision has been included in the regulations so as to maintain a reasonable degree of flexibility in policy. It is recognized that there may be those engaged in agricultural pursuits, who, because of the limited character of their production, or on other grounds, are not performing an essential war service. At the same time, such persons, because of age or physical condition, or for other reasons, may not be suitable for military service. Unless the way were left open for such persons to move into other fields of activity, great individual hardships might result, and valuable service in other fields be lost to the country.

It will, therefore, be open to farmers and others engaged in agricultural work, who desire to enter some other field of employment, to apply to the National Selective Service Officer, having jurisdiction in the district in which they reside, for permission to change their employment.

~~Detailed regulations to guide National Selective Service~~

~~Officers, having jurisdiction in the district in which they reside, for permission to change their employment.~~ Detailed regulations to guide National Selective Service Officers in determining whether such permission shall be granted or refused will be made and revised from time to time in the light of experience. Two governing factors will be taken into account in determining these regulations, namely, the maintenance of the necessary agricultural production in Canada, and the extent to which the applicant is essential to the maintenance of such production.

The policy of stabilizing employment in agriculture represents what, in effect, is a block allocation to agriculture of the persons best fitted for food production. It constitutes a form of large scale selection for national service which should go far to ensure the supply of manpower essential to the food production aspect of the national war effort.

Diversion of Technicians to War Service

Another step in the allocation of manpower recently taken, relates to the diversion of technicians to war service. It concerns persons normally engaged in the engineering

42392

profession as civil, mechanical, electrical, chemical, metallurgical or mining engineers; also production and industrial engineers, college teachers of engineering science, persons trained in any branch of the science of chemistry, research scientists and persons other than teachers holding university degrees in engineering, chemistry, physics, geology, mathematics, architecture, or in any natural science; also all technically qualified members of the Engineering Institute of Canada, the Canadian Institute of Chemistry, the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada and of any provincial association of professional engineers, chemists or architects.

About a year ago, with the aid of the professional engineering societies, there was established in the Department of Labour a Wartime Bureau of Technical Personnel. The Bureau has accumulated information on most of the professional engineers of the country. It has sought to make engineers available as needed in the armed services and in war industry. The time has come, when, in the opinion of the government, all technical men should be shifted from non-essential activities to war or other essential services.

Under regulations at present in force, if, at the request of the Minister of Labour an engineer is willing to transfer to more essential work, his present employer is obliged to release

42393

him and to reinstate him when his undertaking on essential work is completed. Employers who hire or release technical employees are required to notify the Bureau so that technical men as needed in the war effort may be quickly located. Contracts of employment for the services of technicians require the approval of the Minister of Labour.

This measure for the present is restricted to professional technicians. It may, however, become necessary as an essential war service, also to require skilled workmen in certain categories, to remain in their existing occupations in war industries, or to move from one war industry to another, or to remain in certain essential civilian occupations. Should such widespread control become necessary, every effort will be made to reduce its arbitrary aspects to a minimum, and to secure, from workmen and employers alike, the largest measure of voluntary co-operation.

Restriction of Entry into Certain Occupations

In order to increase the numbers of men available for service in the armed forces, in war industry, or in other essential occupations, regulations have been made which prohibit the entry into employment in a wide variety of occupations, of men who are of military age and physically fit. These occupations will be known in future as restricted

occupations. The regulations include a schedule of the restricted occupations. The schedule comprises:

> Bookkeepers, cashiers, stenographers, typists, clerks, office appliance operators, messengers, salesmen and sales clerks, taxicab drivers.
>
> Any occupation in wholesale or retail trade, advertising, and real estate.
>
> Any occupation in, or directly associated with, entertainment, recreational or personal service, including but not restricted to theatres; film agencies; motion picture companies; clubs; bowling alleys; pool rooms; sports; barbering and hairdressing; domestic service; dyeing; cleaning and pressing; laundering; hotels and lodging houses; baths; restaurants; cafés and taverns; shoe shining, guide service, and funeral service.
>
> Any occupation in the manufacture or production of
>
> 1) biscuits, confectionery, cocoa;
> 2) bread and bakery products;
> 3) aerated and mineral waters and other beverages;
> 4) liquors, wines, beer;
> 5) rubber products;
> 6) tobacco, cigars, cigarettes;
> 7) leather and fur products;
> 8) textile products;
> 9) furniture and upholstering;
> 10) photography;
> 11) printing, publishing and engraving;
> 12) radios, refrigerators, washing machines, and vacuum cleaners;
> 13) jewellery and watchmaking;
> 14) pottery and china;
> 15) soaps, and toilet preparations and articles;
> 16) mattresses;
> 17) musical instruments;
> 18) barber and beauty shop equipment;
> 19) cameras and films;
> 20) sporting goods;
> 21) games, toys and novelties.
>
> Any occupation in the repair of clothing, boots and shoes, furniture and household equipment, jewellery or watches, musical instruments.

It is provided that, on and after March 23, 1942, no male person shall accept employment, and no employer shall engage any male person in any of these restricted occupations, unless such person presents to the prospective employer a birth certificate or other incontrovertible evidence that his age is less than seventeen or more than forty-five years; or a certificate of honourable discharge from the armed forces; or evidence of rejection on grounds of physical unfitness for active service in the armed forces during the present war; or a permit from a National Selective Service officer authorizing him to accept such employment.

The conditions which govern the granting or refusing of permission by National Selective Service officers are to be made, and may be revised from time to time, by the Minister of Labour. Permits are necessarily subject to cancellation at any time.

The Minister of Labour is authorized to require employers to furnish reports about all persons engaged for or released from restricted occupations. The Governor-in-Council is empowered to amend the schedule of restricted occupations, by the deletion or addition of any occupation.

By applying the negative compulsion of restriction, where possible, in preference to the positive compulsion of allocation, the waste of manpower in unessential activities

is prevented. At the same time, men and women are maintained in or directed into the form of service they prefer. It is obvious that the greater the measure of willingness that can be preserved, the more effective the service will be.

Scope of Selective Service

May I say, in conclusion while the government has not hesitated and will not hesitate to apply compulsion where compulsion will serve to increase the total war effort, the government has no desire to add unduly - which means wastefully - to governmental machinery. It is essential that at a time of war, the services of men and women should not be consumed in unnecessary tasks. It is imperative that the services of all should be directed into war-time tasks. In those aspects of our war effort in which voluntary methods are working satisfactorily, voluntary selection, including a measure of choice by the individual of the appropriate field of service, has been and will be continued. ~~The use of~~ The more expensive and complicated methods of compulsion have been ~~confined to those branches of the war effort~~ employed only where it is felt that compulsory selection is necessary in order to increase ~~the~~ efficiency. Compulsion, however, will be applied without fear or favour, wherever in the opinion of the government its use will aid in the achievement of a maximum war effort.

TEXT OF MACKENZIE KING SPEECH ON MOBILIZATION PLAN

Following is the text of a statement on mobilization of manpower by Prime Minister Mackenzie King in the House of Commons yesterday:

The Speech from the Throne at the opening of the present session of Parliament contained the following paragraph:

"The Government's policy of national selective service will be extended, as generally and rapidly as may be necessary to effect the orderly and efficient employment of the men and women of Canada for the varied purposes of war. You will be advised of the means the Government proposes to adopt to effect as complete as possible a mobilization of the material resources and manpower of the country in furtherance of a total national effort."

I propose in the statement I am now about to make to set forth not only the means the Government proposes to adopt to effect the mobilization of the material resources and the manpower of the country in direct furtherance of a total national effort, but to outline the measures themselves as already adopted.

Modern total war is not confined to the struggle between opposing armies and navies and air forces. It is a struggle between whole peoples, in which all of each nation's resources, both human and material, must be mobilized and brought into action. It is therefore a misconception to assume that the wartime manpower problem is merely a problem of raising men for the armed forces. This is only a part, and not necessarily the most difficult part, of the problem of mobilizing the manpower of a nation for modern war.

Manpower—and in that term I include womanpower—is required for many and varied tasks. In the first place, essential civilian services must be maintained as the foundation of community life on which the war effort rests. These essential tasks are a form of war service just as truly as making munitions or serving in the armed forces. In order, however, to free younger men for direct war service, civilian tasks, as far as may be possible, should be performed by older men or by women.

The production of food, in wartime, is one of the most essential civilian tasks. To the extent that food is produced for Britain, or other allied countries, or for Canada's own fighting men, it is a direct war service. If this aspect of Canada's total effort is not to suffer, the manpower required for food production must be kept available.

MUNITIONS NEED 100,000 MORE

The manpower requirements for munitions production must also be filled. Some 600,000 workers are already engaged in the production of munitions. It is estimated that, in the course of the next 12 months, an additional 100,000 workers will be required.

In the armed forces our estimated requirements for the ensuing 12 months are a further 13,000 men for the navy; 90,000 to 100,000 for the active army; and 70,000 to 80,000 for the air force. These figures were given to Parliament on February 10 by the Minister of National Defence. In addition, men will continue to be called up for military service within Canada; and this on a considerably increased scale.

When, on January 26, I announced the war program for the coming year, I stated that the men and women required to carry out the program would be mobilized by an extension of the application of national selective service.

It might be helpful were I to repeat the definition I then gave of national selective service as understood by the Government.

By national service is meant any form of service, either voluntary or compulsory, which contributes directly to Canada's war effort. By national selective service is meant the selection of men and women for the various forms of national service according to the method or methods calculated to produce the most satisfactory results.

In order to be selective, national service does not necessarily need to be compulsory. The selective aspect applies also to voluntary service. The army, for example, does not accept every man who offers to enlist. As a war measure, compulsion is only of value where it serves to ensure a greater total effort.

In speaking on the war program in January, I made it clear that [illegible] centred in the Department of Labor. It would not, however, be possible, even if it were desirable, to centralize in one Department of Government all the administrative responsibility for allocating manpower, and for directing men and women into the most useful form of service.

The other departments of Government which share in greater or less degree in the tasks of making manpower available are the Departments of National War Services, Pensions and National Health, Munitions and Supply, Agriculture and the three Defence Departments. The Interdepartmental Committee on Labor Co-ordination, on which all these departments are represented, assists in co-ordinating the functions of the various departments, in so far as they relate to the mobilization of manpower. The committee has been strengthened by the addition of the employer and employee representatives on the National War Labor Board.

ADVISORY BOARD CREATED.

A National Selective Service Advisory Board has been established to advise on major questions of policy. This board includes, in addition to the members of the Labor Co-ordination Committee, the full membership of the National War Labor Board and such other persons, as the Minister of Labor may designate. This latter provision will ensure the representation on the board of the agricultural community and of women.

In the program of national selective service, extensive use is being made of the facilities of the employment service of Canada. In each area covered by an employment and claims office of the Unemployment Insurance Commission, the Director of National Selective Service will shortly appoint a National Selective Service officer. The National Selective Service officers will have local charge of the administration of the selective service program for their respective areas. They will be advised and assisted in their work by voluntary unpaid citizens committees which will be set up in each of the areas.

A central registry has been established in the Department of Labor to aid in promptly finding the appropriate men and women needed at any particular time. The registry is based upon the unemployment insurance records, and the records of the 1940 national registration. To the registry will be added the records of such further surveys of manpower as may be made from time to time, with a view to building up a complete inventory of manpower available for war and essential civilian purposes. To consolidate records and to avoid duplication, the administrative responsibility for national registration has been transferred from the Department of National War Services to the Department of Labor.

PROGRAM STILL VOLUNTARY.

Under the program now adopted, the mobilization of industrial manpower will, in the main, be effected through the agency of the employment service of Canada. The armed forces will continue to recruit men for the active army, the navy and the air force by the present voluntary methods. The calling up of men for compulsory military training and service will continue to be the responsibility of the Department of National War Services.

Compulsion is now being applied in aspects of the mobilization of manpower, other than military service within Canada, to which it has been applied since October, 1940. It is recognized that no hard and fast compulsory regulations can be made which may not work injustices in individual cases. As a consequence, considerable discretion has been vested in the National War Services Boards to decide appeals from the compulsory or restrictive regulations of the Government, and from the orders of the Director of National Selective Service and the National Selective Service Officers.

APPEAL WORKS BOTH WAYS.

The right of appeal will be enjoyed, not only by employers, employees, farmers, farm laborers and others directly affected, but also by interested government departments. The duty of hearing civilian appeals will add greatly to the work of the National War Services Boards, now mainly concerned with the appeals of men called up for military service. In order to cope with the increased duties which

TECHNICAL EXPERTS TO BE REINSTATED

Order-in-Council Lists Employees Who May Be Taken for Essential Services

MITCHELL IN CHARGE

All Who Do Such Work Will Return to Jobs Under Conditions as Favorable as Formerly

Ottawa March 24.—(CP)—Provision for reinstatement in their former occupations of persons who perform essential services at the request of the Government is contained in an order-in-council tabled today in the House of Commons by Prime Minister Mackenzie King.

"It is desirable that there should be similarity of treatment in the matter of reinstatement in employment of those who volunteer for service in His Majesty's forces and those who consent to perform services in an undertaking engaged on essential work," the order said.

The new reinstatement provisions apply to seven classes of employees:

1. A person who is normally engaged in the engineering profession in a consulting, technical or supervisory capacity in design, construction, manufacture, operation or maintenance.

2. A production, industrial or other engineer or chemist who normally holds in any engineering works or manufacturing establishment a position of authority involving responsibility for any phase of executive management or control of any technical function.

3. A person who has a degree from any Canadian or other recognized university and is normally engaged as a teacher of engineering science or of any branch of science at a university or technical college.

4. A person who has been trained or is or has been normally engaged in the practice of any branch of the science of chemistry but not including a registered pharmacist.

5. A research scientist—person who, by training or practice, "is skilled in the independent search for new knowledge of the properties of matter or energy.

6. A person, other than a teacher, who has obtained a degree at any Canadian or other recognized university in engineering, chemistry, physics, geology, mathematics, architecture or in any natural science, or who is a technically qualified member of the Engineering Institute of Canada, the Canadian Institute of Chemistry, the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada or of any provincial association of professional engineers, chemists or architects;

7. A person, not in the classes described above, "who, in the opinion of the Minister, possesses technical qualifications and skill which are needed in undertakings engaged on essential work.

Operations under the order will be handled by Labor Minister Mitchell, through the director of the Wartime Bureau of Technical Personnel—a post formerly held by E. M. Little, named today as the Government's new director of national selective service.

Mr. Little said later that he will not continue as director of the bureau but that it will in all probability come under his jurisdiction.

Any person to whom the reinstatement provisions apply may be requested by Labor Minister Mitchell, through the personnel director, to undertake such essential work as will allow him to make his utmost contribution to the carrying on of essential war work.

Employers are compelled to release such men within 30 days after written notice of the proposed change has been received by him from the Minister or the director. Written objections from the employer may be submitted within the 30-day period.

"It shall be the duty of any employer, who employed a person to whom these regulations apply . . . to reinstate him at the termination of his contract for such (essential) services in a position and under conditions not less favorable than

Employers Must List All Workers For Unemployment Insurance

Ottawa, March 24—(CP)—For an inventory of employable persons, Canadian employers will be required to register all their employees, under the terms of an order-in-council tabled in the House of Commons today by Prime Minister Mackenzie King.

The order was declared necessary to carry out effectively the provisions of the Unemployment Insurance Act and to provide the information required by Labor Minister Mitchell in the establishment of an inventory of employable persons.

The order reads:

"Every employer who employs one or more persons in insurable employment shall register all of his employees whether they are engaged in insurable employment or not, on forms provided by the Unemployment Insurance Commission at times herein specified.

"The forms provided shall be completed and returned to the local employment and claims office of the Unemployment Insurance Commission as soon as possible after March 15, 1942, and not later than April 1, 1942, in respect of all employees whom the employer believes will be in his employment on April 1, 1942, and in respect of employees engaged on or after April 1, 1942, unless they are already registered, the forms shall be completed at the time of engagement and returned to the local employment and claims office forthwith.

"Any person who refuses, fails, or neglects to comply with any direction given by the Unemployment Insurance Commission, or its duly authorized offices pursuant to the provisions of this order, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding $200 or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, or to both such fine and imprisonment."

Similarly, any person to whom the regulations apply who wishes to enter into a contract of employment under terms of the order must notify the director that his services are available.

If contracts have not received approval of the director, the reinstatement provisions of the order do not apply.

In any proceedings for violation of the reinstatement order, it shall be a defence for the original employer to prove:

1. That the person formerly employed by him did not within two weeks after the termination of his contract for employment on essential work, apply to him for reinstatement.

2. That he failed without reasonable excuse to present himself for employment at the time and place notified to him by the employer.

3. By reason of a change of circumstances, other than the engagement of some other person to replace him, it was not reasonably practicable to reinstate him or that his reinstatement, in a position and under conditions not less favorable to him than those which would have been applicable to him had he not undertaken essential work, was impracticable and that the employer had offered to reinstate him in the most favorable position and under the most favorable conditions reasonably practicable.

4. That he was physically or mentally incapable of performing work available in the employer's service.

5. That he was employed to take the place of an employee who had been previously accepted for service in the armed forces or of an employee who, after the date on which the provision became effective, undertook, at the request of the Minister, to perform services in an undertaking engaged on essential work.

Where an employer has reinstated a former employee he shall not, "without reasonable cause," terminate the employment of that employee and, in any proceedings for violation of this section in any case where the employment was terminated within six months of the reinstatement, the onus shall be on the employer to prove that he had reasonable cause for terminating the employment.

"An employer shall not terminate the employment of any employee to whom these regulations apply in the expectancy that the employee, at the request of the minister, will agree to perform services under another employer," the order said.

. . . The (Labor) Minister may make all such orders as he may deem necessary or desirable to carry out the purpose of these regulations and such orders shall have the force of law."

Any person to whom these regulations apply who fails to comply with the provisions of Section 7 or 8 of these regulations, or of any order made under the authority of these regulations, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding $100.

The order makes provisions for fines up to $100 against employers who fail to abide by the terms of the order, and under some circumstances provides for compelling employers who have failed to reinstate a former employee to pay the employee a sum not exceeding three months' pay.

who may be reluctant to engage female labor;

(10) Changes in civil service and institutional restrictions on the employment of female, and, particularly, married female labor.

Some of these measures have already been applied over a considerable period of time. From now on, they will be more extensively applied.

SUPERVISORS ARE SCARCE.

An important phase of the manpower problem has to do with providing in war industries the necessary supervisory personnel. It has been found that, as war industries continue to expand, it is increasingly difficult to secure sufficient supervisors, personnel managers, and foremen, to direct the enlarged work forces. Many plants producing urgently needed war materials are now operating day and night, seven days in the week. Others that might be operating on the same basis are hampered by lack of supervisors.

A recent statement by Mr. Bevin (Labor Minister Bevin of the British Government) on the importance of personnel factors in war production in Great Britain is equally applicable to Canada. It reads:

"In the layout of our war effort, sufficient attention was not paid to the personnel problem. . . . The longer the war goes on, the more necessary it becomes to pay greater regard to this personnel side of industry. The absence of a proper understanding of the problem has been one of our greatest handicaps in this great struggle. . . Hence my additional plea for the personnel manager, who should be specially trained to have an equal position in industry with other members of the executive. Indeed, I am sure—and I would emphasize this—that our post-war position will be materially helped, and the future prospects of British industry enhanced, by a full appreciation of this important fact."

To assist our Canadian employers to meet their personnel problem, provision has been made by the Government for training in personnel management. The universities have agreed to cooperate. Experienced personnel men will serve as instructors and sponsors. Trainees will be given practical instruction in the classroom, and on the job.

If the experience of this undertaking warrants, these facilities will be extended to foremen and other supervisors. It is hoped by this means greatly to reduce an important area of difficulty in war production. Moreover, better personnel policies and practice should minimize friction between management and men, improve morale, and thereby increase output.

The Government is also undertaking an extended program of reconditioning men to fit them physically for military service.

It is and has been standard practice for the army to accept men for service who require only dental treatment, provision of glasses, or nutritional improvement. After enlistment or enrolment, treatment is provided for these men as a matter of routine.

FREE MEDICAL TREATMENT.

There are, however, men volunteering for the active army, or called up for training and service, who at present have to be rejected by physical unfitness.

AGE BRACKET WIDENED.

Until recently, the most important form of direct compulsion in mobilizing men has been the compulsory military training and service of unmarried men and of widowers without children. This, of course, is being continued, although with certain changes in the selective procedure.

A proclamation is being issued making liable to call for military training and service all men born in the years from 1912 to 1921 who in July 15, 1940, were unmarried or widowers without children. In other words, the age limit for compulsory service has been raised from 24 to 30. It has also been decided to select the men to be called up for service by drawing lots over the whole field of those who are subject to the proclamation. As soon as the necessary administrative arrangements have been worked out for this plan of selection by lot, a detailed announcement will be made by the minister of national war services.

Liability for compulsory military service is, at present, confined to citizens of Canada. It has been decided to extend this liability to all residents of Canada, whether citizens or not, as far as may be expedient in the light of all the circumstances. As reciprocal arrangements and other international considerations are involved in the proposal, its details cannot be announced immediately.

The liability to compulsory military service will continue to be general for the age categories affected. The burden of demonstrating the case for postponements is unchanged, except in the case of persons wholly or mainly employed in agriculture on March 23, 1942, as defined in the amended national war services regulations.

FARM LABOR STABILIZED.

One of the manpower problems with which the country is faced is the growing shortage of agricultural labor. Means, accordingly, have had to be devised to ensure that the supply of farm labor is not depleted. To that end, regulations have been enacted to stabilize employment in agriculture.

With three exceptions, the regulations provide that no male person wholly or mainly employed in agriculture on March 23, 1942, as defined by the regulations shall enter into any employment outside agriculture unless he has obtained written permission from the National Selective Service officer to enter such employment. They also provide that no person shall take into employment outside agriculture, any male person wholly or mainly employed in agriculture unless such male person has obtained such permission.

The three exceptions provided for are active service in the armed forces by voluntary enlistment; seasonal employment in a primary industry; and compulsory military training if it is established that the person concerned is not an essential worker in agriculture.

The exception of seasonal employment in other primary industries, which include lumbering, logging, forestry, fishing and trapping is, in reality, not an exception. In many parts of the country, agriculture and the primary pursuits specified are complementary aspects of what is, in effect, a single occupation.

The other specific exceptions both relate to service in the armed forces. Voluntary enlistment of farmers and agricultural workers in the active army, the navy and the air forces will continue to be encouraged. It is felt that the privilege of serving voluntarily in the armed forces should not be completely denied to a whole class of the community, however important may be the service its members are at present performing.

On the other hand, the growing scarcity of labor on the farms and the increasing importance of maintaining, and, indeed, of increasing food production, has been recognized. This has been accomplished by a fundamental alteration of the policy regarding compulsory military training and service where such service touches persons wholly or mainly employed in agriculture. Up to the present there has been a general obligation to serve, and the responsibility for proving a case for postponement of service has rested with the individual. Under the new regulations, farmers, farmers' ment, to apply to the National Selective Service Officer, having jurisdiction in the district in which they reside, for permission to change their employment.

Detailed regulations to guide National Selective Service Officers in determining whether such permission shall be granted or refused will be made and revised from time to time in the light of experience. Two governing factors will be taken into account in determining these regulations, namely, the maintenance of the necessary agricultural production in Canada, and the extent to which the applicant is essential to the maintenance of such production.

The policy of stabilizing employment in agriculture represents what, in effect, is a block allocation to agriculture of the persons best fitted for food production. It constitutes a form of large scale selection for national service which should go far to ensure the supply of manpower essential to the food production aspect of the national war effort.

TECHNICIANS ALLOCATED

Another step in the allocation of manpower recently taken, relates to the diversion of technicians to war service. It concerns persons normally engaged in the engineering profession as civil, mechanical, electrical, chemical, metallurgical or mining engineers; also production and industrial engineers, college teachers of engineering science, persons trained in any branch of the science of chemistry, research scientists and persons other than teachers holding university degrees in engineering, chemistry, physics, geology, mathematics, architecture, or in any natural science; also all technically qualified members of the Engineering Institute of Canada, the Canadian Institute of Chemistry, the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada and of any provincial association of professional engineers, chemists or architects.

About a year ago, with the aid of these professional engineering societies, there was established in the Department of Labor a Wartime Bureau of Technical Personnel. The bureau has accumulated information on most of the professional engineers of the country. It has sought to make engineers available as needed in the armed services and in war industry. The time has come, when in the opinion of the Government, all technical men should be shifted from non-essential activities to war or other essential services.

Under regulations at present in force, if, at the request of the Minister of Labor, an engineer is willing to transfer to more essential work, his present employer is obliged to release him and to reinstate him when his undertaking on essential work is completed. Employers who hire or release technical employees are required to notify the bureau so that technical men as needed it is one the war effort may be quickly located. Contracts of employment for the services of technicians require the approval of the Minister of Labor.

This measure is restricted for the present to professional technicians. It may, however, become necessary as an essential war service, also to require skilled workmen in certain categories, to remain in their existing occupations in war industries, or to move from one war industry to another, or to remain in certain essential civilian occupations. Should such widespread control become necessary, every effort will be made to reduce its arbitrary aspects to a minimum, and to secure, from workmen and employers alike, the largest measure of voluntary co-operation.

NON-ESSENTIALS ENUMERATED

In order to increase the numbers of men available for service in the armed forces, in war industry, or in other essential occupations, regulations have been made which prohibit the entry into employment in a wide variety of occupations, of men who are of military age and physically fit. These occupations will be known in future as restricted occupations. The regulations include a schedule of the restricted occupations. The schedule comprises:

Bookkeepers, cashiers, stenographers, typists, clerks, office appliance operators, messengers, salesmen and sales clerks, taxicab

LOTTERY CALL-UP DIFFERS FROM U.S.

Divisional War Service Areas Across Canada Act as Independent Units

MAY IGNORE AGE GROUPS

System Not Expected to Be in Operation Before June, Due to Preliminary Details

Ottawa, March 24.—(CP)—The plan to use a lottery system in selecting men for compulsory training announced today is a new departure for Canada, but has been in effect in the United States for years.

However, indications tonight were that the system to be followed in Canada will differ from its American counterpart. The United States has been divided into zones, and in each zone men are given corresponding numbers. The lots are drawn in Washington and for each number called there are men in each zone who must report for duty.

In Canada, the situation is being handled differently. Divisional war service boards have been set up across the country, their jurisdiction agreeing generally with the boundaries of the military districts. Each board is an autonomous unit responsible for raising an allotted number of men for each call-up.

An official closely connected with the compulsory training set-up said tonight it was anticipated this set-up will not be changed under the lottery plan. Each divisional board will probably be responsible for raising a certain number of men, and the lots will be drawn regionally, rather than on a national basis as in the United States.

The difference will be that instead of calling up all the men in one age-group before proceeding to the next higher year, the available men up to the age of 30 will be grouped together for purposes of the lottery.

While the proclamation extending the call-up age limit is effective immediately, officials said, preparation of lists of men subject to call would be required. They estimated this work would take until June, and that no men above the age of 26 would be called before then.

TREATMENT OF ALIENS.

Negotiations with foreign countries concerning calling up of their nationals now are in progress through the External Affairs Department, it was understood. As far as British subjects are concerned there are no international complications.

The negotiations involve particularly the United States, for many Americans live in the Dominion. However, officials said they do not anticipate difficulty in making the necessary arrangements for calling up such persons, since the United States already drafts Canadians resident in that country.

No new legislation was involved in extension of the age groups. The move was taken by proclamation tabled in the House by Mr. King. Authority to call up single men and childless widowers up to the age of 45 years is provided under the National Resources Mobilization Act.

The number of men required each month varies according to the number of volunteers for active service who enlist in the army. All recruits, whether volunteers or draftees, train at the same camps. The number of draftees depends on the number who can be accommodated after provision is made for the volunteers, and usually is somewhere around 5,000 a month.

Originally men called up for training were required to spend a month in camp and then returned to their civilian occupations, being posted to reserve army units for administrative purposes. Last spring the training period was extended to four months, and trainees were held in the army for home defence duties instead of being released at the end of their training period.

Service Officer authorizing him to accept such employment.

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of war service just as truly as making munitions or serving in the armed forces. In order, however, to free younger men for direct war service, civilian tasks, as far as may be possible, should be performed by older men or by women.

The production of food, in wartime, is one of the most essential civilian tasks. To the extent that food is produced for Britain, or other allied countries, or for Canada's own fighting men, it is a direct war service. If this aspect of Canada's total effort is not to suffer, the manpower required for food production must be kept available.

MUNITIONS NEED 100,000 MORE

The manpower requirements for munitions production must also be filled. Some 600,000 workers are already engaged in the production of munitions. It is estimated that, in the course of the next 12 months, an additional 100,000 workers will be required.

In the armed forces our estimated requirements for the ensuing 12 months are a further 13,000 men for the navy; 90,000 to 100,000 for the active army; and 70,000 to 80,000 for the air force. These figures were given to Parliament on February 10 by the Minister of National Defence. In addition, men will continue to be called up for military service within Canada; and this on a considerably increased scale.

When, on January 26, I announced the war program for the coming year, I stated that the men and women required to carry out the program would be mobilized by an extension of the application of national selective service.

It might be helpful were I to repeat the definition I then gave of national selective service as understood by the Government.

By national service is meant any form of service, either voluntary or compulsory, which contributes directly to Canada's war effort. By national selective service is meant the selection of men and women for the various forms of national service according to the method or methods calculated to produce the most satisfactory results

In order to be selective, national service does not necessarily need to be compulsory. The selective aspect applies also to voluntary service. The army, for example, does not accept every man who offers to enlist. As a war measure, compulsion is only of value where it serves to ensure a greater total effort.

In speaking on the war program in January, I made it clear that the extended application of compulsion to national selective service was a highly complicated matter, one which required very careful planning and organization. I also stated that, to carry out the proposed measures equitably and efficiently, the administrative machinery would necessarily be intricate and complicated.

Final responsibility for the allocation of manpower, as for all other phases of our war program, necessarily rests with the War Committee of the Cabinet. The War Committee determines, in all its aspects, the scope and extent of the war program. The distribution of men and women among the various kinds of war service obviously depends upon the war program. The objectives are set forth in the program. National selective service is a method employed to help achieve these objectives.

To the problems of mobilizing manpower, the War Committee has given close and continuous attention.

Under the authority of the War Committee, a special committee of the Cabinet on manpower, presided over by the Minister of National War Services, has given detailed study to the problems involved. The recommendations of this committee have in turn been carefully considered by the whole Cabinet.

I shall now set forth the procedures and measures which have been taken to organize and administer the Government's policy of national selective service.

LITTLE AND GOULET NAMED.

The primary responsibility for the extended scheme of national selective service has been placed upon the Minister of Labor. Under the Minister of Labor, the administrative responsibility for the direction and co-ordination of the policy has been vested in a Director of National Selective Service and an Associate Director. Mr. Elliott M. Little has been appointed the Director of National Selective Service, and Mr. Paul Goulet, the Associate Director.

The responsibility for increasing the total manpower available for war service has been largely

for their respective areas. They will be advised and assisted in their work by voluntary unpaid citizens committees which will be set up in each of the areas.

A central registry has been established in the Department of Labor to aid in promptly finding the appropriate men and women needed at any particular time. The registry is based upon the unemployment insurance records, and the records of the 1940 national registration. To the registry will be added the records of such further surveys of manpower as may be made from time to time, with a view to building up a complete inventory of manpower available for war and essential civilian purposes. To consolidate records and to avoid duplication, the administrative responsibility for national registration has been transferred from the Department of National War Services to the Department of Labor.

PROGRAM STILL VOLUNTARY.

Under the program now adopted, the mobilization of industrial manpower will, in the main, be effected through the agency of the employment service of Canada. The armed forces will continue to recruit men for the active army, the navy and the air force by the present voluntary methods. The calling up of men for compulsory military training and service will continue to be the responsibility of the Department of National War Services.

Compulsion is now being applied in aspects of the mobilization of manpower, other than military service within Canada, to which it has been applied since October, 1940. It is recognized that no hard and fast compulsory regulations can be made which may not work injustices in individual cases. As a consequence, considerable discretion has been vested in the National War Services Boards to decide appeals from the compulsory or restrictive regulations of the Government, and from the orders of the Director of National Selective Service and the National Selective Service Officers.

APPEAL WORKS BOTH WAYS.

The right of appeal will be enjoyed, not only by employers, employees, farmers, farm laborers and others directly affected, but also by interested government departments. The duty of hearing civilian appeals will add greatly to the work of the National War Services Boards, now mainly concerned with the appeals of men called up for military service. In order to cope with the increased duties which will fall upon the boards, it may become necessary to increase their number and in some cases to divide their territorial jurisdictions.

The wartime mobilization of manpower has three important aspects:

1. Estimating the number of men and women required for the different kinds of war service.

2. Increasing the total manpower resources available for war purposes. In other words, making available for some part in the war effort the largest possible number of men and women.

3. Directing the available men and women into the most useful form of war service. All of these tasks have to be carried on at one and the same time; and, in part at least, through the same channels.

The whole program is inter-related and inter-dependent. I shall now give a brief outline of each of the measures, indicating, as far as possible, how each relates to and affects the other.

Estimating the number of men and women needed in the war effort, and the most effective distribution of the total among the armed services, war industry and essential civilian pursuits, is a difficult task. A constantly changing war necessitates constant changes in military and production plans. These changes, in turn, involve continuous revision of the estimates of manpower requirements, and the proposed allocation of manpower reserves. To this end, the Director of National Selective Service has been given authority to obtain information from Government departments, and empowered to secure from employers, by compulsion if necessary, full information regarding prospective labor requirements, existing labor forces, wage scales and working conditions.

In the early months of the war, there were large reserves of available manpower for war service because of the unemployment and under-employment of many thousands of Canadians.

If we except women who, for domestic or social reasons, have not desired or sought employment, we are now well past the

works or manufacturing establishment a position of authority involving responsibility for any phase of executive management or control of any technical function.

3. A person who has a degree from any Canadian or other recognized university and is normally engaged as a teacher of engineering science or of any branch of science at a university or technical college.

4. A person who has been trained or is or has been normally engaged in the practice of any branch of the science of chemistry but not including a registered pharmacist.

5. A research scientist—a person who, by training or practice, "is skilled in the independent search for new knowledge of the properties of matter or energy.

6. A person, other than a teacher, who has obtained a degree at any Canadian or other recognized university in engineering, chemistry, physics, geology, mathematics, architecture or in any natural science, or who is a technically qualified member of the Engineering Institute of Canada, the Canadian Institute of Chemistry, the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada or of any provincial association of professional engineers, chemists or architects;

7. A person, not in the classes described above, "who, in the opinion of the Minister, possesses technical qualifications and skill which are needed in undertakings engaged on essential work.

Operations under the order will be handled by Labor Minister Mitchell, through the director of the Wartime Bureau of Technical Personnel—a post formerly held by E. M. Little, named today as the Government's new director of national selective service.

Mr. Little said later that he will not continue as director of the bureau but that it will in all probability come under his jurisdiction.

Any person to whom the reinstatement provisions apply may be requested by Labor Minister Mitchell, through the personnel director, to undertake such essential work as will allow him to make his utmost contribution to the carrying on of essential war work.

Employers are compelled to release such men within 30 days after written notice of the proposed change has been received by him from the Minister or the director. Written objections from the employer may be submitted within the 30-day period.

"It shall be the duty of any employer, who employed a person to whom these regulations apply . . . to reinstate him at the termination of his contract for such (essential) services in a position and under conditions not less favorable than would have been applicable to him had he not consented to perform such services," the order said.

"The provisions of this section shall not apply to the civil service of Canada or to the civil service of any province of Canada."

Before any employer can employ a person to whom the regulations apply he must notify the director of the Technical Personnel Bureau.

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stage where there is any considerable reserve of employable unemployed persons. Women, therefore, constitute the most important available reserve of manpower. It is, however, not so much by bringing women directly into the armed forces, though that is being done, that the total manpower available for war service can actually be increased; rather is this end accomplished by the substitution of women for men in essential civilian tasks, and in war industry.

Additional manpower is becoming potentially available for war service as an indirect result of the curtailment of civilian production. To the achievement of a maximum effort, it is vital that manpower thus released be shifted as speedily and efficiently as possible into some form of war service. The process of shifting manpower from civilian occupations into war service has, of course, gone on steadily since the outbreak of war. It has now been given more definite governmental direction and is being accelerated.

TRAINING PROGRAM CITED.

For more than a year, the Department of Labor, in co-operation with the provinces and industry, has been increasing the manpower available through training men and women for employment in war industries. During the past year, more than 60,000 trainees received instruction in about one hundred technical schols. Industries co-operating with the Department of Labor, and often on their own initiative, trained at least an equal number. Through the Department of Labor, services, and directly in industry, greater provision is now being made for training and retraining men for essential war production;

employment at the time and place notified to him by the employer.

3. By reason of a change of circumstances, other than the engagement of some other person to replace him, "it was not reasonably practicable to reinstate him or that his reinstatement, in a position and under conditions not less favorable to him than those which would have been applicable to him had he not undertaken essential work, was impracticable and that the employer had offered to reinstate him in the most favorable position and under the most favorable conditions reasonably practicable.

4. That he was physically or mentally incapable of performing work available in the employer's service.

5. That he was employed to take the place of an employee who had been previously accepted for service in the armed forces or of an employee who, after the date on which the provision became effective, undertook, at the request of the Minister, to perform services in an undertaking engaged on essential work.

Where an employer has reinstated a former employee he shall not, "without reasonable cause," terminate the employment of that employee and, in any proceedings for violation of this section in any case where the employment was terminated within six months of the reinstatement, the onus shall be on the employer to prove that he had reasonable cause for terminating the employment.

"An employer shall not terminate the employment of any employee to whom these regulations apply in the expectancy that the employee, at the request of the minister, will agree to perform services under another employer," the order said.

". . . The (Labor) Minister may make all such orders as he may deem necessary or desirable to carry out the purpose of these regulations and such orders shall have the force of law."

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The order makes provisions for fines up to $100 against employers who fail to abide by the terms of the order, and under some circumstances provides for compelling employers who have failed to reinstate a former employee to pay the employee a sum not exceeding three months' pay.

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for diluting present working forces by employment of men of lesser skill for simpler operations; and for the constant up-grading, as a result of training and experience, of existing working forces.

The program of increasing wartime manpower reserves has a three-fold objective:

First—To increase the total male labor force available for war production.

Second—To make possible the replacement of able-bodied men of military age with older men, or men less fit physically for arduous tasks.

Third—To increase wartime manpower reserves by bringing women into industry. This is the most important single feature of the program.

The first two objectives are being accelerated by governmental and industrial assistance. The assistance is similar in character, although on a smaller scale, to that being afforded for recruiting female labor.

MOBILIZING WOMEN.

The series of measures being undertaken to bring women into industries include:

(1) Recruiting campaigns, planned and publicized to attract women into the needed work;

(2) The provision of appropriate and adequate facilities for interviewing women applicants and for giving them advice and direction;

(3) The establishment of competent job information and placement services, specializing in female labor;

(4) Advances, where necessary, to meet transportation costs in getting women workers to places where work is available;

(5) The provision of hostels or other satisfactory housing arrangements;

(6) The provision of nurseries and other means of caring for children;

(7) The provision, where needed, of medical and recreational facilities;

(8) The provision in industry, as well as under direct governmental auspices, of training programs, specifically designed for women;

(9) Pressure upon employers plants producing urgently needed war materials are now operating day and night, seven days in the week. Others that might be operating on the same basis are hampered by lack of supervisors.

A recent statement by Mr. Bevin (Labor Minister Bevin of the British Government) on the importance of personnel factors in war production in Great Britain is equally applicable to Canada. It reads:

"In the layout of our war effort, sufficient attention was not paid to the personnel problem. . . The longer the war goes on, the more necessary it becomes to pay greater regard to this personnel side of industry. The absence of a proper understanding of the problem has been one of our greatest handicaps in this great struggle. . . Hence my additional plea for the personnel manager, who should be specially trained to have an equal position in industry with other members of the executive. Indeed, I am sure—and I would emphasize this—that our post-war position will be materially helped, and the future prospects of British industry enhanced, by a full appreciation of this important fact."

To assist our Canadian employers to meet their personnel problem, provision has been made by the Government for training in personnel management. The universities have agreed to cooperate. Experienced personnel men will serve as instructors and sponsors. Trainees will be given practical instruction in the classroom, and on the job.

If the experience of this undertaking warrants, these facilities will be extended to foremen and other supervisors. It is hoped by this means greatly to reduce an important area of difficulty in war production. Moreover, better personnel policies and practice should minimize friction between management and men, improve morale, and thereby increase output.

The Government is also undertaking an extended program of reconditioning men to fit them physically for military service.

It is and has been standard practice for the army to accept men for service who require only dental treatment, provision of glasses, or nutritional improvement. After enlistment or enrolment, treatment is provided for these men as a matter of routine.

FREE MEDICAL TREATMENT.

There are, however, men volunteering for the active army, or called up for training and service, who at present have to be rejected because of some condition, other than those just mentioned and which, though not a serious disability, is important enough to require more than routine treatment.

It has been decided that when disabilities of this class are mendable within a comparatively short time free remedial treatment will be provided to restore the standard of physical fitness of these men. Such a policy is in the interests of the armed services and also of benefit to the health of the nation as a whole.

Free treatment will be available to those who volunteer and undertake in writing to enlist as soon as they are physically eligible, provided they are certified by a competent board to be cases in which the disability can be removed or mended by treatment so as to make them physically fit for enlistment within a specified reasonable period.

Free treatment will also be available to those who are called up for compulsory training and service provided it is similarly certified, as in the case of volunteers, that the disability is such that it can be removed or mended within a specified reasonable period. When the treatment is successfully completed, these men will be available for military training and service.

In giving treatment, the Departments of National Defence, Pensions and National Health and National War Services will cooperate.

The treatment, both for volunteers and for men called up for training and service will be provided, or arranged for, by the Department of Pensions and National Health. In neither case will men undergoing treatment be accepted into the army unless, and until, the treatment has been successfully completed. In both cases, in addition to free treatment and, if necessary, hospitalization, men undergoing treatment will be paid an allowance for time actually and necessarily lost during the remedial period.

It should be added that free treatment on precisely the same terms as in the case of volunteers for the active army will be provided for men who volunteer for

One of the manpower problems with which the country is faced is the growing shortage of agricultural labor. Means, accordingly, have had to be devised to ensure that the supply of farm labor is not depleted. To that end, regulations have been enacted to stabilize employment in agriculture.

With three exceptions, the regulations provide that no male person wholly or mainly employed in agriculture on March 23, 1942, as defined by the regulations shall enter into any employment outside agriculture unless he has obtained written permission from the National Selective Service officer to enter such employment. They also provide that no person shall take into employment outside agriculture, any male person wholly or mainly employed in agriculture unless such male person has obtained such permission.

The three exceptions provided for are active service in the armed forces by voluntary enlistment; seasonal employment in a primary industry; and compulsory military training if it is established that the person concerned is not an essential worker in agriculture.

The exception of seasonal employment in other primary industries, which include lumbering, logging, forestry, fishing and trapping is, in reality, not an exception. In many parts of the country, agriculture and the primary pursuits specified are complementary aspects of what is, in effect, a single occupation.

The other specific exceptions both relate to service in the armed forces. Voluntary enlistment of farmers and agricultural workers in the active army, the navy and the air forces will continue to be encouraged. It is felt that the privilege of serving voluntarily in the armed forces should not be completely denied to a whole class of the community, however important may be the service its members are at present performing.

On the other hand, the growing scarcity of labor on the farms and the increasing importance of maintaining, and, indeed, of increasing food production, has been recognized. This has been accomplished by a fundamental alteration of the policy regarding compulsory military training and service where such service touches persons wholly or mainly employed in agriculture. Up to the present there has been a general obligation to serve, and the responsibility for proving a case for postponement of service has rested with the individual. Under the new regulations, farmers, farmers' sons and agricultural laborers will normally not be obliged to undertake compulsory military training and service. It is realized, however, that in a limited number of cases, men on the farms are not, in fact, essential agricultural workers. If it is established to the satisfaction of the National War Services boards concerned that such persons are not essential workers in agriculture, they will continue to be called for service in the appropriate age groups.

This change of policy regarding compulsory military service applies only to those who were wholly or mainly employed in agriculture, on March 23, 1942, in accordance with the terms of the regulations. Persons who subsequent to that date may return to employment in agriculture, except from normal seasonal occupations, will continue to be liable for military service. In such cases, the earlier regulations regarding postponement will continue to apply.

Apart from the three specified exceptions to the rule that persons engaged in agriculture shall not enter into other employments, the regulations also empower the National Selective Service Officer, having jurisdiction in the district in which a person resides, to give permission to farmers and agricultural workers to enter other employment. This provision has been included in the regulations so as to maintain a reasonable decree of flexibility in policy. It is recognized that there may be those engaged in agricultural pursuits, who, because of the limited character of their production or on other grounds, are not performing an essential war service. At the same time, such persons, because of age or physical condition, or for other reasons, may not be suitable for military service. Unless the way were left open for such persons to move into other fields of activity, great individual hardships might result, and valuable service in other fields be lost to the country.

It will, therefore, be open to farmers and others engaged in agricultural work, who desire to enter some other field of employ-

sociation of professional engineers, chemists or architects.

About a year ago, with the aid of the professional engineering societies, there was established in the Department of Labor a Wartime Bureau of Technical Personnel. The bureau has accumulated information on most of the professional engineers of the country. It has sought to make engineers available as needed in the armed services and in war industry. The time has come, when in the opinion of the Government, all technical men should be shifted from non-essential activities to war or other essential services.

Under regulations at present in force, if, at the request of the Minister of Labor, an engineer is willing to transfer to more essential work, his present employer is obliged to release him and to reinstate him when his undertaking on essential work is completed. Employers who hire or release technical employees are required to notify the bureau so that technical men as needed in the war effort may be quickly located. Contracts of employment for the services of technicians require the approval of the Minister of Labor.

This measure is restricted for the present to professional technicians. It may, however, become necessary as an essential war service, also to require skilled workmen in certain categories, to remain in their existing occupations in war industries, or to move from one war industry to another, or to remain in certain essential civilian occupations. Should such widespread control become necessary, every effort will be made to reduce its arbitrary aspects to a minimum, and to secure, from workmen and employers alike, the largest measure of voluntary co-operation.

NON-ESSENTIALS ENUMERATED

In order to increase the numbers of men available for service in the armed forces, in war industry, or in other essential occupations, regulations have been made which prohibit the entry into employment in a wide variety of occupations, of men who are of military age and physically fit. These occupations will be known in future as restricted occupations. The regulations include a schedule of the restricted occupations. The schedule comprises:

Bookkeepers, cashiers, stenographers, typists, clerks, office appliance operators, messengers, salesmen and sales clerks, taxicab drivers.

Any occupation in wholesale or retail trade, advertising, and real estate.

Any occupation in, or directly associated with, entertainment, recreational or personal service, including but not restricted to theatres; film agencies; motion picture companies; clubs; bowling alleys; pool rooms; sports; barbering and hair-dressing; domestic service; dyeing; cleaning and pressing; laundering; hotels and lodging houses; baths; restaurants; cafes and taverns; shoe shining, guide service, and funeral service.

Any occupation in the manufacture or production of: (1) Biscuits, confectionery, cocoa; (2) bread and bakery products; (3) aerated and mineral waters and other beverages; (4) liquors, wines, beer; (5) rubber products; (6) tobacco, cigars, cigarettes; (7) leather and fur products; (8) textile products; (9) furniture and upholstering; (10) photography;

(11) Printing, publishing and engraving; (12) radios, refrigerators, washing machines, and vacuum cleaners; (13) jewellery and watchmaking; (14) pottery and china; (15) soaps, and toilet preparations and articles; (16) mattresses; (17) musical instruments; (18) barber and beauty shop equipment; (19) cameras and films; (20) sporting goods; (21) games, toys and novelties.

Any occupation in the repair of clothing, boots and shoes, furniture and household equipment, jewellery or watches, musical instruments.

EMPLOYMENT RESTRICTED.

It is provided that, on and after March 23, 1942, no male person shall accept employment, and no employer shall engage any male person in any of these restricted occupations, unless such person presents to the prospective employer a birth certificate or other incontrovertible evidence that his age is less than 17 or more than 45 years; or a certificate of honorable discharge from the armed forces; or evidence of rejection on grounds of physical unfitness for active service in the armed forces during the present war; or a permit from a National Selective

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Service Officer authorizing him to accept such employment.

The conditions which govern the granting or refusing of permission by National Selective Service Officers are to be made, and may be revised from time to time by, the Minister of Labor. Permits are necessarily subject to cancellation at any time.

The Minister of Labor is authorized to require employers to furnish reports about all persons engaged for or released from restricted occupations. The Governor-in-Council is empowered to amend the schedule of restricted occupations, by the deletion or addition of any occupation.

By applying the negative compulsion of restriction, where possible, in preference to the positive compulsion of allocation, the waste of manpower in unessential activities is prevented. At the same time, men and women are maintained in or directed into the form of service they prefer. It is obvious that the greater the measure of willingness that can be preserved, the more effective the service will be.

May I say, in conclusion, while the Government has not hesitated and will not hesitate to apply compulsion where compulsion will serve to increase the total war effort, the Government has no desire to add unduly—which means wastefully—to governmental machinery. It is essential that at a time of war, the services of men and women should not be consumed in unnecessary tasks. It is imperative that the services of all should be directed into war-time tasks.

In those aspects of our war effort in which voluntary methods are working satisfactorily, voluntary selection, including a measure of choice by the individual of the appropriate field of service, has been and will be continued. The more expensive and complicated methods of compulsion have been employed only where it is felt that compulsory selection is necessary in order to increase efficiency in the prosecution of the war. Compulsion, however, will be applied without fear or favor wherever in the opinion of the Government its use will aid in the achievement of a maximum war effort.

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tonight it was anticipated this setup will not be changed under the lottery plan. Each divisional board will probably be responsible for raising a certain number of men, and the lots will be drawn regionally, rather than on a national basis as in the United States.

The difference will be that instead of calling up all the men in one age-group before proceeding to the next higher year, the available men up to the age of 30 will be grouped together for purposes of the lottery.

While the proclamation extending the call-up age limit is effective immediately, officials said, preparation of lists of men subject to call would be required. They estimated this work would take until June, and that no men above the age of 26 would be called before then.

TREATMENT OF ALIENS.

Negotiations with foreign countries concerning calling up of their nationals now are in progress through the External Affairs Department, it was understood. As far as British subjects are concerned there are no international complications.

The negotiations involve particularly the United States, for many Americans live in the Dominion. However, officials said they do not anticipate difficulty in making the necessary arrangements for calling up such persons, since the United States already drafts Canadians resident in that country.

No new legislation was involved in extension of the age groups. The move was taken by proclamation tabled in the House by Mr. King. Authority to call up single men and childless widowers up to the age of 45 years is provided under the National Resources Mobilization Act.

The number of men required each month varies according to the number of volunteers for active service who enlist in the army. All recruits, whether volunteers or draftees, train at the same camps. The number of draftees depends on the number who can be accommodated after provision is made for the volunteers, and usually is somewhere around 5,000 a month.

Originally men called up for training were required to spend a month in camp and then returned to their civilian occupations, being posted to reserve army units for administrative purposes. Last spring the training period was extended to four months, and trainees were held in the army for home defence duties instead of being released at the end of their training period.

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A NATION AT WAR



By F. C. MEARS
Gazette Parliamentary Correspondent

Reactions to Bonusing

Ottawa, March 24.—Pride, patriotism and protestation are the three principal reactions of private business and industry to the government's policy of bonusing necessary importations. Too proud to fight for a subsidy; too patriotic to ask for money from the federal treasury in war time; an ineradicable dislike of having government auditors scrutinizing the books—these are some of the attitudes. Another and the more common and sensible is that a business when it finds it necessary to import certain raw materials and wants to be able to sell its finished products at a price under the overall ceiling, it will be promptly cared for.

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War Nerve Centre

A maze of corridors, the fragrance of fresh paint, the clang of the carpenter's hammer, handymen moving about with their arms full of new window blinds, are common experiences to those who visit almost any one of the government controls these days. The constant expansion of the war business, the alarming increase of restrictions, the irresistible demand for a closer conservation of the supplies of raw materials give this capital today the picture of a vast telephone exchange with lines leading into it from every city, town, village and hamlet. And the times the wires become crossed or tangled are amazingly few.

Every day some new controller or assistant controller or administrator is named for a special job. It is no exaggeration now — it might have been six months ago—to ask how business and industry are carrying on back home, for it looks as if most of the heads of these private firms are here helping to keep the nation's economy closely geared to the war effort. Some may say there are too many of them, and some wonder how all of them can be usefully employed; but if the heads of the many essential boards and commissions and departments believe they are necessary that should be sufficient.

A casual visit to any one of the many boards will present a picture common to most if not all. They are all hives of industry. Most of the officials seem studious, preoccupied, exceedingly in earnest for they have serious jobs to do. Every day produces new problems and these problems are national in their extent and effect for even though the application or the claim or the inquiry is of an individual business man its treatment obviously is of interest to and affects all.

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Pride of Industry

When we are told that many business people think it mean to make a claim to the commodities stabilization corporation for a subsidy to enable them to remain under the price ceiling, that in war time private enterprises should not be dipping into the federal treasury, there is new proof, if such were needed, that there is an abundance of downright, genuine patriotism in private enterprise. There are authenticated instances of business firms deciding to dip into their own reserves rather than ask public aid (some of them brand it as charity) so that they might avoid piercing the ceiling.

There are others, and they are not as familiar figures as in pre-war days, who display impatience with what they call government interference. They have a sort of contempt for public officials prying into their books. But the fact is, so far as the operations of the stabilization corporation are concerned, there is no interference. It is almost the opposite. It is an attempt by one part of the federal government to help private concerns obey the regulations of another branch of government. It looks much more like public munificence than governmental interference. "It is too good to be true," is the remark of some prospective claimants for subsidy.

But for those who find themselves obliged to get help there are hints from officials of the corporation that will be of great assistance, and will obviate certain delays or disappointments. A prospective claimant for a subsidy, an official explains, would be well advised first to ascertain whether the goods he proposes to import are eligible for subsidy. If he has any doubt he should confer with customs officials regarding the tariff item under which his goods would be imported. Then he should read in The Canada Gazette the list of goods not eligible for subsidy.

Another important move suggested by officials of the corporation is consultation with the office of the appropriate administrator in the wartime prices and trade board, whose advice, incidentally, is sought by the stabilization organization before any subsidy is granted. For instance, some manufacturer might contemplate importing some yarn for manufacture into fabrics, but the wool administrator might find that some Canadian yarn plant had a surplus stock that might meet the needs of the prospective importer.

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Claims Already Many

A large number of claims for subsidy have already been processed, which means there have been many checks and cross checks and investigations before the money is paid. A large organization has been assembled for this job, necessitated by the establishment of an overall price ceiling. It might be appropriate here to repeat the reminder of this corporation that it is just not interested in imports of raw materials to be manufactured and then exported, even to a British country. Imports for eventual export have no part in its picture.

But the rapid growth of the organization itself and of its business, for not all the business firms are too proud to ask for help to stay under the price ceiling, is only a reflection of the expansion of the war business.

For the first two years of the war every part of price control was under one roof, with Hector McKinnon at its head. Then came the over-all price ceiling and the necessity for help to private firms who were making needed goods and could not import raw material and stay under the ceiling. The stabilization corporation at first was able to stay under the same roof with the wartime prices and trade board, but the off-shoot or by-product of price control became a big business in itself and it had to seek larger housing several blocks away.

SPEAKS TONIGHT



JUDGE BERNARD A. ROSENBLATT of Tel Aviv and New York American chairman of the Palestine Foundation Fund, and a member of the Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, will be in Montreal today and tomorrow to speak on the subject of "Palestine as an Arsenal for the Democracies." Meetings of leading Jewish citizens of the North End and Outremont to be held tonight at the Adath Israel Synagogue, Ducharme avenue, and tomorrow at the B'nai Jacob Synagogue, Fairmount avenue west. A. Albert and J. Sternthal, co-chairmen of the Special Names Committee of the 1942 Montreal United Palestine Appeal, are in charge of the meetings.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD LEAGUE

By GLUYAS WILLIAMS



SPEED LIMIT BILL DUE

Quebec Motorists to Be Restricted to 40 M.P.H.

(Gazette Staff Correspondent.)

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Mr. Mathewson explained that it has to be remembered that the tires which motorists now have on their cars are the last tires which they will have for the duration of the war, and in order to help conserve them, and to prevent accidents because of high rates of speed, the decision has been taken to limit vehicular traffic to 40 miles an hour, during the time of the war, or, rather, until the government otherwise decrees by proclamation.

The Provincial Treasurer has not yet dealt with the matter of amending the Motor Vehicle Act in such way as to provide that the tax shall be on use of a motor car, rather than on the possession of a car, which is the law at the present time. It is expected, however, that there will be some legislation along these lines, either in the way of actually changing the wording of the law itself, or in providing for collecting of the tax.

ARGENTINE MISSION IS REFUSED U.S. AID

Buenos Aires Public Disappointed on Learning Nation Not to Get Armaments

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The dispatch pointed out at the same time that Chile, Peru, Brazil and Uruguay had received requisite defence supplies form the United States.

Publication of the story from Washington has served to awaken public opinion here to the unpleasant truth that Argentina stands alone. (Technically, Chile has ranged itself with Agentina, both countries having failed as yet to sever diplomatic relations with the Axis powers in accordance with a recommendation adopted by the conference of foreign ministers at Rio de Janeiro last January. However, it is felt that Chile will break with the Axis after inauguration of President-elect Juan Antonio Rios next month.)

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With the city council scheduled to sit in a specially convened meet-

INDEPENDENT SUIT BY WIFE IS UPHELD

Mr. Justice Loranger Finds She May Sue in Her Own Name for Her Own Property

"In principle, interloctutory judgments may be revised by the judge who adjudges a litigation on its merits, but in doing so the trial judge must be convinced there is manifest error in the said judgments." Mr. Justice Louis Loranger made the foregoing declaration in a judgment he rendered in the Superior Court yesterday, condemning Lucien Beliveau and Alcide Dupras jointly and severally to pay $250 to Madame Clara Marcil the amount being due in principal and interest on a cheque signed by Beliveau and endorsed by Dupras, February 19, 1936.

Judge Loranger's judgment upholds the right of a married woman to sue in her own name without authorization by her husband, to recover her own property.

The main defence was that as plaintiff did not allege in her action that she was claiming what

FIVE AIR FORCE MEN ARE LISTED KILLED

Three R.C.A.F. Fliers Presumed Dead Overseas, One Seriously Injured

Ottawa, March 24.—(C)—Four men were reported killed overseas and one killed in Canada in the Royal Canadian Air Force's 220th casualty list of the war, issued today.

Three overseas fliers were listed as presumed dead and one as seriously injured.

Following is the latest list of casualties with official number and next-of-kin:

OVERSEAS

KILLED ON ACTIVE SERVICE:

Garvin, Henry Winterknight, Sgt., R54498, Mrs. T. H. Garvin (mother), Philadelphia, Pa.

LeMere, Roland Walter, Flt. Sgt., R73480, Mrs. J. F. LeMere (mother), Two Rivers, Wis.

Riedy, Robert Harvey, Sgt., R66334, Mrs. Harvey Riedy (mother), Allentown, Pa.

PREVIOUSLY REPORTED MISSING, NOW REPORTED KILLED ON ACTIVE SERVIGE:

Hebert, Joseph Roy, PO., J5672, Mrs. J. L. Hebert (mother), Regina.

PREVIOUSLY REPORTED MISSING, NOW FOR OFFICIAL PURPOSES PRESUMED DEAD:

Crump, John Colvin, Sgt., R61608, Mrs. H. N. C. Crump (mother), Regina

Druhan, Kenneth Francis, Sgt., R65046, Mrs. K. F. Druhan (wife), Halifax.

Taylor, Harold Alvan, Sgt., R55406, Mrs. A. W. Taylor (mother), Richmond, Que.

SERIOUSLY INJURED ON ACTIVE SERVICE:

Wilson, O. Earl, Flt. Sgt., R67946, Mrs. Nora Wilson (mother), St. Louis, Missouri.

CANADA:

KILLED ON ACTIVE SERVICE:

Ness, Olav Alfred, FO., C7174, Mrs. O. A. Ness (wife), Prince Albert, Sask. (Killed March 19 near Prince Albert, Sask.)

Coal Rationing Faces U.S.

Washington, March 24.—(AP)—Rationing of coal in the United States may be necessary next fall, H. A. Gray, acting director of the Solid Fuels Co-Ordination Office, has revealed. He made the prediction in testimony before a House of Representatives committee, saying: "The draft is already affecting the production of coal and the priorities are getting to be tighter and tighter for the necessary mine requirements."

ALIEN IS FINED $25

Judge Finds 'Extenuating Circumstances' in Case

Because of the extenuating circumstances surrounding the case Judge Gustave Perrault in Arraignment Court yesterday imposed a fine of only $25 on Walter Halbig, 34, a native of Germany, who pleaded guilty to a charge of failing to register as an enemy alien.

It was pointed out by the authorities that the accused was naturalized in 1939 and that he was now doing important work in a local munitions factory.

Fines of $50 and costs were imposed by Judge J. C. Langlois on Maurice Anctil, 23, and Ovila Brunelle, 23, who pleaded guilty to a charge of failing to report for military training after having passed their medical examinations. In default of payment of the fine and costs they will have to spend two months in jail.



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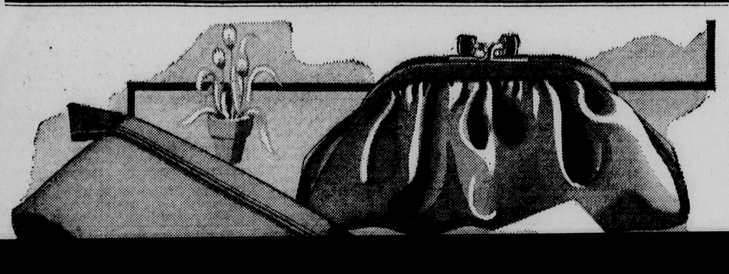
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CITY COUNCIL FACES 14 ITEMS IN AGENDA

Asselin Joins Goyette in Asking Enough to Attend to Pass Civic Grants

With the city council scheduled to sit in a specially convened meeting this morning, high pressure efforts have been made at City Hall to insure sufficient attendance to handle a 14-item agenda. Ten of the items — including one for a $200,000 grant to the four local charity federations toward deficits incurred in caring for cases ineligible for direct relief—require 67 of council's 99 votes for adoption.

Having in mind collapse of the statutory March meeting last week through lack of a quorum, Leader of Council A. E. Goyette had addressed a letter to each councillor urging attendance, and yesterday Executive Committee Chairman J. O. Asselin followed suit with one of his own.

"This is a question of voting 14 items of great importance," wrote Councillor Asselin, in part, "including, very particularly, Item No. 2, which concerns a grant of $200,000 to be distributed among the federations of charity. In conformity with the charter, a favorable vote of at least 67 council members is needed to adopt this item as well as items No. 3 to 11 inclusive.

"These federations are in a serious financial position and one of them has been obliged, through lack of money, to refuse assistance to certain needy families.

"It is therefore extremely urgent that each one of us make a special effort to attend council tomorrow.

"You will note that the order of the day does not contain any question which is susceptible of lengthy debate. We will try to end this meeting early and we will also try to furnish you with all the information which you might seek in order to come to a decision without adjournment."

Items No. 3 to 11, inclusive, also concern civic grants of various kinds, left over from the abortive March session.

WHEAT CLEARANCE OFF

4,511,624-Bushel Total in Week Below Year Ago

Ottawa, March 24.—(CP)—Overseas export clearances of Canadian wheat totalled 4,511,624 bushels in the week ended March 20 compared with 78,314,977 for the same period of 1940-41.

Accumulated total for the 33 weeks from August 1, 1941, to March 20 was 94,805,015 bushels compared with 78,314,977 for the same period of 1940-41.

Wheat receipts in the Prairie Provinces in the week ended March 20 amounted to 2,009,159 bushels compared with 2,255,235 the previous week and 4,527,618 in the corresponding week last year. Receipts by provinces, with 1941 figures in brackets: Manitoba, 489,984 (577,489); Saskatchewan, 946,805 (2,119,559); Alberta, 573,370 (1,830,570) bushels.

Marketings in the Prairie Provinces for the 33-week period, with corresponding 1940-41 figures in brackets: Manitoba, 33,551,255 (43,789,762); Saskatchewan, 86,436,801 (175,776,635); Alberta, 52,124,613 (115,260,578) bushels.

Canadian wheat in store March 20 totalled 467,136,389 bushels compared with 471,618,195 the previous week and 483,557,260 in the corresponding week last year. Stocks in Canadian elevators totalled 450,533,626 against 452,411,750 and 439,014,909. Canadian wheat in the United States amounted to 16,602,763 bushels compared with 19,206,445 and 44,542,351.

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Mr. Justice Loranger Finds She May Sue in Her Own Name for Her Own Property

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Judge Loranger's judgment upholds the right of a married woman to sue in her own name without authorization by her husband, to recover her own property.

The main defence was that as plaintiff did not allege in her action that she was claiming what belonged to her personally, right of instituting the action belonged to her husband.

"This pretension was rejected in the Practice Court by Mr. Justice Surveyer on defendants' exception to the form of plaintiff's action," Mr. Justice Loranger. "Afterwards, Mr. Justice Forest in the same court permitted the plaintiff to amend her declaration by adding that her action was taken to recover her own property. Now defendants reiterate their contention that plaintiff's action is irregular; but their arguments do not convince me of the validity of their pretensions. I am far from being convinced that the interlocutory judgments of Justices Surveyer and Forest are erroneous. I would probably have rendered the same decisions had I been in their place, for I consider that to have dismissed the case on defendants' exception to form would have deprived the plaintiff of a right that she possessed when she instituted the action and still enjoys—the right to recover a personal debt.

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Coal Rationing Faces U.S.

Washington, March 24.—(AP)—Rationing of coal in the United States

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2 of/de 2

assistant controller or administrator is named for a special job. It is no exaggeration now as it might have been six months ago—to ask how business and industry are carrying on back home, for it looks as if most of the heads of these private firms are here helping to keep the nation's economy closely geared to the war effort. Some may say there are too many of them, and some wonder how all of them can be usefully employed; but if the heads of the many essential boards and commissions and departments believe they are necessary that should be sufficient.

A casual visit to any one of the many boards will present a picture common to most if not all. They are all hives of industry. Most of the officials seem studious, preoccupied, exceedingly in earnest for they have serious jobs to do. Every day produces new problems and these problems are national in their extent and effect for even though the application or the claim or the inquiry is of an individual business man its treatment obviously is of interest to and affects all.

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Pride of Industry

When we are told that many business people think it mean to make a claim vs the commodities stabilization corporation for a subsidy to enable them to remain under the price ceiling, that in war time private enterprises should not be dipping into the federal treasury, there is new proof, if such were needed, that there is an abundance of downright, genuine patriotism in private enterprise. There are authenticated instances of business firms deciding to dip into their own reserves rather than ask public aid (some of them brand it as charity) so that they might avoid piercing the ceiling.

There are others, and they are not as familiar figures as in pre-war days, who display impatience with what they call government interference. They have a sort of contempt for public officials prying into their books. But the fact is so far as the operations of the claimants for subsidy.

But for those who find themselves obliged to get help there are hints from officials of the corporation that will be of great assistance, and will obviate certain delays or disappointments. A prospective claimant for a subsidy, an official explains, would be well advised first to ascertain whether the goods he proposes to import are eligible for subsidy. If he has any doubt he should confer with customs officials regarding the tariff item under which his goods would be imported. Then he should read in The Canada Gazette the list of goods not eligible for subsidy.

Another important move suggested by officials of the corporation is consultation with the office of the appropriate administrator in the wartime prices and trade board, whose advice, incidentally, is sought by the stabilization organization before any subsidy is granted. For instance, some manufacturer might contemplate importing some yarn for manufacture into fabrics. But the wool administrator might find that some Canadian yarn plant had a surplus stock that might meet the needs of the prospective importer.

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Claims Already Many

A large number of claims for subsidy have already been processed, which means there have been many checks and cross checks and investigations before the money is paid. A large organization has been assembled for this job, necessitated by the establishment of an overall price ceiling. It might be appropriate here to repeat the reminder of this corporation that it is just not interested in imports of raw materials to be manufactured and then exported, even to a British country. Imports for eventual export have no part in its picture.

But the rapid growth of the organization itself and of its business, for not all the business firms are too proud to ask for help to stay under the price ceiling, is only a

SPEED LIMIT BILL DUE

Quebec Motorists to Be Restricted to 40 M.P.H.

(Gazette Staff Correspondent.)

Quebec, March 24.—Motorists in the Province of Quebec are to be restricted to 40 miles an hour, in virtue of a measure which Hon. J. A. Mathewson, Provincial Treasurer, will introduce in the Legislative Assembly tomorrow. Notice of the bill appeared on the agenda paper today.

Mr. Mathewson explained that it has to be remembered that the tires which motorists now have on their cars are the last tires which they will have for the duration of the war, and in order to help conserve them, and to prevent accidents because of high rates of speed, the decision has been taken to limit vehicular traffic to 40 miles an hour, during the time of the war, or, rather, until the government otherwise decrees by proclamation.

The Provincial Treasurer has not yet dealt with the matter of amending the Motor Vehicle Act in such way as to provide that the tax shall be on use of a motor car, rather than on the possession of a car, which is the law at the present time. It is expected, however, that there will be some legislation along these lines, either in the way of actually changing the wording of the law itself, or in providing for collecting of the tax.

IS REFUSED U.S. AID

Buenos Aires Public Disappointed on Learning Nation Not to Get Armaments

Buenos Aires, March 24.—(ONA)—The Argentine public today had learned for the first time that its military mission was returning from Washington empty-handed, having failed to obtain desperately needed armaments and munitions for defence of the nation.

The information was contained in a dispatch to the newspaper La Nacion from its Washington correspondent Fernando Ortiz Eshague, who said the mission had failed although it had been "royally treated personally and had formed invaluable friendships with American military leaders."

The dispatch pointed out at the same time that Chile, Peru, Brazil and Uruguay had received requisite defence supplies form the United States.

Publication of the story from Washington has served to awaken public opinion here to the unpleasant truth that Argentina stands alone. (Technically, Chile has ranged itself with Agentina, both countries having failed as yet to sever diplomatic relations with the Axis powers in accordance with a recommendation adopted by the conference of foreign ministers at Rio de Janeiro last January. However, it is felt that Chile will break with the Axis after inauguration of President-elect Juan Antonio Rios next month.)

The dispatch has created a sharp feeling of disappointment here, some circles blaming the United States and others Acting President Ramon S. Castillo and his policy of arch isolationism.

CITY COUNCIL FACES 14 ITEMS IN AGENDA

Asselin Joins Goyette in Asking Enough to Attend to Pass Civic Grants

With the city council scheduled to sit in a specially convened meeting this morning, high pressure efforts have been made at City Hall to insure sufficient attendance to handle a 14-item agenda. Ten of the items — including one for a $200,000 grant to the four local charity federations toward deficits incurred in caring for cases ineligible for direct relief—require 67 of council's 99 votes for adoption.

Having in mind collapse of the statutory March meeting last week through lack of a quorum, Leader of Council A. E. Goyette had addressed a letter to each councillor urging attendance, and yesterday Executive Committee Chairman J. O. Asselin followed suit with one of his own.

"This is a question of voting 14 items of great importance," wrote Councillor Asselin, in part, "including, very particularly, Item No. 2, which concerns a grant of $200,000 to be distributed among the federations of charity. In conformity with the charter, a favorable vote of at least 67 council members is needed to adopt this item as well as items No. 3 to 11 inclusive.

"These federations are in a serious financial position and one of them has been obliged, through lack of money, to refuse assistance to certain needy families.

"It is therefore extremely urgent that each one of us make a special effort to attend council tomorrow.

"You will note that the order of the day does not contain any question which is susceptible of lengthy debate. We will try to end this meeting early and we will also try to furnish you with all the information which you might seek in order to come to a decision without adjournment."

Items No. 3 to 11, inclusive, also concern civic grants of various kinds, left over from the abortive March session.

WHEAT CLEARANCE OFF

4,511,624-Bushel Total in Week Below Year Ago

Ottawa, March 24.—(C)—Overseas export clearances of Canadian wheat totalled 4,511,624 bushels in the week ended March 20 compared

Accumulated total for the 33 weeks from August 1, 1941, to March 20 was 94,805,015 bushels compared with 78,314,977 for the same period of 1940-41.

Wheat receipts in the Prairie Provinces in the week ended March 20 amounted to 2,069,159 bushels compared with 2,255,255 the previous week and 4,527,618 in the corresponding week last year. Receipts by provinces, with 1941 figures in brackets: Manitoba, 483,984 (577,480); Saskatchewan, 946,805 (2,113,591); Alberta, 573,370 (1,836,570) bushels.

Marketings in the Prairie Provinces for the 33-week period, with corresponding 1940-41 figures in brackets: Manitoba, 33,551,253 (42,760,763); Saskatchewan, 86,436,801 (175,776,635); Alberta, 52,123,613 (115,260,578) bushels.

Canadian wheat in store March 20 totalled 467,136,389 bushels compared with 471,618,195 the previous week and 483,557,260 in the corresponding week last year. Stocks in Canadian elevators totalled 456,533,626 against 452,411,750 and 439,014,909. Canadian wheat in the United States amounted to 16,602,763 bushels compared with 19,206,445 and 44,542,351.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

2 of/de 2

Le biographical

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa Citizen

Date March 26, 1942

42398

Subject Prime Minister's Speech on Manpower Problem

Glimpses of Parliament

By Charles Bishop.

Because caution and restraint are so commonly his characteristic, and he is the very antithesis of an alarmist, the Prime Minister's pronouncement on the war in the House yesterday—upon its menace to this country as well as to the world outside — must be assessed as of most suggestive significance. Mr. King did not mince his words; didn't soft pedal or minimize or make light of anything; spoke as one whose apprehensions are as real as their fulfilment might prove to be imminent. At the same time there was assurance in the added precautions which are to be taken, some of them with a seeming suddenness.

• • •

By way of illustrating appreciation of the gravities, the Prime Minister announced the formation of two new mobile divisions—the seventh and the eighth — "with particular reference to the East and West coasts." Mobile divisions, as Ottawa readers are the kind that can move from one place to another, or from one territory to another, at the same time, the Prime Minister is being furnished strengthened with the navy. While nothing was said about where these new divisions are to be recruited, the Toronto Star has been told that they will be drawn under the compulsory service law for four months' training, after which they will be liable for service anywhere in Canada. It is estimated that this will add 25,000 to the army, and it is hoped that the new divisions will be ready for action by the end of the summer.

• • •

Another thing seemed notable. The statement that had been prepared was preceded by remarks which were extemporaneous and which pictured the situation in an even graver light than did the prepared words. Speaking now things have closed in. It was in this particular stage of his address that the Prime Minister spoke of the war being now almost "at our doors," adding "so one can look more than twenty-four hours ahead."

• • •

As a background Mr. King had some story of aggressive conquest as he has not determined on the part of Japan, the Mediterranean campaign, Russia, Africa, Norway, China and Burma. All of these he reviewed, doing the same with the Atlantic, pointing out that Britain has been fighting alone for more than two years, and that it is nothing short of a miracle if war were to end in what could be called a short period."

He is in a position to know the inside stuff and what he had to say was the gravest utterance that he has made at any time. Clearly it was the sounding of an alarm and the reasons for it, and, so far as could be divulged, what is being done about it. The outstanding thing of course is the creation of two mobile divisions, making eight in all

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By way of illustrating appreciation of the gravities, the Prime Minister announced the formation of two new mobile divisions—the seventh and the eighth — "with particular reference to the East and West coasts." Mobile divisions, as the name implies, are the kind that can move fast from one place to another, or from one territory to another. At the same time, the air force is being further strengthened and the navy. While nothing was said about where these new divisions are to be recruited, the fact that 100,000 men have been trained under the mobilization plan — 80,000 for thirty days and 32,000 for four months (there is some overlapping here) suggests where this manpower can be had if resort is to be made to it. And the age limit for calling is being elevated.

* * *

The Prime Minister's statement came the day after the announcement about national selective service and so has an added suggestiveness because that scheme itself looms large. Reference was made to the possibility of enemy submarines coming into the St. Lawrence as well as being off the coast of the United States and Canada. Mr. King set out to dissipate any idea that the war is likely to terminate at an early period. Let no one be deceived by the fact that a committee is being constituted to deal with "post" war problems. Far from that.

* * *

"At no time has the situation been so serious as at present," the Prime Minister declared with an unusual emphasis. "It would be nothing short of a miracle if war were to end in what could be called a short period."

He is in a position to know the inside stuff and what he had to say was the gravest utterance that he has made at any time. Clearly it was the sounding of an alarm and the reasons for it, and, so far as could be divulged, what is being done about it. The outstanding thing of course is the creation of two mobile divisions, making eight in all.

* * *

Another thing seemed notable. The statement that had been prepared was preceded by remarks which were extemporaneous and which pictured the situation in an even graver light than did the prepared text. Something new might have come in. It was in this particular stage of his address that the Prime Minister spoke of the war being more serious now than ever before, adding "no one can look more than twenty-four hours ahead."

* * *

As a background Mr. King had the long story of progressive conquest on one side and deterioration on the other. Poland, Norway, France, the Balkans—their overrunning rather old stuff — then recently, along the same line, Japan's phenomenal successes in the Southwestern Pacific and its threat to Australia. The philosophy of it was, who can say what may happen next and when and where? There was not the slightest thing to suggest the comforting illusion that "it can't happen here."

* * *

With the difficulties of deciding what is the best disposition of fighting forces, the Prime Minister dealt, speaking of two extremes of view. One would send every able bodied man out of the country and the other would keep every able bodied man and weapon at home. Both concepts were described as perilous. To adopt either might be fatal to the existence of the nation. The possibility of sudden surprise attacks suggested every reasonable precaution to maintain the territorial security. On the other hand, unless we help defeat the enemy before he reaches our shores, we may be left to confront him alone. Several times there was mention of the "increasing menace on both coasts" and this was the prelude to the statement about the navy and the air force being strengthened. No limit applies to the number of men who can be enlisted in the navy for training or of ships to be constructed. High tribute was paid to the naval forces. There was but brief reference to the army overseas because the announcement about having two complete army corps over there was made in January.

* * *

This led up to the statement about the mobilization of the two extra divisions for home defence, a dozen battalions already having been enrolled since December. Coast defence and anti-aircraft defences are also being developed. Without going into too much detail, Mr. King said that the air force estimates, announced a week or so ago at $223,000,000, have now been raised to $315,000,000 with long range equipment for an additional $120,000,000. Coastal defences are being strengthened.

There appear to be two reasons for this pronouncement. One was the appreciation of the menace and the other an assurance that the security that defence of the coasts is not only not being neglected but constantly increased in strength. Of course, in the event of any attempted attack on this continent, the United States-Canadian plans for defence would come into immediate operation.

* * *

One of Mr. Hanson's thoughts was that Mr. King's speech was the very kind of thing the people of Canada stood in need of — something to jolt them out of their complacency when so many were still movie-minded. The Conservative leader, however, was very critical of the selective plan, on many lines, not measuring up to expectations and he didn't like the negative compulsion to which there is resort. Another thought was that it is very premature for young intellectuals to discuss post-war problems when there is no idea today of what those problems will prove to be or what treatment they will require. The winning of the war, he thundered, is the only thing. Mr. Hanson also wanted a House committee to investigate the question of aircraft production in Canada, he being disturbed about reports of layoffs in parts of the industry when everything should be geared up to the very maximum, with every plant running on three shifts. He was curious about what Mr. Pouliot's attitude would be when submarines began torpedoing ships in the St. Lawrence, beside which the member for Temiscouata resides.

* * *

Before the Prime Minister or the Conservative House leader had spoken, Mr. Diefenbaker was heard from, he making several complaints on war policy. One was the charge that under the excuse that it was not in the public interest to give information, members of Parliament are unable to find out a lot that they should know. Contracts are not published as formerly. Another was that we are not nearly up to our potential production and that it should be directed by one supreme head, and that scores of civilian industries, making more civilian goods than they ever made, should be made to stop it and their labor and machines turned into war production, and the member also favored a committee to co-ordinate war production and saw no reason why the age limit for calling up men should be thirty. They should go higher up and have a better pick as to class.

These were the highlights of the day. They were extraordinarily vivid.

REPEAT
REPETITION

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

D 42399

War Appropriation Bill - Second Reading

Transcript of Prime Minister's Remarks about notes for

Wrong impressions about the Cabinet:
make clear how Government views present situation

People who have had no experience with Government think they know more about how Government should be run than do ministers themselves

One fundamental thing:
importance of not betraying the people -- "last thing I would be prepared to do."

Elections are means of getting the will of the people, or they are not. Really think it about time that people who are bearing the taxes should be given credit for their part of war effort; more should be said about what the people are doing.

We are preparing to say what England and Australia are doing, why should we belittle our own effort.

In such matters as committees of the Cabinet and registration for industry (see U.K. announcement, March 15) some people forget that we had these things done before the war started

- - - - - - - - - - - - -

National Government -- What is it that the advocates of National Government want?

e.g. Hanson -- Conscription
White -- the same

The reason we have party government is that the will of the people can only be expressed by a majority.

Others -- seeking to frustrate the war effort of the country by demanding exemption from income tax of contributions to war charities.

Advocates of National Government want less taxation on the rich people.

D 42399

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REPEAT
REPETITION

March 25, 1942

D 42400

The phenomenal successes of the Japanese in the Southwestern Pacific have done more than all the Nazi successes in Europe to bring home to the people of Canada the reality of the danger to our own country in the present war. No one should seek to minimize that danger, or the new sense of urgency it has brought with it. At the same time, it should not be permitted to destroy a true perspective. In actual geographical distance, in thousands of miles, the Japanese menace is much farther from Canada than the Nazi menace. In strategic terms, the probability of attacks upon our Atlantic coast and upon Newfoundland is as great as it is upon our Pacific coast. But for the shield which Britain constitutes, the danger to Canada from Europe would be far greater than the danger to Canada from the Far East.

One of the most difficult decisions in waging war is the decision which must be made as to the dispostion of fighting strength. Over and over again, it is necessary to decide what proportion of total fighting strength should be sent to the front line to engage the enemy, and what proportion should be held in reserve to secure the base of operations and protect the lines of communication.

D 42401

From the outset of the war, the government has been attacked on this score, from opposite extremes. At one extreme, are those who would send every trained man and every available weapon overseas, without regard to the risk thereby incurred of exposing our own country to direct attack which nothing could be done to repel. At the other extreme, are those who would keep every able-bodied man and every available weapon in Canada, without regard to the risk of allowing our allies and friends to be defeated, and thus exposing ourselves to the full fury of a triumphant enemy.

Both extremes are perilous. To adopt either might be fatal to the very existence of our country. Unless we take every reasonable precaution to maintain the territorial security of Canada, the enemy might, by sudden surprise attacks, do incalculable damage to the country. On the other hand, unless we take our full share of the combat, and do our full part to defeat the enemy before he reaches our shores, we may be left practically alone to face his onslaughts.

Before the Japanese attacks were made on British and American territories in the Pacific, the insistence of the government upon the maintenance of a foundation for the actual physical defence of Canada territory aroused

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So long as the international gangsters are plundering and marauding at large in the world, we can never make Canada so secure that there will not be somewhere some danger of attack. But, as I have repeatedly pointed out, we cannot, on that account, afford to neglect reasonable precautions. In certain strategic areas, we must be prepared to meet sudden raids from sea and air. The maintenance of the security of the base of operations is the most elementary rule of warfare.

To meet the increasing menace of attack on both coasts, the government has taken many important steps to strengthen Canada's capacity to resist attack. For obvious reasons, I cannot give to our own people precise information concerning these measures without giving the same information to the enemy.

D 42403

I am prepared, however, without being so precise as to reveal specific details which might assist the enemy, to give some indication of the steps being taken to strengthen our territorial and coastal defences. What I am about to say on this subject refers mainly to land and air defences. ~~About~~ Naval defence, I can add little, if anything, to what I said on January 26th last.

Since that date, attacks by many submarines have been made in coastal waters of Canada and the United States. In many cases these attacks have occurred within sight of the shores of this continent. There is no reason to believe that these attacks will not continue and probably become more intensive. Officers of the Canadian Naval Service have expressed the view that, within a few months, submarines may well be found operating within the Gulf, and even in the St. Lawrence river. It is known that enemy submarines can leave their bases on the European continent, voyage to the shores of this continent, seek their prey for some days or weeks, and return to their bases without the necessity of refuelling. If enemy submarines do operate in the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, an additional burden will be thrown on the Canadian Navy. Not only will our navy have the duty of assisting in escorting Atlantic convoys, but it will also

have to assume the task of escorting convoys in the River St. Lawrence and in the Gulf as well as along our coasts.

The Canadian Navy has a share in the primary responsibility for our territorial defence. In the midst of world-wide conflict, warfare on the seas is indivisible. Any Canadian ship of war, wherever it may be operating, is engaged in defending Canada. How or where our ships are employed cannot, of course, be disclosed with exactness. It is, however, common knowledge that the major strength of the Canadian Navy is in the Atlantic, sharing in the burden - and bearing a large share - of escorting convoys. This does not mean that the naval defence of the Pacific is being neglected. Inevitably, the naval tasks of the United Nations are so apportioned as to secure the maximum advantage from their total naval strength.

As I said on January 26th, save insofar as the number of available ships necessarily sets the limit to the number of men who can be enlisted for training, no limitation so far as our Navy is concerned, has been placed upon the number, either of ships or of men.

There is no lack of recruits for the Naval Service. Indeed, there is a considerable waiting list. But in addition to the limitations which have been mentioned as to the number of available ships, there is the

D 42405

further limitation imposed by the difficulty of training men, particularly Officers and Petty Officers. In the nature of things, naval training takes a longer time than the training necessary for either of the other two services. After men have been given all the instruction in the art of naval warfare that can be given on shore, there still remains the long path of varied experience over which they must pass before they are thoroughly equipped for positions of responsibility at sea.

Up to the present the building of naval craft and the training of men to man these craft have proceeded at an almost equal pace. Most of the ships of Canada's Navy have been built in Canada, and they are, of course, manned by Canadians. The achievements of Canadian corvettes, named after Canadian cities and towns, have captured the admiration of Canadians generally, and have won the praise of naval authorities in other countries. What is true of Canadian corvettes is true, also, of every other type of craft in the Canadian Navy. Officers and men of the Royal Canadian Navy, of the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve, and of the Royal Canadian Naval Reserve, manning Armed Merchant Cruisers, Destroyers, Minesweepers, Patrol Boats and other naval vessels have

acquitted themselves ably and honourably over wide expanses of ocean. It can be truly said, that with every month that passes Canada's contribution to naval warfare is growing in extent and effectiveness. As that contribution grows, our security increases.

I should not pass from a consideration of the work of the Royal Canadian Navy without making special mention of those Officers and men of our Navy who are serving with the Royal Navy in every sea of the world. As I have said already, in this struggle, warfare on the seas is indivisible and, therefore, personnel of the Canadian navy who are serving on British ships in the Atlantic, in the Mediterranean, in the Far East and elsewhere are contributing their full share to the defence of our country and to the success of the allied arms. Already many of this group have given their lives.

The programme for the army overseas, announced on January 26th, is already underway.

At that time, I also gave a resume of what had been done with regard to the territorial defence of Canada, following the outbreak of war with Japan. I stated that new units were being mobilized in accordance with anticipated deliveries of equipment. I can now say that, in accordance with that policy, nearly a dozen new battalions have already been mobilized, together with a considerable number of additional

anti-aircraft and coast defence batteries. These formations are being given an active role in connection with territorial defence.

I also indicated that the organization of additional formations would depend on developments in the war situation, and mentioned particularly the mobilization of another division. Since that time, the war situation has further deteriorated, particularly in the Far East. In consequence of this fact, the government has authorized the mobilization of two additional Divisions, the 7th and the 8th. The additional formations will add depth to our existing and contemplated defences. They will be given the role of mobile reserves, with special reference to the East and West Coasts.

I will not repeat what I said in January as to the special steps and special dispositions which had then been made to meet the conditions resulting from the outbreak of war with Japan. Those measures have been implemented. The new nobilizations which I have just indicated are by way of additional security.

Our coast defences and anti-aircraft defences are being strengthened week by week as new equipment becomes available, and as new units already authorized complete their mobilization.

D 42408

The House will understand that, for reasons of security, I cannot give the disposition of these new formations. It has, of course, to be recognized that the ultimate disposition of all troops necessarily depends upon circumstances which determine the course of the war. I can say, however, that both the troops, and the equipment available, will be disposed of to the very best advantage to meet any anticipated forms, or scales, of attack.

In the outline I gave of the war programme for the present year, I referred to the fact that the air force, like the navy and the army, had its part in the territorial and coastal defence of Canada and Newfoundland. I added that the responsibilities of the air force on the Pacific coast had been increased by the outbreak of war with Japan. I stated that, in consequence of the increased responsibilities of the air force for territorial and coastal defence, some increase in the Home War Establishment of the Royal Canadian Air Force must be anticipated.

While there are obvious reasons why precise details of the expansion of our air defences cannot be made public, it can be said that this expansion will involve marked increases in the number of combat squadrons, for reconnaissance, anti-submarine, striking, and figher operations.

D 42409

Some indication of the scale of expansion of the home war establishment of the R.C.A.F. is revealed by the rise in expenditures on air defences in Canada. These expenditures are exclusive of the cost of air training.

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The estimates for 1942-43 were originally fixed at $233,000,000. Events since December 7th have led to a new survey, as a result of which this estimate has been raised to $315,000,000. Long range commitments have been made of an additional $120,000,000.

I might indicate some of the factors which have made this substantial increase possible. More aircraft are becoming available. Canadian production of combat aircraft is reaching its zenith. Orders placed some time ago in the United States are now being filled. It might be of interest for me to point out that by far the largest proportion of the aircraft will be provided by Canadian plants.

D 42410

The air-crew and ground crew required for the expanded programme will be readily available. The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan is training pilots, observers and gunners in numbers sufficient to meet all our commitments to our partners in the Plan, and, in addition, to provide fully for our Home War Establishment. Our requirements of ground crew are readily filled by voluntary recruitment. The technical ground crew training facilities are easily able to meet the additional demands placed upon them.

The construction of air fields and other defences presents no difficulties. The experience acquired during the years 1940 and 1941, in the construction of Home War Establishments, as well as Air Training schools and establishments, has made of the Departments of Transport and Munitions and Supply highly efficient and highly expeditious construction agencies.

Most of the essential developments connected with the basic defence of our coasts are either completed, or in process of completion. The projects this year will provide mainly for defence in greater depth, and for the development of satellite and auxiliary aerodromes.

The last thought or desire of the government would be to lull the people of our country into any false sense of security. No matter how complete our defences may be, we can never be sure of preventing the enemy from attempting some form of attack. To defeat such attempts, we must utilize to the best advantage possible, the men and equipment we already have and ~~may be~~ are able to obtain.

It goes without saying that in any attempted attack on the North American Continent, the joint United States - Canadian plans for Defence would come into immediate operation.

What I have said is, I trust, a sufficient indication that the security of our Canadian Coasts is not only not being neglected, but is being constantly increased and strengthened. I can assure the House that Keeping in mind strategic conditions elsewhere, the government is endeavouring, practically and vigorously, to strengthen Canada's defences by sea, land and air to meet any situation which is likely to arise.

March 25, 1942

D 42412

The phenomenal successes of the Japanese in the Southwestern Pacific have done more than all the Nazi successes in Europe to bring home to the people of Canada the reality of the danger to our own country in the present war. No one should seek to minimize that danger or the new sense of urgency it has brought with it. At the same time, it should not be permitted to destroy a true perspective. In actual geographical distance, in thousands of miles, the Japanese menace is much farther from Canada than the Nazi menace. In strategic terms, the probability of attacks upon our Atlantic coast and upon Newfoundland is as great as it is upon our Pacific coast. But for the shield which Britain constitutes, the danger to Canada from Europe would be far greater than the danger to Canada from the Far East.

One of the most difficult decisions in waging war is the decision which must be made as to the disposition of fighting strength. Over and over again, it is necessary to decide what proportion of total fighting strength should be sent to the front line to engage the enemy, and what proportion should be held in reserve to secure the base of operations and protect the lines of communication.

D 42413

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D 42422

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D 42423

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It goes without saying that in any attempted attack on the North American Continent, the joint United States - Canadian plans for Defence would come into immediate operation.

What I have said is, I trust, a sufficient indication that the security of our Canadian Coasts is not only not being neglected but is being constantly increased and strengthened. I can assure the House that, keeping in mind strategic conditions elsewhere, the government is endeavouring, practically and vigorously, to strengthen Canada's defences by sea, land and air to meet any situation which is likely to arise.

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

X111-5

D 42424

NATIONAL SECURITY—THE ISSUE IN THE PLEBISCITE

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

An Address broadcast by

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

OVER THE CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION NETWORK

APRIL 7th, 1942

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

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

D 42425

NATIONAL SECURITY—THE ISSUE IN THE PLEBISCITE

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

AN ADDRESS BROADCAST BY

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

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

Government Seeks a Free Hand

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

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

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

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

Legal Powers and Moral Obligations

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

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

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

Nature of Restriction upon Government

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

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

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

How Restriction came to be Imposed

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

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

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

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

Importance of National Unity

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

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

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

Why Plebiscite Necessary

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

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

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

Maintenance of Faith in Democratic Institutions

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

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

Canada's War Effort Being Placed in False Light

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

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

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

Issue not Conscription—but Powers of Government

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

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

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

Parliament to Safeguard Rights of People

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

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

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

National Existence as well as National Freedom Threatened

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

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

International Situation Exceedingly Critical

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

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

D 42432

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

Mounting Dangers to Canada from East and West

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

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

Canada Fighting to Preserve Freedom and her own Existence

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

D 42433

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

Mutual Defence and Mutual Aid

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

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

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

W. L. Mackenzie King.

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April 8/42

Text of Premier Mackenzie King's Address on Plebiscite Vote

THE complete text of Premier Mackenzie King's opening address in the "Vote yes" campaign for the plebiscite follows:

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

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

LEGAL POWER EXISTS

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

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

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

THE DEMOCRATIC WAY

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

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

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

SPECIFIC PLEDGE

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

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

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

GREAT WAR EXPERIENCE

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

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

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

FOR NATIONAL UNITY

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

We must never lose sight of the importance of national unity. National unity is, I believe, more essential to the success of the war effort of any country than most other factors combined. "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and a house divided against a house falleth."

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

THE QUESTION

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

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

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

TOO MUCH BAD FAITH

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

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

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

LIMITING RESTRICTION

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

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

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

FREEDOM OF DECISION

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

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

TO PRESERVE FREEDOM

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

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

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

CO-OPERATION ESSENTIAL

But there is a greater and more urgent reason why the restriction on the power of the Government should be removed. And to this I ask your special attention. I have spoken of unity but to a nation, there is one thing even more important than the preservation of its unity. That is the preservation of its existence. To those who, beyond the events of today, are able to look into the future, it is no longer the unity, it is the very existence of our country as a free nation which they see is in danger today.

We are no longer in a world where even the most powerful nation is able, by itself, to save itself from the ambition and greed of the aggressor nations. For the preservation of its very existence, each free country is going to need all the help that other free countries can give. It will require the utmost co-operation on the part of all free countries to save them from becoming victims, one by one, of the gangster nations whose undoubted aim is world conquest.

NATION NOT SECURE

With our immense territory, great resources and small population, no country may come to need the help of the other countries more than our own. Unless we continue to do all we can to help others, we shall have no right to expect them to do all they can to help us. Until the present tide of conquest is turned into overwhelming defeat for the enemy, no country—and assuredly not Canada—can consider itself secure.

The last thing I have been, or would wish to be, is an alarmist. I would, however, not be true to the trust the people of Canada have reposed in me did I not say that I believe the situation, for all free nations, is far more critical today than it has ever been. Canada's position is by no means an exception.

Look at what has happened in the past two and a half years of war; look at what is happening today, and ask yourselves what other view is possible. Practically the whole of continental Europe, except Russia, is under the domination of Germany, and is compelled to serve her war machine. Despite Russia's magnificent campaign and the ground she has regained, much of her European territory is still in Nazi hands. Who can say what the outcome of the struggle between Russia and Germany may be? In the Middle East and in Africa, the situation is also desperately critical. In Asia and in the Pacific, Japan controls a large part of China, and has seized most of the strategic strongholds and territories formerly possessed by The Netherlands, France, Britain and the United States.

ENEMIES' 1942 AIM

Across the Pacific, the tide of the Japanese conquest has swept swiftly over thousands of miles of sea. A few weeks ago, it was Hong Kong, Singapore and the East Indies—attacked and taken; a little later, Burma and Australia attacked, with New Zealand also threatened. Today it is Ceylon and India. Who can say how, or when, or where, the sweep of attempted invasion and actual conquest is going to end. Neither sea nor land defences have stopped the advances of the Germans and the Japanese. It becomes increasingly clear that both Germany and Japan are putting forth a supreme effort to achieve world mastery in 1942. At present, they are aiming at uniting their forces in a manner which will give them control of the strategic lines of communication in the whole eastern hemisphere.

In the British Commonwealth of Nations, Canada and South Africa are the only countries not immediately subject to attack. Does anyone imagine that if the aggressor nations are successful in the present areas of conflict, they will leave the western hemisphere alone? Is anyone so blind as to believe that already they have not cast their covetous eyes upon the vast territory and resources of our own Dominion?

Off our own Atlantic coasts and those of the United States, enemy U-boats have been destroying shipping at an alarming rate. There are strong reasons for believing that Germany hopes, in the course of the next few months, to be able by means of a great naval offensive on the Atlantic, to cut the sea lanes between North America and Britain, and to cripple the merchant fleets of Britain and the United States. Japan has a similar aim on the Pacific. These offensives may come at any time. One thing is perfectly certain. If the enemy is not kept at bay on the oceans, and defeated beyond the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific, the final battles of the world conflict will be fought in the waters and upon the soil of Canada and the United States.

KEEP WAR AWAY

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

It is unfortunate that so many have come to think of Canada's war effort as aid for other countries. In reality, it is much more than that. Every sailor, every soldier, every airman in Canada's forces, wherever they serve; every ship, every gun, every plane we manufacture, regardless of the forces that use them; the food we supply to our allies; all these may be aid to other countries against a common enemy, but are equally a contribution to the defence of Canada. Let no one tell you that Canada is in this war to uphold any selfish cause of empire.

It is not true. We are fighting to preserve our freedom and our national existence, to defend our homes and families, from an enemy drawing ever nearer. We would do well to remember that, against the piratical ambitions of Germany and Japan alike, the one sure shield of defence is actual combat in the front line of battle, whether on land, at sea or in the air.

DANGER EAST-WEST

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

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

Highlights

OTTAWA, April 8—(C.P.)—Salient passages from Premier Mackenzie King's radio broadcast last night on the April 27 manpower plebiscite:

"Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. It is in the face of this peril that for the defence of our freedom and of our country the Government asks you to give it a free hand."

* * *

"It becomes increasingly clear that both Germany and Japan are putting forth a supreme effort to achieve world mastery in 1942 . . . Is anyone so blind as to believe that already they have not cast their covetous eyes upon the vast territory and resources of our own Dominion?"

* * *

"To remain on the defensive is the surest way to bring the war to Canada . . . We must go out to meet the enemy before he reaches our shores; we must, if we can, defeat him before he attacks us, before our cities are laid waste and the women and children of Canada are injured or killed in our streets and our homes."

* * *

"We would do well, I think, not to permit any misunderstanding to arise in other countries as to our readiness to do our full part in the struggle we are all fighting together."

* * *

"Before, and at the commencement of the war, the people of Canada . . . most certainly did not think of a war in which all the nations of the world would be in danger. Much less did Canadians think of the war as one in which Canada might become the most coveted of all the prizes of war. That, however, is the actual situation today."

* * *

"The pledge not to impose conscription for service overseas was given in order to maintain the unity of Canada. Without this assurance, I do not believe that Parliament would have given, as it did, prompt and wholehearted approval to Canada's entry into the war."

* * *

"The absence of conscription for overseas service has not limited our war effort. The lack of power to impose such conscription has, however, placed our war effort in a wholly false light before our own citizens, and, what is worse, before our allies."

* * *

"But, you may say . . . what the Government should have done was to have gone to Parliament and asked the members to give it a free hand. It is said that a release would have been granted immediately . . . I am certain it would not."

* * *

"I have spoken of unity, but to a nation there is one thing even more important than the preservation of its unity. That is the preservation of its existence."

* * *

"In the greatest of all emergencies, I ask you, are you not prepared to trust the Government and your own Parliament to see that only those things are done which are wholly in the interest of the country. If there are any who are not, who or what are they prepared to trust?"

Tighter News Control Likely

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(Continued from Page 1)

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The House rose from its regular business in order to hear the Minister speak on the workings of the Prices and Trade Board.

Private Yachts In U.S. Service

1 of/de

on their own responsibility without resorting to a plebiscite, and why, after two and a half years of war, has it become necessary to have the restriction removed?

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

THE DEMOCRATIC WAY

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

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

There are those, I know, who make light of what they call "political promises." It will, I

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

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

FOR NATIONAL UNITY

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

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action. What the Government should have done was to have gone to Parliament and asked the members to give it a free hand. It is said that a release would have been granted immediately. But would it? I am certain, in fact, it would not. And that for the simple reason that members of Parliament would, for the most part, have taken the position that they were as much bound by past commitments as were the members of the Government.

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

LIMITING RESTRICTION

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

The truth, of course, is that our army today is just as large as it would have been if conscription for overseas service had been adopted. The absence of

conscription for overseas service has not limited our war effort. The lack of power to impose such conscription has, however, placed our war effort in a wholly false light before our own citizens, and, what is worse, before our allies. In other words, conscription has been made the symbol of a total effort, regardless of all Canada is doing to help win the war.

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

FREEDOM OF DECISION

The question of conscription, properly viewed is a military question. The place to discuss it is in Parliament. What the Government now seeks for itself and for Parliament is freedom to consider and debate and decide this question, like all other questions connected with the war unrestricted by any pledge and in the

of the country. If there are any who are not, who or what are they prepared to trust? This is the question I should like every citizen of Canada to ask himself, and herself as he or she proceeds to answer "yes" or "no" to the question being asked on the 27th of this month.

CO-OPERATION ESSENTIAL

But there is a greater and more urgent reason why the restriction on the power of the Government should be removed. And to this I ask your special attention. I have spoken of unity but to a nation, there is one thing even more important than the preservation of its unity. That is the preservation of its existence. To those who, beyond the events of today, are able to look into the future, it is no longer the unity, it is the very existence of our country as a free nation which they see is in danger today.

We are no longer in a world where even the most powerful nation is able, by itself, to save itself from the ambition and greed of the aggressor nations. For the preservation of its very existence, each free country is going to need all the help that other free countries can give. It will require the utmost co-operation on the part of all free countries to save them from becoming victims, one by one, of the gangster nations whose undoubted aim is world conquest.

NATION NOT SECURE

With our immense territory,

where, the sweep of attempted invasion and actual conquest is going to end. Neither sea nor land defences have stopped the advances of the Germans and the Japanese. It becomes increasingly clear that both Germany and Japan are putting forth a supreme effort to achieve world mastery in 1942. At present, they are aiming at uniting their forces in a manner which will give them control of the strategic lines of communication in the whole eastern hemisphere.

In the British Commonwealth of Nations, Canada and South Africa are the only countries not immediately subject to attack. Does anyone imagine that if the aggressor nations are successful in the present areas of conflict, they will leave the western hemisphere alone? Is anyone so blind as to believe that already they have not cast their covetous eyes upon the vast territory and resources of our own Dominion?

Off our own Atlantic coasts and those of the United States, enemy U-boats have been destroying shipping at an alarming rate. There are strong reasons for believing that Germany hopes, in the course of the next few months, to be able by means of a great naval offensive on the Atlantic, to cut the sea lanes between North America and Britain, and to cripple the merchant fleets of Britain and the United States. Japan has a similar aim on the Pacific. These offensives may come at any time. One thing is perfectly certain. If the enemy is not kept at bay

national existence, to defend our homes and families, from an enemy drawing ever nearer. We would do well to remember that, against the piratical ambitions of Germany and Japan alike, the one sure shield of defence is actual combat in the front line of battle, whether on land, at sea or in the air.

DANGER EAST-WEST

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

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

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New Squadron Joins R.C.A.F.

Wing Cmdr. Douglas Bradshaw to Lead Bomber Unit

LONDON, April 8—(C.P.)—Wing Cmdr. Douglas A. R. Bradshaw of London, Ont., a veteran of more than six years in the R.C.A.F., today was appointed Commanding Officer of a new Canadian bombing squadron.

Simultaneously Flt.-Lt. W. M. Connors of Winnipeg, was appointed squadron adjutant.

Bradshaw, a graduate of the Royal Military College in 1934, served for a year as a Lieutenant in the Royal Canadian Dragoons and then joined the R.C.A.F., attaining the rank of Wing Commander last June. Until posted overseas, he was chief instructor of the air training school at Camp Borden. His wife and two daughters live in London, Ont.

Sqdn. Ldr. Graham Campbell, R.A.F., a native of Consort, Alta., commands one flight of the new squadron.

Big U.S. Convoy Reaches Australia

MELBOURNE, April 8—(B.U.P.)—Australian broadcast recorded by B.U.P. at San Francisco) — The fourth large shipment of American supplies, originally dispatched to the Dutch East Indies, has reached Australia, Dr. Hubertus van Mook, Lieutenant Governor of the N. E. I., said today.

The supplies will be turned over to American and Australian forces here, he said.

Van Mook plans to leave soon for London.

Admiralty Announces Loss of Submarine

LONDON, April 8—(A. P.)—An Admiralty communique last night said that H.M. submarine Tempest (Lt.-Cmdr. W. A. K. N. Cavaye, R.N.) is overdue and must be considered lost. Next of kin have been informed.

SAFETY FIRST

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Premier Warns War Is Closer

(Continued from Page 1)

were needed to defeat the enemy before he could bring the war to the Dominion, while at the same time maintaining and strengthening defences at home, he said.

Premier Provides Campaign Keynote

OTTAWA, April 8—(Star Special by Staff Correspondent)—The meaning and implications of the plebiscite are found to be clarified by the speech last night of Premier Mackenzie King, judging by many messages to that effect which are coming here today.

It is believed that last minute changes in the speech were caused by the deepening recognition of the menace—the belief that on the "now or never" principle the Axis is out to deliver its most effective blows this very summer.

The Prime Minister has provided the keynote for Government and other speakers dealing with the same subject. He spoke with greater emphasis than usual.

What is read between the lines is that once the Government's hands are free from a great "moral obligation" incurred in the past, the freed hands will be exercised readily and as fully as conditions call for; and no easy conditions are visualized.

The Prime Minister's pronouncement is calculated to dispel many doubts. The plebiscite is submitted not with a "take it or leave it" philosophy but with persuasive pleading for an affirmative vote.

If that affirmative vote is forthcoming, as is expected, then the Government and Parliament as a whole will be free to carry out whatever war policy is necessary, however drastic it may prove to be.

Nebulous Colonel Going to Enlist

NEW YORK, April 8—(B.U.P.)—Col. Hubert Fauntleroy Julian, the "Black Eagle of Harlem," today announced that he is going into the United States army as a buck private.

Col. Julian said he had been placed in Class 1-A in the draft and already had been given a preliminary physical examination.

For 18 years Col. Julian has been on the verge of involvement in spectacular airplane feats, ranging from non-stop flights to Abyssinia to challenges for an air duel with Gen. Hermann Goering.

One of his better known feats was to crash Haile Selassie's private plane right at the feet of the Lion of Judah.

Guarding King Serious Duty

Suggestion U.S. Troops Take Turn at Palace Meets Cold Response

LONDON, April 8 — (Special Cable to The Star and New York Herald Tribune. Copyright) — The suggestion by yesterday's London "Star" that American troops in London might be asked to mount the guard at Buckingham Palace failed to strike a responsive chord in either British Army or Palace circles.

The "Star" said it learned that members of the Royal Air Force are "likely to be accorded the honor" on certain occasions and suggested that a similar honor be accorded American troops.

A Palace spokesman declared there was no likelihood of the Household Guards being divested of their traditional duties, and added: "As excellent as American troops are, guarding the King hardly comes under their duties while here, does it?" He said, however, he was certain the Americans could do the job "superbly" if they were ever given the opportunity.

An army spokesman was less diplomatic. "There's nothing to the story," he said.

FLOWERS IN Y.M.C.A. HUTS

LONDON—(C. P.)—Fresh flowers on every table are being offered as a greeting to spring in many of the Y.M.C.A. huts serving the Canadian and other military forces in England. One centre has a system of having flowers all through the year.

VARICOSE VEINS?

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DEPENDABLE DRUGGISTS

MACY'S

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The aldermen made the motion after receipt of letters from the Small Property Owners' Association and the Catholic Labor Syndicate asking the council to urge a negative vote.

"As civic representatives it is not up to us to advise the elecatorate on such a matter," the mayor said. "If others wish to take it upon themselves, that is their business."

Bulbs, corms, rhizomes and tubers are plant root forms.

Fat Rationing Looming Here

Taggart Advises Farmers To Augment Flax And Hog Supplies

REGINA, April 8—(C.P.)—Hon. J. G. Taggart, Agriculture Minister, warned in the Saskatchewan Legislature that Canada in the near future may have to ration fats.

Mr. Taggart, who is also Foods Co-ordinator under the War-time Prices and Trade Board, last night said war in the Southwest Pacific had cut off supplies of vegetable oils which Canada, the United States and Great Britain imported in large quantities. Within the coming year supplies might be very short.

"Every farmer suitably situated, should look over his own position and augment the supply of flax and hogs as quickly as possible," Mr. Taggart said. In this way part of the shortage of oils and fats might be offset.

The House rose from its regular business in order to hear the Minister speak on the workings of the Prices and Trade Board.

Private Yachts In U.S. Service

CHICAGO, April 8—(A.P.) — Midshipmen and naval officers from the agricultural midwest will "go to sea" on Lake Michigan this summer aboard private yachts. Midwest yachtsmen will place at least 100 yachts—power, sail and auxiliary boats—at the Navy's disposal by June 1 for freshwater training cruises.



2 of/de 2

Bataan Lines Re-organized

Wainwright Reforms Front After Heavy Casualties

SITUATION IS GRAVE

WASHINGTON, April 8—(U.P.)—Lieut. Gen. Jonathan M. Wainwright's hard-pressed Bataan troops have made a general withdrawal to a "previously prepared defence position," following an incessant Japanese onslaught from the air, land and sea, the War Department announced today.

The withdrawal marked the first time that the U.S.-Filipino defenders had been forced to give substantial ground under the impact of the all-out drive launched by Lieut.-Gen. Tomoyuki Yamashita's forces.

The communique's report on the Bataan withdrawal was brief. It said:

"In order to rectify the lines in Bataan which had been penetrated by the Japanese, our troops withdrew during the night of April 7 to a previously-prepared defence position."

GENERAL WITHDRAWAL

Army spokesmen here were unable to say immediately where Wainwright's new line was located or how far he had withdrawn from the previous positions stretching from Abucay, on the east coast of the little peninsula to the vicinity of Moron, on the left, or China Sea, side.

But they said it was a general withdrawal, and an orderly one. They hoped to have more details of the action later today.

It was not known immediately whether the numerically-superior Japanese supported by tanks and dive bombers, had forced the Wainwright line south of Bataan's strategic east-west highway.

The previous American line at some points was only about four miles north of the highway.

Part of Wainwright's strategy, it appeared, was to rearrange his lines so that dents driven into the original U.S.-Filipino positions would be straightened out, thus preventing the Japanese from cutting off contingents of our troops.

The presumed orderliness of the American withdrawal, made at night, appeared supported by Wainwright's failure to mention any fighting.

In reports to the War Department yesterday, Wainwright told of fierce fighting with heavy casualties suffered by the U.S.-Filipino forces as well as the Japanese.

SITUATION GRAVE

With the deefnders giving ground and their lives in the epic battle, there seemed little doubt that the situation on Bataan was becoming extremely grave.

For 16 days the big Japanese offensive to drive the defenders off the island of Luzon has been on. For 16 days Gen. Yamashita has thrown fresh reserves almost daily at the weary men of Gen. Wainwright. For 16 days the defnders have been subjected to assaults by land, sea and air; have been bombed, shelled and rushed by tank.

The military experts here made no attempt to hide their realization that the pressure of the long-awaited Japanese offensive, which has been in high gear almost a week, was telling on Wainwright's men—men who have no reserves, who must go on resisting day and night, day-after-day.

Even the War Department communiques revealed the gravity of the situation.

CASUALTIES UNESTIMATED

There was no estimate of the number of American or Filipino soldiers lost in contesting the rugged battle-ground on Bataan peninsula inch-by-inch.

The latest communique referred to "superior enemy forces, supported by tanks and artillery" and to "fresh reserves" making "some additional progress." Then it said:

"Japanese dive bombers are assisting in the attack, dropping bombs and machine-gunning our front line soldiers."

Against the dive bombers Wainwright's men have virtually no defence. One of the lessons learned in this war is that it takes aircraft to fight off aircraft. And Wainwright has only a few P-40 planes.

The communique also revealed that many of the casualties suffered by Wainwright's men were a result of Japanese bombing of a

Head Reserve Army Brigades



—Photo by Posen.
Col. Paul Grenier



—Blank-Stoller Photo.
Col. J. W. H. Van den Berg

Among the brigade commanders for Reserve Army brigade groups whose appointments were announced at Ottawa today are Col. Grenier, who will command No. 34 Reserve Brigade Group at M.D. No. 4 here, and Col. Van den Berg, of Montreal, who will command No. 32 Group at Toronto.

Col. Grenier Heads Brigade

Former O.C. Fusiliers Mont-Royal One of Eight Appointees

OTTAWA, April 8—(C.P.)—Appointment of Brigade Commanders for Reserve Army Brigade Groups in eight of the 11 Military Districts in Canada was announced today by Hon. J. L. Ralston, Defence Minister.

The new commanders, all of whom will have rank of colonel, are:

Military District No. 1 (London, Ont.)—Col. W. G. Hagarty, No. 31 Reserve Brigade Group;

M.D. No. 2 (Toronto)—Col. J. W. H. G. H. Van Den Berg, No. 32 Reserve Brigade Group;

M.D. No. 4 (Montreal)—Lt.-Col. Paul Grenier, No. 34 Reserve Brigade Group;

M.D. No. 6 (Halifax)—Lt.-Col. W. D. Simpson, No. 36 Reserve Brigade Group;

M.D. No. 7 (Saint John, N.B.)—Lt.-Col. P. E. McLaughlin, No. 37 Reserve Brigade Group;

M.D. No. 10 (Winnipeg)—Lt.-Col. R. G. Graham, No. 38. Reserve Brigade Group;

M.D. No. 11 (Victoria)—Col. A. W. Sparling, who has been Brigade Commander of the Reserve Group in this area for some time.

M.D. No. 12 (Regina)—Lt.-Col. H. J. Quinn, No. 40 Reserve Brigade Group.

COLONEL GRENIER

Colonel Paul Grenier, E.D., has commanded Les Fusilier Mont-Royal ever since the regiment was mobilized for active service in September, 1939, and took the battalion overseas.

The appointment is in line with the policy of National Defence headquarters in designating officers with overseas service to important posts in the Canadian training and home defence establishments.

Colonel Grenier, a veteran of the Great War, went overseas with the 15th Battalion, and served also with the 42nd Battalion, The Black Watch, and the Royal 22nd Regiment. He was severely wounded at Passchendaele, and was sent back to Canada, being attached to the 22nd Quebec Regiment, then stationed in Montreal. He was promoted captain in July, 1918.

After being demobilized in 1919, he joined the Non-Permanent Active Militia in 1920 and was granted a commission in Les Carabiniers Mont-Royal, which later became the Fusiliers Mont-Royal. He was promoted captain in 1922 and received his majority in 1928, becoming second-in-command in 1934 and commanding officer, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in 1938.

Colonel Grenier was awarded the Silver Jubilee Medal in 1935 and the Efficiency Decoration in 1936.

The brigade which he will command comprises the 7th Reconnaissance Battalion (17th Duke of Yorks R.C. Hussars), a Field Regiment of artillery, four infantry battalions, including the 2nd Battalion, The Black Watch (since mobilized), the 2nd Battalion, Royal Montreal

St. Pierre Governor Returns to Vichy

VICHY, April 8 — (A. P.) — Baron de Bournat, former Governor of St. Pierre-Miquelon, islands off Newfoundland which were occupied by Free French forces on Christmas Eve, arrived in Vichy yesterday from Lisbon.

Taken into custody at the time of the islands' occupation, de Bournat was repatriated at his own request under an agreement between the Free French and British Government.

Beef Supplies Running Low

Packers Claim Farmers Prefer to Market In United States

WINNIPEG, April 8 — (C.P.)—Packers claimed here today they are unable to meet United States competition without Government help and are reducing their purchases of cattle to minimum requirements.

"Buyers for Canadian packers cannot compete with the high prices now being offered in the United States market," said Joseph Harris, plant manager of Canada Packers Limited.

He explained packers could only obtain ceiling prices for dressed beef. Farmers could get higher prices by selling their live cattle in the United States.

The price ceiling for dressed meats is based on the period September 15 to October 10, 1941.

Fifty-one carloads of cattle left Winnipeg yesterday for the United States, A. N. Lambert, manager of the Union Stockyards, St. Boniface, said.

It was also reported that approximately 7,500 head have been shipped from Canada to the United States during the first week of April, following the opening of the new quarterly quota April 1.

LIGHTWEIGHT AVAILABLE

Packers officials said fat cattle are being shipped south. Cattle of 700 pounds and more enter the United States at a duty of $1.50 per 100 pounds. Lighter cattle pay full duty, $2.50 per 100 pounds.

They said local packers had to rely on lightweight cattle and this created a shortage of beef tonnage.

Coolers of all local packing houses were reported to be carrying stocks far below what is normal for this period of the year.

Packers said cattle from Alberta, Saskatchewana and Manitoba points were flowing across to the United States "in a steady stream" with the producers collecting higher prices.

"There is nothing much we can do about it," an official of one large plant said. "We hear today that there are 170 cars of live cattle from Alberta alone going across the line within the next few days. Our market has slumped away down. Retailers cannot have their orders filled and it may cause a shortage of beef in Winnipeg unless the export quota of 51,700 head of cattle allowed for three months is quickly filled."

Aerial Sweeps Stay at Peak

Advantage Over Japs 8-1; Aussies Are Warned of Invasion

By BRYDON TAVES

UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS, Australia, April 8 — (B.U.P.) — United States and Australian Air Forces, claiming an eight-to-one advantage over the Japanese, were credited unofficially today with destroying more than 120 planes in attacks on enemy invasion bases in the islands north of Australia.

The total was set at 116 in Australian press dispatches from Port Moresby and another six or seven were added by official disclosure today of results of Tuesday's allied raid on Lae. Still more enemy losses probably resulted from a new attack today on the Japanese-held base of Koepang, on Timor island.

The allied aerial offensive continued as Gen. MacArthur and other leaders met in the first of a series of major war conferences to draft strategy against the threat of an enemy offensive from the north.

OCCUPATIONS CONTINUE

Meanwhile, it was reported that the Japanese had consolidated their hold on the islands off Australia's northern flank by occupying Lorangu on Manus Island in the Admiralty group about 170 miles off New Guinea. The former German island has been under Australian mandate since the Great War.

The islands probably were not defended, since Australian reports said that the scorched earth policy had been applied vigorously at Lorangu, where the Japanese took over an airdrome only to find the installations destroyed.

Allied planes fought through three separate screens of crack fighters to attack Koepang, an invasion base 330 miles northwest of Australia, yesterday, a communique announced. Only one Allied fighter plane was lost and a plane previously reported missing was found and returned to duty.

It was announced also that in their raid yesterday on Lae, in the New Guinea invasion zone, the Allied planes, in addition to smashing five to six grounded Japanese fighters and starting fires, shot down the only Japanese fighter plane which challenged them. This plane was caught in concentrated fire and torn to pieces. It was known that some Japanese grounded bombers were hit at Lae, but no estimate was made of the number.

A Port Moresby dispatch estimated that in all 116 Japanese planes had been destroyed in the New Guinea and Timor invasion zones against the loss of 14 United States and Australian planes. Crews of six of the Allied planes were saved.

URGENT CONFERENCE

It was indicated that a defence conference held this morning was of urgent importance.

Gen. MacArthur, Premier Curtin, Lieut.-Gen. George H. Brett, commanding United Nations Air Forces; Lieut.-Gen. Sir Thomas Blamey, Australian commander of Ground Forces, and Vice-Adm. Herbert F. Leary, United States Navy commander in the Australia-New Zealand zone, met for two hours.

It was announced that the Australian Supreme War Council would meet later today and that the Australian War Cabinet would meet tomorrow. These meetings were called, it was understood, to consider subjects discussed at the war conference.

Maj.-Gen. Rush B. Lincoln, of Iowa, in charge of air corps ground organizations under Brett, announcing completion of plans for the ground force operations, said the R.A.A.F. would depend on the United States for supplies and latest types of planes and other equipment, and for trained specialists and ground staffs. The air corps organization here will be like that in the United States, he said, except that it would not include airplane design or development of new types.

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Mr. Evatt was accompanied by his wife, by W. S. Robinson, a departmental adviser, and by secretaries. He was met at the station by Premier Mackenzie King and Sir Shouldham Redfern, secretary to the Governor-General.

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PROMISE TO LOVE

1 of/de

Bataan Lines Re-organized

Wainwright Reforms Front After Heavy Casualties

SITUATION IS GRAVE

WASHINGTON, April 8—(U.P.)—Lieut. Gen. Jonathan M. Wainwright's hard-pressed Bataan troops have made a general withdrawal to a "previously prepared defence position," following an incessant Japanese onslaught from the air, land and sea, the War Department announced today.

The withdrawal marked the first time that the U.S.-Filipino defenders had been forced to give substantial ground under the impact of the all-out drive launched by Lieut.-Gen. Tomoyuki Yamashita's forces.

The communique's report on the Bataan withdrawal was brief. It said:

"In order to rectify the lines in Bataan which had been penetrated by the Japanese, our troops withdrew during the night of April 7 to a previously-prepared defence position."

GENERAL WITHDRAWAL

Army spokesmen here were unable to say immediately where Wainwright's new line was located or how far he had withdrawn from the previous positions stretching from Abucay, on the east coast of the little peninsula to the vicinity of Moron, on the left, or China Sea, side.

But they said it was a general withdrawal, and an orderly one. They hoped to have more details of the action later today.

It was not known immediately whether the numerically-superior Japanese supported by tanks and dive bombers, had forced the Wainwright line south of Bataan's strategic east-west highway.

The previous American line at some points was only about four miles north of the highway.

Part of Wainwright's strategy, it appeared, was to rearrange his lines so that dents driven into the original U.S.-Filipino positions would be straightened out, thus preventing the Japanese from cutting off contingents of our troops.

The presumed orderliness of the American withdrawal, made at night, appeared supported by Wainwright's failure to mention any fighting.

In reports to the War Department yesterday, Wainwright told of fierce fighting with heavy casualties suffered by the U.S.-Filipino forces as well as the Japanese.

SITUATION GRAVE

With the deefnders giving ground and their lives in the epic battle, there seemed little doubt that the situation on Bataan was becoming extremely grave.

For 16 days the big Japanese offensive to drive the defenders off the island of Luzon has been on. For 16 days Gen. Yamashita has thrown fresh reserves almost daily at the weary men of Gen. Wainwright. For 16 days the defnders have been subjected to assaults by land, sea and air; have been bombed, shelled and rushed by tank.

The military experts here made no attempt to hide their realization that the pressure of the long-awaited Japanese offensive, which has been in high gear almost a week, was telling on Wainwright's men—men who have no reserves, who must go on resisting day and night, day-after-day.

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Head Reserve Army Brigades



—Photo by Posen.
Col. Paul Grenier



—Blank-Stoller Photo.
Col. J. W. H. Van den Berg

Among the brigade commanders for Reserve Army brigade groups whose appointments were announced at Ottawa today are Col. Grenier, who will command No. 34 Reserve Brigade Group at M.D. No. 4 here, and Col. Van den Berg, of Montreal, who will command No. 32 Group at Toronto.

Col. Grenier Heads Brigade

Former O.C. Fusiliers Mont-Royal One of Eight Appointees

OTTAWA, April 8—(C.P.)—Appointment of Brigade Commanders for Reserve Army Brigade Groups in eight of the 11 Military Districts in Canada was announced today by Hon. J. L. Ralston, Defence Minister.

The new commanders, all of whom will have rank of colonel, are:

Military District No. 1 (London, Ont.)—Col. W. G. Hagarty, No. 31 Reserve Brigade Group;

M.D. No. 2 (Toronto)—Col. J. W. H. G. H. Van Den Berg, No. 32 Reserve Brigade Group;

M.D. No. 4 (Montreal)—Lt.-Col. Paul Grenier, No. 34 Reserve Brigade Group;

M.D. No. 6 (Halifax)—Lt.-Col. W. D. Simpson, No. 36 Reserve Brigade Group;

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After being demobilized in 1919, he joined the Non-Permanent Active Militia in 1920 and was granted a commission in Les Carabiniers Mont-Royal, which later became the Fusiliers Mont-Royal. He was promoted captain in 1922 and received his majority in 1925, becoming second-in-command in 1934 and commanding officer, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in 1938.

Colonel Grenier was awarded the Silver Jubilee Medal in 1935 and the Efficiency Decoration in 1936.

The brigade which he will command comprises the 7th Reconnaissance Battalion (17th Duke of Yorks R.C. Hussars), a Field Regiment of artillery, four infantry battalions, including the 2nd Battalion, The Black Watch (since mobilized), the 2nd Battalion, Royal Montreal

St. Pierre Governor Returns to Vichy

VICHY, April 8 — (A. P.) — Baron de Bournat, former Governor of St. Pierre-Miquelon, islands off Newfoundland which were occupied by Free French forces on Christmas Eve, arrived in Vichy yesterday from Lisbon.

Taken into custody at the time of the islands' occupation, de Bournat was repatriated at his own request under an agreement between the Free French and British Government.

Beef Supplies Running Low

Packers Claim Farmers Prefer to Market In United States

WINNIPEG, April 8 — (C.P.)—Packers claimed here today they are unable to meet United States competition without Government help and are reducing their purchases of cattle to minimum requirements.

"Buyers for Canadian packers cannot compete with the high prices now being offered in the United States market," said Joseph Harris, plant manager of Canada Packers Limited.

He explained packers could only obtain ceiling prices for dressed beef. Farmers could get higher prices by selling their live cattle in the United States.

The price ceiling for dressed meats is based on the period September 15 to October 10, 1941.

Fifty-one carloads of cattle left Winnipeg yesterday for the United States, A. N. Lambert, manager of the Union Stockyards, St. Boniface, said.

It was also reported that approximately 7,500 head have been shipped from Canada to the United States during the first week of April, following the opening of the new quarterly quota April 1.

LIGHTWEIGHT AVAILABLE

Packers officials said fat cattle are being shipped south. Cattle of 700 pounds and more enter the United States at a duty of $1.50 per 100 pounds. Lighter cattle pay full duty, $2.50 per 100 pounds.

They said local packers had to rely on lightweight cattle and this created a shortage of beef tonnage.

Coolers of all local packing houses were reported to be carrying stocks far below what is normal for this period of the year.

Packers said cattle from Alberta, Saskatchewana and Manitoba points were flowing across to the United States "in a steady stream" with the producers collecting higher prices.

"There is nothing much we can do about it," an official of one large plant said. "We hear today that there are 170 cars of live cattle from Alberta alone going across the line within the next few days. Our market has slumped away down. Retailers cannot have their orders filled and it may cause a shortage of beef in Winnipeg unless the export quota of 51,700 head of cattle allowed for three months is quickly filled."

Aerial Sweeps Stay at Peak

Advantage Over Japs 8-1; Aussies Are Warned of Invasion

By BRYDON TAVES

UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS, Australia, April 8 — (B.U.P.) — United States and Australian Air Forces, claiming an eight-to-one advantage over the Japanese, were credited unofficially today with destroying more than 120 planes in attacks on enemy invasion bases in the islands north of Australia.

The total was set at 116 in Australian press dispatches from Port Moresby and another six or seven were added by official disclosure today of results of Tuesday's allied raid on Lae. Still more enemy losses probably resulted from a new attack today on the Japanese-held base of Koepang, on Timor island.

The allied aerial offensive continued as Gen. MacArthur and other leaders met in the first of a series of major war conferences to draft strategy against the threat of an enemy offensive from the north.

OCCUPATIONS CONTINUE

Meanwhile, it was reported that the Japanese had consolidated their hold on the islands off Australia's northern flank by occupying Lorangu on Manus island in the Admiralty group about 170 miles off New Guinea. The former German island has been under Australian mandate since the Great War.

The islands probably were not defended, since Australian reports said that the scorched earth policy had been applied vigorously at Lorangu, where the Japanese took over an airdrome only to find the installations destroyed.

Allied planes fought through three separate screens of crack fighters to attack Koepang, an invasion base 330 miles northwest of Australia, yesterday, a communique announced. Only one Allied fighter plane was lost and a plane previously reported missing was found and returned to duty.

It was announced also that in their raid yesterday on Lae, in the New Guinea invasion zone, the Allied planes, in addition to smashing five to six grounded Japanese fighters and starting fires, shot down the only Japanese fighter plane which challenged them. This plane was caught in concentrated fire and torn to pieces. It was known that some Japanese grounded bombers were hit at Lae, but no estimate was made of the number.

A Port Moresby dispatch estimated that in all 116 Japanese planes had been destroyed in the New Guinea and Timor invasion zones against the loss of 14 United States and Australian planes. Crews of six of the Allied planes were saved.

URGENT CONFERENCE

It was indicated that a defence conference held this morning was of urgent importance.

Gen. MacArthur, Premier Curtin, Lieut.-Gen. George H. Brett, commanding United Nations Air Forces; Lieut.-Gen. Sir Thomas Blamey, Australian commander of Ground Forces, and Vice-Adm. Herbert F. Leary, United States Navy commander in the Australia-New Zealand zone, met for two hours.

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"Today's attack, following so closely the first attack, tends to prove that both raids were intentional," the communique said.

Thousands Visit Botanical Garden

As an indication of the growing public interest in flower gardens, 4,000 to 5,000 persons visited the Botanical Garden on Sherbrooke street east on Easter Sunday, to view the two winter gardens there devoted to exhibits of spring flowers. One exhibit shows garden flowers which herald the spring in the north and the other, spring flowers that may be found in gardens of the southern United States The large entrance hall is filled with cinerarias in many different races and strains, primula obconica, primula malacoides, etc. Visitors are admitted on week days from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m. and on Sundays and holidays from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m.

2 Chicagoans Face Kidnap Charge

CINCINNATI, April 8—(A.P.)—Two Chicago youths, registered as George Shimchuk, 25, and Joseph Delatore Hepburn, 22, were held on Federal warrants charging violation of the "Lindbergh kidnap law" today in the abduction of Mrs. Mary Jacobson, 33, of Calumet City, Ill., the nigth of March 30.

Raymond C. Suran, special agent in charge of the F. B. I. office here said the pair confessed forcing Mrs. Jacobson to accompany them 300 miles to this city, robbing her and leaving her bound and gagged in a suburban park after one attacked her.

The statute under which the two were charged makes possible the death penalty.

TRIALS OF IRISH LASS

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After being demobilized in 1919, he joined the Non-Permanent Active Militia in 1920 and was granted a commission in Les Carabiniers Mont-Royal, which later became the Fusiliers Mont-Royal. He was promoted captain in 1922 and received his majority in 1928, becoming second-in-command in 1934 and commanding officer, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in 1938.

Colonel Grenier was awarded the Silver Jubilee Medal in 1935 and the Efficiency Decoration in 1936.

The brigade which he will command comprises the 7th Reconnaissance Battalion (17th Duke of Yorks R.C. Hussars), a Field Regiment of artillery, four infantry battalions, including the 2nd Battalion, The Black Watch (since mobilized), the 2nd Battalion, Royal Montreal Regiment (M.G.), and the 2nd Battalions of Les Fusiliers Mont-Royal and Le Regiment de Maisonneuve, in addition to signals, engineers and other ancillary services. The Royal Montreal Regiment is the machine-gun battalion of the group.

He will have the assistance of the usual brigade staff, including a brigade major and staff captain, all on an active service basis, the units will have specific duties in relation to the defence of this part of Canada.

COLONEL VAN DEN BERG

Also announced was the appointment of Colonel J. W. H. Van den Berg, D.S.O., as commanding the brigade group in M.D. No. 2, Toronto. For many years a staff officer at M.D. No. 4 he was promoted to take command of a brigade in a Canadian armored division now overseas.

He has a long record as a soldier in various parts of the world, having been chief of staff to Gen. Pancho Villa in the Mexican revolutionary wars, and a machine-gun officer in the Canadian Corps in France. He was also selected to accompany General Dunsterforce to Persia during the Great War and was responsible for the organization of Kurdish irregulars there.

Colonel Grenier's return from overseas follows closely that of another Fusiliers officer in Major Jean Leclaire, now a lieutenant-colonel, commanding Le Regiment de St. Hyacinthe, recently mobilized battalion.

Merchant Sailors' Devotion Praised

Men in the merchant marine were praised today by Arthur Randles, of the Department of Transport, Ottawa, at today's meeting of the Electrical Club in the Queen's Hotel. Lieut.-Col. C. F. Ritchie presided.

"The merchant marine," he commented, "is probably the most essential link we have in fighting the Hun. It is the fourth arm of the fighting services without which we would lose the war."

Montrealers were congratulated for what they had already done for the men of the merchant marine. He appealed, however, to citizens "to pay more attention to the Allied Seamen's Hostel on St. James street," and pointed out that invitations to dinner, theatre tickets, old clothing and magazines would be very welcome.

WINNIPEG, April 8 — (C.P.)—Packers claimed here today they are unable to meet United States competition without Government help and are reducing their purchases of cattle to minimum requirements.

"Buyers for Canadian packers cannot compete with the high prices now being offered in the United States market," said Joseph Harris, plant manager of Canada Packers Limited.

He explained packers could only obtain ceiling prices for dressed beef. Farmers could get higher prices by selling their live cattle in the United States.

The price ceiling for dressed meats is based on the period September 15 to October 10, 1941.

Fifty-one carloads of cattle left Winnipeg yesterday for the United States, A. N. Lambert, manager of the Union Stockyards, St. Boniface, said.

It was also reported that approximately 7,500 head have been shipped from Canada to the United States during the first week of April, following the opening of the new quarterly quota April 1.

LIGHTWEIGHT AVAILABLE

Packers officials said fat cattle are being shipped south. Cattle of 700 pounds and more enter the United States at a duty of $1.50 per 100 pounds. Lighter cattle pay full duty, $2.50 per 100 pounds.

They said local packers had to rely on lightweight cattle and this created a shortage of beef tonnage.

Coolers of all local packing houses were reported to be carrying stocks far below what is normal for this period of the year.

Packers said cattle from Alberta, Saskatchewana and Manitoba points were flowing across to the United States "in a steady stream" with the producers collecting higher prices.

"There is nothing much we can do about it," an official of one large plant said. "We hear today that there are 170 cars of live cattle from Alberta alone going across the line within the next few days. Our market has slumped away down. Retailers cannot have their orders filled and it may cause a shortage of beef in Winnipeg unless the export quota of 51,700 head of cattle allowed for three months is quickly filled."

Another packing plant here reported that they were able to buy only six head of cattle Monday. The cooler of this plant, which normally contains between 500 and 700 dressed carcasses, had 100 on the hooks yesterday.

Ottawa Objects To Implications

OTTAWA, April 8—(C. P.)—The Agriculture Department, in a statement issued last night, took "strong exception" to what it termed "widely publicized" implications that Canadian farmers have created a shortage of beef by withholding cattle from the market in order to obtain higher prices in the United States.

(On the Toronto Cattle Market vesterday trading slowed to the rate where sales were too few to establish quotations.)

Retail meat prices are under the price ceiling established and maintained by the Wartime Prices and Trade Board. The Agriculture Department statement said it recognizes "that during the next three months it may not be easy to supply all the beef that Canadians may be prepared to purchase at prices established in September and October."

PROTECT PRODUCERS

"If it is necessary to satisfy a greatly-expanded demand for beef at prices which are out of line for this season of the vear, the department considers it unreasonable that this should be done at the expense of the beef producers," the statement said.

"To attempt to remedy a situation which is considered temporary by controlling cattle exports to ensure supplies at ceiling price levels, would depress all Canadian cattle markets at a time when there is still a considerable number of grain-fed cattle to come forward.

"The department is confident that this would prove to be shortsighted, as it could scarcely fail to affect the number of cattle put on feed next fall, thereby materially reducing beef tonnage obtained from marketings in the spring of 1943."

The Prices Board had no comment on the cattle situation but it was known to be watching it closely. Informed sources recalled a suggestion made some time ago that the Board might find it necessary to pay a subsidy to hold retail meat prices at their present level without causing heavy losses to packers and retailers.

their raid yesterday on Lae, in the New Guinea invasion zone, the Allied planes, in addition to smashing five to six grounded Japanese fighters and starting fires, shot down the only Japanese fighter plane which challenged them. This plane was caught in concentrated fire and torn to pieces. It was known that some Japanese grounded bombers were hit at Lae, but no estimate was made of the number.

A Port Moresby dispatch estimated that in all 116 Japanese planes had been destroed in the New Guinea and Timor invasion zones against the loss of 14 United States and Australian planes. Crews of six of the Allied planes were saved.

URGENT CONFERENCE

It was indicated that a defence conference held this morning was of urgent importance.

Gen. MacArthur, Premier Curtin, Lieut.-Gen. George H. Brett, commanding United Nations Air Forces; Lieut.-Gen. Sir Thomas Blamey, Australian commander of Ground Forces, and Vice-Adm. Herbert F. Leary, United States Navy commander in the Australia-New Zealand zone, met for two hours.

It was announced that the Australian Supreme War Council would meet later today and that the Australian War Cabinet would meet tomorrow. These meetings were called, it was understood, to consider subjects discussed at the war conference.

Maj.-Gen. Rush B. Lincoln, of Iowa, in charge of air corps ground organizations under Brett, announcing completion of plans for the ground force operations, said the R.A.A.F. would depend on the United States for supplies and latest types of planes and other equipment, and for trained specialists and ground staffs. The air corps organization here will be like that in the United States, he said, except that it would not include airplane design or development of new types.

He indicated that plans already were far advanced to absorb an influx of pilots, planes and supplies for full scale aerial war.

JAP RAIDERS REPULSED

Fleet after fleet of Japanese planes had been driven off from their favorite target areas of Port Moresby, New Guinea, and Darwin, the big north coast Australian base. Floods had driven back the Japanese from the Markham Valley of New Guinea to the Huon Gulf on the north coast. It was realized, however, that the big test was to come.

Chinese military quarters at Chungking had revealed that a formidale fleet of enemy ships, including 13 transports, six warships and 10 launches, had been sighted at anchor off Amoy, on the South China Coast, as long ago as March 28, and nothing had been heard of the fleet since.

It was believed here that at least three Japanese aircraft carriers, protected by a strong fleet of cruisers and destroyers, were in the Indian Ocean.

The Melbourne radio reported on the basis of Tokio radio reports that British warships and airplanes might be engaged against a Japanese fleet in the Bay of Bengal. Tokio reported, according to the radio, that Japanese fleet units had attacked British warships.

Allied plane attacks on the Japanese invasion bases off Australia were increasingly punishing. However, Allied spokesmen continued to warn against unjustified optimism and said that the crucial hour was to come soon. They believed that a Japanese attempt to invade Australia might come at any time.

More American Troops Arrive in Australia

LONDON, April 8—(B.U.P.) — A Daily Mail Melbourne correspondent reported today that many more American troops had reached Australia and were already encamped, ready to meet any Japanese threat.

The correspondent said he accompanied the convoy, as did Lieut. Gen. Sir Thomas Blamey, new Deputy Supreme Allied Commander in charge of land forces.

Blamey's arrival in Australia was announced March 27. He was formerly Australian Commander in the Middle East.

The troops came from every corner of the United States, the dispatch said. Discipline was first class, it added.

Troops in the convoy spent much of their time laughing, during the latter part of their voyage, at Japanese broadcasts screeching out reports that the convoy had been sunk, the dispatch said.

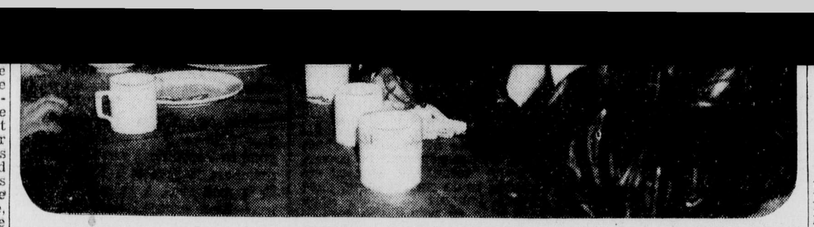
Radio news of Gen. MacArthur's arrival in Australia, and his appointment as Supreme Commander, was heartily applauded, the dispatch said.

Gen. Blamey was much impressed by the efficiency of life boat drills, the dispatch said, and commented:

"These boys have got the right stuff in them."

Of Gen. MacArthur's designation as Supreme Commander he said: "That is a damned fine appointment."

"The troops, now in Australian camps, are getting restless because there is still no news of a Japanese landing in Australia," the dispatch said. "They are raring to go."



Aussie Lauds Pacific Council

Hon. Herbert Evatt Pays Visit to Canadian Capital

OTTAWA, April 8—(C. P.)—Valuable results from deliberations of the Pacific Council in Washington were forecast today by Hon. Herbert V. Evatt, Australia's Minister of External Affairs, who arrived here shortly after noon for a two-day visit.

Mr. Evatt attended the first two meetings of the newly-created council as Australia's chief representative, and will return to Washington for further meetings.

"I am very pleased to accept the invitation of your Prime Minister to visit Ottawa," Mr. Evatt said on his arrival at the railway station.

"Formation of the Pacific Council in Washington, with Canada as a direct participant, is a token that Canada is as much a Pacific countryy as Australai, New Zealand and the Netherlands," he said.

CONFERENCE LATER

He promised to hold a press conference later in the day after he has conferred with Canadian Ministers at a session of the Cabinet War Committee.

Mr. Evatt was accompanied by his wife, by W. S. Robinson, a departmental adviser, and by secretaries. He was met at the station by Premier Mackenzie King and Sir Shouldham Redfern, secretary to the Governor-General.

He and Mrs. Evatt will be guests at Government House, although the Governor-General and Princess Alice now are absent from Ottawa on a western tour.

Sir William Glasgow, Australian High Commissioner, and other Australian officials were also at the station. Mr. Evatt will be guest of the Prime Minister at dinner tonight.

Tomorrow he will address a luncheon meeting of the Ottawa Canadian Club, and tomorrow evening he will be guest at a dinner given by Sir William.

SUPPLIES ALLOCATED

Mr. Evatt said the Pacific Council would facilitate creation of the necessary machinery for general allocation of war supplies and shipping. He was the original Australian advocate of creation of this council and came to Washington March 18, to urge its establishment.

While he is in Ottawa Mr. Evatt will be given a detailed picture of what Canada has done to aid Australia, directly and indirectly.

Officials here indicated today this aid was greater in volume and effectiveness than was generally realized.

But under the provisions setting up the combined Chief of Staff committee in Washington, and war supplies assignment boards in London and Washington, the allocation of war aid, both in men and materials, is decided by those bodies and no country can act independently.

Australia might make requests and Canada might make offers but the decision would rest with these boards and with the combined shipping boards.

Mr. Evatt is a leading lawyer and jurist of Australia who resigned from the Commonwealth bench in 1940 to enter the Government at a time of approaching crisis.

Greek Ship Said Sunk With Loss of 211 Lives

LONDON, April 8—(C. P.)—A Vichy news agency dispatch from Istanbul said today the Greek steamship Euderani had foundered off the Turkish coast with the loss of 211 of 238 passengers aboard.

The agency said the Euderani went on the rocks in the vicinity of Kaali Island. Her port of origin was not given.

(Lloyd's register and other shipping records do not list a ship by this name.)

Soviet Doctor Grafts Nerves

Medical Discovery Reported From Russian Capital

LONDON, April 8 — (B.U.P.) — The Soviet War News, published by the Russian Embassy, reported yesterday that Professor A. S. Vishnevsky, head of the surgical department of the Soviet Neurological Clinic, for the first time had succeeded in transplanting nerves from corpses into the bodies of living persons.

It said the operation had been performed many times with "excellent results."

"A wounded Red Army commander was brought to the clinic," the publication said. "His arm was severely injured. A mine splinter had torn out part of a muscle and a section of the main motor nerve.

"As the severed ends of the nerve were one and a half centimeters apart, they could not be sewn together. Vishnevsky performed an operation, using a piece of nerve from a person killed in an accident.

"The transplanted nerve took root and the commander is able to use his arm as if nothing had happened. Today he is in active service at the front."

The Soviet War News said the problem of restoring the function of a limb when the motor nerve had been injured seriously long had been a medical problem. Vishnevsky's method, it said, had the added advatage of employing nerves taken from corpses which, when properly treated after removal, can be preserved indefinitely.

"Thus the surgeon can be provided with a complete set of different nerves ready for use whenever the necessity arises," the article concluded.

While surgeons here, who have had war experience, were careful in evaluating the possible use of the transplantation of nerve tissue from dead to living bodies, and the potential use of "nerve banks," they were not hesitant in praising the excellent laboratory and scientific results which have come out of Russia.

"Russian scientists," it was stated here, "pioneered in the preservation of blood, a practice which is now obtaining excellent results in the saving of military and civil casualties.

"A great deal of work is being done in regard to nerve injuries, and excellent results have been obtained in a number of countries. Russia is again pioneering, according to the news despatch, in the preservation of nerve tissue for use in treatment of the wounded.

"The value of the preservation of nerve tissue is problematical in view of the fact that living nerve tissue is easily obtainable, either from donors or from the patient himself. This can be transplanted but the best results obtained so far has been through the suturing, or joining, of cut nerves. The Russian technique may be particularly valuable in cases where the nerve ends are too far separated for joining. Further description of the Russian technique and results will be followed with great interest."

Police Racket Before Juries

Brooklyn Courts Hear Of Vast Gambling Syndicate Protection

NEW YORK, April 8—(A.P.) — Two extraordinary grand juries, working under the direction of special Assistant Attorney General John Harlan Amen in Brooklyn, handed up six separate presentments today naming 49 police officers, including a retired Deputy Chief Inspector, together with four lawyers.

Amen said that the paid police protection of a $100,000,000 a year gambling syndicate, with a legal department composed of expert attorneys, was disclosed by the presentments.

Exposure of this alleged organized gambling syndicate, composed of the operators of policy games, dice games, lotteries and bookmaking establishments, was characterized by Amen as only the first chapter of his investigation during the last 11 months of information and complaints that members of the police department were selling "protection" to the policy, bookmaking and general gambling racket in an amount exceeding hundreds of thousands of dollars annually.

"There is in existence today in the police department an organized system of graft and corruption which operates on a city-wide scale," Amen said in a statement. "Its roots are so deep and the lines along which it operates so well-fixed that despite frequent cnanges of personnel in all ranks its activities continue with little if any let-up."

Fire Toll One Hurt And $1,500 Damage

Injury to Fireman William Sauve of the Ontario street west station, and damages estimated at $1,500 were the toll taken by a stubborn fire in an apartment house at 1271 Dorchester street west yesterday.

The fire, which was attributed to an overheated furnace, broke out in the basement and was confined to that area, although damage by smoke and water was reported in some apartments. Fireman Sauve was taken to the western division of the Montreal General Hospital when overcome by smoke. His condition is not considered serious.

British, Italians Trade Prisoners

LONDON, April 8—(B. U. P.)—British and Italian war prisoners were exchanged today at Smyrna, Turkey, according to an Italian broadcast quoting an official Stefani news agency dispatch from Ankara.

It said the Italian liner Gradisch carrying British prisoners and the British steamer Llandovery Castle of 10,640 tons carrying Italians arrived simultaneously. The dispatch did not state the number of prisoners involved in the exchange.

88,910 Inspections Reported for Year of 1941

QUEBEC, April 8—(C.P.)—Sanitary inspections of the Provincial Ministry of Health and Social Welfare amounted to 88,910 in 1941, it was announced in the annual report released here last night.

There were 4,286 dwellings visited, 2,348 hair dressing establishments, 4,166 schools, 7,526 dairies, 4,736 barns, 3,515 abattoirs, 2,773 public markets and 30,001 other food establishments. Food confiscated amounted to 76,618 pounds.

Meanwhile health units in the province visited in 1941 13,115 houses, quarantined 1,201 others, prevented 10,144 children from attending school for various periods, had 6,438 cases of contagious diseases reported to them and discovered 11,456 other cases.

There were 62,502 persons examined for tuberculosis at 1,880 clinics while cases visited at home totalled 9,900.

MUSHROOM GROWTH

From five machine shops in 1939 to 85 today — that is the record of the industry which produces gauges used in the production of munitions. Since the beginning of the war, orders have been placed for 155,000 gauges at a cost of $4,500,000. Some 25,000 types are now being turned out.

TODAY'S OFFER
to you who suffer
Bad Coughs

The first spoonfuls of Pertussin MUST promptly relieve such coughs or money back. For years thousands of prescriptions have been filled by druggists—it must be good!

Pertussin not only helps relieve your coughing spasm, but it loosens and makes sticky phlegm easier to raise. Safe for both old and young. Inexpensive! Any drugstore.

PERTUSSIN

PROMISE TO LOVE, HONOR—FREEZONE RELIEVES CORN PAIN FAST OR DOUBLE YOUR MONEY BACK



Relieves pain—corn then lifts off or DOUBLE YOUR MONEY BACK

Depend on FREEZONE to carry you through life on happy feet. Just put FREEZONE on aching corn—and—if pain is not relieved return bottle you bought to makers, address on label, and we'll send you double what you paid. Millions of folks have proved that FREEZONE is one of the easiest, most successful ways to relieve pain and remove corns. A safe, harmless liquid. Get a bottle of FREEZONE from any druggist and try it. Remember . . . the way it relieves pain and removes corns will delight you—or DOUBLE YOUR MONEY BACK.

RENDEZVOUS

Visit any drug counter and meet the *modern* laxative—Feen-a-mint. Feen-a-mint is gentle yet effective, and comes in the form of delicious candy-coated chewing gum. Doesn't affect the stomach — taken at bedtime it won't interfere with sleep.



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D 42436

6. **Vital importance to a total effort of avoiding controversy and maintaining unity.**

In setting forth the policy of the government regarding the use of compulsory methods for overseas service, I have sought to maintain a sense of proportion. It is of the utmost importance that the question be viewed in perspective in its correct relationship to a total war effort. Above all, the particular method used to recruit our overseas army should not be confused with a total effort.

In determining the utmost effort in production, account must be taken of the needs of the armed forces; in determining the utmost effort of the army forces account must equally be taken of the needs of production. By trying to make too big an effort in one direction, we shall inevitably weaken our effort in some other direction. The result will be a smaller total effort.

The Minister of National Defence has warned us that we cannot measure our total effort in divisions alone; that we cannot measure it merely in squadrons, in ships, in production, or in finance; that it must be measured in terms of a balanced programme which represents the very best and most that Canada can do. As my colleague has said: "That is our ultimate objective".

D42437

The government has sought to avoid upsetting that balance by controversy over methods. We believe that the policy I have just announced will remove any excuse which may have existed for controversy. We believe it is a policy on which the country can unite, and we believe that by following this policy a total national war effort can be achieved.

Nothing will weaken our effort so much as controversy, dissention and division. By all means, let us have criticism, but let it be informed and intelligent criticism. Above all, let each of us look into his own heart and make quite sure that what he is seeking is really a greater Canadian effort without any trace of a mixture of motives. In striving towards a total effort all have a part to play. I do not hesitate to say that the first and most imperative duty of every citizen is, by every word and deed, to strive for the maintenance, of the national unity on which all else rests.

The supreme responsibility for the maintenance of our unity rests with Parliament and the government. We shall be blamed and, rightly blamed, if national unity is destroyed and the war effort is wrecked. It is not in Canada alone that the supreme importance of national unity

D 42438

to a total effort is stressed; it is the foremost consideration in the mind of the government of every nation at war.

In order to keep the record straight, let me pause here to interject a word about the other Dominions of the British Commonwealth. New Zealand alone has adopted compulsory methods for overseas service; the Australian system is precisely the same as our own: compulsory service for territorial defence and voluntary service outside Australia; in South Africa all military service is voluntary. In every case, the overriding consideration in determining the method has been concern for the maintenance of national unity. And I might add that the formation of a so-called national government has not been necessary to the maintenance of national unity. Neither New Zealand, nor Australia, nor South Africa has the kind of national government which is advocated, in some quarters, in Canada. All have maintained the kind of national government which exists in Canada: namely, a government based on the will of the people as expressed by the majority of its representatives in Parliament.

I have interjected these observations for one reason only. I wished to remove certain misconceptions

D12439

which have become current. I am not suggesting that the methods used in other countries are necessarily suitable or applicable to Canada. Mr. Churchill quite properly told us that the question of conscription for overseas service is a domestic question to be settled by Canadians. I believe that the Canadian people have sufficient self-respect and sufficient courage and initiative to settle their domestic problems, in the light of Canadian needs and Canadian circumstances. Canada will only be truly a nation if our people make their own decisions for themselves.

So far as Britain is concerned, so far as all our partners among the United Nations are concerned, it does not matter to them what methods we use in Canada to achieve a total effort; what matters to them and to the common cause is the achievement of a total war effort.

I believe, and the government believes, that the programme and the policies I have outlined will enable Canada to put forth its utmost effort in the year 1942; just as I believe that our policies and programmes of progressive development have enabled Canada to put forth its utmost effort in the past. After all, as I have frequently pointed out, the war effort is the effort of the Canadian people: it is Canada's effort not the

D 42440

government's effort. The government has done the planning and given the direction; the people have done the rest and their efforts have been magnificent. They are entitled to take a proper pride in what has been achieved; it is unfair to Canada and unworthy of Canadians to belittle and disparage their achievement. In the final analysis, it is satisfaction with a task well done which will give our people the courage and incentive to go on to the end performing the greater tasks and bearing the heavier burdens essential to ultimate triumph. Without unity and without self-respect, the people of Canada cannot put forth their utmost effort. I appeal to all in this House and outside its walls to put aside controversy about methods; to avoid domestic strife and dissention; and to throw their whole weight behind the policies and programme outlined by the government. That is the road to a total national war effort. It is my earnest hope that all may move unitedly forward along that road to victory and peace.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date Jan. 23/42

D 42441

Subject

Record of Pledges

WHILE the Free Press has often declared that the Parliament of Canada had the power and, if necessary, should take the steps to institute conscription for overseas service, it is only fair to recall that powerful political reasons do exist to justify the Government's action in referring this issue to a referendum of the people. They are certainly not of a nature to be lightly disregarded. It is important at this moment to recall the exact nature of the solemn pledges made by the Government when war broke out. There existed in Parliament a bloc of members apparently irrevocably committed against any participation in the war by Canada. This was voiced in the House of Commons, and even the Quebec member who seconded the reply to the speech from the throne, J. A. Blanchette of Compton, seized the occasion to express himself against conscription as part of a speech supporting Canadian belligerency. The Prime Minister, in his speech at the special war session, September, 1939, specifically said;

> The present Government believe that conscription for overseas service will not be a necessary or effective step. No such measure will be introduced by the present administration.

In saying this, he doubtless remembered that in March, 1939, Dr. Manion, leader of the Opposition, had declared himself opposed to the use of conscription for overseas service.

* * *

MR. Lapointe, who spoke after Mr. King in the war session, was also emphatic in the pledge he gave:

> The whole province of Quebec, and I speak with all the responsibility and solemnity I can give to my words, will never agree to accept compulsory service or conscription outside Canada. I will go farther than that: When I say the whole province of Quebec, I mean that I personally agree with them. I am authorized by my colleagues in the cabinet from the province of Quebec—the veteran leader of the Senate, my good friend and colleague the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Cardin), my friend and fellow townsman and colleague, the Minister of Pensions and National Health (Mr. Power)—to say that we will never agree to conscription and will never be members or supporters of a government that will try to enforce it. Is that clear enough?
>
> Provided these points are understood, we are willing to offer our services without limitation and to devote our best efforts to the success of the cause we all have at heart. And those in Quebec who say that we will have conscription in spite of what some of us are saying, are doing the work of disunity, the work of the foe, the work of the enemy. They weaken by their conduct the authority of those who represent them in the government.

These pledges will be recognized as categorical, no matter whether both foresight and hindsight may combine to regard them as undesirable.

* * *

PARLIAMENT had scarcely finished the war session when Premier Duplessis of Quebec called an election in what he described as a protest against the tyranny of Ottawa. He complained that the War Measures Act was a threat to Quebec autonomy, and during the election campaign he charged that the Dominion Government was going to adopt conscription. The conscription charges were denied by the Quebec members of the federal Government who took part in the election campaign.

During the campaign Mr. Duplessis (Oct. 4, 1939) made definite charges:

> This is not a party fight. It is a battle for the survival of our popular liberties. . . . A vote for Lapointe is a vote for participation (in the war), assimilation and centralization. A vote for Duplessis is a vote for autonomy and against conscription.

He repeated this four days later, saying at Rimouski that "a vote for Lapointe was a vote for conscription."

This was vigorously denied by the Liberal leaders. On Oct. 9, Mr. Lapointe said in a broadcast speech:

> French Canada respected the wishes of the Anglo-Saxon people in Canada and they, in turn, respected Quebec's opposition to conscription. It is a fantastic assertion by Mr. Duplessis that a vote for Godbout and for Lapointe would be a vote for conscription. In the first Great War, I strongly supported the government's war efforts until 1917, when I fought with all my soul and might against conscription. Mr. Duplessis was not then at my side. I am opposed to conscription today just as I was then.
>
> I stated in the House of Commons that I should not be a member of any government which imposed conscription and that I would never support such an administration. The Prime Minister has stated that the present Government would never resort to conscription. I believe I have persuaded our English - speaking fellow-citizens that Canadian unity demands that the nation refrain from compulsory overseas service. Mr. Duplessis says that we are standing for conscription. You know this is not true. He knows that it is not true. We are the bulwark standing between you and conscription. We are the wall protecting you and even those who are insulting us in the ranks of Mr. Duplessis' army.

Mr. Cardin was equally emphatic in all his speeches. On Oct. 8 he said this:

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date Jan. 23/42

D 42411

Subject

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These pledges will be recognized as categorical, no matter whether both foresight and hindsight may combine to regard them as undesirable.

* * *

PARLIAMENT had scarcely finished the war session when Premier Duplessis of Quebec called an election in what he described as a protest against the tyranny of Ottawa. He complained that the War Measures Act was a threat to Quebec autonomy, and during the election campaign he charged that the Dominion Government was going to adopt conscription. The conscription charges were denied by the Quebec members of the federal Government who took part in the election campaign.

During the campaign Mr. Duplessis (Oct. 4, 1939) made definite charges:

> This is not a party fight. It is a battle for the survival of our popular liberties. . . . A vote for Lapointe is a vote for participation (in the war), assimilation and centralization. A vote for Duplessis is a vote for autonomy and against conscription.

He repeated this four days later, saying at Rimouski that "a vote for Lapointe was a vote for conscription."

This was vigorously denied by the Liberal leaders. On Oct. 9, Mr. Lapointe said in a broadcast speech:

> French Canada respected the wishes of the Anglo-Saxon people in Canada and they, in turn, respected Quebec's opposition to conscription. It is a fantastic assertion by Mr. Duplessis that a vote for Godbout and for Lapointe would be a vote for conscription. In the first Great War, I strongly supported the government's war efforts until 1917, when I fought with all my soul and might against conscription. Mr. Duplessis was not then at my side. I am opposed to conscription today just as I was then.
>
> I stated in the House of Commons that I should not be a member of any government which imposed conscription and that I would never support such an administration. The Prime Minister has stated that the present Government would never resort to conscription. I believe I have persuaded our English - speaking fellow-citizens that Canadian unity demands that the nation refrain from compulsory overseas service. Mr. Duplessis says that we are standing for conscription. You know this is not true. He knows that it is not true. We are the bulwark standing between you and conscription. We are the wall protecting you and even those who are insulting us in the ranks of Mr. Duplessis' army.

Mr. Cardin was equally emphatic in all his speeches. On Oct. 8 he said this:

REPEAT
REPETITION

I am with all my strength opposed to a regime of conscription of men. . . . Be on guard. Conscription will not come through us. It will come when we are not at Ottawa. Be assured your children will not be torn from you. They will remain with you as long as they want to. . . . Those who do not want to go, will not go.

Mr. Godbout, who was then contesting the leadership of provincial politics in Quebec with Mr. Duplessis, was also definite in his assertions. On Oct. 1, at L'Islet, he declared:

I promise to fight any government at Ottawa which decrees military conscription so long as the Germans are not on Canadian soil. The Dominion Government ministers representing us are our guarantee against conscription. They are our safeguard.

On Oct. 11, speaking in Quebec City, Mr. Godbout followed up his declaration:

Quebec province can place complete confidence in the assurance by Prime Minister King that there will be no conscription under the present regime. Mackenzie King was one of those who stood with Sir Wilfrid Laurier so firmly against conscription in the first Great War.

Mr. Lapointe, speaking at Sherbrooke on Oct. 15, came back again to the issue:

I said, brutally, to my English-speaking compatriots that they would have to accept this no conscription issue. And I pay to them the tribute of binding themselves to the promise made —no conscription. The safest rampart against conscription, so far as Quebec is concerned, is in the Quebec representation in the Government. So long as we're there you will not have it.

★ ★ ★

DURING the general election campaign in the spring of 1940, all these pledges were repeated by the Liberal members of the Government, just as they were given also by leaders of the Opposition groups. Conscription was not an issue during that campaign. There was agreement by all responsible leaders of public thought and action that it was not to be.

Members of the present Government had this to say then: Mr. Lapointe, in Quebec City, March 12. "Recruiting is on a voluntary basis, and we want to keep it voluntary." Mr. Power, in Quebec City, March 20: "Only those who want to go and are fit to go, will go to the war." Mr. Cardin, March 20, at Sherbrooke: "When I declare myself squarely opposed to conscription I am merely reiterating the views of my leader, Mr. Mackenzie King."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Jan. 24/42

Subject

D 42413

A Question of Political Good Faith

The cynical view that governments should be free to pursue a course diametrically opposed to their definitely stated election pledges is not one which should be entertained in a democracy. The very core of the democratic principle is the will of the electors manifested in the polling booths. And this expression of electoral opinion depends upon the electors' valuation of the policies which leaders and candidates have enunciated. If these are free to set forth one policy on which to seek election, and then equally free to abandon it for another and exactly opposite policy when in office, government by the people ceases to exist.

What is more, under such circumstances ordinary good faith and common honesty cease to exist. That is serious enough when the issue involved is a material one. But when the issue is life itself, the responsibility of a government to keep its pledges, unless and until the electors release it from those pledges, is more than ever a solemn obligation involving the root principle of democracy and government by the people. So widely is the principle of keeping faith recognized that in some advanced theories of democracy there is provision for the actual recall of members when the demand is made by a sufficient number of constituents who consider that they have been betrayed.

In the case of conscription for overseas service, there is no doubt about the pledge which was made by the leader of the Liberal party. It was a pledge made not only on the hustings, but in parliament itself. It was made and repeated in the presence of the leader's cabinet colleagues, and in making it the leader specifically stated that he was committing the government. From his pledge no colleague dissented, and it was this: that the government would positively not conscript men for overseas service. It was an unqualified pledge.

In order to be released from that solemn undertaking in case conscription becomes, in its opinion, advisable, the government has had the choice of two courses. It could submit this one issue to the electors as a plebiscite, or it could itself go to the people in an election which would involve a far greater loss of time to ministers busy with the promotion of the country's war effort and which would entail far more bitterness than any plebiscite is likely to arouse. The speech from the throne indicates that the plebiscite will be designed simply to give the government authority to impose conscription when and if conscription becomes necessary, and thus release it from its pledge. Such a plebiscite should be carried by an overwhelming majority. It should be carried without the rancor which would certainly accompany an election on the conscription issue. A favorable vote on the plebiscite will leave the government free to take such action as war developments demand. As critics of the government have themselves pointed out on many occasions, the government is possessed of information which, in wartime, the public cannot share in its entirety. It should be at liberty to take such action in the matter of compulsory service as is dictated by its own intimate knowledge of the war.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Edmonton Bulletin

Date Jan. 24/42

D 2444

Subject

Wanted—A Clear Mandate

The electors of Canada are to be asked, by plebiscite, to release the Government "from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service."

The proposal is positive, not negative, nor neutral. The Government is asking to be released from any and all such commitments. If the request is granted, parliament will be freed of the undertaking, given on behalf of both the Liberal and the Conservative parties two years ago, that voluntary enlistment should be the only method employed in raising land forces for service outside Canada. Conservative members will be likewise freed of the undertaking if they join in asking for release.

Parliament could, of course, proceed to institute conscription without consulting the electors, and could justify this action on the ground that what was two years ago a war of limited scope is now world wide. The Ministers think that the fairer way is to first ask the voters to absolve parliament from the pledges then given and to authorize the members by direct mandate to adopt conscription if and when the circumstances require.

What are the objections raised to this obviously reasonable line of procedure?

It is said the holding of the plebiscite will cost money. It will. But isn't it worth spending some money in Canada to establish the point that pledges given by public men must be kept unless and until they are cancelled out by action of the voters? Public life has been bedevilled in Canada, not because political pledges were kept, but because they were broken.

It is argued that time will be required to take the vote. Undoubtedly. But men are volunteering for oversea service now as rapidly as they are asked for, in some localities so fast that they have to be shifted about from one training centre to another to find room for them. The delay of a few weeks, as against immediate parliamentary action, is not important in these circumstances.

It is suggested the voters might refuse to release the Government, and the Opposition, from these commitments. There is no practical possibility that such will be the case. But should it occur, that would only prove the hopelessness that conscription could be enforced by arbitrary action of parliament against popular opposition to it. If the voters would not vote to sanction conscription, what could any sane person expect to hapepn if a group of hot-heads tried to force it upon them against their will??

But, it is said, the English-speaking provinces may vote to permit the adoption of conscription and Quebec vote to maintain the restriction to voluntary enlistment; in which case the country would be divided. That might happen. But such a thing has happened in Canada, in principle, many times before without imperilling unity. Quebec has returned, upon occasion, a strong Liberal representation to a Conservative parliament, and there has been no suggestion of disunity. Why should we affront the good faith of French-Canadians by suggesting that they would be any less loyal, in the case of being in the minority in a conscription vote than they have always been in the case of being in the minority on a straight party issue?

Quebec's presumed hostility to conscription in the present circumstances may be very much over-rated. In any case it is likely to be less pronounced if conscription is adopted in accord with the expressed agreement of the electors than if it were applied without any such expression, and in disregard of election promises.

None of these objections offer valid reasons why the Government should be denied the release it is asking for, and parliament be compelled to rely upon voluntary enlistment if that method should fail to secure the men needed to expand and maintain our oversea forces. The changed and ever-changing situation demands that parliament have an entirely free hand in this and all other matters pertaining to the conduct of the war. That is what is being asked for. It is unthinkable that it should not be granted.

D 42445

6. Government free in all respects but one

Canada is about to embark on a campaign to raise a huge war loan by voluntary means. The government believes it is possible for Canada to achieve a total effort without resort to total compulsion in the raising of money. If a total effort is possible without total conscription of wealth, it should surely be equally possible without total conscription of manpower.

The opponents of the government are not asking us to state now what our policy will be if the voluntary system of raisihg money fails. The government has no intention of announcing a policy to meet such a situation because we see no signs of the failure of the present policy. We have enough faith in the patriotism of the Canadian people to believe they will continue to lend freely to meet the needs of their country in this time of grave peril.

The government has equally no intention of announcing what its policy would be if the voluntary system of raising men for overseas service should fail. There are no signs of its failure. We have equally enough faith in the patriotism of the young men of Canada to believe that they will continue to offer their services freely to defend their country wherever it needs to be defended.

D 12446

It should be added that the success of the voluntary system of raising money and the voluntary system of raising men alike depend upon the degree of active support given by our people. That is no less true of the use of compulsory methods. Compulsion will not work, except under a brutal and ruthless dictatorship, unless the overwhelming majority of the people support its application.

In all respects except one, the government has a complete mandate to use whatever methods, either voluntary or compulsory, are considered most likely to contribute to a total effort. The fact that the government has an unlimited mandate does not necessarily mean that it would be wise to adopt a particular method.

Let me illustrate what I meam. If the government should decide that it would be advisable to raise compulsory loans, it has a full mandate to do so, as long as it retains the confidence of Parliament. That does not mean that it would help the war effort to adopt compulsory loans.

On the other hand, if the government should decide that it would be advisable to raise men for service overseas, it has no such mandate. In fact the hands of the government are tied by a solemn pledge given to the people.

D 42447

The Issue in the Plebiscite

7. The Pledge

The pledge given by the government not to impose conscription for service overseas was not given in the heat of an election campaign. It was solemnly given, in Parliament, in the name of the government as a whole, on March 30th, 1939, before the outbreak of war. It was solemnly repeated in Parliament, in the name of the government as a whole on September 8, 1939, on the eve of the declaration of war. It was solemnly repeated again, in Parliament, in the name of the government as a whole, at the time of the fall of France, during the debate on the National Resources Mobilization Act.

An equally solemn pledge was given in the name of his whole party by the Honourable R. J. Manion, at the opening of the general elections campaign in 1940.

The commitment solemnly entered into by the government and the official opposition alike is the sole restriction upon the mandate of Parliament and the government to use any means necessary to the successful prosecution of the war. It is quite true that Parliament is not legally bound by this commitment, but it is equally true that it constitutes an obligation entered into in good faith by the government as a whole, and by the

D 42448

great majority of the members of Parliament. The removal of this obligation is not necessary to the legal authority of Parliament, but it is necessary if good faith is to be maintained with the people, and Parliament is to be vested with full moral authority to take any action which may become necessary to the security of Canada.

8. Responsible Government

In deciding to ask the people by means of a plebiscite to free the government from its pledge, the government is not abandoning responsible government. It is, in fact, seeking to restore full responsibility to Parliament and to the government. The government is not asking the people to decide whether or not conscription should be adopted. That is a military decision, as well as a political decision. To ask the people to make such a decision would be an abandonment of responsible government, which would be indefensible.

What the government is asking, and asking unanimously, is for the same freedom to make that decision as it now has to make all other decisions respecting the conduct of the war.

A decision as to the advisability of conscription for overseas service is not needed now. The need for it will not arise as long as the voluntary system of enlistment continues to work satisfactorily. The question of conscription is one on which the country is obviously divided. It has been the source of bitter controversy in the past. It must not be allowed to create disunity at this hour of gravest peril in the history of Canada.

D 42450

The enemy is the strongest we have ever faced. It will require our total united energies to defeat the enemy. There should be no surplus energy for controversy and dissention among Canadians. Dissention and division cannot help us; and it does help the enemy. That is something which should be remembered by all who feel inclined to extreme courses and to violent and intemperate language.

I appeal, above all, for the maintenance of a sense of proportion. Rightly viewed, the question of conscription for overseas service is merely a question of the method of raising men. Conscription is one method, voluntary enlistment is another. The government wants to be free to use whatever method will give the best results, when all factors are taken into account. If we are to have responsible government, the choice of methods must rest with the government. If the hands of the government are freed, the choice will rest with the government, subject only to its responsibility to Parliament. The government is asking the people to free our hands, and let there be no mistake about it, we want them to free our hands.

D 42451

The Issue in the Plebiscite

9. The Delay

The holding of the plebiscite will involve no delay whatever in raising men for the army. The government will continue actively with its policy of voluntary enlistment. And here let me appeal to every patriotic Canadian to do everything in his power to further the efforts of the government. So long as the government retains the confidence of Parliament, and with it, the responsibility for the wartime administration of Canada, it is entitled to the full support of every citizen. In saying that I am suggesting no limitation upon the right to criticize the policies of the government, or to suggest alternatives. Patriotism, however, demands that criticism remain within bounds. It should not be allowed to interefere with or to nullify the policies themselves, so long as they remain in force.

Not only is voluntary enlistment being actively maintained for the purpose of reinforcing existing army formations and building up the new formations, but the government is continuing to call up young men for compulsory military training and subsequent service in our second line of defence in Canada. The limitation upon their service

D 42452

is, in fact, no limitation upon Canada's total effort. However we raise our army a part of the army must always remain in Canada. These men are being given exactly the same training, under exactly the same conditions, as volunteers. They should therefore be just as well prepared for action as the men enlisted for service anywhere.

There are , moreover, more than 100,000 men enlisted for service in any part of the world on active service in Canada today. They are immediately available to support the men overseas. The time required for the holding of a plebiscite will, therefore, in no way interfere with the active prosecution of the military programme of the government in all its aspects.

In this connection I should like to quote from the Christmas message of General McNaughton, to the Canadian Corps. In his message, General McNaughton used these words: "From a very small beginning the Canadian army has now grown to many tens of thousands of men and women. New units and formations and reserves have come to us as quickly as ships could be found to bring them here."

D 42453

10. The Cost

In some quarters the plebiscite is opposed because of what is described as a "waste of money". It is of the utmost importance that all our available resources be devoted to the struggle in which Canada is engaged to defend the government of the people, by the people, for the people, and to uphold civilization based upon good faith among men, and the sanctity of the pledged word. In that struggle, Canada has already spent some three billion dollars since the outbreak of war. In the coming year we shall probably spend another three billions.

The government believes Canada is justified in spending these immense sums to defeat the external danger. It equally believes that the comparatively small price we shall be asked to pay to uphold at home government of the people, good faith, and the sanctity of the pledged word, is not too great a cost to be borne by any people who really believe in the cause for which they are fighting. It may well be doubted if many of us have made material sacrifices so great that we cannot afford the small sum required from each of us to uphold good faith, and to maintain in our people a respect for the pledged word of public men of all parties.

D 42454

The Issue in the Plebiscite

11. Reason for choosing plebiscite

I have shown that the voluntary system of raising men for the army overseas has not failed. I have indicated that there is no reason to suppose that it is going to fail. I have made it clear that there will be no delay in carrying out the army programme for the present year. I have said that so far as the army is concerned, there is at the present time no manpower crisis. In the light of these facts, there are no doubt many who fail to understand why a plebiscite is to be held. I shall try to answer that question very briefly.

The war has spread to every continent and every ocean. Our own continent and our own country are in danger of attack. No Canadian wants Canada to be attacked. We do not want the war to be fought on Canadian soil. The only way we can hope to prevent direct attack upon us is to do our full part to keep the enemy away from our shores. But let me remind you that there are German air bases in Western France which are no farther from Halifax and Quebec than Tokyo is from Pearl Harbour. But there is one great difference, between Tokyo and Pearl Harbour there is no Island of Britain. It is only an accident of geography that

D 42455

Britain has been attacked before Canada ~~is~~ was attacked. By defending Britain, and by holding back the enemy, we are defending Canada and the whole North American continent. We cannot tell what new and unexpected turns this war may take. From the very beginning it has been a war of surprises and shocks. The government has a heavy responsibility for the security of Canada. We believe that the changed situation of the world, and the changed conditions of war make it essential that the authority of the government should be just as complete as its responsibility.

As I have shown, our authority is limited in regard to the raising of men for military service overseas. We believe that it is essential to the safety of the Canadian people that their government be relieved of the limitation upon its authority. That limitation, as I have shown, is the result of a solemn pledge solemnly given in Parliament on three separate occasions. The government therefore decided to take the only honourable course open to it - to go to the people to whom the pledge was given and from whom Parliament and the government alike derive their authority, and to ask them to relieve us of our commitments.

(Then take in from last two paragraphs on page 56, to the end of the Prime Minister's speech on page 58, omitting both interruptions.)

D 42456

12. Conclusion: National Unity Paramount

The foundation of Canada's war effort is our national unity. If that foundation should be shattered the whole structure of our war effort would collapse. We are waging this war to uphold democratic institutions in our own country and in the world. The essence of democracy is faith in the people. The government is convinced that the unity of Canada can best be preserved by trusting the people. We believe that, once the people have spoken, every patriotic Canadian will accept their verdict.

Nothing will weaken our effort so much as controversy, dissension and division. By all means, let us have criticism, but let it be informed and intelligent criticism. Above all, let each of us look into his own heart and make quite sure that what he is seeking is really a greater Canadian effort without any trace of a mixture of motives. In striving towards a total effort all have a part to play. I do not hesitate to say that the first and most imperative duty of every citizen is, by every word and deed, to strive for the maintenance of the national unity on which all else rests.

D 42457

The supreme responsibility for the maintenance of our unity rests with Parliament and the government. We shall be blamed and, rightly blamed, if national unity is destroyed and the war effort is wrecked. It is not in Canada alone that the supreme importance of national unity to a total effort is stressed; it is the foremost consideration in the mind of the government of every nation at war.

In order to keep the record straight, let me pause here to interject a word about the other Dominions of the British Commonwealth. New Zealand alone has adopted compulsory methods for overseas service; the Australian system is precisely the same as our own: compulsory service for home defence and voluntary service outside Australia; in South Africa all military service is voluntary. In every case, the overriding consideration in determining the method has been concern for the maintenance of national unity.

I have interjected these observations for one reason only. I wished to remove certain misconceptions which have become current. I am not suggesting that the methods used in other countries are necessarily suitable or applicable to Canada. Mr. Churchill quite properly told us that the question of conscription for overseas service is a domestic question to be settled by Canadians. I believe that the Canadian people have sufficient self-respect

D 42458

and sufficient courage and initiative to settle their domestic problems, in the light of Canadian needs and Canadian circumstances. Canada will only be truly a nation if our people make their own decisions for themselves.

So far as Britain is concerned, so far as all our partners among the United Nations are concerned, it does not matter to them what methods we use in Canada to achieve a total effort; what matters to them and to the common cause is the achievement of a total war effort.

I appeal to all my fellow-citizens to put aside all considerations of race, of class, of creed, of section, and to consider only the interests of Canada as a whole. If we are divided we can neither defend ourselves nor do our part in crushing the enemies of mankind. As a united people we have already put forth an effort of which every true Canadian should be proud. If we remain united, the effort of Canada in this war may become so great that it will tip the scales on the side of victory. The very existence of Canada and everything for which Canada stands in the world: freedom, tolerance, justice and Christian civilization are in graver peril than ever before in history. Let us put aside our differences and speak with one united, resounding voice. Let no doubt remain that no sacrifice is too great for any Canadian who loves his home, his family, his country, and the eternal principles of truth and justice.

 The Question

D 42459

And let me make perfectly clear what we are going to ask the people. We are not going to ask them to approve the abandonment of the voluntary system; we believe in that system; we believe it will work. But the government wants to be free, in a crisis, to employ the men called up for compulsory service in any theatre of war in any part of the world where their service may be required for the defence of Canada in the widest sense of that term.

We shall continue to recruit the active army, which is enlisted for service in any part of the world, by voluntary means. That is the policy of the government which is charged with the responsibility of directing Canada's war effort. We shall maintain the voluntary system because we believe it will contribute more to a total war effort than the adoption of the compulsory system at the present stage and under present circumstances. I appeal to every Honourable Member, without distinction of party, and through Honourable Members, to the people of Canada to support that system and to put forth their utmost effort to make it work effectively.

If, at some time in the future the voluntary system ceases to be adequate and if, as I believe they will, the people consent to the removal of the existing limitation upon the freedom of action of the government, it will be time enough to meet the situation when it arises. I am confident that,

42460

should those circumstances arise the people of Canada will be able to meet the situation with the same unity and the same patriotism which has made possible the magnificent effort already put forth in this war.

D 42461

The Plebiscite

What the plebiscite is NOT:

1. Not a vote on overseas conscription -- that question can only be decided by Parliament;

Conscription

2. Not an evasion of responsibility -- but a request for full responsibility;

Responsibility

3. Not a cause of delay -- government's programme being carried out as rapidly as is physically possible;

Delay

4. Not impeding the adoption of a general manpower programme -- new measures to be announced shortly;

Manpower Policy

5. Not a postponement of selective service -- enlarged programme being worked out at present.

Selective Service

D 42462

What the plebiscite IS:

1. A reference by the government to the
Democratic the people who are the source of
the power of Parliament and government
alike;

2. A straightforward and honourable request
Pledge for a release from a pledge;

3. A desire for the removal of limitations upon
Limitations the authority of the government to
removed take any measures necessary for the
safety of Canada;

4. A precaution to enable Canada to meet a
future contingency which may never
arise;

5. A means of removing an excuse for irrelevant
Controversy and intemperate political controversy --
which threatened to impede the war effort
and to bring about dissention, division
and disunity.

D42463

THE PLEBISCITE

1.	The pledge - - - - - - - - - -	reason for, and nature of
2.	Why a release? - - - - - - - - - -	to remove excuse for controversy; to be prepared to meet an emergency.
3.	Responsible government - - - -	no evasion; no military or political decision left to people; people asked to give full authority to Parliament and the government.
4.	A moral issue - - - - - - - - -	good faith; solemn promises; mutual confidence between the people and public men.
5.	Delay - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	What is being delayed? Not production; not air training; not expansion of the navy <u>or the army</u>. Plebiscite has no relation to immediate programme.
6.	The Cost - - - - - - - - - - - - -	About $1,500,000 (perhaps less). Less than 15 cents for each Canada. Apart from paper required, no material will be used which is required for the war effort. Estimated cost is one-twentieth of one per cent. of estimated Canadian war expenditure in coming year.

D 42 A63-1

7. Vote "YES" - - - - - - - - - - - - -	No question that government wishes to be released; Freedom of action in a world-wide war essential; Keeping war from our shores.
8. No commitments for future - - - - -	"Yes" vote not a vote for conscription; but a vote to give government and Parliament a mandate to introduce conscription if it becomes essential to the security of Canada.

PURPOSE OF THE PLEBISCITE

D42464

The object of the plebiscite is to vest full moral authority in Parliament and the government to take all measures, ~~including conscription for overseas service,~~ which may become necessary to ensure the defence and security of Canada.

Its purpose is not to meet an immediate emergency, but to provide against a contingency which may ~~never~~ arise.

Re. Plebiscite

D 42465

1. The Bill - a general plebiscite act.

2. Purpose of plebiscite to remove a certain limitation

on freedom of action;

present position;

moral, not legal, obligation;

differences in position of government and opponents.

3. How did limitation arise?

issue conscription last war;

to preserve national unity;

by both parties - (see Manion's pledge - A)

recognized by Parliament:

March 1939, September 1939,

general election 1940, and Mobilization Act;

no conscription for home service;

4. ~~How~~ remove limitation now / change in war through government being placed in false position re: total effort;

Identified with one limitation whether a factor or not.

5. Canada in false position vis-a-vis partners in war -

U. S. and others.

6. Parliament in false position -

unable to discuss conscription on merits.

D 42466

7. What plebiscite is <u>for</u>:

full powers re freedom

8. What plebiscite is <u>not</u>:

decision for or against conscription.

9. Differences between referendum and plebiscite -

no political or military decision on people.

10. Re Responsible Government -

Parliament freeing the Ministry

not evasion, subterfuge or lack of courage.

11. Re Delay and Cost -

nothing being delayed: production, expansion of

navy or army;

plebiscite not related to immediate programme;

cost - small.

12. A moral issue -

good faith, promises, confidence of people in public men.

13. Attitude of opposition press -

for political reasons

becloud government's war record

becloud real issue.

D 42466-1

14. Conscription versus no conscription -

best serve the purpose

~~a dishonest business~~

removes legitimate excuse for controversy.

15. Position of parties:

Hanson's questions:

re future action

what action taken

(1) if plebisctire decides in affirmative

(2) " " indecisive ("enemy knocking at door")

(3) " " 27% of electorate

(4) " " carries in a number of provinces and not in one or two

(5) " large majority against

Questions ignore factors of most importance in decision:

State of war

State of country - "enemy knocking at the door"

(1) Commitments - (see page 39 of Hansard)

(2) I am not only Member of Government

(3) Matter of government policy made known in due course.

Mr Hanson — voluntary enlistment

Government's decision will be what will best serve the

effectiveness of Canada's war effort.

D 42467

Attitude of government vigorously for (see page 52 of Hansard)

16. Blank cheque - what government has now on everything except overseas service

17. Re conduct of campaign

time of campaign

18. Educational work

19. Re new order -

restore faith in democratic government

will of people to be respected,

pledges, treaties, contracts.

leadership of Nation & example

3 yrs - Parliament decide election in war time

- fair and just

Notes for Speech - House of Commons

February 25, 1942

D 42468

1. The Bill - a general plebiscite act.

2. Purpose of plebiscite to remove a certain limitation
   on freedom of action;
   present position;
   moral, not legal, obligation;
   differences in position of government and opponents.

3. How did limitation arise?
   issue conscription last war;
   to preserve national unity;
   by both parties - (see Manion's pledge - A)
   recognized by Parliament:
   March 1939, September 1939,
   general elction 1940, and Mobilization Act;
   no conscription for home service;

4. How remove limitation now change in war through government
   being placed in false position re: total effort;
   Identified with one limitation whether a factor or not.

5. Canada in false position vis-a-vis partners in war -
   U. S. and others.

6. Parliament in false position -
   unable to discuss conscription on merits.

D 42469

7. What plebiscite is <u>for</u>:

full powers re freedom

8. What plebiscite is <u>not</u>:

decision for or against conscription.

9. Differences between referendum and plebiscite -

no political or military decision on people.

10. Re Responsible Government -

Parliament freeing the Ministry

not evasion, subterfuge or lack of courage.

11. Re Delay and Cost -

nothing being delayed: production, expansion of

navy or army;

plebiscite not related to immediate programme;

cost - small.

12. A moral issue -

good faith, promises, confidence of people in public men.

13. Attitude of opposition press -

for political reasons

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D 42470

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15. Position of parties:

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D 42471

Attitude of government vigorously for (see page 52 of Hansard)

16. Blank cheque - what government has now on everything except overseas service

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pledges, treaties, contracts.

~~Notes dictated by P.M.~~

~~Copy for Mr~~

H. Pense

D 42472

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   on freedom of action;
   present position;
   moral, not legal, obligation;
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D 42473

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full powers re freedom

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12. A moral issue -

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13. Attitude of opposition press -

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D 42474

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D 42475

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time of campaign

18. Educational work

19. Re new order -

restore faith in democratic government

will of people to be respected,

pledges, treaties, contracts.

D 42476

Difference between Government and its opponents:

Both wish Government to have the power to conscript.

(a) Government wish to have it with authority of people - without violating pledge.

(b) Opponents without consulting people first, in view of condition on which it got its own

(c) Government do not intent to use it unless necessary - believe in voluntary speak of consequences.

(d) Opponents wish it used regardless of effects.

See Journal Article

No compulsion for sake of compulsion

Compulsion for sake of results.

D 42477

In regard to armed forces -

not (a) air

not (b) navy

but only (c) army

where not necessary at present time.

1. Speak first of

Total effort

How far achieved

2. Next of method - compulsory selective service

voluntary

or compulsion

how and how far applied.

3. Demonstrating govt. to have full power

now united at present

why consult

how proposed to obtain

D 42478

Plebiscite -

reasons for (Libs. to be freed

" against (not consult people

What words.

how appeal to be made

support by govt.

Result of:

No commitment,

in seeking to be freed of commitment;

a free hand.

aim.

Attitude of 2 parties towards pledges,

King,

Meighen.

D 42479

Dictated by the Prime Minister
January 25, 1942

A new issue has now been raised with respect to the government's method to free its hands of any previous commitments with respect to the methods of raising men for military service so as to possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

As to the wisdom of the government in desiring to possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise, there surely can be no difference of opinion between the government and any of its opponents, as to the means by which the government proposes to obtain that freedom as, however, giving rise to fresh controversy, and, in some quarters, to intense resentment.

Let us see clearly wherein the matter, the difference lies between the government and its opponents. The government wishes to have this right given by the people themselves in a manner which will enable it to be exercised, should the need arise, without it being said that the government had violated its pledge. The government's opponents wish the government to take this power without any regard to past commitments, and without any consultation with the people in reference to them. In other words, the government still attaches importance to the sanctity of pledges.

D 42480

Secret:

Interests re arguments for

The attitude of the government to a referendum

The government obviously cannot announce the holding of a referendum without giving a full explanation of the reason for doing so.

Theoretically two attitudes are possible:

1. The matter to be left entirely to the people themselves without guidance from the government.
2. The government to indicate the reasons which make it desirable (it is not necessary to say vital) to be relieved of its pledge and free to act as circumstances demand for the defence of Canada.

The first alternative is open to the following objections.

1. It would be charged that it was an abdication of leadership. The government alone is in possession of the facts on which an intelligent decision can be made. It was given by an overwhelming vote, the responsibility for directing the war effort and it therefore has the duty to give the people guidance on a question which must necessarily be of paramount importance or the holding of a referendum

D 42481

would not be justified at all.

2. Without an agreed position, some members of the Cabinet would inevitably take one side and some the other; cabinet solidarity would be destroyed, and, whatever the result of the vote, it would become virtually impossible for the present government to carry on with anything like its present composition.

3. If, as is not impossible unless guidance is given to the people, Quebec's majority was on one side and the rest of the country on the other, national unity would be in graver peril than it was in 1917.

4. The failure of the government to give a clear lead would almost certainly have an adverse effect in the United States, where it would be interpreted as a luke-warm attitude to the prosecution of the war.

There are, no doubt, other objections to this alternative scarcely less weighty.

The other alternative would have many advantages, among which the following are the most striking:

D 42482

1. It would be conclusive evidence of firm, moderate and democratic leadership.

2. It would maintain the solidarity of the government and take the initiative completely away from the Opposition which would have no choice but to follow the lead of the Government.

3. The whole weight of the Prime Minister's immense prestige in Quebec would almost certainly carry that province, particularly if it is pointed out:

(1) that Laurier favoured a referendum

(11) that the law would be administered by men who had always respected the confidence reposed in them by French Canadians.

(111) that the United States which is in no greater danger than Canada already had such a law

(1V) that the division of the country on a question of <u>method</u> would be fatal

(V) that the government would not act without a popular verdict.

(V1) that agriculture was a vital war industry and measures would be taken simultaneously to safeguard its interests. This would please the Catholic Clergy who fear conscription mainly for its unsettling effects on rural life.

4. A positive stand by the government would be understood and appreciated in the United States and would not endanger good relations.

D 42483

In stating the government's position the following points are suggested for consideration.

1. Sudden shifts in war require quick decisions; appalling power of the enemy requires organization on scale not conceived in 1939 or early 1940; desirability of a free hand to meet unexpected dangers to Canada's existence.

2. Danger touches our very shores; need of taking every possible steps to keep danger from the Canadian skies by going out to meet it.

3. United States in same geographical position as Canada. Congress has removed all restrictions on the use of United States forces; We could not use men called up to defend Newfoundland or even Seattle; we should be ablen to reciprocate in joint defence.

4. While voluntary principle has not yet failed to secure men required for the armed forces, we should take no risk of leaving our men exposed with lack of support.

5. Selective Service required to protect agriculture and war industry. Just as important to keep men needed for food production or munitions production out of the armed forces, as to get other men in.

6. Will give government freedom to use manpower to the best possible advantage.

D 42484

7. No intention of using compulsory principle for undue expansion of army at the expense of other services.

8. Democratic approach; Government trusts people and asks similar confidence from them.

9. Not a question of a greater effort - Canada already committed to a maximum effort; merely a question of method: of efficiency of the effort.

10. Danger to national unity of a controversy over methods; controversy would weaken our effort; all must be prepared loyally to accept the national verdict

Re-draft: COMPULSION FOR OVERSEAS SERVICE

JWP/MS
January 23, 1942

(Pages 1 - 8 already revised
by P.M. on January 17th)

D 42485

The removal of the moral obligation

I come finally to a question which, I know, is disturbing many honest minds. It is a question which, unfortunately, is arousing controversy which is obscuring the magnitude and the balanced nature of our war effort. Should this controversy reach serious proportions it would not merely impair our present effort, but it might threaten the unity of purpose on which our future efforts depend.

I shall endeavour to discuss the question without passion or prejudice. I hope and believe it can be debated on a level befitting the gravity of the subject. The results of our deliberations in this Parliament may well have far-reaching consequences, not for our war effort alone, but for the unity and future welfare of Canada.

I refer, of course, to the controversy which has arisen concerning commitments made by members of the administration and the majority of the members of Parliament with respect to the methods of raising men for military service. These commitments were made prior to the spread of war to all parts of the world.

In this connection, it might be pointed out that, unless responsible government is to be abandoned altogether

D 42486

in Canada, the decision as to whether a particular course of action will contribute to a total war effort must continue to rest with the duly constituted government, subject only to its responsibility to Parliament. Whatever government is in office, at a time of war, has the responsibility for deciding what measures are best calculated to be effective in the winning of the war; it has an equal responsibility to decide what methods it is best to apply, and the time at which, and the extent to which, specific measures should be adopted, and specific methods applied. The government is, or at least it should be, the best judge of these matters. The government alone has access to all available knowledge of the factors of which account should be taken in reaching wise and right decisions.

Since Parliament ~~adjourned~~ in November, the area of conflict has spread to all parts of the world; the menace to the security of our country is no longer remote, but, in fact, lurks already in our very coastal waters. The time has come when the government believes it is necessary to our national safety that it should be free to act, in all particulars, on its best judgment based upon the knowledge which it alone possesses. That freedom, in one particular, the present government unfortunately does not possess at the present time.

D 42487

In thus stating the position of the government, I am not discussing the strict legal position. It may well be that, legally, there is no limitation upon the freedom of action of the government. I am referring rather to the moral position; to the sanctity of the pledged word; and to the maintenance of good faith with the people. The position taken with regard to conscription for overseas service by the leaders and by many members of all political parties during the war-time elections in March, 1940; and the position equally taken by this Parliament in expressly limiting compulsory service to the Canadian territory and territorial waters, is one which no government with a sense of responsibility to the people can lightly abandon. Certainly, no government would be morally justified in abandoning that position without action on the part of Parliament.

In view of the moral obligation by which many, if not the majority of the members of the present Parliament, including all members of the present Administration, feel themselves bound, it is questionable whether Parliament itself would be justified in enacting legislation to empower the government to extend compulsion to service overseas, without further reference of the question to the people in the first instance.

D 42488

We are all aware that this is no ordinary question of policy; we know that it aroused bitter controversy in the past; and we believe it is the duty of the government to take every means of avoiding similar dissention and division in the midst of the most desperate struggle in our history. The use of compulsion in raising men for military service outside Canada would be contrary to the will of the people, as the majority, at least, believe it to have been expressed at the time this Parliament was elected. Parliament itself showed due regard to that expression of the will of the people in June, 1940, in enacting the National Resources Mobilization Act.

It should not be forgotten that, at the time of the general elections in March, 1940, and even at the time of the enactment of the N.R.M.A., in June, 1940, it appeared to many that the theatre of war would be confined to Europe. At the time of the elections, Germany was the sole aggressor; at the time of the passing of the N.R.M.A., Italy had entered the war in Germany's wake, and France was on the point of collapse. For many months after June, 1940, the actual conflict, however, was still confined to Europe and the North Atlantic.

D 42489

Had the theatre of war been restricted to Europe, the situation today would have been vastly different from that which has since developed. With the entry of Japan into the war as an axis partner, and with the consequent entry of the United States as a full partner in the war against the Axis, the world is confronted with war on every continent and every ocean. Even the Western Hemisphere can no longer be considered immune from direct attack. The danger, as I have said, is a world-encircling danger. ~~All~~ its ~~terrible~~ possibilities are being felt on the coasts of Canada, both on the Atlantic and the Pacific. It should be obvious to all that the government's hands should no longer be tied in any way. The Government should be free to take, at any moment, whatever action it believes necessary to the security of Canada. Since the security of Canada depends upon the defeat of the enemy, freedom of action for the government can only mean that the government should be free to take whatever steps it judges to be necessary to the winning of the war.

We have all come to see, the world has come to see, that for any and every country, what is at stake is not anything so restricted as a particular geographical area, but the freedom of all countries. With freedom already lost to many countries formerly free, it is the supreme task of every country that still possesses freedom to preserve its freedom in every one of its

D 42490

many aspects. To preserve that freedom, the enemy has to be met and attacked and, so far as may be possible, destroyed wherever his forces seek to pursue their aggressive designs.

Where 26 nations are fighting together, as united nations, to preserve their own and each other's freedom, and to restore freedom to those countries which, for the time being, have been robbed of their freedom, the utmost in the way of effective co-operation is imperative. To be sure at all times of being able to co-operate fully, the Government itself must be free.

That is why the Government proposes to ask the people of Canada to give us that freedom. We are not going to ask the people to decide what measures should be taken; we are merely asking for complete freedom for the Government to make such decisions. This does not mean that the Government intends to depart from any of the policies it has pursued up to the present, and which I have fully outlined this afternoon. It means that the Government wishes to have the right to employ all our resources of men and materials without restriction of any kind, either as to time or place, as, in the exercise of our best judgment and in the light of our great responsibility, we may deem necessary in the interests of the freedom and security of the people of Canada themselves.

D 42491

The people are entitled to express their views

In an address I delivered to the Board of Trade of Vancouver on June 30th, 1941, I made it abundantly clear that, so long as I remained at ~~the~~ its head, ~~of~~ the government would not go behind the batk of Parliament and the people and repudiate its solemn pledge. In order that the record may be clear, I wish to repeat today what I said on that occasion. With the permission of the House I shall read the relevant paragraphs:

(Here insert passage from Vancouver speech, beginning "The policy of the government regarding conscription" ...and concluding "....to preserve their very existence.")

That position was re-iterated in this House on November 12th last, My words on that occasion will be found in the Unrevised Hansard at page 4672.

The announcement in the Speech from the Throne that the government would seek from the people, by means of a plebiscite, release from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service is in complete accord with the position taken in June and again in November of last year.

D 42492

In announcing its policy in the Speech from the Throne, the government has not turned its back on Parliament. It has come instead to Parliament and presented its policy to the representatives of the people. If the people's representatives uphold the government in the vote on the Address, it is proposed to hold the plebiscite as soon as it is possible to make the necessary arrangements for taking the vote.

The question the people are asked to answer is framed in the following words:

(Here insert question)

I need hardly add that the request to be addressed to the people is the unanimous request of the Administration fully and unitedly supported by all its members.

I wish to make it perfectly clear that the government in holding a plebiscite is not seeking to avoid responsibility; on the contrary we are asking the people to give the government greater responsibility than it possesses at the present time. The administration is seeking, subject only to its responsibility to Parliament, complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgments of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

D 42493

No change of policy involved

The necessity of the plebiscite has not arisen by virtue of any need, at the present stage of the war, of a change in policy on the part of the government in its method of raising men for military service. The government is not asking the people to settle a question of policy; the administration is charged with the duty of determining policy, and has every intention of accepting its full responsibility so long as it retains the confidence of Parliament.

We believe, however, that the administration should no longer be limited in its exercise of that responsibility. We are, therefore, taking the only straightforward, honest and democratic course open to us, by going back to the people from whom Parliament and the government alike derive their power with a request for freedom from a solemn and binding commitment made to the people. If consultation of the people is betrayal of the people, we have no cause to be ashamed of our betrayal.

The question of using compulsion to recruit men for overseas service is a question of method. If the people release the government from its present commitment, and I am confident they will so release us, the government will

D 42494

then be free to decide the question of using compulsion for overseas service, on the merits of that one question alone.

In asking the people to release the government from one commitment, we have no intention of making other commitments for the future. All I am prepared to say is that there is no present intention of abandoning the voluntary system of enlistment for army service overseas.

The Active Army has reached its present strength of over a quarter of a million men without resort to the use of compulsory methods of recruitment. In recommending the army programme for the period up to March 31, 1943, the military advisers of the government have themselves expressed the belief that it can be carried through successfully without resort to compulsion. The government is equally of that opinion.

It may be that time will show that the government and its advisers are wrong in their judgment. That is, of course, a possibility. But until time has proved us wrong, the policy of the government will remain what it is, at present, a policy of raising men for enlistment in the overseas army by voluntary means.

If, as I believe firmly they will, the people consent to the removal of the existing limitations upon

D 42495

the freedom of action of the government, and if, at some time in the future, the voluntary system ceases to be adequate to the needs of the army, such a situation can speedily be met when it arises. The government will then have to take whatever course seems, in the light of all the circumstances, and with due regard for its responsibility to Parliament, best and wisest to meet the situation.

It is the considered view of the government that the course of action now proposed removes all excuse for controversy concerning the method of raising men for military service. It is our earnest hope that it will receive united support in Parliament and the widest possible support throughout the country, and that the energies which might have been dissipated in controversy will be coneentrated once more upon achieving a maximum war effort.

(Then consideration might be given to taking in J.W.P.'s earlier draft (Jan. 16) from page 19).

January 12, 1942

D 42496

Re: Conscription

Procedure.

Debate on the Address:

Divide the House on the Address on a vote of confidence.

If any amendment moved, to be regarded as a Want of Confidence Motion.

At a later stage amend National Resources Act.

An amendment will be moved for full out conscription.

An amendment to the amendment to be moved, providing for question to be left to the people in a referendum on question of giving to the government discretion to decide when and if national selective service may be applied to sending military forces overseas.

Referendum a last resort.

Re: Conscription otherwise = deception -

building war effort on the sands of deception instead of on the rock of truth and good faith with the electorate. from which the power of parliament and the people alike is derived.

N 025

January 12, 1942

D 42496

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N 025

REPEAT
REPETITION

Draft Outline

D 42497

NO IMMEDIATE NEED FOR CONSCRIPTION

1. Voluntary system is working:

Active Army	at November 1:	230,000
	at December 1:	240,000
	at January 1:	260,000

2. Government believes men can continue to be raised voluntarialy if full co-operation is accorded

3. A larger army establishment than programme outlined could not be justified at this stage because of:

   (a) danger of weakening other essential activities

   (b) need of looking ahead to maintenance throughout a long war

4. What counts in total effort is to get the men needed for the army, <u>not the method of getting them</u>.

5. It is the policy of the government to maintain the voluntary system, as long as it works, and to improve methods in every possible way.

6. Purpose of plebiscite is <u>not</u> to meet an existing situation but to <u>ensure</u> against future contingencies by giving the government full authority to meet them.

D 42497-1

7. No more reason why government should announce at this stage what its policy will be in case of breakdown of the voluntary system of raising men than there is why it should announce what its policy will be in case of breakdown of the voluntary system of raising loans.

8. There are plenty of immediate problems to solve without giving hypothetical solutions to problems which have not yet arisen.

9. National safety demands that Parliament and the government have full authority to meet all contingencies.

Secret

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER: D 42498

Re: Plebiscite

To judge from comment in Editorials, news reports and in conversation, there would appear to be one point about which ordinary people, as distinguished from the organized opponents of the government, are really disturbed.

This point is that it has not been made perfectly clear that conscription is not needed now to carry out the existing and proposed army programme. The opposition are still getting away with their propaganda that the voluntary system has already broken down, and the government has no policy to meet that situation. The Prime Minister's statement on Page 40 of Hansard, that "the issue thus narrowed to conscription for overseas service in the army relates only to a possible future contingency, since up to the present the active army has secured the necessary recruits on a voluntary basis", is being entirely ignored.

It is less than fair to the government itself to be left in that position. Unless the government is prepared to say flatly that the voluntary system is working, and that they believe it will continue to work, they are without any effective answer to the critics who say the government is without any policy at all and who demand that the government tell the people what their policy will be if the plebiscite carries.

-- Attached is a skeleton outline of the kind of reply which might be made to this point.

J. W. P.

January 29, 1942.

Prime Minister

I strongly endorse it now: I would add to the point that with statistics about cost as being considered, a statement about co-operation (i.e. conscription) could wait to make later.

D 42499

5. Delay occasioned by plebiscite will involve no risk

It may be objected that the holding of a plebiscite will involve some delay and that, in the interval, a crisis might arise in which it might be desirable for the government to act immediately to support the army overseas. For all practical purposes, there is no such risk. I can make this plain by a hypothetical example. Should the Canadian Corps go into action in the next few weeks, and in this war that is a possibility at any moment, and should the troops suffer heavy casualties, how would they be re-inforced? In the first instance, re-inforcements would be sent from the holding units in Britain. The holding units in turn would be re-inforced, as rapidly as transport could be arranged, from enlisted men in Canada. The maintenance of an army in the field is a continuous process. The whole of the Active Army, except in an extreme emergency, would never be overseas at any one time. Re-inforcements must always be in training in Canada. It is from their ranks, and, if need be, from the ranks of men engaged on active duty in Canada, that the holding units overseas would be re-inforced. There are well over one hundred thousand men in the active army in Canada enlisted for service anywhere. The troops serving in Newfoundland and the other islands in the Atlantic are, of course, also available for service anywhere in the world. As more of the men called up for

D 42500

compulsory training become available for service, they will be able to replace more enlisted men on duty in Canada. The enlisted men, in turn, will be available for despatch to any theatre of war in which their services are needed. Enlisted men are, in other words, already available to meet any foreseeable emergency which might arise in the next few weeks. And their numbers are growing every day.

Moreover, the government will continue to call men up for training and service under the National Resources Mobilization Act. A few thousand have already completed their training and been assigned to active duty. These numbers will grow. They will probably never be large, because their numbers are now limited by the requirements of men for active service in the territorial defence of Canada. Once the consent of the people to the removal of the limitation upon their service has been secured, they would constitute a final reserve which could be drawn upon in the last extremity.

In this connection, the defence of Newfoundland has become an integral part of the territorial defence of Canada. In like manner, as a consequence of the Ogdensburg agreement, the territorial defence of the United States, since its entry into the war, has become virtually an integral part of the territorial defence of Canada. The government ~~proposes~~ should move accordingly, without waiting for the results of the proposed

D 42501

plebiscite, to ask Parliament to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act in order to bring it into conformity with these strategic considerations.

Probably belle 1 Oct 1/90

To sum up briefly then, the policy of the government with respect to military service is:

(1) to send in the light of other commitments, the maximum armed force overseas to Canada's front line of defence. For this purpose we want to send the best men possible, and that is why we shall continue to rely on the voluntary system to the very limit of its effectiveness;

(2) to ask the people, by plebiscite, to agree releasing the Government
to free our hands by ~~removing the territorial limitation~~ from the obligation etc
~~on the National Resources Mobilization Act so that, in a crisis, we will be able to re-inforce our voluntary army from the compulsory reserve;~~

(3) to continue to build up the reserve for our second line of defence, by compulsory military training and service, and to ask Parliament to amend the law to bring it into conformity with the fact that our second line of defence includes the whole continent of North America and the adjacent islands.

Cost of Plebiscite

Dictated by J.W.P.
Jan. 26, 1942

D 42502

I have already pointed out that Canada has spent three billion dollars on the present war to preserve government by the people, and to uphold the sanctity of the pledged word. I have indicated that the present estimate of expenditures for this purpose in the coming year is a further three billion dollars. Surely, if we are justified, as all are agreed we are justified, in making these huge expenditures to defend democratic institutions from the external assaults of tyrants, we are equally justified in expending the comparatively small sums required to keep faith with our own people, and to uphold democratic institutions at home. It might be added that just as was the case with the national registration of 1940, the co-operation of the public will enable the government to keep the cost of the proposed consultation of the people down to a minimum.

Moreover it would be false economy and false psychology to count too closely the cost of maintaining the faith of the people in the integrity of their public men and their institutions.

(1) (Deux membres)

D 42503

Peut-être n'est-il plus [illegible] seulement
un élément } un semestre seulement

~~Scandale~~
Polity submergé à Londres
à Smolensk

Fondation des forces

~~Hier~~

Réunion à Nancy

Calls for 8 000
25 000 maximum
65 000 - renforcements

Examiné

21

No shortage of coal?

No wrangle D 42504

No shortage — for
present week

Two shortages in February
& one also one day.

Plebiscite — not become
compulsory voting at poll
nor even
compulsory voting for Parl

Plebiscite voting of 801
not the first in Australia
Sheffield always takes
a plebiscite — responsible ?
any arrangement that they agree
to per Opposition last & subsequent
times, for Commonwealth

3/-

D42505

[illegible]

18.II.42

D 42506

Is not a correct inference to be drawn from the statement of govt. policy in Speech from Throne?

The very opposite inference might be drawn with equal justice.

If admendment had been drawn in opposite terms, I would have equally condemned it.

Statement of policy.

Made clear in speech on address - question to be submitted.

On order paper is resolution for plebiscite.

Is it permissible to present in the form of amendment to the address a statement that would not be permitted in debate - if challenged by govt.?

If statement were true, would it not anticipate govt. policy, and as such be out of order as a motion to be debated at this time?

Say to mover and seconder:

(1) They place their province in a false position before rest of Canada as a province that would be unwilling to allow the govt. of the country to do that which it believes to be most in the interest of the country.

D42507

At fall of France H. of C. rallied to united effort.

Situation graver than at time of France.

D 42508

From Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy:

referendum means the decision of a political question, partly by the direct votes of the people, partly by representative institutions.

From Concise Oxford Dictionary:

plebiscite(plebs - commons; scitum - decree) direct vote of all electors of State on important public question; public expression of community's opinion, with or without binding force

referendum: referring of certain political questions under certain circumstances to the electorate for direct decision by a general vote on the single question.

The present Parliament of Canada was elected in March, 1940. It contains not half a dozen Members whose election programme included a positive advocacy of conscription for overseas service. It contains more than two hundred Members who asked for the support of their respective electors on the pledge that they would not support a policy of conscription for overseas service. The leaders of the Opposition groups, as well as the Ministers of the Crown, made it quite clear that they were not advocating a policy of conscription for service overseas. In effect, the whole House of Commons was elected upon this basis.

(3)

D-42509

D 42510

Vol. LXXX.—No. 3

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICAL REPORT—DAILY EDITION

Monday, January 26, 1942

OTTAWA
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1942

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CONTENTS

Monday, January 26, 1942.

Reports and Papers 25

Petroleum and Naphtha Inspection Act. Bill No. 2, providing for repeal of, Mr. Gibson. 25

National Flag. Provision for authorization and approval. Bill No. 3, Mr. LaCroix (Quebec-Montmorency), first reading 25

Sugar. Rationing in Canada and United States—Beet Sugar Capacity, Mr. Blackmore, Mr. Mackenzie King 25

Japanese Nationals. Request for statement as to removals from Pacific Coast, Mr. Reid, Mr. Mackenzie King 25

Labour Conditions. Kirkland Lake Strike—Proposals for settlement, Mr. Gillis, Mr. McLarty 26

Address in Reply to Governor-General's Speech. Continuation of debate by:

Mr. Hanson (York-Sunbury) 26

Amendment 37

Mr. Mackenzie King 37

Mr. Coldwell 58

Amendment to amendment 62

Debate adjourned on motion of Mr. Blackmore 64

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker: The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN

MONDAY, January 26, 1942.

The house met at three o'clock.

REPORTS AND PAPERS

Hon. C. W. G. GIBSON (Minister of National Revenue): I desire to lay on the table of the house the report of the Department of National Revenue for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1941. In so far as export petroleum and pulpwood regulations, established under chapter 63 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, are concerned, none have been promulgated since the last return was made to parliament.

PETROLEUM

REPEAL OF PETROLEUM AND NAPHTHA INSPECTION ACT

Hon. C. W. G. GIBSON (Minister of National Revenue) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 2, to repeal the Petroleum and Naphtha Inspection Act.

He said: The Petroleum and Naphtha Inspection Act was originally passed in 1877, at a time when gasoline was a by-product. The main purpose of the act was to safeguard users of coal oil from the adulteration of coal oil with gasoline. Owing to the greatly increased demand for and use of gasoline, the provisions of this act are no longer necessary and are a needless expense.

Motion agreed to and bill read the first time.

NATIONAL FLAG

PROVISION FOR AUTHORIZATION AND APPROVAL

Mr. WILFRID LACROIX (Quebec-Montmorency) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 3, to provide for the flags of Canada.

Some. hon. MEMBERS. Explain.

Mr. LACROIX (Quebec-Montmorency): The purpose of this bill is to empower the governor in council to create a national flag for Canada, the only nation in the world which does not possess or fly a distinctive national flag. Our country is voluntarily doing its full share in this war, and doing so as an independent and sovereign nation; therefore the time has come for a flag that will express the sovereignty of the Canadian people and the Canadian parliament, just as the Union Jack represents the sovereignty of the United Kingdom—in other words, of the parliament at Westminster.

A Canadian flag will stand for national freedom, commonwealth fellowship and national unity, and be a rallying force in the defence of the nation. Furthermore, it is a natural consequence of the adoption of the Statute of Westminster ten years ago, by which Canada was designated a sovereign nation.

Motion agreed to and bill read the first time.

SUGAR

RATIONING IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES —BEET SUGAR CAPACITY

On the orders of the day:

Mr. J. H. BLACKMORE (Lethbridge): I should like to direct a question to the Prime Minister. Why has the sugar ration in Canada been set at three-quarters of a pound per person while in the United States it is fixed at one pound? Again, have any steps been taken or has any plan been made to increase Canada's beet sugar productive capacity by the building of factories? If not, why not?

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): The question is one which the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ilsley) would wish to answer. It is also a question that might best stand on the order paper to be answered at a subsequent sitting of the house.

JAPANESE NATIONALS

REQUEST FOR STATEMENT AS TO REMOVALS FROM PACIFIC COAST

On the orders of the day:

Mr. THOMAS REID (New Westminster): May I ask the Prime Minister a question? In view of the many statements appearing in the press in British Columbia in connection with the removal of Japanese from the coast,

I was wondering if, some day soon, the Prime Minister would make an official statement regarding the matter, as many of us, many of the people of British Columbia, are in doubt as to what is going to happen.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): I will try to meet the wishes of the people of British Columbia by giving the fullest possible information with respect to the working out of the government's policy in relation to the Japanese in the province. What may be the best moment to make the statement I am unable to say offhand. Perhaps, meanwhile I shall have a chance to confer with my hon. friend, I will see that the statement is made in due course.

LABOUR CONDITIONS

KIRKLAND LAKE STRIKE—PROPOSALS FOR SETTLEMENT

On the orders of the day:

Mr. CLARENCE GILLIS (Cape Breton South): On Friday the hon. member for Vancouver East (Mr. MacInnis) made inquiry with reference to the situation at Kirkland Lake. The acting minister said that he would have some information on the question on Monday. I wonder if he is prepared to give the house that information.

Hon. N. A. McLARTY (Secretary of State): Yes. As suggested by the hon. member for Cape Breton South, I did make inquiries, and the Minister of Labour did furnish me with the information desired by the hon. member for Vancouver East. I am advised that the minister has received various communications from union officials which at first he regarded as accepting the proposals, but more recent advices indicate that certain qualifications of the procedure are requested. No formal reply has been received from the mine operators.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S SPEECH

CONTINUATION OF DEBATE ON ADDRESS IN REPLY

The house resumed from Friday, January 23, consideration of the motion of Mr. Alphonse Fournier for an address to His Excellency the Governor General in reply to his speech at the opening of the session.

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, we are met here again, at the beginning of the third session of this parliament, under conditions which stagger and appal our thoughts and imagination. Literally the whole world is at war, and we as Canadians are, by free choice and inclination, belligerents in the most momentous conflict in the world's history.

Since we parted in November last, the world has moved on from one tragic event to another in such quick succession as to well-nigh appal the most stout-hearted, and to cause all of us to search our minds and our hearts in an effort to comprehend the meaning and the implications of total war, which now has involved not only the western world but the eastern as well, and threatens to engulf us all.

On a quiet Sunday in December, while most of us were endeavouring to enjoy a day of rest after a week of anxiety over the situation in Russia and Libya, came the treacherous and shattering attack on Pearl Harbour. What an hour of crisis in the world's history! What an hour of crisis for the people of the United States, their government still dealing in good faith with the government of Japan, in an earnest effort to avoid the extension of hostilities to the Far East! And what an hour of crisis for this Canada of ours! Living side by side with the United States, we are conscious that every step taken on the part of the axis powers brings the war that much nearer to this nation.

The government acted promptly in the formal matter of declaring war. It did not wait to call parliament. It pursued the correct constitutional practice and assumed the responsibility for its action. That is responsible government under our system and practice.

Did the government have a mandate to declare war on Japan? It did not. It did not require a mandate. Knowing the situation, it assumed the responsibility which, by every principle of responsible government, belongs to representative government, and went through the formality of declaring war on Japan, trusting that parliament and public opinion would sustain its action.

Now that the whole world is at war, now that Canada is at war with all the axis powers, now that we are endangered along with our neighbour on the west coast, this country must face the whole position realistically, and begin for the first time to wage total war with total effort. We have professed to be waging total war. We have accomplished much since September, 1939. But we have never even up to this minute really waged total war. The Prime Minister has on many occasions preached the doctrine of total war, but, he, more than any other man in Canada, has found himself cabin'd, cribb'd, confined, by his own commitments.

The Minister of National Defence (Mr. Ralston) not so many months ago, uttered a stirring challenge in these eloquent words:

I believe we shall win, not simply because we say so, but because Canada, along with the other democracies, will stop at nothing which can be effectively done to ensure that the forces

of evil shall be stamped out, that the menace of slavery shall be banished, and that free men and their families may enjoy the liberty which, until this struggle began, we in this dominion had somehow taken for granted. We cannot take it for granted any longer. The menace is against Canada, as well as against the rest of the world.

Noble words those, my countrymen! But the minister is fettered by the commitments of the ministry, which prevent the fulfilment of the aims so eloquently portrayed by him in the quotation I have just read. And because everyone in this house and every thinking citizen in this country knows that in this hour of grave national crisis we must, each for himself, determine that we shall have total war, come what may, I call upon parliament to deal, and deal at once, with that crisis.

What happened at Pearl Harbour may happen at Esquimalt. What happened 160 miles off Halifax may happen at Halifax. What happened 60 miles off Long Island may happen at Sydney, Saint John or Quebec. To-day the fate of Canada, of Australia, of the British empire, of all the democracies and of democratic civilization is being determined in Malaya, in the Philippines, in Libya and in the snows of Russia, and shortly it may be in Britain itself, if invasion is attempted in the spring.

And what must our contribution be? I give the answer in the words of Mr. Churchill, spoken in this very chamber less than a month ago in the hearing of most of us:

The enemy ranged against us . . . have asked for total war. Let us make sure they get it.

And speaking in Washington to the congress of that great democracy Mr. Churchill said:

Provided that every effort is made, that nothing is kept back, that the whole man-power, brain-power, virility, valour and virtue of the English-speaking world, with all its galaxy of loyal friends, are associated in a common community or state, we can be reunited by the simple but supreme good.

Again, in this chamber, Mr. Churchill summed up in these eloquent words the duty of each and all of us:

There is no room now for the dilettante, for the weakling, for the shirker or the sluggard; the mine, the factory, the dockyard, the salt sea waves, the fields to till, the home, the hospital, the chair of the scientist, the pulpit of the preacher—from the highest to the humblest, the tasks all are of equal honour. All have their part to play.

The enemy, Mr. Churchill said, have asked for total war: let us make sure they get it. And what is Canada doing to make sure they get it? The Prime Minister has stated, not once but a dozen times, that total war must be waged by total effort. But have we total effort? Are we not shackled by a dangerous and paralyzing restrictions, restrictions which are of the government's own making, restrictions which were imposed by the government without any mandate from the people, restrictions which would not be imposed to-day in the light of present-day conditions, restrictions which are impeding the fulfilment of the government's own pledges, made after we had concluded the first comfortable period of our war effort, which was to be a moderate contribution, a moderate participation?

During the past few months I have travelled from Halifax to Victoria, and have to the best of my ability sounded public opinion. I listened as intelligently and as intently as it was possible for me to do. During this period events have happened with tragic rapidity. There has been Hong Kong; there has been Pearl harbour. These tragic events have brought about a tremendous change in public opinion in every part of Canada. Months ago, when the Prime Minister first preached total effort for total war, it was not interpreted by each of us as having a personal application; the total effort was to be for the other fellow, not for us as individuals. But I am convinced that to-day, without a full mobilization, a full marshalling, a full pooling of the complete resources, both of man-power and of materials, of this nation and of all the democracies, we cannot wage total war, and victory may elude us.

I desire to ask this house and the country two questions: Has Canada fully mobilized her material resources? Has Canada fully mobilized her man and woman power to wage total war? These are, I repeat, two vital questions which face parliament to-day. We as the elected representatives of the people must face these two questions man-fashion. It will not do to leave them to the government. If we do so we abdicate our functions as the elected representatives of the people, and we may as well declare that we are no longer a democracy. No. Parliament must face these two questions. We must no longer tolerate the making of government policy by order in council. I appeal to every hon. member in this house to join with me in urging that parliament, that this House of Commons, assume the responsibility of seeing that the supreme objective of waging total war by total effort is attained.

These two questions face us, and what is the answer? We all know in our hearts that the answer is in the negative. If we are honest with ourselves we can give no other answer. That being so, we must then determine what further steps must and shall be taken.

Now, what are the requisites of total war as applied to Canada at this critical juncture of our history? I have given considerable thought to this problem, and here is my blueprint of the principles underlying a total war effort for Canada to-day. It may not be complete, but such as it is I offer it to the house and to the country.

1. To muster, equip and train as many and as strong forces as possible to meet and defeat the enemy in whatever threatre of war he may be found.

2. To defend Canada and to prevent the invasion of Canada. And I point out, without arguing the question, that there is a distinction between the two.

3. To mobilize by any and every necessary means the wealth and material resources of the nation in order to provide the implements of war for our armed forces and to provide for the other services which are necessary for the carrying out of total war.

4. To mobilize and organize Canadian agriculture to produce and supply to our armed forces and to our allies as much food as it is possible to transport to them, as well as to supply our civilian population.

5. To mobilize and organize Canadian industry to produce as great quantities of armament and munitions as our facilities and available materials will permit.

6. To build and man transport ships and more ships to carry our products of food, munitions and armament to the scene of conflict.

7. Finally, and perhaps not so important, to mobilize and organize the material wealth and resources of the nation, and such of the personnel of its civilian population as are not immediately required for the armed forces and other war services, to ensure the continuance, under restricted conditions, of such peace-time activities and supplies as are reasonably necessary to maintain the physical and mental health of our own people.

Nothing less than these seven propositions will fulfil that theory and practice, if we are serious and mean what we say when we pledge ourselves to total war. In order to accomplish this the man and woman power and the total material resources of the nation, without any limitation, must be marshalled—pooled, if necessary—and put to work. It must be done on a selective basis if the best results are to flow from the effort. It may be that someone else will put these requisites in a different order. That does not matter.

In June, 1940, under great pressure, this government caused to be introduced and enacted the National Resources Mobilization Act. I

accept full responsibility and the onus, if any there be, for the position which I took on that occasion when, in company with my colleague the hon. member for Yale (Mr. Stirling), I went to the Prime Minister that June morning after the fall of France and demanded that action be taken. Under that authority, patterned after the British act of May, 1940, the government is empowered, with one limitation, to do anything and everything required for the "efficient prosecution of the war." Let me repeat those words—to do anything and everything for the "efficient prosecution of the war." That is the underlying principle of the National Resources Mobilization Act.

With the exception of one limitation the government has full and complete power and authority to mobilize and utilize every resource of the nation, except man-power, for use in a theatre of war "outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof." Therefore, with respect to man-power, the power of mobilization is strictly confined to use within the territorial limitation of the nation.

At the time I accepted that limitation on the theory that half a loaf was better than no bread. And it was a distinct step forward, having regard to the theory of moderate participation which had been government policy up to that time. It imported the principle of compulsion; let there be no mistake about that. This government thus committed itself to the principle of compulsion. It was accepted without reserve by the great mass of the Canadian people.

Did the government have any direct mandate from the people of Canada to introduce and pass the mobilization act? Most assuredly it did not. But it did have a mandate from the people of Canada to efficiently prosecute the war, and it also had the responsibility of defending the nation. At that time, and right up to this present moment, where has been the defence of the nation? The defence of the nation lies in Britain, in the English channel, in the North sea, in Russia, in the Near East, in the Far East; wherever the enemy may be found. There, overseas, lies Canada's defence, her first line of defence. I think we are all agreed on that principle; at least I hope we are.

May I pause here, sir, to offer a constructive concrete suggestion arising out of the rapidly changing events in the Far East. Those of us who have been listening to the news have heard with quickening hearts the urgent appeals of our kinsmen in Australia, the appeals to the United States and Britain for assistance and more assistance. I am sure each of us must have been impressed by the serious situation which has developed there. Every able-bodied man in Australia has been called to the

colours. I pray to God that it is not too late. I am afraid that it may be; for how can these men be trained in time for the defence of their shores, men who have never had previous training?

Now I come to my proposal. Why should not this dominion send a division of trained men to Australia? It would be more than a gesture of good will. It would be a demonstration of support and help and solidarity which would grip the imagination of the whole world, and especially of our own people, who have been thrilled by the exploits of the gallant Australians in Libya, in Greece, in Malaya and in every theatre of war. If we have not a division of trained men in Canada—and apparently we have not, I do not know; the minister can answer that—then send one of our trained divisions now in England, and replace it with men from Canada. Those men over there would welcome the opportunity for active service. I earnestly commend this proposal to my right hon. friend and his cabinet.

If we are to defeat the common enemy we must seek him out and defeat him in every theatre of war and wherever he may be found. That is one of the first principles of military strategy, the soundness of which has never been questioned. On no other hypothesis shall we win this war. To me that is fundamental. And if we are to seek out and defeat the enemy; if we are, in the words of the Minister of National Defence, to "stop at nothing which can be effectively done to ensure that the forces of evil shall be stamped out"; in a word, if we are to wage total war, how can we do so when we continue to impose a strangling restriction on our ability to mobilize our man-power for active service in any theatre of war?

That is the problem to which I implore the close attention of hon. gentlemen. Up to date the answer is the voluntary system, and it alone is relied upon. I do not intend to decry out of hand the voluntary system. The loyalty and patriotism of our young men was beyond question, although we were told in September, 1940, that some of them had to be taught their national obligations. Up to a certain point of time the voluntary system produced results. But because of the extended character of the struggle; because of its gigantic nature; because of all the factors which have developed in the course of more than two years of war; because man-power is so vital to any total war effort, I am quite sure that the time has now arrived when the voluntary system is no longer adequate to the necessities of the occasion.

By a reference to recruiting statistics I am quite certain that I can prove this premise. Further, the figures on recruiting prove beyond a shadow of doubt that some communities are doing far more than others, that there is no equality of sacrifice as between the component parts of the nation. That the voluntary system has failed may be proved not only by statistics but also by the evidence of credible witnesses, those charged with the responsibility of making the system work.

The first witness I call is the Minister of National Defence himself. Speaking in this house on November 5 last as appears at page 4449 of *Hansard*, he admitted that the army was deficient by 13,000 in the number of recruits sought for the preceding four-months period. That surely is some evidence; to me it is very convincing evidence. Is it not striking and convincing evidence that in the mind of the minister at least the system is not yielding the results desired?

I pause here to say that, so far as my information goes, the defects in the voluntary system are not, up to date, reflected in the enlistments for the air and naval services. I am referring only to the active army. Our men, especially our younger men, are air-minded.

To cover the situation, the department has set up special recruiting committees. One such was established in New Brunswick—a province which, in my view, has done wonderfully well in voluntary recruiting—due, in part at least, to economic conditions; we have no war industry there. I now warn the government and the minister that the consensus among those most active in promoting voluntary enlistment in that area is that the limit has been reached. I offer that in the utmost good faith, believing it to be true. At a recruiting meeting held in my own city within the last few days, addressed by the premier of the province and by the president of the university, there was hardly a man of military age present, and that fact called for some pointed remarks from at least one of the speakers, himself a veteran of the last war.

In the city of Montreal, as long ago as August 27, W. B. Scott, K.C., co-chairman of the special recruiting committee of that city, stated:

It is time for the public to know and realize that we are not getting the recruits we need for the active army.

On October 16, Brigadier Georges Vanier, the D.O.C. for military district No. 5, Quebec City, who is charged with responsibility for making the voluntary system in his district produce results, is reported to have stated:

We are not getting enough men; we must have more.

And, according to a news report, he stated, on or about November 20, in a public address, that Canada's present system of recruiting for the armed forces "does not meet our needs".

On August 21, Brigadier Panet stated:

Acceptable recruits have not been coming forward in sufficient numbers to meet the quota.

On November 25, Brigadier Panet stated at a press conference that recruiting was lagging badly throughout most of the country. This is what he is reported to have said:

The recruiting campaign which drew many men into the armed forces during the summer has slowed down to a walk and there is now nothing like the required number of men signing up for service.

Surely the evidence which I have submitted is the best evidence anyone can have that the voluntary system has not provided and is not providing the number of men required.

But if anything more is desired, may I call the attention of the government and the house to a speech made by the Premier of New Brunswick, at the city of Saint John, as recently as the 12th of January. Speaking at a meeting of the Engineering Institute of Canada, he went out of his way to make several declarations on this question of man-power; and there is no uncertainty about what he said. Among other things, he said this:

In the United Kingdom, in other portions of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and in the United States unrestricted military service is provided for. Can we afford, as a nation, to apply a lesser measure to our contribution?

At the close of his remarks, speaking on the duty of Canada and the question of national unity, he made use of this language, which I commend to the Prime Minister and the membership of the house:

If national unity means anything it should mean that we are united in our determination to stand wholeheartedly behind our Canadian boys who are committed to bear the brunt and heat of battle. They it is who are making, or will make, the real sacrifices in this war. And as Canadians they are entitled to adequate support in every theatre of war where they may be engaged. They are entitled to our assurance that, come what may, they will receive the fullest measure of assistance that it is within the power of this country to provide. Anything less than that is not enough.

On December 16, the legislature of Manitoba adopted a resolution calling for five specific things:

1. Immediate mobilization and utilization of all resources;

2. Employment of all men and women in the most useful way, according to age, training, physical capacity and ability;

[Mr. Hanson (York-Sunbury).]

3. Elimination of provisions restricting conscription of man-power for service in Canada only;

4. Equitable division of the burden of service; and

5. Dedication of total effort to the single purpose of destroying the enemy.

This is an important declaration by an important representative body. It follows in substance the stand of the Canadian Legion, as presented to this government in November last. Surely this is evidence of a change in public opinion.

And now I put this question to the government and to the house and to the country. Are men needed for the army? There may be some who will still say, as many believed at the outbreak of war, that a large armed force is unnecessary. Let me call some further witnesses and see what they have to say on this point.

The first witness I shall call is again the Minister of National Defence. Speaking over the radio on April 8, 1941, he said:

Man-power and morale are the paramount factors in this war. . . . If anyone has had an idea that men are not needed, I want to say very emphatically that that idea is wrong. Men are needed now, and will be needed in large numbers from month to month.

Again, speaking in this house on November 5, the minister stated:

There has been an idea that the army will play some sort of minor role, that this is really a navy and air force war. Let me say to you that from the views which were given to me—

I assume he is referring to his recent visit to England—

—it was made quite clear that the role of the army in this war is and will be no minor one. . . . But there is no illusion that this war can be finished without an army to meet and, with the cooperation of ships and planes, eventually beat Hitler's land forces. . . . The army supported by the other services must eventually strike the decisive blow.

This is the considered opinion of the Minister of National Defence. Who is there to challenge it?

A further witness is the former Adjutant General. Speaking over the radio on September 7, 1941, he said:

There is only one power on earth that will beat Hitler—man-power. Never let it be said that our men were of the best but our numbers too few.

Surely this is sufficient evidence from high authority to demonstrate the need for man-power and more man-power. And where is that man-power needed? Is it needed within Canada, or is it needed outside Canada? Where should the enemy be faced? Should

we wait until he bombs Halifax, until he scales the plains of Abraham, until Esquimalt has been converted into another Pearl Harbour? Or should we go forward to meet him in theatres of war outside our own domain? In other words, where does the defence of Canada lie?

Let us see what the Minister of National Defence for Air (Mr. Power) has to say on this subject. Speaking, appropriately enough, at the Laurier Centennial at McGill university on November 20, 1941, the minister stated:

The spirit of Canada could not survive in a world dominated by racial tyranny and given over to racial slavery. That is why every young Canadian, whether he watches the shores of Labrador, patrols the waters of the Pacific, guards the cliffs of Dover or the fortress of Hong Kong, or fights above the sands of Libya or the steppes of Russia, is defending Canada. He is not merely helping to keep the invader from our shores; he is helping, too, to preserve the kind of world—a free world—which is the only kind of world in which the Canada of Laurier or, indeed, any nation worth preserving, could survive.

Speaking, again, at the annual dinner of the Dominion Commercial Travellers' Association in the city of Montreal, the minister is reported to have used the following words:

The source of the most insidious, most destructive evil which the world has ever known is wherever the hordes of Hitler, the slaves of Mussolini, the murderers of Japan, are to be found. We can only exterminate, we can only destroy it at its source.

Perhaps the best witness one can call in proof of the point is Lieutenant-General Kenneth Stuart, present chief of the general staff, who stated on December 19, as reported in the press, as follows:

One of the objectives of the enemy is to create confusion in Canada and bring about a diversion to home defence of troops that would otherwise be sent overseas. We must not forget that this war will be won outside Canada and we must send our main forces to the place where they will be needed most.

That is the testimony of a professional soldier charged with the responsibility of running this war under the government. But I go even higher than that; I go to the words of the Prime Minister himself. I quote from a speech which he delivered at the Lord Mayor's luncheon at the Mansion House in London on September 4 last. These are solemn words, and he made a solemn pledge when he said:

I cannot make too clear that the policy of the Canadian government is to have our troops serve in those theatres where, viewing the war as a whole, it is believed their services will count most.

If, then, it is the clear policy of the Canadian government to have our troops serve in those theatres of war where their services will count most, why have we the restriction contained in the mobilization act? Why do we continue the subterfuge of two armies? Why do we not face the issue frankly, squarely and courageously, recognizing that the defence of Canada best lies beyond our shores and that our armed forces should be sent to meet the challenge?

Now, what are the reasons why we in Canada are circumscribed and unable to implement the pledge of the Prime Minister to meet total war with total effort? The reason in my view is political. It is political because the Prime Minister and his party attained office in 1921, and retained it for nine years, by capitalizing the situation which arose out of the last great conflict. The people of Canada in 1940 were made promises which, it has developed, cannot, in the light of present-day facts, be kept if we are to do our full duty.

The one most potent implement in war is man and woman power. Let no one argue otherwise. It can never be disregarded or eliminated. It is the one vital factor which must be present, no matter how highly developed our war mechanism may be. If you grant me that, and I think you all will, then I come to examine the principle of compulsion. I hope to do so objectively; I hope to do so judicially; I hope to do so without rancour.

In a democratic, self-governing country, the theory of compulsion is, in ordinary peace-times, anathema to all our instincts. Most of us are individualists. But in war time the situation is entirely reversed. Then, not the individual rights and material comforts of the individual citizen are predominant, but the safety of the state is paramount.

Let me put this question to hon. members of this house and to the people of Canada: Is it consistent with the principles of democracy that the state, when its life is in peril, when its very existence is at stake, should have the right to demand the services and help of all its nationals? All history cries out in the affirmative. In the words of Lloyd George in 1916, on the second reading of the military service bill in England when they were putting compulsion into effect:

There never yet has been a country faced with a great military peril that has ever saved itself without resort to compulsion. Never! It is true of autocracy; it is even more true of democracy. Every healthy body has demanded the help of its members to defend itself. Thank God Britain is not a paralytic that cannot command the services of every citizen. . . . Every great democracy which has been challenged, which has had its liberties menaced, has defended itself by resort to compulsion, from

Greece downwards. Washington won independence for America by compulsory measures; they defended it in 1812 by compulsory measures. Lincoln was not merely a great democrat, but his career was in itself the greatest triumph that democracy has ever achieved in the sphere of government. He proclaimed the principle of, "government of the people, by the people, for the people," and he kept it alive by conscription. In the French revolution the French people defended their newly-obtained liberties against every effort of the monarchists by compulsion and by conscriptionary levies.

A further important statement is that which is attributed to Abraham Lincoln in an article in the Vancouver *Province* which just came to my attention this morning. When the Union army of volunteers was in desperate condition, President Lincoln is reported to have said:

Voluntarism is the unprincipled dodge of cowardly politicians. It has ground up the choicest seed of the nation. It has consumed the young, the generous, the patriotic, the intelligent, and the brave, and it has wasted the best moral, social, and political elements of the republic, and left the cowards, the shirkers, and the money makers to stay at home and procreate their kind.

But if we are to survive this gigantic struggle, the disciplinary and plenary powers which the government must exercise should not be limited to man-power. Man-power is of great importance. Equally important is the complete mobilization of the wealth and material resources of the nation. Some people argue that this should come first. That is a matter of opinion. My own view is that the one is complementary to the other.

Let me say at once that since July, 1940, the government has taken steps to mobilize the industry of the country and turn it in the direction of production suited to our war needs. Industry and labour alike have cooperated, and to-day I feel sure that we need not hang our heads at the record of production of Canadian labour and industry. Since July, 1940, we have been in the organization stage. To-day we have reached the production stage. Whatever part the government has played in that endeavour, certainly at the outset much was left undone. My own view is that the major credit is due to industry and labour. But it is a gigantic task to convert the peace-time activity of a peaceful agricultural and semi-industrial country like Canada into a war-time economy. It takes time and effort and leadership and good will on the part of all to accomplish this; and, while much has been accomplished, much remains to be done. To that end I advocate the principle of complete mobilization of industry, so that this country shall supply to our armed forces the necessary equipment so essential in a total war.

[Mr. Hanson (York-Sunbury).]

In the speech from the throne, the advisers of His Excellency have asked His Excellency to say that this parliament will be invited as an integral part of Canada's direct war effort, to approve a contribution to Britain of vast quantities of munitions, foodstuffs and supplies. We are now part of a gigantic struggle. Production of munitions and foodstuffs is an important element in this effort. Our contribution in mechanical transport has been important and impressive. Our munitions industry had to start from scratch, and, while we had a slow take-off, we have now, owing to the cooperation of industry and labour, backed by the financial resources of the nation as contributed to the government, advanced to a stage of production which is creditable to those who have been entrusted with this important task.

To make a contribution to Britain of our production of food, munitions and supplies is in line and in keeping with the policies which we have advocated since the outbreak of the war. I am glad to see that the government has now recognized the desirability of such a policy. We shall support it.

Our agricultural population has always stood ready to do its part. All it needed was to be told what to do, to be given leadership. More than a year ago I pleaded with the government to give, out of our abundance, a substantial gift of wheat. It will be recalled that this proposal did not even meet with the courtesy of any comment or reply. But I would impress upon the ministry that agriculture in Canada was, for the first two years of the war, producing in many instances below the cost of production; and so much of that situation as still obtains should be remedied.

You cannot expect agriculture to produce for less than the cost of production. For ten years they have been doing it, and agriculture is bankrupt—in my part of the country at all events. And what has happened since the war began? Owing to the fact that our agriculturists are hardly getting a new dollar for an old, men are leaving the farms for the munitions factories. There is no doubt about that. Wherever there is war industry, men, particularly young men, are leaving the farms for the munitions factories. The growth of the munitions industry has drained from many of our agricultural communities a large amount of agricultural man-power which it is absolutely essential should be maintained on the farms if we are to have not only a prosperous and contented agricultural population, but, over and above all that, the quantity and quality of production which is essential to victory.

I propose now, Mr. Speaker,, to deal with the government's proposals as revealed in the speech from the throne.

The speech from the throne states that we will be advised of the —

. . . means the government proposes to adopt, to effect as complete as possible a mobilization of the material resources and man-power of the country in direct furtherance of a total national effort.

Presumably this is in fulfilment of the statement made by the Minister of National Defence for Air on December 13, when he said:

These powers—

That is, those under the National Resources Mobilization Act—

—we propose to use in this emergency which confronts us, and in an endeavour to see to it that every man and woman in this country carries on the work which will be of the greatest possible benefit to the state as a whole.

If these announcements are carried out in their literal interpretation, the results will be welcomed by the country. Unfortunately there is too much ground for believing that there is in these statements little more than a pious expression of opinion. The statements do not differ from statements which were made by the Minister of National Defence for Air at the time the mobilization act was passed. Speaking in the House of Commons on June 18, 1940, with reference to the mobilization act, the Minister of National Defence for Air said:

It should be said that anyone who is physically fit and is below the age of 45 years may, and in fact will, have not only the opportunity but the obligation to join the militia service.

In a national broadcast on July 10, 1940, in which he was explaining the principles of the mobilization act, the Minister of National Defence for Air spoke as follows:

Every able-bodied man must be and will be trained in the use of arms to defend his home, his loved ones, his liberty, his life.

From these latter two statements of policy came the farce of the thirty-day training plan. Instead of every able-bodied man being trained in the use of arms, twenty-one, twenty-two, twenty-three and twenty-four-year-olds were given elementary training and then posted to the reserve units where many of them probably have been lost sight of. Only 15,000 have been retained in the army, to be used in accordance with the limitation of the mobilization act, solely for the defence of Canada, within Canada.

The only criterion we have of the government's sincerity with regard to its proposals for the future is the means by which it has carried out similar pledges in the past. Must we assume that the policy enunciated in the speech from the throne will be fulfilled only to the same extent as the policy announced by the Minister of National Defence for Air in connection with the mobilization act?

I turn now to the question of a plebiscite.

Let me say at the outset that the loyal people of Canada will and do feel deeply humiliated by the declaration that we are to hold a plebiscite to ascertain if the people will relieve the ministry and, in particular, the Prime Minister, from the position in which he finds himself and which he took prior to the last election, by his own volition and initiative.

We are, in the words of Premier Bracken, to have "this crowning indignity". We are to be asked to take money needed for the war and spend it in order to relieve our elected representatives from a responsibility that goes with responsible government.

I wish to mention in passing the words of Premier Hepburn of Ontario. They speak for themselves:

One of the most dastardly, contemptible and cowardly things ever perpetrated on a dignified and respected country by any government.

Those are not my words. They are the words of a man who helped put the right hon. gentleman opposite into power.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

An hon. MEMBER: When?

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): In 1935; and let me add that a good many hon. members also are here by reason of that fact.

Some hon. MEMBERS: No, no.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I am sorry; it is true just the same. My own view is that, "at this time of greatest crisis in the world's history"—to use the words of the speech from the throne—the course suggested by the government is the greatest exhibition of lack of national leadership this country has ever witnessed. It is a masterstroke of bad publicity for Canada among the allied nations. As one newspaper has said, "never were so many people humiliated by so few."

It is a deliberate attempt to evade responsibility and save the face of the ministry, and particularly the face of the Prime Minister. It is the negation of responsible government as we know it and practise it.

We cannot win this war by a plebiscite. Germany does not carry on war by plebiscites. The first function of government is to secure the safety of the state, and the government that fails in that duty commits the cardinal, the unpardonable sin. Let this government rise to the level of its duty; let it not be afraid to lead. A plebiscite is not a policy; it is the negation, it is the avoidance of a policy. It is merely an unworthy expedient to avoid facing a vital issue. Its purpose is to avoid rather than to face responsibility; it is

to avoid rather than to enforce the performance of a duty. It is not a declaration of faith; it is a declaration of impotence.

What is the position? The government knows better than anyone else the position in relation to man-power. It knows better than we can know that the maximum must be done and done quickly. This government knows the responsibility which we assumed when we declared for total war, when we sent men overseas, when we undertook to stand by them with adequate reserves and reinforcements. Now we propose to abandon these undertakings to the shadow of a plebiscite.

This government, by this lack of action, has failed these men and it knows it has failed them. History will hold it responsible if disaster comes. In effect, the government admits that we are not a united nation, and we are not a united nation because of commitments made by this government previous to March, 1940, based on the situation then existing, which has little or no relation to the known facts of to-day—facts better known to the government than to any of us. And yet it will not move along the only honourable path open to it.

What are these commitments? Briefly, that we shall not have compulsory military service for overseas, in those theatres of war where the conflict is to be fought and won, or, God forbid, lost. The Prime Minister doubtless will argue that because he, unasked, made that commitment, he has a mandate from the people not to use compulsion for overseas service. That will, I assume, be his position. In fact, I believe he has so stated.

Let us examine this question of mandate. Did the Prime Minister, elected to power in 1935, have a mandate to declare war in 1939? Most assuredly he did not. Did the Prime Minister have a mandate from the people of Canada to adopt the principle of compulsion for military service in Canada in June 1940? Most assuredly he did not. Did the ministry have a mandate from the people to put a ceiling on prices at a time when the price level of agricultural products, for instance, was low and uneven? Most assuredly it did not. Did the ministry have a mandate—and I want hon. gentlemen to direct their attention to this, because we are going to meet with it sooner or later—to take from the war appropriation bill millions of dollars, perhaps hundreds of millions, voted by this parliament, taxed from the people of the country of all classes, poor and rich alike, to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour, and switch those hundreds of millions of dollars to the purposes of the new Commodity Prices Stabilization Corporation to help maintain the price ceiling on imports from abroad? Assuredly it did not.

[Mr. Hanson (York-Sunbury).]

I deny that the ministry had a mandate from the people against compulsory military service for overseas. It was not an issue. The Prime Minister himself made a pledge, which was accepted. He now seeks to be relieved from that pledge, but that is a very different thing from a mandate. If I interpret aright the vote of the last election, it was a mandate to prosecute the war—interpreted as moderate in some quarters, middle-of-the-road in others, but undoubtedly a mandate to prosecute the war.

We entered upon a leisurely prosecution of the war for the first nine months. There is no doubt about that. Then came the tragedy of Dunkirk, and things began to happen. The government under pressure stepped up the tempo of the war. We had the mobilization act, a long step forward, but with a limitation self-imposed by the ministry. It contained the very principle of compulsion which the Prime Minister has proclaimed against. The country accepted it without protest. It was the first real sign of leadership the country had been given. Now we have reached a time properly described in the speech from the throne as "the gravest crisis in the world's history", a time which demands the utmost effort, and instead of the situation being met man-fashion we are offered a plebiscite.

Could anything be more fantastic? Could anything be more futile? Let us examine this question of mandate a little further.

In 1916 Woodrow Wilson was elected President of the United States on a cry that he kept the nation out of war. I remember it, and so do you. Yet within twelve months he sent a strong, stirring message to congress, and the United States declared war on Germany. That is history. Did he have a mandate? Most assuredly he did not. He had a mandate to keep the nation out of war.

In 1938 Mr. Chamberlain, valiantly striving to preserve the peace of Europe, brought down in the British House of Commons, long before war came, but in anticipation of war, a measure designed to conscript the man-power of Britain. Previously he had vigorously opposed the idea. Did he have a mandate for that decision? Most assuredly he did not. His action in doing so was an outstanding illustration, however, of the application of the principles of responsible representative government.

In 1914 Sir Robert Borden gave an assurance to the British government that if war came his government was prepared to stand by Britain, and he immediately called parliament together to sanction his undertaking. He staked the life and existence of his ministry on that undertaking. That was responsible government under the British system, and under the British practice which we follow here; that is the principle which this government should invoke.

Did Mr. Roosevelt have a mandate to put into operation the compulsory principle when he started his training plan before the United States went into war? Most assuredly he did not.

This government should have a policy either for or against complete national service in an all-out effort for total war, and by that policy it should stand. That is the leadership which the nation is looking for. And what are we getting? A plebiscite. A plebiscite on what? Not on a concrete proposal for total war—nothing of the sort; a plebiscite seeking a release from an obligation arising out of a commitment made by the Prime Minister, unasked for, and long anterior to the happening of the tragic events with which this nation and the world are at present confronted.

Again, could anything be more fantastic, more humiliating to a self-respecting people? The Prime Minister asks to be relieved from a pledge, made voluntarily, without any mandate. And yet his government has placed on the statute books, in the Dominion Elections Act, a prohibition against any candidate for parliament signing any pledge to his constituents. Why is that prohibition there? Because the government of the day, the government and parliament, decided as a matter of principle that such a thing was improper and should not be done. Yet we have this spectacle before us to-day.

I have a proposal to make to the Prime Minister. If the Prime Minister feels bound by his self-imposed vow; if his conscience bothers him and he now wishes to be relieved of that vow; if he desires, in the light of reason and world events, to change his position and pursue a total war effort by all means open to him as the leader of the state; if he wishes, in the light of the situation now confronting him and this nation and this war-torn world, to give a new lead to the nation, there is a well-defined and well-established constitutional position and practice open to him. That is to say, he may come to this house and say to us that, "notwithstanding my self-imposed vow, for which I had no mandate, I now find that, in the circumstances which confront this nation as a result of this gravest moment of world crisis, another course must be followed, another and more vigorous policy must be pursued." It is his duty and his privilege to come to parliament in this way, to state his new policy, and to ask for the endorsation of the people's elected representatives. That is the British way of responsible government. That is the Canadian system of responsible government. That is the course the Prime Minister should pursue under the pressure of to-day's situation.

Is there anyone so bold as to say that is not the right and proper course? Who is there in this house who will say that that course should not be pursued or cannot be pursued? I venture to say that he would get the consent of the house almost unanimously.

Why have the people delegated to us, their elected representatives, the power to speak for them, and what are our obligations? Surely we have some obligations in the premises. Let those who seek to answer peruse once more the classic declaration of Edmund Burke to the electors of Bristol in 1774. The words he uttered then are in principle as true to-day as they were 170 years ago. In order to refresh the memory of all of us I propose to read a major portion of that address:

> Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinion high respect; their business unremitted attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfactions, to theirs; and above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure; no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays instead of serving you if he sacrifices it to your opinion.
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> My worthy colleague says his will ought to be subservient to yours. If that be all, the thing is innocent. If government were a matter of will upon any side, yours, without question, ought to be superior. But government and legislation are matters of reason and judgment, and not of inclination; and, what sort of reason is that in which the determination precedes the discussion, in which one set of men deliberate and another decide; and where those who form the conclusion are perhaps three hundred miles distant from those who hear the arguments?
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> To deliver an opinion is the right of all men; that of constituents is a weighty and respectable opinion, which a representative ought always to rejoice to hear, and which he ought always most seriously to consider. But authoritative instructions; mandates issued, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest conviction of his judgment and conscience, these are things utterly unknown to the laws of this land and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenor of our constitution.
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> Parliament is not a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests; which interests each must maintain, as an agent and

advocate against other agents and advocates; but parliament is a deliberative assembly of one nation, with one interest that of the whole; where not local purposes, not local prejudices ought to guide, but the general good resulting from the general reason of the whole. You choose a member indeed; but when you have chosen him he is not a member of Bristol, but he is a member of parliament.

I beseech the Prime Minister to alter his purpose while yet it is not too late, to adopt a manly course, to give to the country that measure of national leadership for which it is so earnestly looking and seeking at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history. This house will support him. The nation will support him.

What is to be the form of this plebiscite? What question or questions will it carry? Will it merely ask approval of a release of the government from a past commitment restricting the method of raising men for military service, as indicated in the speech from the throne, or what? Who is to vote? When will the vote be taken? What machinery will be used? Will our soldiers, sailors and airmen, at home and overseas, have the opportunity of voting—that privilege which at present is denied them in by-elections? What list will be used? Will there be a new registration? There should be.

What is the estimated cost of the plebiscite? When will it be held? Time is an all-important factor under conditions as they are to-day. And I ask this question seriously: What effect will the announcement of this plebiscite have upon the pending war loan? I venture to think, disastrous. Has the government considered the risk to our war effort involved by the delay in having to hold this plebiscite before any major change in policy can be effected? Will it take two months, or three months, or how long? The enemy may have won a decisive victory before then, while we indulge in a plebiscite. What a tragedy! Mr. Roosevelt, that master of epigram, recently said: "Lost ground can always be regained; lost time never." All these and kindred questions the Prime Minister should make plain when he speaks, and I invite him to do so.

What will the government do if the plebiscite is indecisive, if the majority is small? That is a possibility. Will the government then claim that it has a mandate to pursue its present policies? Or will it say that, that expedient having failed, we shall try another course? Meantime, while Nero fiddles, Rome burns! The whole thing is fantastic.

If the plebiscite carries, what then? We have no commitment from the ministry as to what they will do. The speech from the throne indicates that the administration will then take the position that, subject only to its responsibility to parliament—and I am glad to learn that the administration admits that it has responsibility to parliament—the administration shall, irrespective of any previous commitment, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise. They do not ask for a mandate under this plebiscite; they ask for a blank cheque. We do not know what will be done. What is to be done under that blank cheque? Will it be, as it has been in the past, a matter of political expediency and not of vital reality? I fear so. That, Mr. Speaker, is altogether too narrow an undertaking. Rather, it is no undertaking at all. It will not satisfy the public demand. It will not constitute a policy which will meet the gravest crisis in the world's history. It is no policy at all. It is merely a palliative.

And what if this plebiscite is rejected by the people of Canada? What then is to be the position? Will the government resign? Or will the Prime Minister endeavour to carry on, cabin'd, cribb'd, confined, by a self-imposed vow which renders it impossible to carry out his other pledge to the people of Canada that he will meet total war with total effort, that he will prosecute total war with total effort? What of the pledge of the Minister of National Defence that Canada, along with the other democracies, will stop at nothing—these are the minister's words; do they mean anything? —which can be effectively done to ensure that the forces of evil shall be stamped out? Will the minister resign if this plebiscite does not carry? Knowing him as I do, I believe he will.

But what of the Prime Minister? Surely if this proposal fails, his position will be impossible. Will he resign, or will he, no matter what the cost in lack of total war, continue to see his duty, as he stated in Winnipeg on July 10 last, "to seek above all else to preserve national unity?" That was his supreme objective then. That was why he did not propose to go to Britain; he must remain here to preserve national unity! Well, he went to Britain, and I think he did right. Did we have national unity in Canada? Have we had it all along? The answer comes back in a thousand tongues, that we have not national unity. We have something quite different; we only have unity of the Liberal party, and we shall never have national unity under a party government in war time. The two are incompatible.

Does the Prime Minister think that this subterfuge of a plebiscite to relieve his personal position and save his face makes for national

unity? I leave to public opinion the answer to that query. I know what the answer is among the loyal people of this country, who feel nothing but humiliation and disgust at this lack of leadership. For, mark you well, you cannot have national unity without leadership, leadership of a type which only a Churchill and a Roosevelt are giving to the democracies. National unity will come to Canada only when we have in this country a truly national government representative of all the people and backed by all the people. Then you will have national unity; then you will achieve a total war effort. You will never achieve it under a party government.

I am done, Mr. Speaker. I and those who think as I do cannot accept the government's proposal of a plebiscite as a solution of the problems confronting this nation at a time of gravest crisis in the world's history. It is not even a palliative. It is a subterfuge to help the Prime Minister out of an impossible position, created by himself, and with the sole desire to perpetuate his political power.

The people have asked this government, this parliament, for real leadership. In this proposal they have been given nothing. They have asked for bread; they have been given a stone. Frankly, it leaves the country with a feeling of frustration. Verily, never were so many people humiliated by so few!

I move, Mr. Speaker, seconded by the hon. member for Yale (Mr. Stirling), the following amendment to the motion now before the house:

That the following words be added to the address:

"This house regrets that Your Excellency's advisers, instead of giving to the country the leadership so essential at a time properly described in the speech from the throne as the greatest crisis in the world's history, on the contrary, have sought to evade their responsibility by holding a plebiscite, which, in the view of this house, is the negation of responsible government.

And this house regrets that Your Excellency's advisers have not seen fit to recommend to parliament without delay additional measures designed to

(a) completely mobilize the wealth and material resources and, on a selective basis, the full man and woman power of the nation, to the end that the nation may wage total war in any theatre of war;

(b) supply the imperative needs of agriculture, industry, and the fighting forces of the nation; and

(c) prepare for the post-war period."

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, when my hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) rose on Friday last to begin his remarks in this debate on the address, he very properly and very courteously extended his congratulations to the mover and the seconder of the address. I should like to join with him in those congratulations. I noticed that my hon. friend was somewhat careful to stress the manner of the presentation and said very little about the substance of what was said. I should like to extend congratulations not only upon the excellence of the delivery of both hon. gentlemen but also upon the excellence of the remarks themselves. The hon. member for Hull (Mr. Fournier) and the hon. member for Brantford City (Mr. Macdonald) have made a most important contribution to this debate, which, I think I am right in assuming, may prove to be one of the most important in the history of this parliament.

It was of interest and of significance, I am sure, to all present that both hon. members, one coming from the province of Quebec and the other from the province of Ontario, held identical views in regard to Canada's war effort and the policies which should govern in the prosecution of that effort. Both were equally concerned that all the policies of the government should seek first and foremost to preserve national unity in this country. It was fortunate, as well as a matter of interest, that both hon. members had had the privilege last year of visiting Great Britain and of giving to this house during the course of their remarks their impressions of the effects of war on the British isles, and particularly their impressions of the courage and endurance of the brave people of Britain.

It is not without interest that the hon. member for Rosetown-Biggar (Mr. Coldwell), who is the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation party, and the hon. member for Lethbridge (Mr. Blackmore), the leader of the Social Credit party, who I understand are to follow me in this debate, were at the same time afforded the same opportunity. And perhaps I may be pardoned if I remind the house that the leader of the opposition and myself each had an opportunity last year of visiting Great Britain, of conferring there with members of the administration and others, and of seeing conditions first hand for ourselves. It is, I believe, a matter of satisfaction and pleasure to all six of us that we had the opportunity of making the trip to Britain by air, and returning to Canada in the same way. I hope the experience gained as a result of those visits will, as I believe they will, be

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reflected increasingly in the views we may express in the house in respect of the prosecution of the war.

Mr. Speaker, I should like also to congratulate my hon. friend the leader of the opposition on the presentation of his address to the house. I thought his remarks presented the position of his party very fairly. I am sure I shall not be expected to agree with some of the things he has said, but with much of what he said I can agree with him most cordially. I believe it would have been better for this country if some of the controversy which has taken place with such acrimony and violence in a section of the press of the country had awaited the more reasonable and reasoned form of discussion, which I hope will be followed in this parliament.

With regard to what my hon. friend has said concerning the necessity of a total war effort, I believe it will be found that he and I hold similar views. What I take exception to in his remarks, and with respect to the controversy which has taken place outside the house, is that most of what has been said has related exclusively to only one aspect of the war effort. That aspect, I believe I shall be able to show, is a much narrower aspect than is generally assumed. All that Canada has done in addition has been more or less completely ignored.

I must say that I am surprised to find that, after having spent so large a portion of his time telling myself and the house that the government should have brought forward a policy of conscription for service in the military forces overseas, my hon. friend has not had a single word to say about conscription for military service overseas in the amendment he has just moved to the address in reply to the speech from the throne—no, Mr. Speaker, not a single word. My hon. friend is now so concerned about it that he is looking at his amendment to see if that is really so—to see if there is anything in the amendment which will give him sufficient ground to stand on in any reply to what I have just said.

The amendment is in the nature of a want of confidence motion in this administration. I had not expected my hon. friend to extend congratulations to the administration on all of its effort, but I had expected him to stand up for the policy which he led us at all events to assume is the policy of his party at the present time.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): It is right there, in paragraph (a). Read it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend will have every chance to read his own policy later. But on a matter of so great importance as the one we are now discussing I do not think one should be obliged to search with the aid of a microscope to discover the purport of an amendment which has been moved at a time like the present.

As I have already said, there has been a little too much controversy in the press concerning this matter, prior to the discussion in parliament itself. That controversy has gone very far to confuse in the public mind the real significance of many matters which should receive more careful consideration and discussion in this House of Commons. I believe, as I proceed with what I intend to say this afternoon, it will be seen that with respect to some of the matters on which there is an impression throughout the country that the government and the opposition differ, that not only are we closer together than the public has been led to assume, but that on many matters our views with respect to policies which should prevail are very, very much the same. I believe that is true with respect to the views of all parties in the house. I am speaking now of views concerning an effort for total war, with respect to selective service, and with respect to compulsion where it is necessary, in the application of selective service, and in connection with other points to which I shall make reference later.

But what I do wish at once emphatically to suggest is that hon. members seek to get the true picture of Canada's war effort as a whole, and not be misled into misjudging that effort or misjudging the ministry by singling out one particular aspect and seeking by controversy to obscure the larger and really magnificent effort of the country as a whole.

I cannot agree with my hon. friend, either, in his views with respect to what in the truest sense of the word constitutes responsible representative government. To my mind responsible representative government is related very closely to the will of the people, and particularly to the will of the people as expressed at the time of a general election. If I were to accept what my hon. friend has said, and what some of his followers have applauded him in saying, then I should be obliged to ignore altogether the will of the people as expressed at the last general election. And not only that; but after its having been given also the interpretation which my hon. friend time and again has placed upon it, namely that this government was returned to power with the vast majority it has, in virtue of the fact that it was so often stated that if this government were returned to power, conscription for overseas would not be applied. Notwithstanding that he has said such was a

fact, he now wishes me to turn round and ignore the expressed will of the people altogether.

Well, Mr. Speaker, there may to-day be reasons—and I hope this afternoon to make it clear that there are strong reasons—why the people of this country should be told that any commitments made in the past which in any way restrict the government in the exercise of its best judgment with respect to all phases of the war should be removed. That being the case, the people should be told that the government is of opinion that not only the government but all hon. members should be released from any past obligations which may bind their freedom of discussion in any particular at the present time.

When my hon. friend goes on to ask me what I am going to do with respect to any expression of view which may be made by the people in connection with any reference which will be made to them, may I say to him that in seeking to get relief from past commitments I am not going to begin by making new and fresh commitments. In seeking freedom on the part of the ministry I am not going to start in by seeking to tie my own hands. I know the kind of lecture I might have to expect from my hon. friend were I to do anything of the kind.

In the political controversy which, unfortunately, has become so acute of late; which is obscuring the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort, and which, moreover, threatens to impair its efficiency, attempts are being made to confuse in the public mind three things which should be kept separate and distinct. With respect to each of these the government's position is being misrepresented:

The first relates to total effort to meet total war.

The second relates to national selective service as a means to this end.

The third relates to the application of compulsion without restriction of any kind; in other words, to conscription for service in the armed forces overseas.

As respects total effort to meet total war, that is and has been right along the policy of the present administration. As regards national selective service as a method of achieving a total effort, that, too, is and has been the policy of the government. As respects the use of compulsion in applying the principle of national selective service, that, also, is a part of government policy. In the case of compulsion only one definite limitation has been recognized, and that is the limitation of the use of compulsion as a method of raising men for military service overseas.

Whether or not the government, all circumstances considered, has gone as far in achieving a total effort as it might have gone or should have gone, is a fair subject for debate. Whether the government, all circumstances considered, has applied the principle of national selective service as rapidly and as extensively as it should have been applied, is also a fair subject for debate. Whether, with the single limitation referred to, the government has, all circumstances considered, made sufficient use of compulsion in applying the selective principle is also a fair subject for debate. So far, however, as policy itself is concerned, whether it relates to total effort, to national selective service, or to the use of compulsion, with the single limitation mentioned, there exists no difference, so far as I am aware, between the government and its opponents. I propose to substantiate these statements by reference to the government's record.

What, then, is the difference with respect to policy between those who to-day support the administration, and those who, by every means in their power, are seeking to create opposition to the government in its war effort?

Freed from the emotions and passions aroused by the storm of controversy, it will be seen that the only difference that does exist is a difference with respect to the application of compulsion in raising men for military service overseas.

An examination of the facts will show that the difference of which the government's opponents are seeking to make a national issue is a much smaller difference than even the existing limitation on the use of compulsion would seem to imply.

The limitation, as I have stated, relates solely to the application of conscription to the raising of military forces for service overseas. These forces, as hon. members are well aware, are, in the present war, not confined to one single service, as in the last war was almost entirely the case. They include the men enlisted in the Canadian navy and in the Canadian air force, as well as those enlisted in the Canadian active army. I shall later on have something to say about the total numbers already enlisted for services anywhere, in the three branches of the armed forces. So far as the navy and the air force are concerned, it is well known that the numbers who have volunteered have considerably exceeded the number it has been possible to accept for immediate service. Moreover, it is worth noting that in Britain

as in Canada compulsion is not used as a method of raising fighting men for the navy and the air force.

The issue, therefore, between the government and its opponents narrows down solely to the question of the application of compulsion in raising men for the army. The issue is narrower even than that, since compulsion is already being employed, to raise men for service in the army in Canada. It should be added that the issue thus narrowed to conscription for overseas service in the army relates only to a possible future contingency, since up to the present the active army has secured the necessary recruits on a voluntary basis.

Notwithstanding all that has been done and is being done by the armed forces, and in war production of all kinds, and in finance, the government's opponents are seeking to make of conscription for the single purpose mentioned, a symbol of Canada's total war effort.

As I have said already, the policy of the government is, and from the outset has been, the achievement of a total national effort for total war. I propose, now, to explain exactly what I understand by the total effort of a nation. It involves two fundamentals.

The first of these is the devotion to the prosecution of the war of all the available energies and resources of the nation in excess of those required to maintain the health and efficiency of the people.

The second—and it is of equal importance—is a proper balance in the use of these energies and resources for the manifold needs of war. A total effort, for example, would not be achieved if so many men were enlisted in the armed forces, at sea, on land, and in the air, that there were not enough men left on the farms to feed them. In the same way, a total effort would not be achieved if so many men were enlisted that not enough were left in the factories to provide them with the necessary ships, planes, tanks, guns and ammunition. Moreover, modern war has shown that an army, and equally a navy, is dependent upon adequate air support. A total effort, therefore, cannot be made unless the right balance is achieved between all branches of the armed forces. These examples could be multiplied indefinitely. Indeed, the most difficult task in total war is the decision of the correct balance between different aspects of the war effort.

Moreover, the appropriate balance of one country would seldom, if ever, be appropriate for another. Germany, for example, is able to raise an exceptionally large army because she can draw on the enslaved populations for war production and food. Britain, likewise, is in a position proportionately to increase her armed forces to a greater degree than Canada, because Canada requires men to help feed and arm Britain, as well as to feed and arm our own country.

The foundation of the total effort of any country is a correct decision as to the minimum requirements of the civilian population. Once that is determined, production and consumption except for war, must be steadily and progressively cut down to the minimum. Waste must be eliminated; the manufacture of all luxuries and many comforts must cease. The surplus of man-power and resources thus secured must be used to make war.

In using this surplus, it is vital that it be developed in the right way. It is not enough to create a navy, an army, and an air force; the sailors, soldiers and airmen must be fed, clothed and armed; they must be moved to the area of combat, and communications must be maintained; reinforcements of men and supplies must be kept flowing. All this requires the most careful planning and detailed organization.

In reviewing the organization of a total effort for Canada, I shall begin by outlining the nature of Canada's war-time responsibilities; in other words, the various aspects of our total effort.

At the very outset of the war, the Canadian government considered with the British government the broad lines of development and of our war effort. We tried to envisage all the possibilities of a conflict, which we realized might last for years, and which might spread throughout the world. From time to time, since 1939, there have been shifts of emphasis, but anyone who cares to refer to the broadcast I made on October 31, 1939, will find in it the outlines of every aspect of our effort as it has developed since the outbreak of war.

For convenience, Canada's war effort may be divided into six main aspects. All of them are vital to a total effort. The achievement of a total effort depends upon keeping them in proper balance.

A necessary foundation of our whole effort is the maintenance of the security of our own Canadian territory and territories like Newfoundland and Labrador immediately adjacent to our shores. I know some of our citizens were impatient with the government for insisting, from the outbreak of war, upon our responsibilities for the coastal and territorial defence of Canada. We did not find similar impatience in London, where potential dangers, from all quarters of the world, were clearly perceived. Recent events in the Pacific, and the sinking of ships off Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, should serve to dispel any lingering belief that

Canada is immune from attack. What we must guard against now is the opposite tendency. Happily, Canadian territory is geographically more secure than the territory of most of the belligerents. We all know, too, that the best defence of our territory is the defeat of the enemy before he arrives. But we must not neglect necessary defences. We must be prepared to meet sudden raids from sea or air in certain strategic areas. The most elementary rule of warfare is the maintenance of the security of the base of operations. This aspect of our effort necessarily includes Canada's share of our joint responsibility with the United States for the defence of North America.

The Canadian navy has a share in this primary responsibility for our territorial defence. Our navy has also a great and growing responsibility in the North Atlantic. Its part in the battle of the Atlantic is already important. We are all aware of the great strain which has been thrown on the British navy, and, more recently, on the United States navy, by the existence of warfare in every ocean. We know, too, that the possibility of finally crushing Hitler depends upon keeping open the sea lanes from North America to Britain and Europe. From the outset, the government has placed no limit on the expansion of Canada's navy. We have manned ships as fast as the navy has been able to acquire them. Not only is the greatest possible Canadian naval strength needed in the North Atlantic, but so are merchant ships to carry men and supplies to Britain. Canada is providing and will continue to provide and to man both, to the very limit of our capacity.

All this is very different from Canada's task at sea in the last war. Then, we relied, in the early stages of the war, not upon ourselves, but on the British navy for the protection of our coasts on the Atlantic, and the Japanese navy for our protection on the Pacific, and, in the later stages of the war, upon ships of the United States navy.

The army shares with the navy the responsibility for our territorial defence. It shares also with the navy in the defence of Newfoundland and other islands in the Atlantic. Its main task, however, has been its contribution to the defence of Britain. Every Canadian will remember with pride what Mr. Churchill has said on more than one occasion, of the sense of security which the presence of our troops has given to the government and people of Britain.

It is natural for Canadians, remembering the last war, to judge our war effort in terms of the size of our army. In the last war, Canada's war effort was essentially and almost entirely an army effort. This, however, is a very different kind of war, and its successful prosecution demands very different methods. This war has been well described as a war of machines, of science and of psychology. I think those are Mr. Churchill's own words.

While prepared to send overseas as large an army as Canada can support, without failing in other directions, the government is even more anxious to see that every man, every unit, and the army as a whole, will have the greatest possible striking power. More important to-day than the size of an army is its striking power.

The Royal Canadian Air Force, like the navy and the army, has its part in our territorial defence and the defence of Newfoundland. Its responsibilities on the Pacific coast have been increased by the outbreak of war with Japan. But its main task is the administration of the British commonwealth air training plan. The battle of Britain in 1940 completely justified the emphasis which, from the opening days of the war, Britain and Canada alike placed upon the achievement of air superiority.

Every campaign in the present war has equally shown that, without adequate strength in the air, an offensive action and even prolonged resistance on land or at sea is foredoomed to failure.

The safety of Britain, and Britain's capacity to strike back at the enemy, depend alike upon the air strength concentrated in Britain. That strength is being developed largely on Canadian soil, both in the British commonwealth air training plan, and in the schools of the Royal Air Force. The air training plan is the greatest and the most vital of all Canada's military commitments in this war. No effort has been spared and no effort will be spared to assure its continuing success.

Canada's concentration on air training has inevitably reduced the number of Canadian squadrons in operations overseas. Unlike the army which serves overseas as a unit, a large and growing proportion of the trained personnel of the Canadian air force serves with the Royal Air Force. The claims of national pride have been subordinated to a total effort.

In nothing could the difference between the present war and the last, and the nature and extent of Canada's effort be more marked than in the country's contribution to aerial warfare.

A vital aspect of Canada's war effort is our contribution to the food supply of Great Britain. This contribution has grown steadily in importance. Britain cannot feed herself, and her own great and growing armed forces. Still less can she feed the ever-increasing

numbers of men we are sending from Canada to add to her armed strength. In the present war, unlike the last, her sources of food on the continent of Europe have all been closed off by enemy occupation. Canada is the nearest source of food left open. Without our food, the people of Britain might starve. Without our food, the Canadian army in Britain would be a handicap instead of a help. In a literal sense the very lives of the British people and our own armed forces overseas depend upon the exertions of Canadian farmers and fishermen. In prosecuting the war, theirs is no secondary role. As time goes on, the demands upon Canada for supplies of food for the allied forces and, later, for the peoples of the now subjugated countries are certain to increase.

I have mentioned food production separately because I doubt whether the country is fully aware of the vital importance of food regarded as a munition of war. Otherwise, it might well have been included as a phase of the productive aspect of our total effort. It is not in food alone that Canada's war production extends far beyond our own needs. Canada's production of the machines and munitions of war is already developed on a scale which would have been considered impossible two years ago. The other day, the Minister of Munitions and Supply (Mr. Howe) stated that Canadian munitions were being used against the axis on every battlefront and on every ocean. That, surely, is cause for pride, though not for self-satisfaction. It is well to remember that every battle which has been lost in this war has been lost because of the lack of machines; of planes, or tanks, or guns, or ships. The cry we continue to hear from every front is not so much for numbers of men as it is for tanks, for planes and for ships.

In making the machines of war, Canada's productive task has only begun when our own armed forces have been supplied. Except for planes, Canada has been a main source of British supplies, outside Britain herself. Only recently has the United States begun to overtake us. And now the United States has many other urgent demands to meet. Canadian weapons and munitions must help fill the gap made larger than ever by Japan's entry into the war.

Our mines and forests, our foundries and factories, are also helping to supply the other nations of the British commonwealth, Russia, the forces of the other allies, and even the United States. In September of 1939, the government assured parliament that every effort would be made to avoid the useless sacrifice of men because of the lack of modern weapons. Every campaign has gone to prove how highly mechanized and how heavily armoured an army must become before it can hold its own in present day combat.

While it cannot be said too often that total war demands total effort, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that total effort means using men and resources, where each will count for most, not where their employment will fit in with individual wishes or the wishes of those who have failed to see the needs of our effort as a whole. Too many of those who are talking of total war are measuring Canada's effort, as I have said, in terms of one aspect only.

Both in the short run and in the long run, Canada would weaken the cause of the United Nations by failure to give adequate protection to vulnerable areas in our own territory; or by failure to contribute adequately to the naval protection of the Atlantic passage; or by failure to maintain a formidable striking force in Britain or in whatever theatre of war Canadian troops may serve; or by failure to keep up the air training on which the air strength of the British commonwealth so largely depends; or by failure to provide adequate food supplies and to produce weapons and munitions in adequate volume. All are essential to Canada's war effort. What is equally essential is that our effort shall be in the truest sense a balanced effort. We must not fail in any of these directions. It is only by keeping all these demands upon our man-power and resources in proper balance that our utmost effort will be achieved. It might be added that all this depends upon the satisfactory financing of the entire effort.

In the light of what I have just set forth, I desire briefly to review Canada's record of achievement in the present war. It will be seen that we have developed our effort in all its aspects simultaneously. Equally, we have sought to maintain the proper balance between production and the armed forces and, among the armed forces themselves, between the needs of the navy, the army and the air force. The foundations of Canada's war effort along these lines were laid in the closing months of 1939. At that time, I stressed the importance of preparing for a long and terrible struggle in which staying power, the power to hold out to the end, might well be decisive.

Knowing the importance that, in the minds of many, would be given to an expeditionary force, I pointed out the vital importance as well of an adequate naval and air contribution by Canada. I said that our effort would be concerned in equal measure with the fighting forces at sea, on land, and in the air; that our economic contribution might well prove to be the most important of all; that,

in addition to being the granary of the British commonwealth, Canada might also become its arsenal. From the very outset, we took a broad view of Canada's tasks in this war and organized our national effort on all fronts. I turn now to what has been achieved.

First, as respects the navy: At the outbreak of war, there were some 20 ships and less than 2,000 men in the Royal Canadian Navy.

At the beginning of 1940 the navy had grown to 80 ships, and over 5,000 men; at the beginning of 1941 the numbers had risen to 175 ships, and 14,800 men. At the beginning of this year the navy comprised over 350 ships and 27,600 men.

From the beginning of the war, the navy has assumed a steadily growing share of convoy work in the North Atlantic. Canadian ships of war have shared in the protection of Britain from the threat of invasion. Sailors of the Canadian navy have served and are serving in all the seven seas, either in Canadian or in British ships. Canada's pride in the navy is reflected in the long waiting list of young men seeking to join the service.

As respects the army: At the outbreak of war the permanent active militia, as Canada's regular army was then called, included about 4,500 men. By the end of 1939, the Canadian Active Service Force, to give the army its name at that date, had increased to 64,000 men. The first Canadian division had just arrived in Britain.

At the close of 1940, the active army included almost 170,000 men. A Canadian corps of two divisions had already been formed in Britain. Canadian troops were also on active service in Newfoundland, the British West Indies and Iceland.

At the close of 1941, there were more than 260,000 men in the Canadian active army, enlisted for service in any part of the world. About half this number were on active service outside Canada. A third infantry division, an armoured division, an army tank brigade, forestry troops, and other specialized units, and thousands of reinforcements were in Britain, in addition to the original corps of two divisions.

Canadian troops continued to serve in Newfoundland and the West Indies. Two Canadian regiments recently added a new chapter of valour in the heroic defence of Hong Kong.

In addition to the active army, several thousand young men had, during 1941, been called up for military training and service in Canada under the National Resources Mobilization Act. Of this number, a considerable proportion had enlisted in the active army, the navy, and the air force. Some thousands more had been assigned to duties in Canada, thus relieving enlisted men for service elsewhere.

Mention should also be made of the reserve army, in which at the end of 1941, some 140,000 men were enrolled.

As respects the air force: At the outbreak of war the active strength of the Royal Canadian Air Force was some 4,000, all ranks. By the close of 1939, the strength had risen to over 8,000; by the close of 1940, it had reached 43,000; by the close of 1941, it exceeded 100,000 men.

In addition to the home defence duties which began with the outbreak of war, the air force was engaged, in the closing months of 1939, in planning and arranging the organizational details of the gigantic British commonwealth air training plan.

The year 1940 was a year of construction development for the plan. But, in spite of the strain which was then placed upon the force, Canada's three squadrons which were sent overseas did valiant service in the Battle of Britain.

In 1941, responsibilities of the home war establishment for patrol work in the Atlantic area and Newfoundland steadily increased. The outbreak of war with Japan added seriously to its tasks on the Pacific coast.

The duty of providing a trained air crew for the active theatres of war through the air training plan continued throughout 1941 to be the heaviest responsibility of Canada's air force. The magnitude of the air training plan was still further enlarged during the year, and the output of trained men accelerated.

The growing part of the Royal Canadian Air Force in air operations over Britain and the continent of Europe has found sombre reflection in the casualty lists. At the close of the year, from the original three, Canada's own force in the field was expanded to twenty-eight squadrons which had already been formed or were in the final stages of formation in Britain. Thousands more of the Canadian pilots and air crew, trained in the commonwealth air training plan, were serving as individuals with the Royal Air Force, not only in Britain but also in the western desert and other theatres of war.

Over and above any commitment under the commonwealth training plan, the call for highly qualified and scientifically trained personnel for very special duties, such as radio location, has been responded to by the dispatch overseas of thousands to fill this immediate and important need. Canada's share in the war in the air has reached a stage where Canadian airmen have become a major factor in the armed strength of the British commonwealth.

At the outbreak of war, the production of war materials in Canada was on an exceedingly small scale and was confined to a very limited range of equipment.

Throughout the closing months of 1939 and the early months of 1940 Canada passed through the stage of organization. Plants were established; tools and raw materials and labour mobilized; and the ground work of production laid. But apart from a few lines, such as personal equipment for our fighting men, there was little to show for our manufacturing efforts, except a steadily rising total of orders placed, and contracts let. We did, however, achieve a vast expansion of the output of essential raw materials both for our own and for British production.

Throughout 1940, there was constant criticism of the inadequacy of Canada's war production. No allowance was made for the length of time required to organize the production of complicated machines, most of which had never been made in Canada before. Today, however, the self-same critics are obliged to admit that Canada's production has reached immense proportions. They now are giving exaggerated and disproportionate emphasis to another single aspect of our war effort. Indeed, not a few of the government's critics have become altogether too indifferent to war production. They do not seem to realize, as the government realizes, that, if Canadian production is to be pushed to the limit, many of the most difficult problems are still ahead of us.

It should be remembered that Canada has undertaken, in addition to equipping her own divisions, to help equip British divisions, Australian divisions, New Zealand divisions, yes, and Russian divisions. If there is to be a united allied effort, Canadian weapons and munitions, as well as those of other countries, must be sent where they will be of the greatest service to the common cause.

In two years of war, Canada has experienced an industrial revolution. Our country is now producing almost every type of machine and equipment called for in our munitions programme. In some directions, this production has reached staggering proportions. In others it is mounting steadily.

Let me cite a few details: Our present shipbuilding programme involves a total expenditure of over $500,000,000. We have built and are building large numbers of corvettes, minesweepers, patrol boats and motor torpedo boats. We are engaged in a merchant ship building programme of considerable proportions, so great in fact as nearly to equal Britain's own programme. Canada is also engaged upon the construction of destroyers.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

We are making guns of all kinds: anti-aircraft guns, field guns, naval guns, tank and anti-tank guns, several types of machine guns, anti-tank rifles, sub-machine guns, rifles, trench mortars, bomb throwers, and smoke projectors.

In the production of aircraft, Canada's experience has not differed from that of other countries. We have had our full share of problems, delays and disappointments. At one time or another, since the war began, fifteen types of aircraft have been produced in Canada. Production is now going to be concentrated on seven modern types: an elementary trainer, two advanced trainers, two bombing and gunnery trainers, a flying boat, a twin-engine fighter and a long-range bomber. In addition to the production of new planes, some thirty plants distributed across Canada from Halifax to Vancouver are engaged in the overhaul and repair of planes. In order to meet the growing need, these facilities will require to be doubled during the next twelve months.

One of the most spectacular achievements has been the production of army vehicles. Nearly 200,000 of all types have already been delivered. Army vehicles made in Canada are in use on every battlefield of this world-wide war. A large number of tanks and universal carriers have also been delivered. Canadian tanks have already been in action in Russia.

I shall not attempt to catalogue the whole range of Canadian war production, but special mention should be made of the hundreds of thousands of bombs; the millions of shells; the hundreds of millions of rounds of small arms ammunition; and the hundreds of millions of pounds of explosives and chemicals already made in Canada. Not only are we making these munitions for our own forces and for Britain, but vast quantities have been made available to the United States.

The United States, as well as Britain, look to Canada for a part of their supply of essential base metals. Canadian production of aluminum, copper, nickel, lead and zinc has grown steadily in volume. Our steel production—the foundation of our industrial war effort—is still expanding. Since the invasion of Norway cut off all European supply, Canadian timber has been vital to Britain's war effort.

A most striking fact about our war production is that the value of the supplies we have provided for Britain since the war began has been at least as great as the cost of raising, equipping and maintaining Canada's own armed forces. In the first two years of war their value exceeded $1,000,000,000. Britain's need for these supplies has been so urgent

that, in some cases, our own forces have gone short in order to fill more pressing requirements for the armed forces of Britain.

In the whole field of war production Canada has become a major factor. Among the United Nations, we share with the United States alone the capacity to produce substantially more than the requirements of our own armed forces. It is true that, in order to supply Russia, Britain has valiantly suffered a shortage in recent months. It is to North America that Britain looks to meet the deficiency, and in North America to Canada no less than to the United States.

The record would not be complete without a reference to foodstuffs for Britain. In times of war, wheat, bacon and milk products are munitions of war quite as much as planes or tanks or guns or ships or shells or explosives or chemicals.

Canada has sent to Britain vast quantities of wheat and flour; bacon and other pork products; cheese and eggs and honey. The range and quantity of Canadian food required by Britain is steadily increasing as the hazards of war make access to other sources of supply difficult or impossible.

For Britain, for many of the other nations fighting for freedom, Canada is an arsenal, a shipyard and a storehouse of food, as well as a full partner on the fighting front.

One measure of Canada's approach toward a total war effort will be found in the record of our financial achievements. The financial burden the war effort has imposed upon the Canadian people is enormous. The cost of raising, equipping and maintaining our own armed forces and of building up the country's defences has reached almost incredible heights.

From the outbreak of war in September, 1939, until March 31, 1940, during the planning and organizational phase, these direct war expenditures amounted to some $118,000,000.

In the fiscal year April 1, 1940, to March 31, 1941, these expenditures totalled approximately $752,000,000.

The estimate of direct war expenditures for the present fiscal year (April 1, 1941—March 31, 1942) was $1,450,000,000. Of this huge sum $851,000,000 had been expended by the end of 1941.

Our direct war expenditure from the beginning of the war until December 31, 1941, had accordingly reached a total of $1,721,000,000. The magnitude of our direct war effort may be illustrated by a comparison of this figure with the cost of Canada's effort in the last war. War expenditures, from August, 1914, to March 31, 1920, including demobilization after the war, totalled $1,670,000,000. In other words, by the end of 1941, a period of two years and four months, our direct war expenditures in this present war already exceeded the whole expenditure on the last war over a period of six years less four months. Even more striking is the fact that Canada's direct war expenditures in the present fiscal year will not fall far short of the total cost to Canada of the last war.

In addition to providing for our direct war expenditure, the government also undertook to provide whatever Canadian dollars were necessary to pay the Canadian producers of war supplies for Britain. For this purpose, it has been necessary, since the outbreak of war, for the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ilsley) to provide an additional $1,219,000,000.

Every effort has been made to distribute the huge financial burden as fairly as possible. By December 31, 1941, some $2,000,000,000 had, since the outbreak of war, been raised from taxes alone. To achieve this what amounts practically to a peaceful revolution in our national tax structure has been necessary. The government has relied mainly on direct and steeply progressive taxes on the incomes of individuals; and drastic taxation of corporation income and excess profits. Succession duties have been included among the permanent features of the national taxing system. Agreements are being negotiated with the provinces to facilitate the orderly and equitable mobilization of the financial resources of the country to the utmost limit of its capacity.

Taxation, war savings, and war loans, while necessary to provide the vast sums required to meet huge war expenditures, also serve a further essential war-time objective. They act as an automatic check on civilian consumption and thus free material resources and man-power for war purposes.

The curtailment of civilian consumption, as I have already pointed out, is absolutely vital to a total war effort. Financial measures such as increased taxation and greater saving contribute to this end; but all the curtailment required cannot be accomplished by financial means. I shall say a word later about other methods used by the government to make additional resources available for the war effort.

One method the government has not been willing to use as a means of reducing consumption. That is the easy method of allowing prices to rise unchecked. That would, of course, have reduced consumption drastically. But it is a method which would be unfair and unjust in the present, and perilous for the future. That is why, in October last, the government decided to halt the rise when prices began to rise rapidly. It was in order

to spread the burdens of war as fairly as possible that the government undertook to control all prices, and, where necessary, to take other steps to control civilian consumption in fair and equitable ways.

In undertaking to control the cost of living, the government was following, on the economic side, the policy, adopted at the outset of the war, of a progressive and orderly advance towards the goal of a full-out effort. It was realized that the stage would ultimately be reached when the problem of a general rise in prices would have to be faced. We felt it was advisable to postpone action to control all prices until such action was really necessary. Complete control of prices, as all are coming to understand, involves many complications, and restrictions. Moreover, like all compulsory measures, it requires a large staff to administer the machinery of enforcement. It was clearly undesirable to take men's services from other tasks one moment before they were needed. Price control became necessary, late in 1941, if our people were to be spared the fears, the sense of insecurity, the suffering and the profiteering which the inflation of prices inevitably produces. The successful operation of price control and the ancillary measures to control wages and salaries will help in the winning of the war. After the war, they will aid our country on the road to recovery and reconstruction.

From this brief review, it will be seen that Canada's war programme has been a balanced programme. The record of achievement is a balanced record. What is more, this effort has been achieved by methods which have kept our country united. Indeed, without unity of purpose and effort as a nation, it could never have been achieved.

Let me come now to the programme for the present year, which has been prepared in reference to the fiscal year ending March 31, 1943.

The navy already has 350 ships and over 27,000 men in the service. The programme of expansion for 1942 can be expressed very simply. Our shipbuilding capacity is being used to build ships for Britain and for Canada. Apart from the naval craft built for Britain, the navy will take all the ships Canada can build, and it will enlist and train the men required to man the ships. No limitation has been placed upon the number either of ships or of men, save in so far as the number of available ships necessarily sets a limit to the numbers of men who can be enlisted for training.

The Canadian active army now consists of the corps of three infantry divisions, divisional and corps troops, an armoured division, and an army tank brigade in Britain. In addition, there are, in Britain, in reinforcement units, thousands of reinforcements. A fourth infantry division, and the brigade groups of a sixth division, have been mobilized in Canada. In addition, there are the troops on home defence duties on our coasts and in vulnerable areas, and troops in training as reinforcements.

During 1942, that is this year, up to March 31 next, it is proposed to create overseas a Canadian army of two army corps: one army corps to comprise three infantry divisions and two army tank brigades; the other to consist of two armoured divisions. In addition, all necessary ancillary units to serve these two corps will be provided. To reach this objective it will be necessary: first, to convert the present fourth division into an armoured division and train and equip it for this special role and dispatch it overseas in due course; second, to raise, equip, train and dispatch overseas another army tank brigade for use with the infantry divisions of the Canadian corps; third, to raise, equip, train and dispatch additional ancillary troops for both the infantry corps and the new armoured corps; fourth, to maintain and reinforce these two corps; fifth, to provide headquarters staff organizations for an army and an armoured corps.

It will, however, be recognized that the ultimate disposition of all troops necessarily depends upon circumstances which determine the course of the war.

As for the territorial defence of Canada, special dispositions have been made where that seemed to be required, as a result of the outbreak of war with Japan. The garrisons of coast defences have been strengthened. Reserves have been allotted to deal with any likely emergency.

A special reorganization and regrouping of reserve formations is under way right across Canada, and an emergency organization of active service personnel in training centres or elsewhere is being established.

Whether it will be necessary to mobilize another division for Canadian defence when the fourth armoured division is dispatched overseas will, of course, depend on developments in the intervening period.

The situation in Canada in respect to anti-aircraft defence is improving each month as more equipment becomes available. New units are being mobilized in accordance with anticipated deliveries of equipment.

The 1942 army programme will create a thoroughly modern, well balanced and hard-hitting Canadian overseas army. This army will be complete and self-contained. It will be capable of operating in any theatre, and can be effectively maintained in respect to both man-power and equipment.

It should be noted that the outstanding feature of the army programme for 1942 is the proposed increase in the armoured strength of the army overseas. This development is in line with military experience in the present war and with the policy of the British army.

I have already pointed out that the Royal Canadian Air Force at the end of the year mustered well over 100,000 men, without counting civilians. The air training plan is in full operation; the responsibilities and duties for coastal defence particularly on the Pacific have greatly increased; and the complete establishment of twenty-eight Canadian operational squadrons overseas is to be fully achieved, not only with a full complement of flying personnel, but also with all necessary ground and maintenance crews.

Until such time as arrangements may have been concluded with the government of the United Kingdom to increase the number of Royal Canadian Air Force squadrons beyond twenty-eight, the Canadian pilots and other air crew sent overseas, in excess of the numbers needed to maintain these Canadian squadrons at full strength, will serve with the Royal Air Force where thousands of their comrades are already in active service.

Some increase in the home war establishment must be anticipated. Of this, for obvious reasons, I cannot be expected to give details.

Thousands of young Canadians are now engaged in active operations, and the augmentation of these numbers by air training will continue to be the heaviest work of the Royal Canadian Air Force in Canada. In the long run, as the Minister of National Defence for Air (Mr. Power) has repeatedly warned, no more acute man-power problem faces the government than that of assuring the supply of recruits for training as air crew, not in the immediate future but some months or a year hence. There is no question of reluctance to serve; on the contrary, young men are eager for the opportunity; but the numbers available with the necessary high qualifications are limited by our small population. Looking ahead, this question looms larger than the needs of the navy or the army, or of industry.

To the solution of this problem by means of the development of air cadets, pre-entry education, physical training and conditioning and other means, the government is directing intensive study.

The effectiveness of Canada's own armed forces depends upon the effort put forth on the farms, in the mines, in the forests, in the workshops and factories, on the railways and the merchant ships of Canada. Canadian production since the war began has been essential as well to the effort of Britain and, indeed, of every nation fighting the axis powers. The dependence on Canadian productive efforts of what are now called the United Nations will be greater than ever in 1942; that is, this year.

I have already pointed out that the government has set no limits to war production. The only limits are those imposed by the growing scarcity of management, tools, raw materials, and skilled labour. Although the Minister of Munitions and Supply told parliament in November that practically all available establishments in Canada were already engaged in war production, he recently stated that he was "raising the sights again". More production can be achieved only by the conversion of existing establishments from unessential production, and by the transfer of labour. There is no slack left in our industrial economy. But I shall be surprised indeed if we do not find, when the year ends, that Canadian industry and Canadian labour have once again amazed us all.

The productive increases already achieved by Canadian agriculture have been little short of miraculous. Cheese production has increased by one-fifth, concentrated milk output by two-thirds, hog production has doubled, and egg production will soon be at an all-time high. For this third year of the war dairy farmers, hog producers and poultry men have been asked to produce the maximum quantities possible.

Canada has contracts with Great Britain for bacon, hams and other pork products amounting to 618,000,000 pounds. The forthcoming agreement for cheese is expected to be for at least 125,000,000 pounds. Then, 675,000 cases of evaporated milk will probably, again this year, be required by Britain. The present contract for eggs is for 30,000,000 dozen. Further large contracts for summer and fall delivery are anticipated. Canada has also undertaken to supply Britain with 4,500,000 pounds of honey; 510,000 barrels of fresh apples; 425,000 cases of processed apples; 300,000 cases of canned tomatoes; and other fruit and vegetable products in substantial quantities. Altogether, the value of the exports of the above commodities will be at least $180,000,000. Exports of the same products in the year before the war were valued at about $50,000,000.

If we do all in our power to help them meet their labour problems, we can, I know, count on Canadian farmers to do the rest. But the goal which is set for them for 1942 will demand their utmost effort.

In his speech at the Mansion House during my visit to Britain, and again in this chamber on December 31, the Prime Minister of Great

Britain made particular reference to the financial assistance which Canada had extended to Britain in the present war.

The extent to which Canada has been furnishing supplies to Britain is, I am sure, not fully realized by our own people. Canada has supplied weapons and munitions to Britain for the use of Britain's armed forces, and for other allied forces for which Britain has undertaken to provide equipment. Canada has also supplied to Britain raw materials required in British war production, and foodstuffs required to feed the armed forces and the people of Britain. In other words, Canada is, at one and the same time, a full partner in the war in her own right, and one of the principal arsenals, granaries and shipyards for Britain, other parts of the commonwealth and other of the allied nations. The total volume of Canadian shipments to Britain since the commencement of the war compares favourably with the volume which, thus far, has moved from the United States.

Canadian financial assistance to Britain has been necessary in connection with the provision of these vast quantities of war supplies. The financial assistance which Canada has extended to Britain is, of course, not what is ordinarily understood by the use of that term. Canada does not ship money across the Atlantic; the money itself never, in fact, leaves Canada. Canadian financial assistance has been extended to Britain in the following manner. The British government has purchased war supplies from Canadian producers. Britain, however, has not had enough Canadian dollars with which to make payment for the greater part of these supplies. Payment has accordingly been made in pounds sterling. This English money has remained on deposit in London, because it cannot, of course, be used in Canada. Most of the Canadian money required to pay the producers of guns and copper and bacon and other commodities has been supplied by the Canadian government. This Canadian money has had to be raised from the Canadian people in taxes, war savings or war loans.

Canada's financial aid to Britain has, in other words, amounted to this: the Minister of Finance has raised money in taxes and loans from the Canadian people to pay Canadian producers for ships and tanks and guns and planes and other munitions shipped overseas for the British army, navy, and air force; also, to pay Canadian producers for aluminum, copper, steel, timber and other raw materials needed for British war industry; and, as well, to pay Canadian farmers and fishermen for the food Canada has sent overseas to feed the British people.

The British government has been able to acquire some Canadian money as a result of ordinary business transactions, such as the sale of British exports to Canada, and receipts from interest and dividends on Canadian securities. This money has been used to pay for a part of the British purchases. But British exports to Canada are necessarily on a diminishing scale.

In the early months of the war, the British government had a considerable accumulation of gold and was able to use some gold to pay for war supplies received from Canada. The British government acquired some additional Canadian money by an arrangement to have Canada buy back from Britain certain Canadian government and government guaranteed securities held in Britain. For the most part, however, payment for Canadian supplies has, of necessity, been made in pounds sterling.

For the past year, Britain has urgently required from Canada vast quantities of munitions and supplies. These Canada has created the capacity to produce. The Canadian producers have been paid in Canadian money by the Canadian government. Canada, in turn, has been credited on the books of Britain with English money, which, however, cannot be spent in Canada. In this way, Canada's surplus store of English money has been assuming larger and larger proportions. What, in effect, all this really means, is that Britain has a steadily growing war debt to Canada.

We all remember the international problems and difficulties caused, after the last war, by the existence of huge war debts owed by one government to another. We recall how reluctant nations were to accept payment from other nations in the only way in which a huge external debt can really be settled, that is by removing tariffs and accepting payment in goods. We know that huge external debts created suspicion and bitterness between nations. The government is anxious to avoid the creation of similar difficulties in the post-war relations between Britain and Canada. We believe that difficulties would be avoided and, at the same time, the real extent of Canada's war-time contribution would be more fully comprehended, if Canada's financial arrangements with the United Kingdom, both for the past and for the reasonably foreseeable future, were duly clarified. We believe that the time has come for this clarification.

The government, accordingly, is proposing to the British government that the financial arrangements between Canada and Britain should be placed on a new footing. The offer

which is being made is one which we have reason to believe will be warmly welcomed by the British government.

In so far as past transactions are concerned, the proposal is to convert the major portion of the pounds sterling which have accumulated to Canada's credit in London into a loan to the United Kingdom of seven hundred million dollars, in Canadian money. It is proposed that, during the war, the loan will be reduced by the proceeds of any sales made to persons outside the United Kingdom, of Canadian dollar securities now held by residents of the United Kingdom, and also by the proceeds of the redemption or repayment of any Canadian securities held in the United Kingdom. The new loan would not bear interest during the war. As soon as practicable after the war, it is proposed, however, that the governments of the two countries should arrange an appropriate rate of interest to apply from that time forward, and make appropriate provisions for retiring the loan.

Since the beginning of the war, approximately $400,000,000 in Canadian money has been made available to Britain through the purchase by our government of Canadian government securities held in Britain. In other words, our government, during the war, has been paying off a part of the dominion's external debt. Under the arrangement now proposed, the Canadian government will purchase outright the remaining dominion government and Canadian National Railway securities owned by residents of Britain, estimated in amount at some $295,000,000. This means that the Canadian government will, before it becomes due, pay off its own remaining debt in Britain. The British government will pay the present owners of these securities in pounds sterling. The Canadian government, in turn, will pay the British government for the securities in Canadian dollars.

For the future, in addition to the financial provision for raising and maintaining Canada's own armed forces, the government will, as a part of Canada's direct contribution to the defeat of the axis, ask parliament to make provision for meeting Britain's shortage of Canadian dollars by supplying, free of charge and without obligation, to Britain, munitions of war, raw materials, and foodstuffs up to an amount of one billion dollars. Such provision would mean that thereafter Canada's direct war effort would include, in addition to her armed forces, an outright contribution of war supplies on a vast scale.

The proposals I have outlined will, it is anticipated, suffice to meet the requirements of the United Kingdom for Canadian war supplies until early in 1943.

In announcing this offer, I wish to draw particular attention to the fact that the financial burden of war now being borne by the Canadian people will not be increased by the proposed financial arrangements with the United Kingdom. Canada has already undertaken to supply the Canadian money required by Britain to pay for Canadian war supplies. Whether this money is provided in the form of a loan to Britain, or of a direct contribution to the defeat of Hitler, will not change the number of dollars which the Canadian people are already committed to raise for the prosecution of the war.

The advantages of the proposed financial plan are that it will avoid the growth to huge and unmanageable proportions of a war debt which might breed serious misunderstandings and bitterness in the future; that it will definitely relieve Britain of any financial anxiety which might arise in connection with its Canadian sources of supply; and, finally, that it will bring our working arrangements into accord with the realities of the war situation.

The adoption of the new plan will mean that Canada, at this time of intensified crisis, is giving unmistakable evidence of the determination of our people to put forth their utmost effort in the preservation of our own liberties and in the common cause of freedom.

At six o'clock the house took recess.

After Recess

The house resumed at eight o'clock.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Mr. Speaker, before I resume my remarks at the place at which I left off just before recess, I might say a word in reference to the request which my hon. friend the leader of the opposition made, that the government should consider the advisability of sending a division from Canada to Australia. As my hon. friend is aware, whatever assistance it may be possible for any one country of the United Nations to give to any other country of the United Nations, or any one part of the empire to give to any other part, must necessarily be a matter of consideration with all the countries and parts of the commonwealth concerned. The government is anxious, as the government of every other part of the British commonwealth would be, and as the United States and other of the United Nations would be, I am sure, to cooperate in every possible way in affording such assistance as can be effectively given to our friends and brothers in Australia. But what form that assistance will take, what it may be best to

do, can only be determined after there has been an opportunity of complete and careful conference with all the parts concerned. My hon. friend will have noticed that the particular request which our friends in Australia are making, is at the present time, for planes and tanks; and I am not without grounds for believing that they may be receiving some assistance of the kind from Canada at present, and that we shall be able to add considerable assistance to them in those particulars, and possibly in other ways, as time goes on.

I had been outlining, Mr. Speaker, our programme for the coming year. In that outline I showed, I think, that in every aspect of Canada's war effort we planned to move forward to the limit of the country's capacity. It remains for me to give some indication of the total financial burden which the programme will involve.

Little more than a rough estimate of the cost can be given at this stage. The Minister of Finance will be somewhat more precise when he introduces the war appropriations. But the provisional estimate at this stage is $3,000,000,000.

The financial advisers of the government believe that this huge sum and the additional sums required for civil government can be raised by taxation, war loans, and war savings, but they equally regard this as a full-out financial effort.

In preparing its war programme for 1942, the government has had but one objective. It is the objective we have had from the outset, namely, the achievement of a total national war effort. It is not, however, an effort exaggerated in any one aspect at the expense of other aspects. It is, as it has been from the beginning, a balanced effort. It seeks to take account of all demands and all eventualities, as far as it is humanly possible to foresee them. Moreover, it is so planned as to fall into its appropriate place in the united effort of all the nations arrayed against the axis.

The most searching and careful study has been given to the extent to which it is possible to expand each aspect of the national effort without weakening some other aspect just as important to the whole.

Equally careful consideration has been given to the methods by which the desired ends can best be attained. A balanced total national war effort requires the mobilization through taxation, loans and savings of the necessary financial resources, and the most careful decisions with respect to the means by which this is to be accomplished. It also requires the mobilization of material resources, and the mobilization of man-power, and like care with respect to the best means by which both of these can be accomplished. I shall leave to the Minister of Finance the question of the means to be employed in mobilizing the financial resources. That matter will have to await the presentation of the budget.

In the case alike of the mobilization of material resources and of man-power, some measure of compulsion is necessary, just as it is in the case of the mobilization of financial resources. The use of compulsion, or if you prefer the word "conscription", for the mobilization of material resources and man-power is, as I have said, not new. It has been approved by this parliament. The principle of compulsion is embodied in the National Resources Mobilization Act, which was enacted on June 20, 1940. This act gives the government very wide powers to mobilize, for war purposes, both the material resources and the man-power of the country. Since of the two the mobilization of material resources is much less a subject of controversy, I shall speak of it first.

In the early stages of the war, the mobilization of material resources presented few problems. Production was in the stage of organization. The demand for raw materials was small. Shortages of Canadian supplies could readily be met by purchase in the United States. In other words, all our other shortages boiled down to a shortage of United States dollars. The government lost no time in facing this problem. Foreign exchange control was established on September 15, 1939, and increasingly stringent measures were taken through the prohibition of pleasure travel in the United States, and the restriction of unessential imports to ensure the supply of American dollars needed to buy war materials in the United States. Fortunately, at the very moment when these drastic measures threatened to prove insufficient, the whole problem was vastly simplified by the reciprocal arrangements embodied in the Hyde Park declaration. The problem has been further simplified by the establishment of joint committees on war production, and by recent agreement between the United States and Canada to remove all obstructions to the free flow of war materials between the two countries.

Means have also been taken to stimulate the production in Canada of strategic raw materials and to prevent the export of raw materials of which a shortage might be anticipated. Stock-piles of imported raw materials have been accumulated.

Steps have been taken to discourage waste, and to salvage waste products. By severe taxation and the encouragement of war savings, civilian consumption has been curtailed.

In recent months, the manufacture of non-essential goods has been curtailed or eliminated entirely. The compulsory mobilization of material resources has been progressively and selectively effected by a highly efficient though exceedingly complex system of economic controls. I might cite the curtailment in the production of motor vehicles and a great variety of other articles in which metals are used, as for example, stoves, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, refrigerators and radios. I might also mention the drastic limitations placed upon the use of silk and rubber.

These and many other measures have been taken progressively, in order to make materials available to our war industries as they have been expanded. Already, the rationing of some commodities for civilian use has begun. If we are to achieve a total effort, far more drastic curtailments will follow.

The whole business of mobilizing material resources is not spectacular; it is far from pleasant; but it is the real foundation of a total war effort. The government has never hesitated to take any of the necessary steps at the moment it was believed they were essential.

I turn now to the question of the mobilizing of "man-power", which term, by the way, when it is used without definite restriction, is intended to comprehend "woman-power" as well. I wish to speak more particularly of the means of mobilizing the additional man-power and woman-power required to maintain the existing effort, and to develop the enlarged programme.

National selective service is the method by which the government proposes to accomplish the mobilization of man-power on an extended scale. Let me define national service as it is understood by the government. By national service is meant any form of service, either voluntary or compulsory, which contributes directly to Canada's war effort. By national selective service is meant the selection of men and women for the various forms of national service according to the method or methods calculated to produce the most satisfactory results. In order to be selective, national service does not necessarily need to be compulsory. Voluntary service is also selective. The army, for example, does not accept every man who offers to enlist. In finding the right place for a man, no quality is likely to count for more than willingness to serve. Compulsion is only of value where it serves to ensure a greater total effort. Wherever necessary and of value in increasing Canada's war effort, the government is prepared to employ compulsion. It would, however, be a waste of effort to engage a small army of officials to compel people to do what they are perfectly ready and willing to do without compulsion.

In announcing that national selective service is the method by which the government proposes to accomplish the mobilization of man-power on an extended scale, the government is not announcing a new policy. What we propose to do is to extend what, in fact, we have been doing right along, that is, to apply the principle progressively. In other words, we intend to continue to extend the application of national selective service to meet new needs as they arise.

As I have already said, this policy, too, is not new, nor is it being advanced to-day for the first time, or as a consequence of high-pressure methods employed to influence the independence of members of parliament. The principle itself, as I have already explained, was approved by this parliament in June, 1940. It has already been applied to some extent. On November 12 last, I made it very plain to parliament that, with respect to the mobilization of man-power, the government's policy was one of national selective service; and, also, that an extension of the application of compulsory selective service—conscription, if you will—was a part of that policy. Let me repeat my exact words:

> So far as conscription stands for compulsory selective national service, that is a principle which this government has embodied in its National Resources Mobilization Act passed at a previous session of this parliament. As to how rapidly that principle should be applied, and how far it should be extended, is a matter which the government must decide and will decide in the light of all the knowledge which it has with respect to the needs of our war effort and the position of the country in meeting them.
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> I want it to be distinctly understood that so far as the principle of compulsory selective national service is concerned for Canada, in Canada, I stand for that principle. I have never taken any other stand. It is the position that I have held all along. It has been applied in connection with military training, and applied in a number of other directions I might mention. How much further it will be applied the house will learn as the government takes its decisions on that matter.
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> I did not, at that time, announce any decisions as to its further application. Such announcement would hardly have been appropriate at the close of a session which had already completed all its major business. I felt that, in fairness to parliament, announcements on such an important matter should be reserved for a new session, when members would have adequate opportunity for the fullest consideration and debate.

The extended application of compulsion to national selective service is a highly complicated matter. It is, in itself, a selective process. The use of compulsion selectively is no less complicated in the mobilization of man-power than in the mobilization of material resources. However, the fact that further decisions were not announced in November has not delayed the further application of the principle. Indeed, it has rather facilitated the very careful planning and organization which is so essential before the extended application of selective service, whether on a voluntary or a compulsory basis, can be brought into effective operation.

Everyone will recognize that the effective use of the man-power—and the woman-power—of a nation is essential to the achievement of a total war effort. But it is not the total. It is, as I have already stated, only one factor in the total. In considering any extension of the application of selective service as a means of promoting a total war effort, it is important to remember that national selective service is not an end in itself, but is only a means to an end, that end being a total war effort.

The problems of mobilizing resources, and mobilizing man-power, are inseparable from one another and like all other aspects of our war effort must be kept in proper balance. Material resources cannot be mobilized without man-power to mobilize them, and no good purpose is served by mobilizing men unless they are provided with the necessary materials and tools to work with, and the necessary equipment and arms to fight with.

Under the authority of the National Resources Mobilization Act, a limited measure of national selective service on a compulsory basis has been applied since October, 1940, in the selection of young men for military training. The principles of selection have been age and marital status, with adequate safeguards, through postponements, for other essential forms of national service.

The government now proposes to apply the compulsory powers of national selective service to other aspects of the war effort as well as to military service. These powers will be applied selectively and progressively to those activities where it is considered by the government that their application will contribute to the goal of a total effort. It has not been necessary, nor would it, indeed, have been helpful at an earlier stage to make demands upon the nation such as the government has in contemplation, and as will be set forth as the session proceeds. In this connection I invite your attention particularly to what I am now about to say.

These demands will intimately affect the lives of many men and women. They will also effect the life of the nation in the following way: there will be a further very definite curtailment of the amenities we have hitherto been able to preserve. These demands will not affect physical health or that contentment of spirit that comes from serving great causes, but they will make further inroads upon the comfort and convenience of very large numbers, and upon the character and aspect of our daily life.

It must not be supposed that there are large reserves of idle people leading a leisurely existence who can now be called to the national ranks. The entire adult Canadian population, with very few exceptions, gets up in the morning, works all day, and goes to bed tired out at night. In our form of society people have been accustomed to find their own jobs to a very large extent, thus saving vast government machinery.

If all the efforts of everyone were really devoted solely to making war, there would be no food, or fuel, no transport, or clothes. We have to recognize the fact that a very large proportion of the population, particularly women, is occupied in ministering to the needs of the more actively engaged population, and that that number has increased since the last war with the increase of population who have to be ministered to.

The process which is now to be applied—and has, indeed, been continuously applied—much more vigorously, is not the calling of idle people to work, but the sharpening and shifting forward of a proportion of their effort into work which is more directly related to the war.

Here I end the portion of the remarks to which I invited special attention.

It may surprise hon. members to learn that the words I have just used are not my own words. With the exception of the two words "Canadian population", which I have substituted for the words "British race", the statement is not mine. It is a statement by the Prime Minister of Great Britain. After all that has been said in Canada in recent months about all-out conscription in Britain, and its application to women as well as to men, it may occasion still more surprise that this statement was made, not at the beginning of the war, nor at the end of the first year of war, nor even of the second year of war, but as recently as December 2 last.

The explanation of the timing is simple. In war, correct timing is vital. Some steps must be completed, before others can be taken. The time of application of measures is quite as important as the extent of their application. No mechanical rule or order can be followed. The appropriate measures for one country will never exactly suit another country. In the case of each, local conditions must be considered; the nature of the tasks undertaken by each country, and their relative importance in the total effort of all, must be the decisive factor.

To achieve a total national effort everyone must contribute to the effort either directly or indirectly. All cannot do the same work. As far as possible, each must be fitted into the appropriate task. Many, perhaps the majority, can find the appropriate place for themselves, and, as Mr. Churchill said, save "vast government machinery". Certainly no government is wise enough to decide the appropriate task for every individual in the nation. And, even if governments were all-knowing, the war would not wait while this stupendous job was being performed. What the government can do, and what we propose to undertake to do, is to meet the urgent needs by the best means we can devise.

I shall not attempt at this time to outline the measures which are contemplated in order to extend the scope of national selective service. I shall confine myself to saying that the extended policy of selective service will comprehend measures to increase the supply of man-power available for war industry and for the armed forces; also measures to safeguard and, where necessary, to assist in providing agricultural labour required to expand war production on the farm. These objects it is proposed to achieve by positive action to increase the mobility of available man-power, to add to the number of women available for employment, and to facilitate the transfer of labour from non-essential occupations to direct employment in the furtherance of the war effort. The policy also envisages improvements in the method of selecting men for compulsory military training and service.

The administrative machinery required to carry out the proposed measures equitably and efficiently will necessarily be intricate and complicated. The capacities of men and women cannot be weighed and measured and graded with the same certainty as the qualities of wheat or cement or steel can be determined. To perform the complicated task of selection with success will demand both time and skill.

The government, moreover, has no desire to add unduly—which means wastefully—to governmental machinery. It is imperative that we avoid using men and women for unnecessary tasks. In those aspects of our war effort in which voluntary methods are working satisfactorily, voluntary selection, including a measure of choice by the individual of the appropriate field of service, will be continued. The use of the more expensive and complicated methods of compulsion will be confined to those branches of our war effort where it is felt that compulsory selection will increase its efficiency.

While the government, in its policies, has sought a total effort, it has never ceased to believe that only by a united effort could total effort be achieved. In every step the government has taken from the moment the threat of war appeared on the European horizon, we have sought so to direct our policies and the course of public affairs that the country would remain united in its support of the national effort.

Every hon. member of this house knows that, except for the assurance that, in the event of a European war, there would be no conscription for service overseas, this parliament would never have decided, in the immediate and unanimous manner in which it did, to stand at the side of Britain in the resistance of aggression, and the defence of freedom.

Hon. members are also aware that if, at the time when Canada's participation in the war was challenged in an election in the province of Quebec by a government professing a different political faith, a like assurance with respect to service overseas had not been given in the name of the present government by the late Right Hon. Ernest Lapointe, by the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Cardin), and other Liberal leaders and members of this House of Commons from the province of Quebec, the verdict of the people of that province might have been wholly different.

At that time, the people of the province of Quebec turned out of office the government that had sought to thwart Canada's war effort, and placed in office under the leadership of Hon. Mr. Godbout, a government which was prepared to cooperate with the federal administration in furthering the national effort. I doubt if any service at the time meant more to the allied cause than that rendered by the people of the province of Quebec in thus demonstrating the unity of Canada in its war effort.

When, three months later, the direction of the war effort of Canada by the present administration was challenged—though from an opposite extreme—by a resolution of the legislature of the province of Ontario, and the administration appealed to the people of Canada in a general election, the government gave the assurance that, if returned to power, it would continue to maintain the policy of no conscription for service overseas. Not only the government, but the then leader of the Conservative party—a party disguised it is true, for the time being, as the National Government party—took an equally strong stand in opposition to conscription for overseas service. The candidates, not

of one political party only, but the vast majority of candidates in the general election gave their constituents to understand that they were opposed to a policy of conscription for overseas service. In so doing, reference was continually made to the effect of the adoption of conscription in the last war, and the serious wound which, at the time, its application had inflicted in the side of our country.

As I look at the membership of this house which represents the will of the nation as expressed in the general elections, held during this very war, I say there are not a dozen members,—if, indeed, there are that many—regardless of party, who could rise in their places and truthfully say that, in the last general election, they had advocated a policy of conscription for military service overseas.

Time and again it has been said by hon. members opposite—and I think my hon. friend the leader of the opposition has said it oftener than anyone else—that the present government would not have had the enormous majority it has in this present parliament if it had not given the explicit assurance that, if returned to power, it would not adopt conscription for military service overseas. Others have held that it is unfair to say that any one issue should be singled out as the decisive issue in a general election. They maintain that many factors were in the minds of the people. It is said, for example, and I believe it to be true, that the present administration owes its vast majority to the belief so generally held that at this time of war no better administration could be found to administer Canada's war effort and to conduct the country's affairs. Not the least of the reasons for this belief was the view that the present administration might be expected to harmonize differences more effectively and thereby to avoid disunity at a time of war when, above all else, unity is vital.

In accordance with the general consensus of view as respects the mandate given by the people themselves, the government, throughout 1940 and 1941, proceeded to develop an all-out war effort. Might I pause here to say a word in reference to what my hon. friend the leader of the opposition said this afternoon with respect to mandates. If I recall aright, he said that this government took immediate action when Japan declared war, though we had no mandate from the people. He referred to a number of other acts performed by the government for which he said the government had no special mandate. He referred to Abraham Lincoln and some of his actions at the time of the civil war, for which my hon. friend said Lincoln had no mandate. That is all perfectly true; but of all the instances mentioned by my hon. friend there was not one in which, when the possibility of action of the kind mentioned had been placed before the people themselves, any subsequent action on the part of the government was restricted by a specific pledge or commitment with respect thereto. Of all the instances he mentioned there was not one in which the people themselves had been given the assurance, before the event itself took place, that if it did take place the government, while it would do all in its power to meet the situation, would not in one particular go counter to what it believed at the time to be the will of the people, and had expressly set forth the limitation that was to be respected. Therefore there is a great difference between what my hon. friend has put forward with respect to actions where there were no commitments in advance and the action of this government respecting a commitment that was definitely made with regard to a definite situation.

In this connection might I commend to my hon. friend, as I continue with what I have to say, the words by Abraham Lincoln which he quoted, that government was or ought to be "of the people, by the people and for the people." I hope my hon. friend will keep that thought in mind in reference to the criticism he has been offering with respect to myself, that I have been paying too much attention to the people and not enough attention to some of the things that at the present time are being said by a vociferous press.

As I was saying, in accord with the general consensus of view as respects the mandate given by the people themselves, the government, throughout 1940 and 1941, proceeded to develop an all-out war effort. Until parliament was in session in November last, the government continued to carry on that effort, not without criticism, but certainly without the issue of conscription for overseas service being raised, in any authoritative manner, by any party or party leader in this house.

At the time of my tour of western Canada, prior to my visit to Britain, an attempt was made to raise the issue of conscription. A cloud no larger than a man's hand appeared in the political sky at Calgary and in some other of the western cities. I at once recognized that this was not due to a spontaneous movement on the part of the people themselves, but was rather the manifestation of a political movement carefully organized by opponents of the government, to force conscription to the fore as a political issue. I accordingly sought to meet this threat to our national unity in the only way in which I believed it could and should be met, if unity throughout Canada was to be maintained.

Speaking in the city of Vancouver before a very large audience, I said:

The policy of the government regarding conscription has been made abundantly clear. We have taken the position that every young man who is physically fit should be liable for military training and service in Canada for the defence of Canada. This policy is designed to provide our country with a second line of defence should the country be subject to direct attack. In the same way, parliament has put at the disposal of the nation, all the material resources of the country.

My colleagues and I, expressing, as we believe, the will of the Canadian people as expressed by themselves in a war-time election, have made it equally clear that service outside Canada in the armed forces of Canada at sea, on land and in the air—service undertaken in the cause of freedom—shall be freely undertaken.

Before war came, the government gave a solemn pledge that in the event of war, we would follow that policy. When war came the pledge was solemnly reaffirmed. At the general elections during the war itself, that policy received the overwhelming approval of the people of Canada. Indeed, no political party can be said to have advocated conscription for overseas service. The leader of the official opposition could scarcely have been more emphatic than he was in declaring that conscription was not an issue; that, having regard to the memories of the past, and experiences in the last war, anyone who might raise that issue was not true to the highest interest of his country.

The present unhappy state of the world is in large part the result of broken pledges. Nazi Germany has erected bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action. Bad faith, broken pledges, and disregard of the popular will are the very forces against which Canada is fighting to-day. That being so, I wish the more emphatically to affirm the government's intention to keep the pledge repeatedly given to the people of Canada.

This statement is representative of the views I everywhere expressed in the course of my western tour, and which everywhere met, if not with unanimous, certainly with general approval. With the people of Canada thus reassured, there was little, if any, agitation on the matter during my absence in Britain and immediately after my return. In parliament there was little or no question or discussion raised concerning conscription until, while parliament was in session in November, it was announced that the leader of the Conservative party in the senate was to replace the present leader of the opposition in the leadership of his party, and would also replace him in the leadership of the official opposition in this House of Commons.

Prior to this announcement, I had restated in this House of Commons the government's position with respect to national selective service, as I have already quoted it to the house. At the same time, as leader of the government, I made clear by own position with respect to the application of conscription to service in the armed forces overseas, in the following words:

But so far as conscription for service overseas is concerned in the armed forces of Canada, that question was submitted to the people of Canada at the last general election, an election which was held in war time, and in which the leaders of all political parties made their statements to the electorate, and the people of Canada decided against conscription for overseas service. So far as I am concerned, without any consultation of the people on that subject, I do not intend to take the responsibility of supporting any policy of conscription for service overseas.

These words are to be found in *Hansard* for November 12, 1941, at page 4672. This statement was made during the afternoon of November 12. On the evening of that day, the new leader of the Conservative party, without any previous attempt at consultation or conference with myself, or any member of the government, and before he himself had become a member of this House of Commons, issued a statement announcing his acceptance of the leadership of the Conservative party, in which he set forth as his policy "compulsory selective service over the whole field of war". In view of the position of the government with respect to national selective service, this statement narrows down simply to a demand for conscription for overseas service. It thereby made the single question of the application of conscription for military service overseas into a political issue of the first magnitude.

Outside parliament altogether, the political skies have now become so overcast with controversy, promoted by high-pressure methods and highly financed publicity, that the nature and extent of Canada's war effort is not only being obscured, but is in danger of being seriously impaired.

If the issue of conscription for service overseas is to be fought out, the place for it to be fought out is on the floor of this parliament. If, however, members of the government and, indeed, members of this House of Commons generally, are to be free to express their views irrespective of any previous commitments, it is necessary that all members be released from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service.

Quite apart from the controversy which has arisen, there are the strongest of reasons why the government should, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise, subject only to its responsibility to parliament.

When, prior to its outbreak, the possibility of war in Europe was discussed in Canada, it was thought of in terms of another European war, the scene of which would be confined for the most part to Europe. The last war was still much in mind. The incidents connected with conscription and the results which flowed from its application remained vivid memories. The mere thought of the repetition of anything of the kind was abhorrent to the minds of most people in Canada. Few, if any, even dreamed at the time that war might so spread as to bring into the orbit of actual hostilities, any part of the western hemisphere. When people on this side of the Atlantic thought of war during the autumn and winter months of 1938 and the early spring of 1939, they thought first of the protecting power of the British fleet. The war between Japan and China, though it had been in existence for some years, seemed so remote as to have little or no bearing upon the security of the Pacific coast of this continent.

When the general elections were held during the month of March in 1940, the recollections of 1917 were still vividly in mind. Also in the mind of the people were commitments made in and out of parliament respecting no conscription for service in the armed forces overseas. The relatively greater part which the air and naval forces would play in the present war, in comparison with the last; the obligation which Canada had assumed with respect to the commonwealth air training plan; the need for the immediate development of the navy, the importance of developing the manufacture of munitions on a large scale, all pointed to the unwisdom of raising any issue with respect to conscription.

It was not until the intent and might of nazi aggression had become apparent by the subjugation of Denmark, Norway, The Netherlands, Belgium and France, that its danger to all free countries began to be appreciated. When Italy entered the war, concern was still mostly with what might happen around the shores of the Mediterranean and in Africa. It was difficult for many to believe that the enemy might, some day, be battering our own shores on the Atlantic, and even on the Pacific.

During the past year, however, the bombardment of Britain from the air, the varying fortunes of her armies in a continuously increasing number of areas; the vast additions in resources and man-power gained by Germany through the countries she had overrun; the unrest in the far east; all this, and much else, helped, during the past year, to change the picture vastly as viewed from this side.

On the other hand, Russia's entry into the war on the side of the allies served to lessen anxiety with respect to the need for men needed for the army.

Japan's declaration of war against the United States and the British commonwealth, the consequences flowing from her treacherous attack upon United States' possessions in the Pacific, and upon British and Dutch possessions in Asia and the Indies; the present menace of her armed forces to the island dominions of Australia and New Zealand; all these have given rise to fresh anxiety throughout Canada.

The declaration of war by Germany and Italy, as well as Japan, against the United States has brought the United States into the conflict against the combined axis powers. This, in turn, has given rise to problems which the government is facing in meeting its obligations with respect to the joint defence of the two countries. The declaration signed at Washington on January 1 by 26 nations to combine their efforts against the axis powers, has still further emphasized Canada's responsibilities.

In a world situation so involved, with enemies on every front, with no one able to say what the outcome of battle in other parts of the world may bring of immediate and increased danger to our own land, the government feels strongly that it should be perfectly free to recommend to parliament whatever course of action it deems essential to the security of our own country, and to the preservation of freedom in our own and other lands.

Such freedom the government does not possess at the present time, not because of any limitations upon the powers of parliament —parliament is at all times supreme—but because of past commitments made by the government and, regardless of party, by most members of this house.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A course completely different from any one of the three I have mentioned has been suggested. It is that the government should ignore commitments altogether, refrain from any consultation with or reference to the people, and here and now immediately put in force conscription for service overseas.

I am perfectly sure that were any government to proceed in any such arbitrary manner, completely disregarding the will of the people as expressed in the past, or as it might be expressed in the present, it would find any such attempt effectively thwarted by the people's representatives in parliament.

Personally, I reject as unworthy of consideration, any course of action by this or any parliament which ignores the authority from which parliament and the government alike derive their power. I reject as still more unworthy the suggestion that the government should break the solemn pledges given and repeated time and again to the electorate. Let me repeat what I said at Vancouver:

> The present unhappy state of the world is, in large part, the result of broken pledges. Nazi Germany has erected bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action. Bad faith, broken pledges, and disregard of the popular will, are the forces against which Canada is fighting to-day.

I do not propose to erect bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action. I propose at all times to do all in my power to see that the will of the people, not that of any particular section or group or interest, however powerful or vociferous, shall prevail in the government of this country.

Perhaps I should add that yet another course of action has been suggested. It is that I should resign and advise His Excellency the Governor General—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes, I hear some of them opposite; I hope they listen to what I am going to say. It is that I should resign and advise His Excellency the Governor General to call on some other person to form a government which would ignore all past

commitments and undertake to enforce conscription without any prior consultation with the people. In other words, I am being asked to sell my birthright for their mess of pottage, and to destroy whatever confidence the people of Canada may possess in my honour as a public man, and, in doing so, also to destroy the confidence the people possess in the honour and integrity of the government.

Those who speak and write in that way might be prepared so to act, but I am not. If we wish to destroy, not at this time of war alone, but for all time, the last vestige of confidence which the people of Canada have in their free political institutions and in their public men, that would be the most effective way to go about it.

The government, having, for the reasons I have mentioned, decided to seek from the people, by means of a plebiscite, release from any obligation arising out of any past commitments, proposes, without delay, to introduce legislation to set up the required machinery for conducting the plebiscite at the earliest possible date. The plebiscite will be taken with the minimum of expense consistent with equitable and efficient provision for a full and honest expression of the views of the people.

I need scarcely say that in the machinery which may be necessary for the conduct of the plebiscite, special provision will be made for ascertaining the views of the men on active service in the armed forces.

I shall not go into detail regarding the procedure to be followed in holding the proposed plebiscite. The question which the government proposes to submit to the people is the simple and straightforward question:

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

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

Mr. HOMUTH: Then what will they do?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: That will depend in part upon what my hon. friend and those who are round him will do.

Mr. HOMUTH: Do not worry about us.

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

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

Mr. M. J. COLDWELL (Rosetown-Biggar): Mr. Speaker, I could not begin my remarks this evening without first congratulating the mover and the seconder of the address in reply to the speech from the throne, who were our good companions on a recent trip to Great Britain. They acquitted themselves in a manner which, I believe, won the congratulations of hon. members on all sides of the house. I thought that perhaps at times their praise of the government was a bit extravagant; shorn of these superlatives, their speeches were admirable.

I want to take this opportunity of expressing my own appreciation for the extensive tour of Great Britain so generously provided by the British branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association, and to express particularly my thanks to Sir Howard d'Egville, who supervised the arrangements on this side, to Sir Drummond Shiels, to Mr. Spencer-Hess, and to the British Ministry of Information, who combined to pilot us around Great Britain. Nor must we forget to thank, too, the Hon. Vincent Massey and Mrs. Massey and our splendid staff in the city of London. Every one of them did everything possible so that we might see all those things which visiting parliamentarians ought to see, and to make our stay in Great Britain as pleasant as it could possibly be under the grim circumstances of war. And Britain was grim. I knew from past experiences the British seashore and countryside. I would scarcely have recognized some of the places that I had known in my boyhood days. But in spite of the grimness we found a cool, courageous people engaged in a people's war and determined that when this conflict ended, there would be a people's peace and that the British people would build a new Britain in which the people might find security and peace.

But I should like to say more about those things at another time. To-day we are at the beginning of a new session of parliament. We

meet within the shadows of dark and threatening skies. This is no time for discussions of relatively inconsequential matters. We are faced with more widespread threats to human freedom than, perhaps, the world has ever known, and let us not blind ourselves with undue optimism. All is not well with the war or with our efforts to win it. Except in Russia, North Africa, and China, the axis powers have retained the initiative and have forced the allied powers to retreat from one position to another. This is not because our armed forces are inferior to those arrayed against them, but because we have failed, I believe, so far to realize that this is a war of machines as well as of men. Our steel, copper, nickel and other resources which should have been going into tanks, planes and guns have been going, instead, into automobiles, refrigerators and the luxuries of modern life, and some, indeed, in the early stages of this war found their way to Japan. Our industrialists insisted on business as usual, and until quite recently the government did little to turn those major factories into plants for the production of war material. Indeed, propaganda throughout the country has been directed towards the more glamorous and the more spectacular course of placing men in uniform, when events have proven that the provision of modern equipment should not only have kept pace with enlistments but have outrun them.

Then, too, there has been no real challenge to all our people to put forth every effort. In Britain the people believe most fervently that they are fighting, not to safeguard their present way of life, but to built a finer, nobler Britain, in which there will be larger measures of social security and economic justice. No such dynamic yet touches the lives of our people. They see business as usual, profits much as usual, and the representatives of monopolistic trusts in key positions in the Department of Munitions and Supply and controlling many phases of our war effort. The wheat producers of the west try to make ends meet at prices that were far too low before the war began, while workers in industry see barriers erected against their right to organize in associations of their own choice. Thus our national effort falls short of what it should be, because it lacks the proper dynamic.

I said that the bright spots in the present situation were North Africa, Russia and China; in North Africa because, so Mr. Churchill told us, we have concentrated most of our new equipment there, and so at last a British army meets an axis force on nearly equal terms. The reason for the stubborn resistance of the Chinese is that they fight for a China that had begun to make progress towards a greater measure of economic security, more than old imperial China ever knew. This, too, is the secret of Russian courage and Russian success. Whatever criticism we might have of their methods of government, the Russian people believe firmly that they are fighting to prevent the destruction of those economic and social advances which they themselves have made during the last twenty years. That these advances have been real and marvellously efficient, the effectiveness of the Russian army, the quantity and quality of their equipment, and the magnitude of their industrial reserves, amply demonstrate. Surely we can learn some lessons from these facts. Laboriously, for over two years, we have been mobilizing our war effort, and in spite of our boasted industrial strength we have failed to provide the tools to get on with the job. It is true that Russia had built great war industries before the war. But she was also able to build new cities, new homes, new universities, new standards of life, while we did neither the one nor the other. When the test came, there were no private monopolies, no trusts, no vested interests, no contractors who refused to accept war contracts except on their own terms, no business men who needed the incentive of gain or the acquisition of wealth, to slow up her war effort and bring her to the brink of defeat. In a few weeks she was geared for total war, with the full support of a people with a future to defend. Give our people assurances of a brighter future, remove the hand of selfish gain from our war effort, and in our own way and under our own social institutions Canada can do at least as well.

Thus we can build the hope of a future upon which alone sacrifice for victory will depend. But this hope must be based on something more than fine speeches and attractive promises. As long as people see our aged folk trying to make their meagre pensions meet the increased cost of living, or pensioners, or dependents of those who perished in the last great war, or who are fighting in this one, coping with increasing poverty while industry is prosperous and its total dividends increase, social discontent will act like a canker at the very core of our war effort; for the morale of the nation is the core of resistance, the foundation of victory.

To-day our people see the owners and directors of prosperous industries in charge of our war effort. I know that among them are conscientious and patriotic citizens who are giving of their very best. But even these are human, and sometimes some confuse the welfare of the organizations they have served with

the welfare of the nation, while others identify the welfare of their enterprises with the welfare of the nation itself.

No parliamentary committee has yet delved into the activities of the Department of Munitions and Supply, with which most of the dollar-a-year-men have been associated; but that should be done at this session of parliament. In the United States the office of production management corresponds fairly closely to our Department of Munitions and Supply. There, a committee under the chairmanship of Senator Truman investigated its activities. Its report, submitted to congress on January 15, 1942, was most interesting. It recommended that the office should be drastically reorganized. The report stated that there were 255 dollar-a-year-men and 631 who received no government pay, but many of whom retained remunerative connections with the companies which lent them to the government. These men, the report said, had a tendency to favour big business, whether they were conscious of the fact or not. The committee declared that it was opposed to the government taking free services—and I quote —"from persons with axes to grind"—and recommended that if they were needed by the department they should be given salaries and required to relinquish their private business connections, and salaries.

In parts, the Truman report reads like criticisms that have been made in this house. For example, I quote:

Apparently there never has been any real and coordinated procurement of aircraft.

Again:

There is a tendency throughout to place everything on order wherever possible and put the sole responsibility for delivery on a few large producers.

Again:

"Big business" has had its lobbyists in the form of dollar-a-year-men and men without compensation. Small and intermediate business men have sought to obtain the same benefits by hiring those who they think have influence. In some cases the persons are hired to render legitimate services and are paid so handsomely as to lead many to think their employers must have expected to receive added benefits. In others no legitimate services are rendered and payments that are made can be treated only as compensation for influence. In most instances the "Washington connections" are non-existent and the pedlars of influence are relying on the chance that the business man can obtain a contract without help if he made a serious and determined effort.

Are we free from these abuses, with much the same type of establishment? Well, prosecutions now going on in the Ottawa courts should make us suspect that we may not be. There is unrest in Great Britain, too,

[Mr. Coldwell.]

on another phase of the same problem. The *Labour Discussion Notes* for December, a publication of some of the members of the British Labour party, contained a careful survey of the matter. It said:

The feeling that excess profits are being made must lead to cynicism and lack of a feeling of personal responsibility among the workers in factories from whom a more intensive effort is demanded; while at the same time many employers are putting forth the argument that the inability to make high profits owing to the action of the excess profits tax is itself a brake on production.

The publication goes on to express alarm at the growing economic power of the big monopolies and states a fact of which we should take the most careful warning when it says:

There is one other important factor which requires careful watching—that is the future of the vast capital equipment provided by the government to increase output. . . . It could form the basis of, for instance, a sizeable national munitions industry or it could become a gift handed over at a nominal charge to the present owners. In the latter case, all the effects of the excess profits tax would disappear overnight.

With these warnings before us we should go into the whole problem of munitions and supply, or some day we may find that a few trusts and corporations have so increased their power over the economic life of Canada that the individual, unorganized consumer is entirely at their mercy. Indeed, I would go as far as to say that unless the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) himself is alert to this situation, he will find that the present trends in Canada will shatter every economic and social policy which he has preached and professed throughout his whole career in public life.

To achieve an enthusiastic response from the people of Canada there must be a greater approach to economic justice and equality of sacrifice. In spite of the excess profits tax, total dividends last year were greater than in the previous year. The *Globe and Mail* reported J. R. Timmins and Company as saying that 1941 dividends exceeded $285,000,000 as against $280,000,000 for 1940. These are not my figures, but the figures published by the *Globe and Mail* of the city of Toronto on December 22, 1941.

Our people are not satisfied with our war effort. They look at the personnel of our various war boards and they see representatives of big business in control almost exclusively. To regain the confidence of the people, representatives of farmers and of labour, in the widest sense of these terms, must be given adequate control. By adequate control I do not mean the appointment of the odd farmer

or labour representative chosen by the government on the recommendation of some member of this house, but representatives, according to their importance in the country, chosen by their own representative organizations.

Everywhere we went in industrial Britain we found labour representatives sharing public responsibility with the owners of industry and wealth. I was told that in the rural districts farmers and their labourers shared similar responsibilities. Such, of course, are essential links in an all-out war effort. Canada has been called in this house the arsenal of the British commonwealth; yet we have not equipped our own soldiers adequately. The story told by the Minister of National Defence (Mr. Ralston) of the gallant defenders of Hong Kong reflects little credit on those responsible for the sending of that expeditionary force.

I hope that the committee which the Prime Minister has promised will investigate all the circumstances with great thoroughness. In Montreal on January 6, addressing the Women's Canadian Club, there, I made a brief and passing reference of concern regarding the equipment and training of our troops at Hong Kong. Newspapers immediately designated those who expressed such sentiments as undermining our war effort. I wonder what those newspapers think now about that, or what they think of the harsh epithets applied by British speakers and British papers, including Lord Beaverbrook's own *Daily Express*, to those responsible for the lack of preparation in the far east. In my opinion the military and naval authorities who allowed our men to proceed to Hong Kong without anti-tank guns and adequate equipment and training, with the situation in the far east as tense as it was in late October, were guilty of negligence or ignorance. Had they read Lord Gort's report, the official dispatches on the battle of France? That report was published in Canada two weeks before the ill-fated Hong Kong expeditionary force sailed. Of that battle of France Lord Gort wrote:

So ended a campaign of twenty-two days which has proved that the offensive once more gained ascendancy in modern war when undertaken with an army equipped with greatly superior material power in the shape of air force and fighting vehicles.

After giving some examples of lack of equipment, Lord Gort continued:

These instances among many others serve to indicate the vital necessity for an expeditionary force, if it is to be used in a first class war, being equipped on a scale commensurate with the task it is called upon to fulfil. The day is past when armies can be hurriedly raised, equipped and placed in the field, for modern war demands the ever-increasing use of complicated material.

But it is equally important to inquire under what circumstances a Hong Kong force was asked for, and under what considerations and agreements it was sent. Who took the responsibility for neglecting Brigadier Lawson's expressions of uneasiness on leaving without complete equipment? Did those who decided that the force was to be sent satisfy themselves that in the event of war the island of Hong Kong could be defended? Did they inquire as to its air defences, its artillery equipment, its water and other vital supplies? Or are we to infer that Canadian troops are being placed at the disposal of the imperial general staff without adequate control or inquiry on the part of our own Department of National Defence? If so, then the government has reversed the policy so vehemently maintained in the last war by Sir Robert Borden, and have relegated Canada to the position of colonial days.

It is clear that Canada, Australia and the dominions should be properly and of themselves represented on an allied council dealing with all matters of war stategy. This is most essential. The Minister of National Defence excuses the failure to send adequate equipment with the Hong Kong force on several grounds, one of which was that Japan suddenly and without warning struck in the Pacific. On Saturday last—and the report can be found in full in yesterday's New York *Times*—the Roberts commission in Washington reported the facts in connection with the attack on Pearl Harbour. The report shows that as early as January 24, 1941, the secretaries of the United States navy and of the United States army were discussing the gravity of the Pacific situation; that on October 16, 1941, that is, twelve days before our men left Canada:

The commanding general, Hawaiian department, and the commander in chief of the fleet were advised by the war and navy departments . . . of the probability of hostilities between Japan and Russia and the possibility of an attack by Japan on Great Britain and the United States.

No doubt this view was also held in London, and I assume it was transmitted to Canada.

Then why, in the face of this information, and in view of Lord Gort's report, our experiences in Greece and in Crete and our difficulties in North Africa a year ago, were our troops, even such as were trained, allowed to proceed without equipment to an island which the public now knows could not possibly have been defended successfully?

The leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) said last Wednesday that there would be other Hong Kongs—

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I did not say that. I said there may be.

Mr. COLDWELL: Yes; I stand corrected. The duty of this house is clearly to see that there are no repetitions of the Hong Kong episode. It is our duty to see that our men are given at least a chance to defend themselves properly.

The government proposes to ask the people of Canada for, to use its own words, "by means of a plebiscite, release from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service." That being so, the people of Canada have a right to ask that those responsible for the sending of partly trained, improperly equipped men to Hong Kong, and who failed to satisfy themselves that the island was in a condition which made its defence a possibility, should be relieved of any further responsibilities in the dispatch of our men to any war zone. This is no time to condone carelessness or inefficiency. These delinquencies have brought Britain, the United States and our allies to the brinks of several disasters. Britain, and recently the United States, appear to have acted promptly to deal with such situations. The people have a right to know that no more ill-equipped partly trained men will be sent to places impossible to defend.

As to the plebiscite itself, we are always prepared to support a proper and democratic reference to the people of a clearly defined policy. All that the government intends to ask in the present instance is release from its promise not to conscript for overseas service. That is not enough. The government should tell the people exactly what the war situation really needs. Does it or does it not require conscription of men for overseas service? I hope that in this debate the discussion will not centre round the minor matter of taking a plebiscite. The government has decided to take it; then let it be taken with the least possible delay, and in the meantime let the government take the country into its confidence and tell us why release from its commitments is necessary. This is no time for political strategists to wrangle for party advantage. Obviously the need for equipment and supplies is as great, indeed, judging by the lack of equipment for men already in training, the need is greater. The Canadian people, I believe, demand that industry and finance shall be subjected to national selective service to the same extent as man-power, at the same time and on the same terms. Of course that is not what the new leader of the Conservative party wants. Mr. Meighen said quite explicitly at Weston town hall last Thursday:

I have offered to support the government without stint or reserve in a policy of compulsory selective service for all our forces, our farms and our factories.

No mention here of compulsory service of finance and industry. In commenting, the Montreal *Gazette* said:

This policy is broad enough and comprehensive enough to cover the whole man-power issue.

Quite so, but it reveals the real aim of the people who engineered the new leadership; the newspapers who support him and the so-called committee of two hundred, who failed to secure control of Canada several years ago through their defunct Leadership League and who now, in the midst of war, are trying a war stunt of confusion and division. These people of not advocating the policy urged by the Canadian Legion, which asked for an all-round mobilization of man-power, industry and wealth, though they have pretended to do so; or the policies urged by farmer and labour groups calling for the conscription of industry and wealth before further measures for the conscription of man-power are proceeded with. Neither are these policies involved in the amendment that was moved this afternoon. Beginning with the War Measures Act, right through to the National Resources Mobilization Act, the government has had full power to place this country on a total war footing, with one exception, which government spokesmen have claimed to be of minor importance. Yet, as I have pointed out, our industrial and war effort has been carried forward on the business-as-usual basis, with profits and big business control the governing considerations. Let us know, then, what the government proposes to do, and the needs which make these proposals necessary. None will give more support to an all-out war effort than we will give, but we demand that it be based on equality of sacrifice and not be made merely an opportunity for the regimentation of the Canadian people in the interests of a few monopolistic trusts and their beneficiaries. In order to place our point of view clearly before the house, I am going to move an amendment to the amendment, seconded by the hon. member for Weyburn (Mr. Douglas) in these words:

That all the words after the words "this house regrets that Your Excellency's advisers" be struck out and the following substituted therefor:

"have used the sweeping powers conferred by the National Resources Mobilization Act mainly for the conscription of men for home defence, and in the opinion of this house no total effort adequate to meet the present needs of the war, domestic problems and the preparation for post-war conditions is possible without total mobilization of wealth, industry and finance, as well as human resources.

"Therefore this house respectfully requests that the forthcoming plebiscite should seek the support of the people of Canada for the complete and effective conscription of war industries, accumulated wealth and financial institutions, at the same time and on the same basis of sacrifice as the suggested extension of the conscription of man-power."

Such a plebiscite would give our people an opportunity to give proper expression to their views and guide this house regarding what is in effect a new policy to which a large majority in this house gave no support, or, in whole or part, as the Prime Minister said, opposed in the general elections of 1940. In this way the vote would be an expression of the people's approval of a policy and not merely a plebiscite caused by the government's resort to political expediency. For some time attempts have been made to divide the people of Canada artificially on a question which should be decided not on the basis of partisan controversy but on the basis of the nation's need in a great crisis. This need, I repeat, involves more, much more, than a discussion of the use of man-power, though man-power is necessarily involved in it.

I repeat that the present critical war situation at home demands a complete mobilization of the total resources of our country. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation group will support such total mobilization, but demands that accumulated wealth and war industries be conscripted at the same time, in the same manner and upon the same terms as man-power. If we are to have this all-out war effort, it must be on the basis of national unity. Every discussion of these matters in this house and in the country ought to be undertaken with due regard to the unity of our people of all races, creeds, and tongues. Had the nature and objective of our war effort been clearly placed before the people, our unity would not be endangered. This house has failed to realize that the greatest danger to our unity in war is exactly the same danger we face in peace, the danger from inequality of sacrifice and opportunity. In any part of Canada where profitable industry is found side by side with low standards of living on our farms, and low wage levels with high prices in the cities, there in peace and war disunity arises. If those who live well on the proceeds of profitable industry are of a different race or tongue, the situation is aggravated because the depressed people can find no basis of unity or understanding with those whom they regard as their exploiters. Thus an all-out united war effort requires much more than provision for our armed forces, important as that certainly is.

At least some sources of disagreement have been removed since December 7. There were some people who before that date thought of the struggle as one not touching directly the vital interests of this country. But the attack on Pearl Harbour, the outbreak of war between the United States and Japan, as well as the declarations of war upon the United States by Germany and Italy, have brought the war to our shores. The danger of attack has been real in Victoria and Vancouver, while we know that submarines have been operating near our own Atlantic shores. The whole American continent is now in the war zone and our Latin-American friends have, therefore, recognized the need for hemispheric solidarity. There can now be no doubt in any part of this country as to the need for Canada's all-out and united support of the allied effort to defeat the aggressor powers. It is clear now that we are not in this war merely to help Great Britain, or to help Russia, or to assist the United States; we are in it, in a very real sense, to defend ourselves and our future paths to progress. That being so, we dare not do less than organize our country for an all-out, supreme effort. This we have not had, nor can we have it as long as we operate our economic life on the basis of business as usual. In other words, we must accompany any mobilization of our human resources with a thorough mobilization of industry and finance.

There are some who claim that Canadian industry and finance have already been adequately mobilized. That this is not true is shown by our output, by the lack of planning and by the huge profits and dividends which still continue to be made. Real conscription of our material and financial resources must include the following, and I want to place these points before the house in order that we may understand exactly what we mean when we speak of total mobilization and the conscription of wealth and industry:

1. The national ownership or, at least, control of all our war industries to produce everything we require to maintain civilian health and morale and to provide our fighting forces with adequate equipment.

2. An integrated production plan which utilizes every available plant and facility in its proper place without regard to the demands of big corporations and trusts.

3. A complete reversal of the present dollar-a-year-men control policy and the substitution of proportionate representatives of organized farmer and labour bodies on all control

agencies, so that the pressure of big business could be effectively curbed and democratic direction of the war effort achieved.

4. Direct national control of all our financial institutions so that without inflation and without unnecessary future burdens of debt, we can finance our national effort.

5. There must be, at least, a one hundred per cent excess profits tax, and, indeed, on all profits a low maximum rate should be set and the excess taken by the government for our war effort.

6. The present loan policy should be replaced by one of compulsory, interest-free loans imposed on the accumulated wealth of rich individuals and corporations, and based on ability to contribute. Indeed, the fairest method would be to establish a fair maximum income for all and to tax back to the country every dollar above that maximum.

In view of the outline of the financial aid the government proposes—and quite properly—to give at this time to those who are fighting our battles across the sea, I should like to see a policy of that kind adopted. It may, indeed, become quite necessary. If we did all this, we would still be doing less to industry, to wealth and to those of us who are not called upon to surrender our futures and our lives to Canada than we propose to do to those who are being called upon to surrender themselves to fight in this terrific war.

I know that as yet we in Canada have scarcely been touched by war. When I flew from Canada to Great Britain last autumn, and when I returned again in the same quick manner, it seemed as if I had stepped from one world into another. Apart altogether from the black-outs, apart altogether from the evidences of destruction and devastation we saw round us in the great cities; apart altogether from the scarring of the countryside we noticed as we passed through; apart from the fact that to-day the people of Britain are living on rations which, despite efforts to make them healthy and adequate, are nevertheless monotonous, and insufficient to maintain that amount of energy required to carry on under the circumstances under which the people in Great Britain are living—I say that despite all these things we noticed the will of the people to carry through to victory.

I might at this point make one reference which will be familiar to those who were with me. One day we saw an aged woman outside a little corner store. I asked her if she did not wish that the government might do something to end the war to-morrow. In spite of her poverty and in spite of the fact she with many others had been bombed out of her home, she said, "No, sir, not until we have licked him."

We saw the courage of the people over there, and we realized the grimness of the struggle. We in this country have not yet begun to understand the grimness of the situation across the seas. In closing, Mr. Speaker, I want to leave this thought, that in addition to the provision of men to take part in the battles raging throughout the world to-day, there is something which we in Canada must be prepared to do to a greater extent than we have done before, and that is to provide the people of Great Britain with those concentrated foods which they like and which are so greatly needed to maintain the health of their working force and their morale.

Surely out of our bounty we can deny ourselves pork, bacon, ham, cheese, butter and other foods of the concentrated type so that we may send more and more across the seas to maintain the health of the women, children, workers and soldiers on that beleaguered island. When we left Great Britain that was one of the things they said: "Tell your people in Canada to send us more things—more food, more supplies. Those are the things we need."

I had not intended to say that to-night; I had intended to reserve that suggestion for some other occasion. But, Mr. Speaker, I could not let this occasion go by without saying that if it is necessary for our government to restrict the consumption of those things needed across the seas—for, out of our bounty we could substitute many other things—then I say to the government: "Restrict those supplies, and ration the country." I know the people will respond to the greatest extent to such an appeal.

On motion of Mr. Blackmore the debate was adjourned.

On motion of Mr. Mackenzie King the house adjourned at 9.50 p.m.

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HENRI MACKAY, *LL.L.*,
rédacteur des débats français,
chambre 514.

File re: Plebiscite
Misrepresentation

D42511

Borden and King

Vancouver Province

The difference between Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Mackenzie King is that when Sir Robert received a mandate from the Canadian people, as he did in 1917, he accepted it for what it was and carried out his instructions, whereas when Mr. King received a mandate as in 1942, he ignored it, went his own sweet way.

When the 1942 vote was taken on the question, "Do you favor conscription?" Quebec shouted "No". The rest of Canada shouted "Yes" in twice the volume. But Mr. King heard only Quebec and it was the voice of Quebec that prevailed. It coincided with Mr. King's political necessities.

From the Ottawa Journal, July 6, 1944
in "Other Views" column.

D 42512

Unrevised Hansard
June 23rd, 1942,
Page 3869:

Mr. Ralston:

Another point that came up which my hon. friend touched upon, although he did not make the point quite in this way, was this. He suggested that these regulations should be referred to parliament. He said that the matter of actual action in connection with conscription should come back to parliament. I do feel that those who make that suggestion have a wrong appreciation of the situation and of what has taken place. Let me remind the house what happened. A plebiscite was held, and the government asked the people of the country to give it the responsibility of deciding the question as to conscription. It was expressly said by everybody that conscription was not the issue which the public were to decide. The people of Canada voted on the question. I have the figures here: 179 constituencies voted "yes" and 65 constituencies voted "no," which is equivalent to pretty substantial representation in this House of Commons. That responsibility was given to the government by the people. What happened? The government now comes before parliament and says, "You have given us power over persons and property in this dominion in respect of everything, but you have missed one thing. You have put a limitation in the fact that we cannot send men to serve overseas in the armed forces of Canada. We are asking you to repeal that section."

What is left? What is left is that the government has full responsibility and full power when that section is repealed. I say to you therefore that, the government first having had the plebiscite, asking for a release from its pledge, with regard to compulsory overseas service, and having been granted that release, and, second, having come to parliament to have that release confirmed by the repeal of the very section which mentions compulsory overseas service, obviously when the section is repealed nothing is left for parliament, and the proper course is that the government should not shrink from the responsibility for which it has asked, but should act on that responsibility and act as it deems best in the light of the power given by that section. My hon. friend and those who advocate the reverse are suggesting that the government should ask for a repeal of the section which ties their hands and then the next minute decide to go back to parliament before using the power conferred. I say that that would be the same as the government at one moment having its hands untied and then the next moment having them tied again. In other words, it would be exactly the same as if we were to insert a proviso at the foot of the bill to this effect: "Section 3 is hereby repealed, provided however that none of the powers of section 2 shall be exercised until parliament is consulted once more."

It seems to me that the people of Canada would not understand anything of that sort. It would be regarded as evasion; it would be regarded as a shrinking from responsibility. All we are doing in this debate, having spent weeks at it as it is, would then be merely an idle gesture, because we would then have to come back once more to debate the whole question before exercising the power which we had expressly asked parliament to confer upon us, and which had been so conferred. Without hesitation, therefore, I say that I shall not shrink from the responsibility which has been conferred upon me as a member of the government, but shall act under the statute as amended.

Unrevised Hansard
June 23rd, 1942,
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REPEAT
REPETITION

Unrevised Hansard
June 22nd, 1942,
Pages 3822-23

D 42513

Hon. A. L. Macdonald:

It has been argued that if conscription is to be enforced, its actual imposition should come about only by direct action of this parliament. As I understand the argument, it comes to this, that what we say or do now amounts to very little. Here and now in this debate we are merely deciding some sort of philosophic principle the practical application of which cannot be made until this parliament meets again or until this parliament has had a second discussion and decided that the moment has come to apply conscription. That view has been set forth by the member for Rosetown-Biggar, the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (Mr. Coldwell), and by some of his followers. They argue that it is undemocratic to leave to the government the power to decide by order in council at what moment conscription should be imposed.

It must be remembered—and this has been pointed out before many times in this house, a few days ago by the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) himself—that this government now has the power to conscript persons, their services and their property. It has complete power in the matter of conscription except in one respect, and that is that it cannot conscript persons for military service outside Canada and Canada's territorial waters. That is the only restriction upon the powers of this government, and that is the restriction which Bill No. 80 seeks to remove.

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It is said now that we should come back to parliament even after this debate is concluded and submit to parliament the direct question whether we should have conscription at that time.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Who has raised that question? We have not.

Mr. MACDONALD (Kingston City): I agree that my hon. friend has not raised it, but it has been said and he knows it has been said both in this house and elsewhere. I regard a second debate on this question as unnecessary. The question has been before the people in one form or another for nearly three years. It has been before the house directly since January 23 when the speech from the throne was read. We have had a plebiscite on it, and I must confess that I felt that if the vote on the plebiscite was in the affirmative, there would be very little further debate on the matter. The people would have registered their opinion and parliament would endeavour to give effect to their verdict. That was my view.

We talk a great deal about democracy in these days, and it is well that we should; but I wonder whether democracy is doing itself any service by spending the greater part of five months in the discussion of a question of this sort in times like the present. For my part, on this point of going back to the house a second time I take my stand on the words of the Prime Minister, spoken in this house on June 10. First he quoted from his speech of February 25 in which he had used these words—*Hansard,* page 3516:

> When we find that we cannot raise the required numbers of men for enlistment overseas by the voluntary method, and it is absolutely necessary to raise more men by other methods, then we will make our decision, present it to parliament and have it discussed on its merits.

After making that quotation from his February speech the Prime Minister went on to say:

> Unless the question of conscription for overseas service is to be twice debated, that, as I see it, is the stage we have now reached. The government is making its policy with respect to the raising of men for service overseas fully known. We are presenting that policy to parliament.

That is the stand I take now. There should be no second debate on this question. Those who say that parliament should be consulted again put themselves in rather a curious position, it seems to me. Let us suppose there should be a second debate in this parliament, and that the debate should determine that the time had come when the application of conscription for overseas service should be made; is it to be expected that even at that stage every detail of the plan would be laid before parliament? Is it to be held that every time a unit is to be sent overseas the matter will be referred to parliament for decision as to whether or not it should go? It seems to me that the proper function of parliament in these as in other cases is to decide general principles, leaving such matters as the time of application of those principles, the numbers of men involved and other details of the kind, to be decided by the governor in council, the decisions of the governor in council being of course later submitted to parliament, as is required by the National Resources Mobilization Act.

D42514

The people of Canada are not going to hesitate in taking any step, or stop at the adoption of any method which they believe to be necessary to the preservation of their freedom, not to speak of the preservation of their national existence. But they will wish to know, and they have a right to know, that before any step is taken, or any method adopted which is calculated to create controversy or to ~~affect~~ national unity, that it is a right step, and a necessary method. Whether the step to be taken is the right one, or the method to be adopted is the necessary one, can best be determined, indeed can only be satisfactorily determined, by parliament itself in the light of such information as the government is in a position to impart.

You are being asked to release the government from all past commitments in order that the government may be wholly free in expressing its views to parliament, and that parliament may also be wholly free in its consideration of matters of supreme importance to our country, and which affect the homes and lives of all. If in the greatest of all emergencies, you are not prepared to trust the government and your own parliament to see that only those things are done which are wholly in the interest of the country, who or what are you prepared to trust? This is the question I should like every citizen of Canada to ask himself and herself as he or she answers "yes" or "no" to the question ~~to which you will be asked to reply~~ on the 27th of this month.

SECRET

JWP/MP
2.3.42

D 42515

Seen by PM
JWP

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re: The Plebiscite Campaign in Quebec

The point made in the attached editorial from the London Free Press is certain to occasion increasing comment.

The fact that no French Canadian Minister spoke on the address and that, except Fournier of Hull, not one French speaking member from Quebec said frankly that he would ask his constituents to vote yes, has not only been a source of encouragement to the so-called "nationalists" of Quebec, but it has equally been a source of uneasiness to the friends of French Canada elsewhere in the country.

Underlying almost all the speeches is the assumption that the war is not really a Canadian war, that its outcome does not matter to Canada, and that we are only in it because Britain is. Surely what is far more needed than a direct campaign for the plebiscite is an intensive educational campaign in French Canada to explain the issue in the war itself, on the radio, in the press, and by every possible means.

Senator Gouin made a very impressive speech in the Senate along the right lines. Perhaps it might be possible to find some means of associating him actively with the direction of some such campaign. All my friends in Quebec, both English and French-speaking, tell me that unless something effective is done from Ottawa, there is every danger of a renaissance of "nationalism" in its narrowest and ugliest forms.

J. W. P.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication London Free Press.

Date Feb. 27/42.

Subject

D 4816

Mr. King Says Vote "Yes"

Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King has announced that he will ask the people to vote in the affirmative when the plebiscite is taken to release the Government from its present pledges.

This is as it should be. Without leadership from Mr. King and the Government the plebiscite would be endangered. It is to be hoped that steps will be taken when the time comes to present before the people of French Canada the seriousness of the situation and the need of their voting to give the Government a free hand. We can imagine nothing which would bring greater unity to this country than an almost unanimous vote for this plebiscite in which French Canada would lead the way. It would help to wipe out old feelings and old prejudices. It would draw French and English Canada together. On the other hand if French Canada should vote solidly against the plebiscite and the rest of Canada vote the other way it would make for national disunity. The extreme elements in Quebec would be in the saddle.

Jean-Charles Harvey, well known French Canadian journalist, in a recent pamphlet, pointed out that little effort had been made in Quebec to show the people of that province what defeat of the Allies would mean to them and the seriousness of the situation. He wrote:

> "If French-speaking Canadians — or at least a great number of them — do not know yet that their laws, their institutions, their traditions and their national independence are directly threatened and could not survive a victory by Hitler, then the fault is not theirs. It should be laid at the door of the feebleness of our news and propaganda services. When one considers that all sorts of foreign propaganda against the British Empire, the United States and all democratic governments has been allowed to circulate practically without opposition in the Province of Quebec, thus allowing the first duty of a reasonable precaution in time of war to go by default, it is almost ridiculous to see the timidity and lack of imagination, of understanding and vigor we have shown in the spreading of our own ideals and of the principles which we have to defend. The result is that several of our fellow-countrymen do not feel themselves to be at war and in grave danger. Whose fault is this?"

The death of Hon. Ernest Lapointe removed the only figure in Quebec who spoke with authority and who rallied the French Canadians behind the war effort. Without leadership and a vigorous propaganda campaign extreme nationalism has been raising again its ugly head.

The Liberal party, which in the past has capitalized on the feeling in Quebec against conscription, has a great opportunity today. If it will throw all its weight under the leadership of Mr. King to have the plebiscite carried; if it will vigorously campaign for its passage it can bring about a national unity which all Canadian people realize is so essential if the Dominion is to become a great nation and if we are to make an all-out war effort.

Defeat of the plebiscite or even a close vote would be disastrous. It is not hard to imagine what rejoicing there would be in Berlin! Our American neighbors perturbed now by the political bickering in Canada would have a cold blanket thrown on their ardor. It would encourage the isolationists.

COPY

D 42517

CANADIAN LEGATION
WASHINGTON

March 14th,1942

Dear Mr.Robertson,

With reference to my message WA-292 of March 14th concerning an article in this morning's WASHINGTON TIMES HERALD, I am enclosing several copies of the article in question. I have already commented on it at some length in my message and have not much to add in this letter.

You will notice that the concluding paragraphs of the article with their emphasis on Canadian weakness and on the danger of this weakness to the United States,can be regarded as leading to the unexpressed conclusion that the annexation of Canada to the United States may become necessary in the interests of national security.

We are now in the midst of a period of criticism, brought on by the failure of the forces of the United Nations to halt the Japanese advance and to inflict any serious reverse on the German forces,except in Russia. Criticism of the United Kingdom has recently been venomous,especially in the McCormick-Patterson press. The publicity given to such trifling incidents as the grounding of the Northwest Airlines plane at Edmonton is a reflection of this general anxiety and disappointment. In every war military failure produces recrimination between the Allies,however useless this may be towards victory. We are bound to come in for our share. There is not much that can be done to prevent it. Lies can sometimes be nailed by denials and occasionally their publication can be suppressed through censorship. Military success,however,is the only cure for the general malady.

I mentioned in my message of this morning that Mr.Howe had written to Judge Patterson about the Northwest Airlines story. He sent a copy of his letter to Mr.Carswell,who showed it to me a day or two ago. It was a clear and vigorous recital of the facts,ending with a request that the War Department should set the record straight. They have not yet done so.

I also mentioned in my message the frequent repetition in the press of stories implying that the United States authorities had been for years pressing for the construction of the Alaska Highway but had only wrung reluctant consent from the Canadian Government because of the perils of the hour. It should be not too difficult to set the record straight,and Mr. Hickerson,with whom I have discussed the matter,made the suggestion that a formal statement on the course of the negotations should be issued as an introduction to the exchange of notes on the Highway when these are published. I think that this is a good idea.

D42518

With regard to Mr.Waldrop's observations on the lack of national cohesion in Canada, I doubt that there is a great deal that can be done on our part to combat this type of criticism. To the great majority of Americans the fact that we have not imposed conscription for overseas service is in itself evidence that our war effort is not whole-hearted. This is one of the few questions on which there is a wide cleavage between the public attitudes in the two countries. Conscription is here accepted without question as the sound democratic method of raising an army. Praise of the virtues of the voluntary system falls on deaf ears in the United States. The Canadian background therefore looks soggy to a great many people in this country. Moreover, when journalists of Waldrop's type wish to indulge in criticism of Canada, they can readily secure abundant material merely by reading three or four prominent Canadian newspapers. The position would change overnight if our forces were to play a dramatic part in the war. The Canadian share in the Second Battle of Ypres without doubt had a great influence in impressing on the American public during the last war the role of Canada as a belligerent. The public attitude in these matters is based more on an emotional than a rational response, and the recitation of the facts and figures of our present war effort is not in itself enough to mould opinion on the lines that we desire.

Yours sincerely,

H.H.WRONG

N.A.Robertson,Esquire,
Under-Secretary of State for
External Affairs,
Ottawa,Canada.

CANADIAN LEGATION
WASHINGTON

Subject Canada's Chances.

Date March 14,1942. *Publication* Washington Times-Herald.

D 42519

Canada's Chances -:- *By Frank C. Waldrop*

AT last the hard rock of inertia and natural selfishness has been blasted aside and the United States is being allowed to build one road with its own money through Canada to Alaska.



Frank Waldrop

It is a good beginning, but it would be a very poor ending for a most important wartime and postwar development.

Wartime, because Alaska is one of our most critical military outposts and is now accessible only by sea and by a dogleg air route hooked over the sea.

Wartime Alaska must be tapped in with the overland transportation systems of the United States so we can move troops there and have supplies follow them safely.

For that purpose we must have not just one road, but a whole network of them veined out through the Canadian back country, and if there is any practical way to do it, a railroad to back them up.

But a railroad and a highway system would still not be enough.

WE must have access to Alaska by air. Today, if we want to fly to Alaska we must go West to the Pacific and then turn at an angle up the coast by flying boat, to the loss of time, money and safety.

American aviation companies propose a ruler-straight airway from our Midwest across the Canadian plains to Fairbanks, Alaska. They are all ready to pioneer the job and pay for it, too, as we are pioneering and paying for the Alaskan highway.

But so far they are not any further along than just "ready," because Canada will not give the go ahead signal.

For many months the requests of these American companies have been filed and forgotten by our own Government because the government of Canada was very sensitive about it all.

Which brings up the issue of post-war development.

THE Canadians say they are willing to co-operate with us in the fullest to win the war, but they don't want to lose their sovereignty in the process. They have the old and understandable fear of all our neighbors that we may swallow them up.

Well, it is a tough proposition to face, but it is a tougher one to ignore.

Canada is, in the national sense, a vacuum.

Geographically, Canada is greater than the United States. And in wealth, it is one of the world's richest sources of wheat, fish, timber, and precious and semiprecious minerals.

Nearly all the world's known supply of nickel is in Canada, for example, and so is the world's biggest radium mine.

So rich is one Canadian radium mine north of the Arctic Circle, that the operators make a huge profit out of it, even though they fly the pitchblende ore out by plane and extract the radium down in easier country.

BUT politically, Canada is a very poor country.

In population it is dangerously weak, having a total on hand barely equal to the population within 50 miles of Times Square, New York.

Canada is also bilingual. That is, one group sticks to English as its natural language and another sticks to French. Result: There is always a certain raggedness of relationship.

One outstanding example of this raggedness is the inability of the government of Canada to get the people to back it up all the way on the war issue. It is pretty well known the Canadian government would like to see a draft act passed allowing it to export Canadian boys to fight on foreign fields, as our own American boys are now doing.

But it hasn't been able to get up the nerve to try, because it doesn't dare tackle head-on the French speaking people of Quebec, who are generally opposed to the draft idea.

THESE weaknesses of Canada are as dangerous as any could be for any nation. They are most especially dangerous for a nation so rich.

It is a hard truth that Canada would not last five minutes without the protection of the United States, just as Mexico would not last five minutes without our protection.

The Mexicans have a well-deserved reputation for biting the hand of Uncle Sam at every opportunity.

They have bit him so long he has even got in the habit of sticking his hand out where they could get an easier snap at it, as when we undertook to finance the Mexican expropriation of our investments by underwriting Mexican silver mining at heavy cost to us.

CANADA is a far different country with a past different from Mexico's.

Canada has a great future, for airpower is the device by which the frozen north is being opened up to free and easy human habitation.

The flow of that airpower is bound to come into Canada from one of two directions—either from the friendly south of the United States or from the alien and hostile North, as Europe and Asia come thundering over the North Pole.

The United States has the power to meet the issue, now and after the war. Canada hasn't.

So why this stalling? Does Ottawa want to become another Singapore?

First draft.

D 42520

Plebiscite Broadcast.

Contents:-

1. Sanctity of the Pledged Word.

   The reason for the pledge.
   The reason for the plebiscite.

2. The necessity for a release at this time.

   Freedom of action essential in national interest.

3. Not a vote on conscription.

   Conscription will be for Parliament to decide.

4. Canada's safety and future at stake.

   Canada in war to maintain Canadian freedom.
   Must be prepared to meet enemy at any point.
   Guarding the northern bridge.

5. The awful responsibility of a negative vote.

   The government should be trusted to make right decision.
   Those who advise "No" have no expert knowledge.

6. Meaning of failure to vote.

7. Appeal for affirmative vote.

First draft

D 42521

Plebiscite Broadcast

1. Sanctity of the Pledged Word

On January 22nd it was announced that a plebiscite would be held having for its object the release of the government from the pledge it had given as to the methods of raising men for overseas service. Almost at once the government was attacked from several directions. Some of these attacks were inspired by partisan considerations. Much of this political controversy ended on February 9th when the results of the by-elections were known. There remain certain misunderstandings about the plebiscite which I shall attempt to clear away. I shall indicate, as well, the attitude which the government and, indeed, the majority of Members of Parliament, hope Canadian citizens will adopt towards the plebiscite on April 27th.

No one denies that a pledge restricting the method of raising men for overseas service was given before and at the outbreak of war in the most solemn and emphatic terms. No one denies that it was given not only by myself and by other members of the government, but as well, in equally clear terms, by the then Leader of the Opposition. Nor is it questioned by informed persons that such a pledge was necessary if Canada was to enter the war as a united nation.

D 42522

Critics of the decision to hold a plebiscite say that there is no need for the government to seek release from our pledge. Some of our critics say that the government has the legal authority to enact any measure concerning the method of raising men for military service, and should be prepared at any time to take action without reference to the electors. It is true that the government has the legal authority, but there is something greater than legal power - it is moral obligation. Legally the government is free to act without regard to its pledge - morally, we are bound until the people to whom that pledge was given, release us.

There may be some who take the view that, in matters of government, in time of war, moral obligations count for nothing. May I say that, in my opinion, moral obligations, especially where they relate to a specific measure, a concrete matter related to the war on which the government of the country itself has given a pledge, are as binding as any obligation could possibly be. To say that the parliament of Canada, which derives its powers from the people, after a solemn pledge has been given to the people on a matter which is of deep concern to them, is released from this pledge the moment the people have elected it, is simply for parliament itself to create a precedent which would be subversive of parliamentary institutions.

D42523

2. <u>The necessity for a release at this time</u>

At one extreme, as I have said, are those who say the government should disregard its pledge and break faith with the people. At the other extreme are those who say the government is permanently bound and should not ask for a release from its pledge, regardless of circumstances. My answer to them is that the war has become so serious; that the situation can change so suddenly; that the danger to our very existence is so great, that no government should have any limitations upon its power to act to preserve national security.

The government has not come forward and asked to be freed from its pledge because of any situation which exists at the moment. At present, as the Minister of National Defence has made clear, we are obtaining men for service in any part of the world as rapidly as we can train them. For our programme this year, and up to March, 1943, there is an honest belief on the part of the government that we will be able to get the men by voluntary enlistment for service overseas, and will not have to resort to conscription. But no one can say how long this war is going to last. No one can say what particular turn it is going to take. None of us knows what the conditions are going to be a few months hence, or several months hence, or a year or two hence. What we all know

D42524

is this, that every month of this war has made it apparent that a government cannot be too free to take the course that may be demanded in the national interest. It is because of this we want to have perfect freedom of action as an administration, to have all the right to do what is in the public interest at the time the situation may demand it. We feel we ought to be given this freedom as quickly as possible. ~~The reason we want it, as I have stated already, is to be free to act in the manner which will best serve the interests of the people of Canada to serve in the manner that will make Canada's war effort the most effective~~. That is the sole reason, and that is all that is involved in this plebiscite. This is the issue: Is the government of Canada, in time of war, to have freedom to take whatever action it thinks most advisable with respect to the furtherance of Canada's war effort?

D 42525

3. Not a vote on conscription

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

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

D 42526

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

D 42527

4. Canada's safety and future at stake.

The place of Canada in this struggle is ever growing in importance. This is now indeed a world-war: every continent is involved: more than nine-tenths of the human race are lined up on one side or the other, or already over-run either by Nazi or Japanese conquerors. The blows of the enemy are fierce and sharp: he is this year putting forth a supreme effort that comes of the conviction that if he does not conquer now, he will never conquer. From these grim facts it is obvious that we must meet fully, and without the slightest pause, the obligations that we have assumed and the obligations that are placed upon our shoulders by the danger to our very existence.

Canada is in this war neither to support any selfish cause of empire, nor to meddle with the affairs of other nations and other continents, but to make it possible for our Canadian freedom, our Canadian way of life to survive in a free world. Unless free men stand together and fight in one common cause and in one common effort, we shall all perish one after another. In the early phases of the war many of the free nations of Europe, deceived by their own brand of isolationism and by Hitler's subtle underhand propaganda, thought they could

safely hold aloof from the conflict. They would not join with Britain and France: they would stand guard along their own borders. What a fatal error! Too late they learned their lesson, when the Nazi panzer divisions and dive-bombers annihilated the forces of each, one after another.

Yet even today there are some in Canada who go on saying we should simply stand on guard along our own shores, waiting for the enemy to come and attack our country. I say to them and I say to you, that is the best and surest way of destroying our country.

It is said in certain quarters that no matter what course this conflict may take Canada will require all her armed forces to defend her own shores. It is said that the more bitter the conflict may become, the more reason why our armies, our ships, and our squadrons of aircraft should remain at home.

If the government accepted that view, if we were to say, what we have never said, that under no circumstances will any of our forces leave our shores, what would that mean? That would mean that the government would be gambling the security of the great ports and naval stations of Halifax, Saint John, Esquimalt and Vancouver, the ancient and venerable monuments of Quebec and Montreal, the very lives of the

D 42529

people of Canada. The government would be saying: "We shall wait till the enemy comes, and then we shall fight him, even if we lose every ship in our harbours, every aeroplane in our hangars, every court-house, every cathedral, every home in this land." Could any policy be more perilous?

The part of wisdom is to meet the enemy before he can lay waste any part of this country, before he can slay one Canadian child. The part of wisdom is to meet and defeat the enemy, if we can, far from the land of Canada, and far from the coastal waters of Canada. The part of wisdom is to meet and defeat him in Greenland rather than in Labrador -- and it is less than six hundred miles from Labrador to Greenland; to defeat him in Iceland rather than in Greenland -- and Iceland lies less than a thousand miles from the southern tip of Greenland. I have spoken more than once of the great northern bridge of islands which stretch across the Atlantic. Newfoundland, Greenland, Iceland and Britain are the shields and outposts which must be held for our own security.

For our own security it is vital that the great northern bridge over which we are pouring food and munitions and aircraft and fighting men shall carry traffic only from west to east. For the same bridge could also carry traffic from east to west.

D 42530

Unless that bridge is strongly held at both ends, an invading horde of Nazi barbarians would pour over it to battle against us in the streets of Halifax and Quebec.

D 42531

5. The Awful Responsibility of a Negative Vote.

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

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

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

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

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

D 42533

6. Meaning of failure to vote.

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

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

D 42534

7. Appeal for affirmative vote.

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

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

30/3/32

Re: Plebiscite

D 42535

Times change and we change with them.

Feeling after last war.

Growing tension in Europe.

A world conflagration.

Pledges given.

Another European war.

So long as that impression lasted, no change,
also plenty volunteers
until issue of conscription raised.

Changed conditions.

A world war - new relationship - new obligation.

United States and Canada - joint defence
all for each, each for all.

A total war effort - on part of each nation
on part of all free nations.

D 42536

Canada's total war effort discounted.

Quebec identified with war effort.

To save disunity arising out of controversy

get issue to Parliament.

Unknown situations may arise.

~~Ground~~ underfoot being ~~supplied~~ shifted.

Need to remove pledge.

Course proposed - other course.

Why arbitrary course not chosen -

moral issue - faith of government.

Why course opposed,

confused with issue of conscription -

a party matter

revived old hatreds and suspicion.

Difference between then and now.

Arguments vs. time factor

need for men.

D 42537

Issue not conscription.

Issue = a free hand -
Parliament still to decide on merits,
Government to take responsibility.

The advantages of Yes:
all on same footing
ready to meet any situation.

The dangers of No:
Canada's war effort "magnificent".
Other nations may not co-operate with us
e.g. United States.

Re: farmers' sons.

Position of government at time such as this.
A people's trust.
Some people want conscription, whether needed
or helpful - just compulsion for sake of.
~~A wrong position.~~

42538

Changed position of Canada.

e.g. Australia.

Many defeats in Europe or Asia

not in Canada.

Canada the prize of conquest -

"If you had had conscription

this would ~~now~~ never have happened."

Placed in wrong position

Province.

Government.

Country.

D42539

the Atlantic

Human change : no change until then

Failing efforts lost now — a united confederation

growing tension in Europe

Nuclear gain

modern weapon war.

So long as that two powers control, no change

also flank ; retaliation

United States, Canada.

changed conditions

a limited war. — non retaliation - none Atlantic

US. Canada - front defence

all for one, one for all

a total war effort - on basis of isolation

or base of alliances

Canada, total war effort. } this Canada

Continental Defence Scheme } Special identified

Second under fire very difficult } with war effort

need to remove threats.

Causes Background — other causes.

why arbitrary cause not always. — moral aims - faith of Sol.

by cause of Second

Canada must

know of commitment — a party battle

reversed old balance

arguments. (different between them and

Causes det. cause. Union

cause = a free hand — Nazi Skill & daring

on merits

Sol. & interdependency.

The advantages of Nor

are some pooling

ready to meet any situation

Changed position of Canada

of America

many defend, a Europe

or Asia, not -

a Canada.

Canada the forge of conquest.

"if no and but Canada"

this and some how influence for some

Position of Sol ab term such as this

a peaceful Union.

Some new conception, all this needed a helpful. - first comprehension for Sol of

Canada, a many powers

JWP/JMC
30.3.42.

D 42540

Confidential

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.

re Plebiscite Broadcasts

After our telephone conversation last night I set down a list of the points which still needed to be covered in the two broadcasts on the Plebiscite. I have looked them over again and revised them this morning and am attaching them in the hope that they may at least be suggestive.

It is assumed:

1. that no object is to be served by justifying the plebiscite. Everyone accepts it now as a fact and mere justification will not get yes votes.

2. that it should be addressed, in fact though not in form, exclusively to those who are inclined to vote no or to abstain.

3. that every phrase and every paragraph should be subjected to one test viz., will this help to persuade waverers to vote yes.

The foregoing assumptions will, I think, explain the omission of certain points which might otherwise be included, if the object of the broadcasts were to give a complete picture of the reasons for holding the plebiscite and other circumstances which are now taken for granted.

J.W.P.

I attach three pertinent Editorials

Confidential

D 42541

Plebiscite Broadcasts.

Suggested Points for Inclusion.

1. The world situation.

Increasing seriousness of war;

Nearness to Canada.

Actual danger to our own country.

2. Unity among nations fighting Axis.

Isolation fatal - Denmark, Norway, Low Countries, Balkans;

United effort essential to success;

Avoidance of misunderstanding among allies.

Present situation endangers Canada's reputation - half-hearted;

Vital to our future to play our full part.

Enemy cannot be defeated in North America;

Importance of keeping in step especially with United States.

Confidential

D 42541

Plebiscite Broadcasts.

Suggested Points for Inclusion.

1. The world situation.

Increasing seriousness of war;

Nearness to Canada.

Actual danger to our own country.

2. Unity among nations fighting Axis.

Isolation fatal - Denmark, Norway, Low Countries, Balkans;

United effort essential to success;

Avoidance of misunderstanding among allies.

Present situation endangers Canada's reputation - half-hearted;

Vital to our future to play our full part.

Enemy cannot be defeated in North America;

Importance of keeping in step especially with United States.

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 42542

3. Present limitation a symbol:

Used to distort war effort;
to misrepresent government;
to misrepresent Canada

in the eyes of the free world.

4. Why government should be free:

1. Uncertainty of future
2. Need to prepare for all eventualities.
3. Moral strength derived from full authority.

5. National unity essential to war effort.

1. Pledge given to preserve unity in war effort
2. Freedom now required for same reason.
3. In changed world, so long as pledge limited the government, controversy would grow and unity be weakened.

6. Not a vote for conscription.

1. Conscription not needed for existing programme
2. Belief it may never be needed
3. Government and Parliament should however, be free to decide in light of knowledge.

D 42543

4. People cannot make military decisions.

7. How to vote

1. Affirmative vote gives full responsibility and authority to Parliament and the Government.

2. Negative vote amounts to an assumption by individual of responsibility for safety of country and his own family, through denial of authority to Government.

3. Failure to vote - an evasion of duty and indifference to security of the country

8. Why to vote

1. To give government full moral power to provide for national security

2. To demonstrate our unity as a people.

3. To show the world we are determined to do our utmost.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press.

Date March 24/42.

Subject

The Irreconcilables

Mr. Lacombe, M.P., who has taken the lead in Parliament in displaying irreconcilable hostility to the proposition that by their vote the people of Canada should approve the deletion from the National Mobilization Act of the provision limiting compulsory military service to home defence, has heatedly denounced an advertisement which recently appeared in leading newspapers and periodicals. Mr. Lacombe charged the Government with the responsibility of placing this advertising and of paying for it out of public funds; and he was particularly annoyed because it had appeared in La Presse, a Montreal daily with a very large circulation in the Province of Quebec.

The advertisement thus assailed was not sponsored or paid for by the Government; but it expressed the views of a member of the Government and Mr. Lacombe was doubtless right in assuming that Hon. Colin Gibson, Minister of National Revenue, whose statement was thus given publicity, spoke for his colleagues as well as for himself. Mr. Lacombe was particularly angry over the concluding observations by Mr. Gibson, which were in these terms:

> **In a few weeks time, this country is holding a plebiscite, when our people will be FREE to answer "YES" or "NO" to a question, or not to vote at all.**
>
> **AS I SEE IT,—HITLER would vote "NO", QUISLING would NOT VOTE, CANADIANS will vote "YES".**

* * *

The anger of Mr. Lacombe and those who share his views is readily understandable. Mr. Gibson, by his plain, blunt language, is obliging them to give consideration to an aspect of this question which they would like to dodge: What bearing will the casting of a "No" vote have upon the future course of the war and its ultimate result? Moreover, Mr. Gibson and Mr. Lacombe have between them brought this question, in a somewhat acute form, to the attention of the people of Canada. There will be increasing appreciation of the seriousness of this issue as the days bring the moment for decision nearer.

Mr. Lacombe has kept his vision so strictly limited to Canada—and perhaps to only a part of Canada—and has been so firm in his belief that what Canada does in matters such as this is no concern of the outside world, that very disconcerting thoughts must now be breaking in on his mind—thoughts that the outside world will be listening in on our discussion and will be appraising it and the result which may come out of it not at all as a matter of Canadian interest but as a factor of considerable moment in the present crisis of the world war.

Mr. Lacombe has hitherto been moving in a restricted and inconspicuous field—a minor figure in the political life of his province. But for the moment, at any rate, he is playing a much more important role. Nothing is more certain than that Mr. Lacombe and other public men who associate themselves

with him will have their views and their actions proclaimed and applauded in every part of the world which can be reached by Nazi, Fascist, Japanese air-waves. They will be advertised as Canadians who want to so limit Canada's freedom of action that it will not be able to make a contribution to the war effort which in the judgment of the Government charged with responsibility of defending this country might be necessary to prevent disaster. That story will lose nothing in the telling—it will be elaborated, embroidered and loaded with exaggerations of its significance.

* * *

But behind the lies, the exaggerations, the fraudulent inferences and deductions there will be a hard kernel of truth. This will be that if these parties have their way Canada will notify the world that it would prefer defeat to taking action along certain lines held to be necessary by the Government, which is charged with the task of conducting Canada's war. No doubt this will be denounced by Mr. Lacombe et al as a misrepresentation of their attitude, but denial would either be mendacious or it would indicate that those making it had not had the courage to face up to the realities of the issue. These parties are still under the pre-war illusion that we can make present decisions comfortable to ourselves without creating risks that take control of the future out of our hands. It is almost unbelievable that in times like these, with the future charged with possibilities of the most dire character, there should be any Canadian, having any claim to patriotism and intelligence, who would take the responsibility, now, of saying to the Government that at no future time, whatever the developments, must they take action in certain directions, no matter how convinced they may be that this is necessary if the country is to be saved from defeat and enslavement. One would be justified in asking where is the egoist or the ignoramus who would take so grave a responsibility. But unhappily the egoists and the ignoramuses abound.

Mr. Lacombe and the public men who are acting in company with him, Le Devoir and the other newspapers which are in agreement with them and all Canadians who are thinking of voting "No," will do well to re-examine the foundations of their belief and reconsider the repercussions and the consequences of their proposed course of action as these will affect their own futures, the fate of this country and the outcome of the war. The issues are graver than they know; the times are later than they think.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press.

Date March 21/42.

Subject

An End To Controversy

If there is to be an impressive and decisive affirmative vote in the plebiscite it will be advisable for those who are supporting it with reluctance as a second-best policy to divest themselves, for the time being at any rate, of what might be called a grudging attitude of mind and give it whole-hearted support. If they find any solace in thinking that alternative courses which they favored would have better served the national interest they are entitled to their belief, but nothing is to be gained by continuing a controversy which has been decided and cannot fruitfully be reopened.

* * *

These observations are suggested to the Free Press by certain attacks which have been made upon it because of its support of the policy of the plebiscite by contemporaries who, in making them, apparently find an escape from their grief. These attacks, so far as the Free Press is concerned, are of no consequence, but they are of importance as revealing a disposition to sabotage the plebiscite in revenge for their failure to have their own way. The Globe and Mail in a lengthy and lugubrious deliverance, overloaded with avowals of self-pity and self-adulation, laments the failure of its own pet scheme of "conscription now and damn the consequences" and deals very strictly with the Free Press for its refusal to go along with it in its enterprise. Apparently it puts a considerable share of responsibility upon the Free Press for this failure. To the extent, if any, that the Free Press made a contribution to this end, it is very ready to accept full responsibility. The crushing and humiliating defeat of the Toronto conscription crusaders has saved Canada, for the time being and we trust permanently, from the distraction and disunion which would have inevitably followed the adoption of the course they urged.

An attempt is made by the Globe and Mail to represent the present situation in Canada as a duplication of that of the summer of 1917 which led to a fusion of political groups for the purpose of applying conscription. But the parallels are non-existent and it is desirable that this should continue to be the case. In 1917, the Canadian Government, in view of commitments as to manpower, the heavy casualties which the Canadian forces were suffering in the field, running to 10,000 in some months, and the falling-off in voluntary enlistments, decided that it would be necessary to apply conscription. As the Government had the responsibility of making this decision and was in possession of the information that justified its policy, this policy was supported by all those Canadians who regarded this country as a principal in the war regardless of their political affiliations. The official attitude of the Liberal party being one that recognized only a subordinate role for Canada, there was an inevitable split in the party and this led to the formation of a union government to give effect to a policy to which all were agreed.

D 42547

There has been no duplication of those conditions in Canada and fortunately there is no possibility that they will recur. The Government, which is less free to act than the Government of 1917 for compelling reasons which it is not necessary to recount for the hundredth time, is asking for liberty of action to apply conscription if the course of the war requires it. We suggest to the Globe and Mail that it will be better employed in supporting the Government in seeking this freedom of action than in indulgence in daily beatings of the breast and proclamations of its own superior virtue. Given freedom to act, the Government of Canada will apply conscription when it is needed and there will follow no disruption of national unity such as there was in 1917.

* * *

From the other extremity of Canada there comes a protest against the statement by the Free Press that the taking of the plebiscite will not affect in the slightest degree the fullest possible contribution to our overseas military effort. This statement is very unpalatable to the Victoria Colonist which takes much pleasure in radiating gloom. Nevertheless, it is beyond successful contradiction. On January 26, Mr. King announced in Parliament the plans for the enlarged overseas army which had been worked out by the general staff and the commanding generals. This calls for the creation of an army comprising two army corps with all necessary ancillary troops and organizations. The absence of a power of conscription in the hands of the Government will not limit by a single man the forwarding of reinforcements as they may be required during the period covered by the plebiscite and for many months afterwards. It is not necessary to give in detail the evidence that establishes this fact beyond challenge. One need only to point to the very large numbers of enlisted men in Canada, available for overseas service. It is only with respect to overseas service that the limitation as to conscription applies; there is already provision for an expansion of our overseas army to the limit of possible expansion for months to come. This shows up the untimely character of the recent ramp in favor of immediate conscription and destroys the argument that the time employed in holding the plebiscite is restricting our military effort overseas.

* * *

The views of these two querulous and critical newspapers are noted because they undoubtedly represent a considerable body of public feeling in Canada. It can only be hoped that this grumpiness will disappear and that it will not be reflected in an absentee vote that would certainly lessen the moral force of the finding and might even put the result in danger. With a substantial affirmative majority and the recovery by the Government and Parliament of complete freedom of action Canada will, we trust, see the end of controversy about the duties and the responsibilities which Canada must assume as one of the world's free nations. The disgruntled newspapers and those for whom they speak might give some thought to what the situation would be should they contribute, indirectly but nevertheless decisively, to a negative result.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication London Free Press.

Date March 24/42.

Subject

A Disturbing Situation

At the meetings which are being held in Quebec to advocate a vote of "no" on the coming plebiscite a song is being sung called "A bas la Conscription" (Down with Conscription). It is sung to the tune of "God Save the King." Its rough translation is as follows:

"Down with conscription
For the shores of Albion!
Let us stay home!
Why does England
Which is but our stepmother
Wish to have our boys
As cannon-fodder!"

The very tone of this song shows how utterly a large element in Quebec misunderstands the nature of the present war and the part Canada is playing. Canadians are fighting abroad not for the defence of Great Britain, but for the defence of this country and to preserve our way of life. Let Britain be defeated and all the rights and privileges which the French Canadians treasure so much would disappear.

Have the Americans who are in Ulster or in Australia gone there to defend Great Britain and the British Empire? No. They have gone there to defeat Hitler and the Japanese and to save the United States from invasion.

It is time that Premier King and the Government listened to the warning of a man like Jean-Charles Harvey who charges in his paper, Le Jour, that the Government in its complacency in Quebec, and by its lack of leadership, has allowed to be built up in Quebec "the most formidable Fifth Column of all the Allied nations." He adds:

"Because there is no one in front to show the way the people are bewildered, deserted and discouraged. In the middle of this decay of popular morale and of this scandal offered to loyal hearts the Fifth Columnists do their work."

This week there was an anti-Semitic demonstration in Montreal. It may have been the work of irresponsible youths. But it smells of Naziism. Where did those youths get their inspiration?

It would be disastrous to Canada, to Quebec, and to the whole Allied cause if the extremists in Quebec are allowed to run wild without any effort to meet their campaign and to show the seriousness of the present world crisis and the menace this country faces.

It is time that Mr. King and his Cabinet took action.

2.IV.42

Revised draft/J. W. P.

D 42549

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Why a plebiscite is being held.

Because of sacred pledge.

2. Why the pledge was given.

Need to preserve nationality

3. Why a release from the pledge is necessary

No immediate need for conscription;

Need to dispel false impressions;

Need to be prepared for all emergencies.

4. The danger to our country

Seriousness of world situation

5. Why an affirmative vote is desired.

Evidence of trust in government;

Meaning of negative vote;

Appeal on personal note.

D 42550

Why a Plebiscite is being held

When Parliament met, on January 22nd, it was announced that the government would seek from the people, by means of a plebiscite, release from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service.

In some quarters, the announcement of a plebiscite was greeted with outbursts of indignation. In others, the purpose of the plebiscite was misunderstood. The indignation has largely died down. Some misunderstanding still remains. I shall begin therefore by explaining just why the government felt it necessary to hold a plebiscite.

The purpose of the plebiscite is to secure from the people a release from a pledge. This pledge was first given several months before the outbreak of war. It was repeated at the special session of Parliament in September, 1939, when Canada entered the war. It was repeated frequently during the provincial election campaign in Quebec in October, 1939, and during the federal election campaign in the early months of 1940. After the elections, the pledge was solemnly embodied in an Act of Parliament in June, 1940.

The pledge was given on behalf of the government, and, equally, on behalf of the official Opposition. It was a self-imposed limitation upon the authority, both of Parliament and the government. It is a limitation upon the freedom of the government in its conduct of the war.

D 42551

It is, of course, not a legal or a constitutional limitation upon the authority of Parliament, or even of the government. The legal authority of Parliament in war-time is practically unlimited. Under the War Measures Act, the authority of the government in turn is limited solely by its ability to command the support of a majority in Parliament.

The fact that the limitation is not legal or constitutional makes the pledge no less binding upon men of honour and good faith. It is a moral obligation. No more solemn obligation was ever entered into by any government or any group of public men in Canada. It is an obligation to the people of Canada in all parts of Canada. It is an obligation from which the people alone can release the government.

When the government announced its desire to be released from its pledge there were some who said that political pledges were made to be broken, and that there was no need for the government to ask for a release. The government rejected this suggestion as unworthy.

I told Parliament on January 26th, and I repeat to you tonight, that the present unhappy state of the world is, in large part, the result of broken pledges. Nazi Germany has erected bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action. Bad faith, broken pledges, and disregard of the popular will, are the forces against which

D 42552

Canada is fighting today. I do not propose to erect bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action.

Having rejected the suggestion that the government should disregard the people and break its pledge, the government had to decide how to consult the people. An election might have been held. That method was rejected because Parliament was scarcely two years old, because the government did not feel that the country should be deprived of a Parliament for the lengthy period required by law for an election campaign, and because it would have involved confusion with other issues. We decided, therefore, to hold a plebiscite in which we would ask the people to release us from our pledge, without entering into any new and binding commitments. The government wished merely to have its hands free to act in the light of swiftly changing conditions.

D42553

Why the Pledge was given.

The Pledge from which the government is now seeking to be relieved, is a solemn promise not to employ conscription in raising men for service overseas. The fact that we are asking you to release us from that promise does not mean that the Government has decided to impose conscription. It does not mean that we expect conscription will become necessary. It merely means that in the terrible state of the world we wish to be prepared to meet any and every eventuality.

The question is being asked: Why did the government give the Pledge? If a government should have a free hand in wartime, why did they impose this limitation upon themselves? The answer to that question is known, or should be known, to every Canadian who will stop for a few moments to think of the past of our country.

Conscription for overseas service was imposed in Canada 25 years ago. It almost wrecked [redacted] confederation. The memory of the strain imposed upon our unity as a nation, and, indeed, the strain itself has never gone.

When the clouds of war gathered over Europe in the Spring of 1939, when the possibility arose that Canada might again be involved in war, the government and the official Opposition in Parliament alike recognizing the importance of our unity as a nation, reassured the

D42554

Canadian people regarding the question of conscription. The reassurance given then and repeated in September 1939 and on many occasions since was the price of our national unity. Without those pledges Canada would not have entered the war united; Canada's war effort would not have been united.

These are facts, but they are facts some of us are apt to forget in the pressure of day to day events. They are facts however, which no government that takes its responsibilities seriously can disregard.

D42555

Why freedom from pledge is necessary.

I have explained why the pledge was given and why it was necessary to give the pledge. I have told you that the government now wishes to be released from the pledge. I shall now try to make clear the reasons why the government believes you should release it.

I have already said that there is no immediate need for conscription for overseas service. The time may never come when conscription will be necessary to raise the men required for service overseas. A country with Canada's population, and with the many and varied responsibilities involved in the present war, can only devote a certain proportion of its manpower to the army, without weakening the air force or the navy or war production or food production or other services essential to the prosecution of the war. Conscription, after all, is merely a method of raising men. If the men required are all forthcoming of their own free will, conscription would be a needless waste of money and effort. It is my hope and the hope of the government that the men of Canada will so clearly understand the needs of the armed forces and the nobility of the cause, that the time will never come when it will be necessary to impose conscription for service overseas.

D 42556

But, it will be asked, if the government does not intend to impose conscription, why does it want to be released from its pledge. There are two answers to that question. In the first place, the pledge threatens to become a source of disunity, where once it was a cause of unity. It is being represented as a limitation not merely upon the authority of the government, but upon the effectiveness of Canada's war effort. This controversy is being used to direct attention to one phase only of our total effort. So long as the limitation upon the authority of the government remains, it will continue to be used as evidence of the half-heartedness of the government and people of Canada in the prosecution of the war.

Perhaps this might not matter so much if the misrepresentation were confined to Canada, although it is being used in Canada to weaken our effort and to set one section of the country against another. Unfortunately, the misrepresentation of Canada's war effort has not been confined to our own country. It has led to misunderstandings and misapprehensions elsewhere -- particularly in the United States. Until the United

D 42557

States went to war, compulsory military service was confined to service within the country in the same way as it is in Canada. Shortly after the Japanese attack on the United States Congress extended compulsion to military service in any part of the world. Since that date the fact that compulsory service in the United States is unlimited while in Canada it is limited to Canadian territory has repeatedly been cited as clear proof that Canada is not taking the war as seriously as the United States. As a result, the reputation of our country has suffered: the good name of Canada is being discredited. It is being said in Canada and repeated in other countries that Canada is not a full partner in the war; that our people are not ready to do their share to defend themselves and to destroy the common enemies of humanity.

So long as the present limitation upon the moral authority of the government remains, the question of conscription for overseas service cannot even be discussed in Parliament on its merits. When that limitation has been removed, the whole question will be reduced to its proper proportions as a military measure. The government will be free to recommend to Parliament whatever course of action will best serve the interests of Canada without being accused of holding back for reasons which have nothing to do with the prosecution of the war.

D 42558

To sum up, in a word, the first reason why the government is asking you to release it from its pledge: It wishes to be free to uphold the good name and reputation of Canada.

The second reason for asking you to release it is the gravity of the danger to our country and the uncertainty as to the future. When this pledge was given, it was given, as I have said, to preserve our national unity. At that time and all through the early months of the war we recognized that our interests as a nation were at stake but we did not fully realize that our very national existence was in peril. No one can doubt that, today, the very existence of Canada, as a free and self-governing nation, is threatened.

D 42559

The danger to our country

Only three years have passed since Czecho Slovakia was completely occupied. In those three short years, Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Yugoslavia and Greece have been brutally conquered; Denmark, Roumania, Hungary and Bulgaria have yielded without a struggle to the Nazi yoke; France has capitulated; Italy has become a pawn. West of Russia the whole of Europe lies prostrate at the feet of Hitler.

Beyond the Pacific, the tide of Japanese conquest has swept swiftly across thousands of miles of sea. Neither sea nor land defences have been proof against the assaults of the Axis. It becomes increasingly clear that both Germany and Japan are putting forth a supreme effort to achieve world mastery in 1942. No country is so remote and no people is so strong that it can hope to resist the enemy alone. The enemies of freedom, of justice amd of civilization are joined together in a powerful robber band; the one hope of free peoples is in a stronger, more complete union of will and of effort.

In such a union, Canada can take no second class position. Our effort should not be impeded by any limitation, either practical or moral. For our own security, for our own future well-being, it is essential that Canada should give unmistakable evidence of her determination to play her full part in the common struggle.

D 42560

Our country will never be secure until the axis powers are defeated, and the spirit of aggression is uprooted and destroyed. Canada is not in this war to uphold any selfish cause of empire. We are fighting to preserve our national existence. We have joined as full and equal partners in a common struggle, because we have learned that the defence of freedom in all parts of the world is the defence of our own freedom. We cannot make our country secure; we cannot guarantee the safety of our homes and families by keeping at home all our men and resources in an attempt to build an iron wall of defence on our coasts. Such a course would be the best way of bringing the war to our own soil. Unless we take our full share of the combat; unless we do our part to defeat the enemy before he reaches our shores, we may be left practically alone to face his onslaughts.

The part of wisdom is to meet the enemy before he can lay waste any part of this country, before he can slay one Canadian child. The part of wisdom is to meet and defeat the enemy, if we can, far from the land of Canada, and far from the coastal waters of Canada. The part of wisdom is to meet and defeat him in Greenland rather than in Labrador -- and it is less than six hundred miles from Labrador to Greenland; to defeat him in Iceland rather than in Greenland -- and Iceland lies less than a thousand miles from the southern tip of Greenland. I have spoken more than once of the great northern

D 42561

bridge of islands which stretch across the Atlantic. Newfoundland, Greenland, Iceland and Britain are the shields and outposts which must be held for our own security.

For our own security it is vital that the great northern bridge over which we are pouring food and munitions and aircraft and fighting men shall carry traffic only from West to East. For the same bridge could also carry traffic from East to West. Unless that bridge is strongly held at both ends, an invading horde of Nazi barbarians would pour over it to battle against us in the streets of Halifax and Quebec.

D42562

Why an affirmative vote is desired.

What I have said of the danger to Canada from the east, I might also say of the danger from the west, from across the Pacific. It is in the face of this peril to our very existense that the Government is asking the people to give it a free hand. All the Government is asking is that the people of Canada should give full authority to their own Government to use whatever means may become necessary to defend their own country wherever it is necessary to defend it.

There are some who still say that question should not be put to the people, who still feel that the Government should merely exercise whatever power it considers necessary for the prosecution of the war. Among these are some who recognize that the pledge I gave as "Prime Minister" was perhaps necessary or expedient at the time. They say that they can understand why I do not wish to break my word, and they go on to suggest that instead of holding a plebiscite I should resign and advise his Excellency the Governor General to send for some other person, not bound by the pledge, to form a Government. No doubt such a course would please some of my political opponents. I doubt if it would be pleasing to those who have given me their confidence and support over the last 20 years, and who extended that support

D 42563

in larger measure than ever before only two years ago. If I took such a course, they would be the first to say that I had betrayed their trust, and they would be right. The Government of a democratic country is not a personal possession to be handed over from one man to another without any reference to the people. Such a course would indeed be the greatest betrayal of public confidence in the history of our country. Never, it would be said, were colleagues and supporters so betrayed by their leader; Never was a country so disgraced by its Prime Minister; never were the people so betrayed by the Chief Adviser of the Crown.

The course I have taken as a leader of the Government is, I believe, consistent with the course I have followed throughout my public life. I have shown my readiness to trust the people, I am going to them in this plebiscite and asking them to trust me and to trust the Government which they themselves chose, in wartime, to carry on the war.

I say to you with the utmost solemnity that those who would deny to their Government, in the present terrible state of the world, the fullest authority, are assuming an awful responsibility. By telling you to vote "No" they are telling you not to trust the Government of your own

D 42564

country to make the right decisions to preserve its security and the safety of your homes and families. By telling you to vote "No" they are telling you to risk the whole future of Canada; they are telling you to say to the Government, regardless of circumstances as they may develop this summer or next winter or next spring, the Government cannot be trusted with a free hand, it cannot be permitted to exercise its judgment as to the needs of the country. That is the awful responsibility which is being assumed by those who propose, by voting "No" to refuse a free hand to their Government.

Who are the people who are advising you to vote "No"? Is there among them one man with sufficient experience of world affairs, with sufficient knowledge of military developments, with sufficient understanding of the real dangers which face us, to qualify him as a leader, as an expert, as a wise counsellor for the people of Canada. I say to you that among those who are advising the people to vote "No" there are no doubt many sincere and honest men, but I say equally that among those who are advising you to vote "No" there is not one man who is an expert in military, naval or air defence, not one man with practical experience of National Administration at a time of war, not one man with access to the information about affairs in all parts of the world which is available only to the Government.

D 42565

To vote "No" is therefore, to place your own individual judgment before the judgment of the Government which is responsible for the safety of the nation. Surely it is far wiser to trust the Government which has shown its willingness to trust you; to trust the Government which has access to information, which has experience and which has the guidance of its expert military advisers. In urging you to vote "Yes" I say to you that you should not hesitate to give the Government a free hand through fear that, at any time, or in any way, the interests of Canada would be subordinated to the interests of any other country.

If I may conclude on a personal note, may I say that, in my whole public life, I have always set above all other things the service of Canada. In every situation, in every crisis, I have always asked; "What do the interests of Canada require?" And what those interests appeared to me to require has been done. I have never sacrificed those interests to the claim of any person, any party, any idea. They have always come first. In the light of that record, I ask you to believe that if this Government is released from the present restraint upon its freedom of action, I shall preserve my life-long devotion

D 42566

to the service of Canada. So long as I remain at the head of the administration, whatever it may propose to Parliament, will be proposed for one reason and one alone - that it is believed to be necessary for the security and wellbeing of Canada.

JAG/Z
2-4-42

D 42567

The Necessity for a Plebiscite.

You will ask, why is there need now for a plebiscite? Why are people being asked to vote on this question? What facts have determined the government's action in asking the people of Canada to release them from a pledge given two years ago?

The present Parliament of Canada was elected in March, 1940. It contains not half a dozen Members whose election programme included a positive advocacy of conscription for overseas service. It contains more than two hundred Members who asked for the support of their respective electors on the pledge that they would not support a policy of conscription for overseas service. The leaders of the Opposition groups, as well as the Ministers of the Crown, made it quite clear that they were not advocating a policy of conscription for service overseas. In effect, the whole House of Commons was elected upon this basis.

But, it will be asked, if the need is urgent now, why cannot the government act upon its own responsibility? What is to prevent Members of Parliament from departing from the pledges which they gave in 1940 and supporting now a policy which includes compulsory service

D 42568

overseas. Some people have argued that, while a pledge of this kind might properly be given at a time of peace, it should never have been given at a time of war.

The answer to this objection concerns the war effort of Canada itself. When the pledge was given, and when it was supported by a great majority of all the voters of Canada, Canada was already in the war. The war effort of Canada was already gaining speed. But the condition upon which there was any effective war effort was that Canada had entered the conflict against Nazi Germany as a united nation. The unity of Canada was fundamental then, and it remains fundamental today. I know of no means of disrupting that unity more quickly, or of sabotaging our war effort more completely, than to prolong now a controversy on the question of conscription for overseas service.

It is precisely to avoid prolonging a controversy on this subject that a plebiscite is being taken. The plebiscite is a constitutional way of asking the people of Canada to release the government of Canada from the moral obligation entered into at the time of the general elections in 1940. That moral obligation is binding no less upon Members of the House of Commons than upon the Ministers of

D 42569

the Crown. It must remain binding upon the government so long as the government continues to possess the confidence of its supporters in the House of Commons, or until the same people who elected the Members to that House of Commons consent to release the Members from their pledges.

The position of all Members of Parliament in this sense is the same. If the government has taken a solemn stand against erecting broken pledges into a principle of action, no individual Member can conscientiously take any different stand. That is the answer to those who urge that Members should now disregard the pledges which they did give in 1940.

Let me deal with another aspect of the question. The extent of the war, the number of nations engaged in it, the extent of the mobilized resources of warring nations, was vastly different in 1940 from what it is today. This year 1942 will be the testing year for the united nations. Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next week, next month, or next year. In circumstances of such gravity, the government of Canada must have a free hand to deal with conditions such

D 42570

as these, promptly, and without question, as to its legal or moral power to deal with them. But, so long as the pledge against conscription for overseas service remains, that freedom of action must be incomplete. It is because the government of Canada regards the present situation so gravely that it is asking now for complete freedom of action to meet new situations which may arise. I will only add that we will not break pledges solemnly given to secure any kind of action. We will take the best decisions that we can, but in order to make those decisions effective in the common war effort of the united nations, of which we form a part, we must have freedom of action, not limited in any way by pledges given in circumstances so greatly different.

COPY

D 42571

February 4, 1942

Chester W. New, Esq.,
Department of History,
McMaster University,
Hamilton, Ontario.

Dear Mr. New:

I read with much interest your letter published in the Globe and Mail on February 2nd under the caption, "Never a Plebiscite in Britain".

In view of the fact that you are a historian, I take it that you will agree that in drawing conclusions from the past, or discussing the present in the light of the past, it is appropriate to arrive at an accurate view of the facts. In your letter you draw certain conclusions as to the proper course of action at the present from a statement of fact in regard to the past. You say, "Why have a plebiscite at all. This matter was not an issue in the last election. The vast majority of the country never gave a thought to the question when they cast their votes." No doubt your view of what course ought to be followed at the present would be altered if this basic statement of fact is proved to be incorrect.

It is difficult to know what the vast majority of the people were thinking about at the precise moment they cast their votes, but it is fair to judge what the vast majority of the electorate were thinking about during the election from the nature of the literature that was published by the political parties, and what those seeking election thought necessary to stress. If you have had access to this literature, you will find that both political parties definitely pledged themselves against conscription for overseas service. If you will look up the adtertisements of the Conservative party, you will find this pledge appearing in almost every advertisement. I recollect seeing an advertisement in one of the papers published in Haldimand County in which the ordinary type was used for the various pledges of the Conservative party, but eight-point black-face type was used for the pledge against conscription for over-seas service. In Orillia, I saw bills hanging in the window of the Conservative Committee Rooms pledging the Conservative party and the local candidate against conscription. As far as the leader of the Conservative party was concerned, he was quite unequivocal in his pledge against conscription for overseas service. As far as the Liberal party is concerned, there can be no doubt about the pledges given both by the leader and the candidates. I myself arranged for a broadcast by one of the

D 42572

leading Liberal speakers who spoke almost entirely against conscription, and he tells me he sent 7000 copies throughout his riding. He was elected, and he told me at the time the chief issue in his riding was conscription. I got that from others who were working throughout Ontario.

As for Quebec, the history there is clear. Following Canada's Declaration of War the leader of the government party in Quebec undertook to go to the country on a policy that was against Canada's participation in the war. The four Quebec Federal Ministers pledged their seats in the government in support of the policy of the Government of Canada in entering into the war, and undertook to resign if Mr. Duplessis was elected; but, at the same time they definitely pledged themselves that they would not sit in any government that brought in conscription for overseas service. This was followed by the election of 1940 when this pledge was again renewed by Mr. Lapointe and the other members of the government, as well as the candidates. The people of Quebec elected government supporters on the strength of that pledge.

From the standpoint of accuracy, can it be said that the vast majority of the people were not giving a thought to the question of conscription during the last election, when all parties felt that it was of sufficient importance that such unequivocal and definite pledges should be given?

Then you go on to say that "everyone who knows anything about politics.....knows that promises given at election time can only be statements of policy for the time being, and that governments are seldom able to see two years ahead". This may be a statement of politicis, but measured by good morals it is amazing. At the present time Right Honourable Arthur Meighen, running in the by-election in South York - the riding in which I live - has stated that he is in favour of conscription of manpower and wealth. Would you concur that he would be entitled to treat that as a statement of policy for the time being which he was at liberty to disregard simply by saying that he could not see far enough ahead? When leaders of a political party have definitely given their pledge that they will not do a certain thing, are they entitled, without consulting the people in any manner, to treat that as merely a pledge for the time being which is only limited by the length of their vision, and they are to be judges as to whether they are farsighted or near-sighted? The near-sighted politician may have no morals at all and be at liberty to give all manner of pledges simply because he cannot see far enough ahead.

D 42573

You state there have been no plebiscites in Britain. I cannot be accused of not being an admirer of British institutions, but there is something fundamental that we have at stake in this issue, and that is the treatment of the minority. We can hardly draw guidance from Great Britain when it comes to that question. Great Britain's handling of the Irish question has not been one of the distinguishing features of British history. On the other hand, the manner in which the minority question has been treated in Canada is one that, on the whole, deserves credit, although there are some very discreditable statements being made at the present time which I trust will not mar the Canadian record. However, if we wish to go to the British for a guide you will find that in somewhat comparable circumstances, Mr. Churchill told the government of Northern Ireland not to enforce conscription by reason of the difficulties that would arise with the minority.

I quite agree with you that the question must be settled, and it is desirable that it be settled without bitterness and recriminations, and as quickly as possible, but when I see some of our leaders, and particularly the Premier of Ontario, pouring out a deluge of personal abuse in order to gratify his spite against one man, I am convinced that much of the bitterness and the recriminations that are being poured forth emanate from a desire on the part of some to assume power, notwithstanding the fact that they have been rejected by the people as incapable of measuring up to the standard of performance that has been manifest in Canada in the last two years. National unity cannot be forged in this country by arrogant force.

It is a sorry reflection on the people of Canada to suggest that they cannot be trusted in a simple plebiscite of the nature suggested. I am convinced that if there had been no debate by the so-called leaders, the plebiscite could have been taken, and after the vote we would have had conscription just as soon as our industrial production would be prepared to equip a greater army.

Yours truly,

"J. C. McRuer"

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date FEB 2 1942

D 42574

Subject

NEVER A PLEBISCITE IN BRITAIN

(By CHESTER W. NEW.)

(Head of the Department of History, McMaster University.)

It is proposed that we have a plebiscite. But it is not to be a plebiscite on conscription for service outside of Canada. You and I and our friends Brown, Jones and Thompson are to be asked to go to the polls at the cost of about two million dollars to the country—which means us—to say yes or no to the question of whether we are in favor of Mr. King, some months from now, deciding for himself whether or not Canadians are to be conscripted for service anywhere in the world where they may be needed. Those who are in favor of conscription are to vote yes in the hope that Mr. King will implement their wishes.

Those who are opposed to such conscription are asked to vote yes also. For have they not been assured by a great friend of Mr. King's in a recent speech that Mr. King is opposed to conscription and that he will not move for conscription after the plebiscite? One of Mr. King's supporters in Parliament (Mr. Lacroix) has said in one breath that he is opposed to conscription, and in the next (if he is correctly reported in a newspaper account) "They tell us to give the Government carte blanche. They say we should have confidence in the Prime Minister, who would never impose conscription for overseas. I, too, have confidence in my chief. . . . But, if we relieve the Government of its sacred pledge, what would happen if the Prime Minister disappeared from the scene?"

There can be no mistaking the implication of those words. Far be it from any of us to probe the labyrinths of Mr. King's mind and try to interpret his intentions, but certainly there is great danger that some suspiciously minded persons will develop unfortunate guesses. Human nature being what it is, there is only one way in which Mr. King can avoid such suspicion, and that is to come out with a clear, unequivocal statement in which he tells the nation whether or not he is now in favor of conscription for service anywhere. If he does not do so, this plebiscite will be one of the most farcical affairs that have ever occurred in the history of any democratic country, and will make Canada the laughing-stock of the world.

Not an Election Issue.

Why have a plebiscite at all? This matter was not an issue in the last election. The vast majority of the people of the country never gave a thought to this question when they cast their votes. Every one who knows anything about politics—and Mr. King has an uncanny knowledge of politics—knows that promises given at election time can only be statements of policy for the time being, and that Governments are seldom able to see two years ahead. The changes that have occurred in our situation in the last year and a half are too vast for any one to have foreseen them. It has been pointed out time and again in Parliament in the last few days that President Wilson during an election campaign promised to keep the United States out of war and within a short time led them into war, and that Prime Minister Chamberlain quickly changed his mind after declaring against conscription.

And it would not be difficult to dig similar instances out of history. Of course, Mr. King is an honorable man. But so were the others honorable men. They all found themselves in a war for all the liberties we cherish, and a war that had reached the stage when victory and defeat were teetering in the balance and every man of military age was needed to turn the scales. Is Mr. King's conscience more precious than that of Woodrow Wilson or that of Neville Chamberlain? Need it be so finical, and should we be called upon to pay so costly and humiliating a price for it?

When Mr. King relates his pledge to the contention that the war was caused by broken pledges, he is at his old game of throwing dust in the eyes of the people. There is not the ghost of a resemblance between a political promise and a treaty guaranteeing territory to a State. There is all the difference between a citizen who goes about his lawful business and changes plans that had been announced in advance and an armed bandit who seizes his neighbor's property.

No Plebiscites in Britain.

It is being said in Parliament that a plebiscite is the democratic way. Any man who permits himself to speak in that way in public must, if he is sincere, have a rudimentary knowledge of the great modern democracies. There has never been a plebiscite in the history of Great Britain, and American democracy has always looked askance at the plebiscite idea. It should occur to any one that there must be good reasons for that. I shall not take space to mention them here. On the other hand, conscription for service anywhere is the democratic way. No other method of military service is consistent with the fundamental principles of democracy.

Perhaps it is too much to hope—party discipline being what it is—that our representatives in Parliament will find a way out. But if something is not done to avert this plebiscite, Mr. King will be forced to announce his decision afterward under very dangerous circumstances. Every good Canadian appreciates Mr. King's concern for national unity. The writer of this letter has, in a humble way, done everything he could in the same cause. I was a member of the Unity League. I have supported heartily all of the bonne entente movements, and in everything I have spoken and written I have tried to serve the interests of national unity. But on this question, in this hour of world peril, the division exists, and no good purpose can be served by acting like ostriches in regard to it.

Bad Effect on Unity.

The question must be settled. It is desirable that, so far as possible, it be settled without bitterness and recrimination, and as quickly as possible. If this plebiscite is taken, Mr. King will immediately afterward be forced to announce a decision, and either those who trusted him to put through conscription for service anywhere or those who trusted him to refuse to do so on some pretext or other will be bitterly and angrily disappointed. One has every reason to fear that that will be the worst thing that can happen for national unity and that very much of what Mr. King has achieved in that direction will be destroyed. And that after the delay of precious months and the expenditure of money that is badly needed for men and munitions of war to save a world that is in daily peril.

Hamilton.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date April 8, 1942

Subject Plebiscite

D 425 5

MONTREAL, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8.

MR. KING TAKES THE GLOVES OFF.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King's radio speech last night was certainly his best since war broke out, perhaps the best he has ever made. It was a splendid speech—the one Canadians have been waiting to hear from their wartime leader ever since Dunkerque. It rang for the first time the stern notes of danger, of duty and of sacrifice that become a nation engaged in total war.

Mr. King began as he always does, quietly and soberly to cover the whole area of his subject. Some of his listeners grew apprehensive as he went over again the arguments of his address to the House of Commons on January 26, then of his contribution to the debate on the Plebiscite Bill itself. Sentences and even paragraphs were almost directly quoted from these previous utterances, as the Prime Minister explained why the no-conscription pledge had been given in 1939 and 1940, why it had changed from a concession to the national unity into a threat to that unity, and why the Government chose the plebiscite method to seek release from a "moral obligation of the most solemn kind." We had heard all this before.

But last night the Prime Minister went farther. He made three points which neither he nor any Government leader, speaking of manpower, had ever made before: First, that Canada is in immediate and desperate peril; second, that to defend Canada successfully it will be essential to attack beyond her borders; third, that "unless we "continue to do all we can to help others, we "shall have no right to expect them to do all they "can to help us."

He put the case to all Canadians in one compelling question: How would you feel, if we were invaded, if the rich lands were over-run and the little population beleaguered and outnumbered, if Canada were to "need help as no other country needs it"—how would you feel, then, if Governments of our Allies were under restriction as to the help they might send us, were unable to do all in their power to send that help?

Hypothetical suggestions of this sort have been made before, but in a comfortably remote fashion. Mr. King understates the case when he says he has not been an alarmist. Last night brought a note of real urgency: "I would not be true to the "trust the Canadian people have reposed in me, "did I not say that I believe the situation for all "free nations is far more critical today that it has "ever been."

One step remains for the Prime Minister. Let him come before the people and say these things directly. Radio speeches, however excellent, cannot make the impression of personal appearance. All parties have united to support a Yes vote, and their leaders will join in the radio campaign for an affirmative, but why not bring this message to the country in person? Meetings in even a few large centres at which Prime Minister King would speak, flanked by Conservative House Leader Hanson and C.C.F. Leader Coldwell and backed by a solid non-partisan phalanx of Members of Parliament, would have electric effect.

No election campaign was ever as important as this unshackling of the Canadian nation. No official business can outweigh it. There is yet time for our leaders to come before us, to give us in person the lead and the inspiration we desire, and to bring this Dominion into a unity which shall be not passive but active, not a bargain of lethargy but an "union sacree" for victory.

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

KING, William Lyon Mackenzie: Speeches Series

MG 26, J 5, Volume 70, pages D 42576 - D 43496

D 42576

NATIONAL UNITY AND NATIONAL SURVIVAL

Responsibility to our own and future generations

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

An Address broadcast by

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

OVER THE CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION NETWORK

APRIL 24th, 1942

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

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

D 42577

NATIONAL UNITY AND NATIONAL SURVIVAL

Responsibility to our own and future generations

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

AN ADDRESS BROADCAST BY

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

APRIL 24th, 1942

Fellow Canadians:

Since I last spoke to you, there has been much discussion of the forthcoming plebiscite over the radio, in the press, and at public meetings. This discussion has gone far to clarify the issue. It has, however, also disclosed how little, in some parts of our country, the gravity of the world situation is appreciated; and how greatly, as a consequence, people are in danger of being misled by some of those who are asking them to vote NO on Monday next. I hope that what I say to-night may resolve any doubts in your minds about the importance of your voting YES. I hope it may also convince you of the necessity of doing all you can to see that the affirmative vote is as large as possible.

Freedom, not Conscription, the Issue

When the plebiscite was announced, many did not understand what it was on which they were going to be asked to express an opinion. Many thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was

placing on the people the responsibility of deciding the issue of conscription, instead of assuming that responsibility itself, and making its own recommendation to parliament.

It has now been made clear that conscription is not the issue. Let me emphasize that fact. Those who tell you that conscription is the issue are misleading you. The sole purpose of the plebiscite is to obtain for the government, and for parliament, a perfectly free hand in dealing with this, as with all other questions. All you are being asked to say is whether or not you are in favour of the government's hands being perfectly free at this time of war. That is the meaning of the question to which you are being asked to reply YES or NO. If you reply YES, you will not be committing the government to conscription for service overseas; but you will be enabling the government and parliament to discuss and decide that question solely on its merits. Members of the government and members of parliament will no longer be suspected of being influenced in their judgment by political or other considerations arising out of promises or pledges which have been given in the past.

World Situation Exceedingly Critical

When I spoke to you on April 7, I said that I would not be true to the trust the people of Canada had reposed in me, did I not say that I believed the situation, for all free nations, was far more critical than it had ever been. I added that Canada's position was no exception. I said then, and I wish to repeat to-night, that I have never been an alarmist. Throughout my public life, where I believed the situation required it, I have always tried to measure my words, to speak with moderation, and only after careful reflection. I never spoke with a fuller consciousness of the meaning and weight of my words than I did when I told you how very critical is the situation which faces the free nations to-day.

Nothing has surprised me more than that this statement has been called into question by some of those who are urging you to vote NO on Monday next. They accuse me of exaggerating the danger. They say that I do not really believe the enemy has any designs on Canada. They say, for example, that Mr. King knows that it is scarcely possible that the British Empire and the United States, allied with Russia and with so many other countries, could find themselves in a desperate situation.

Now that is precisely what I did say, and it is precisely what I meant to say, because I believe it to be true. I do not believe that the United Nations are going to be defeated, if each and all of them put forth their utmost effort. But I do believe it is possible for them to be defeated, unless they put forth their utmost effort. I believe it is my duty to tell you this quite frankly. There is nothing

to be gained by pretending that the danger to us all is not great. Nothing could be more harmful than to encourage the people to believe that it is impossible for the enemy to win. Those who tell you such things refuse to face the truth.

Canada Liable to Attack

The persons who have thus been questioning my statement have not stopped there. They have gone on to say that, even if I were right as to the danger, the enemy would not attack Canada, even if he were victorious. Why, with Russia defeated, with England at their mercy, with the whole European continent at their feet, with the immense resources of the Middle East available, with the United States exposed to their attacks, why, they ask, should the Nazis attack Canada? Looking across the Pacific, they ask, why with the whole of India, Malaya and the East Indies to possess, with the almost empty continent of Australia to occupy, why should the Japanese attempt to come and instal themselves in California, in Oregon or in British Columbia? They say that Mr. King has too good judgment to believe in these dangers; that they are, in fact, unbelievable. They say that other countries are as large and much richer, or more accessible and empty, or more desirable and easier to defend than Canada. They conclude that I am knowingly exaggerating the danger to our country.

I do not believe I am exaggerating. If I did not believe it to be true, what possible motive could I have for saying that a world encircling danger may yet jeopardize the very existence of our country.

The fact that any persons could think that Canada is not liable to attack shows how little they realize how greatly conditions have changed as a result of the war. So thought most of the peoples of Europe about their countries at the beginning of the war; so, until a few months ago, thought the people of the United States; so, until a few weeks ago, thought the peoples of Australia, New Zealand and India. None of them seemed to perceive the enemy's plan of world conquest.

The Enemy Not to be Trusted

When those who tell you to vote NO say that no sensible man would wish to believe such stories or yield to such terrors, they are clearly attempting to suggest that no serious danger exists. They thereby foster a false sense of security. When they say, as they have said, that one may question whether Canada could withstand invasion, if Russia, the United States and England cannot remove this danger, they are, in effect, saying that Canada should let other nations win the war for Canada. Let me ask what the fate of

Canada would be if the peoples of Russia, of England and of the United States adopted the attitude which those who thus advise you to vote NO suggest that Canada should adopt? If each of the United Nations had taken the attitude that the other nations could, without help, defeat Germany and Japan, the cause of freedom would already be lost, and Canada itself might by this time have been invaded.

When those who, in such words, tell you to vote NO, they are telling you to trust other nations to keep the enemy from our shores. They are telling you to trust the enemy to attack some other country instead of attacking Canada. At the same time, they are telling you not to trust the government of your own country to do what is necessary to defend your homes and your families.

Of published statements to which my attention has been drawn the most incredible is one which reads: "by voting NO you will protect yourselves, by voting YES you will be at the mercy of your own government." I would say that by voting "NO," you may be helping to place yourself and your country at the mercy of the enemy; whereas by voting YES you will, I believe, be helping to protect yourself and your country from the enemy. At a time of war is it reasonable to trust the intentions of the enemy, rather than those of the freely elected government of your own country?

Importance of Trusting the Government

My colleagues and I have been elected to carry on the government at this time of war. If you cannot trust us to do what is right in the interest of the people, whom are you going to trust? If you cannot trust the members whom you have elected to represent you in parliament to see that no step is taken which is not in your interest, and in the interest of our country, whom are you going to trust? This is not an ordinary time; it is a time of war. The whole world is in a state of rapid change. At any time the responsibilities of government are heavy enough. They are greater to-day than they have ever been. For my part, if I did not believe that as head of the government, I continued to enjoy the confidence of the people, who, time and again, have returned me to office, I would not wish to remain in office an hour longer.

Surely, you are not going to be influenced in your vote on Monday by parades of young boys carrying banners and shouting "Down with Conscription," when conscription is not the issue. Nor do I imagine that you will be influenced by the radio from Paris, suggesting that you vote NO, when you are well aware that its voice is the voice of Hitler. When so much is at stake in the lives and homes of everyone, surely you will wish to be guided by the best informed and wisest counsel it is possible for you to receive.

Do you think that every member of the present government would be asking you to vote YES on Monday, if we did not all honestly believe that it was in the interest of yourselves, your families and our country for you to do so? I want you to know that that is what I very firmly believe. Let no one tell you that I am half-hearted in this matter.

Enemy Expects to Conquer All Continents

Let me give you some of the reasons why in my last broadcast, I said, that to those who are able to look beyond the events of to-day into the future, it is no longer merely the unity, but the very existence of our country which they see to be in danger.

Germany, Italy and Japan were not *forced* into war. They were not even *drawn* into war. *They were themselves* aggressors. They made war of their own choosing, at their own time.

Germany, Italy and Japan assumed the role of aggressor with full knowledge of the military and industrial power of the free nations, and of the extent of the populations, territories and resources of the British Empire, the United States, Russia, China and the empires of France and the Netherlands. When Hitler and his fellow gangsters attacked the free nations they knew they were attacking nations immensely superior to themselves in resources and population. Their action was proof that they believed, that, in the end, they would be able to conquer all the continents; and that, later on, they would divide the spoils of a conquered world among themselves.

Far from regarding resources, populations, and vast territories as sources of strength to the free nations, these were the very things that lured the gangster nations into war. These were the very means by which, in their warfare, the aggressors hoped to be sustained. These were the prizes of war for which they were prepared to make any sacrifice.

Up to the present, the enemy no doubt feels that his policy has been justified by success. Germany has conquered country after country in Europe, and has made their enslaved populations feed her own. She has compelled their great industries to contribute to her own powerful military machine. The populations and resources of a dozen countries, which less than three years ago were free, are to-day forced to aid further Nazi aggression. The territories of the conquered countries have been turned from barriers against attack, into effective bases for further conquest.

Enemy Gains in Asia and in Europe

The same is true of the swift and extensive gains of Japan in the Orient. In one-third of a year, Japan has acquired the physical structure of a vast overseas empire. The French Empire in Asia has become a vassal state of Germany or a dependency of Japan.

The United States has lost a number of its strategic island possessions. The British Empire has been in part dismembered; and in both the Pacific and the Indian oceans its very existence is threatened as never before. The Dutch Empire in the Far East has been destroyed.

In the Orient, as in Europe, what the free nations have lost in territory, in vital war supplies, in military and naval bases and strategic strongholds, the enemy has gained. The rubber, the tin, the oil which were formerly at the disposal of the free nations now go to strengthen the war effort of Japan. The security afforded until recently to the British, the Americans, the Dutch and the other democratic nations by the possession of Hong Kong, Singapore, the Philippines and Java, these bases now afford to the Japanese. They serve also as Japanese outposts for further aggression and conquest.

The full significance of these facts, I am convinced, has never been appreciated.

The Factors that Count in War

There has been far too great a tendency to measure the strength of the United Nations, not in terms of what it actually is, but in terms of what it is hoped it will become. There has been too great a disposition to speak of that strength, in terms of the relative sizes of populations, and extent of resources. We should think and speak only in terms of effective fighting forces and ships, tanks, planes, guns, and other equipment and munitions of war, actually available. The whole course of the war has shown that all else may prove to be a delusion and a snare.

We must also guard against another delusion, perhaps the most fatal of all forms of deception in war-time. I refer to the comfortable doctrine that time is on our side. Time will prove to be on our side only if the enemy can be held at bay and prevented from acquiring new sources of strength.

It is now altogether certain that Germany and Japan plan to unite their land forces in the course of this present year. They plan also by gaining supremacy at sea to isolate this hemisphere. Once isolated, North and South America would sooner or later be attacked both from the East and from the West. The first of these attacks might well be directed against our own country. Surely the Axis pattern of world conquest is now wholly clear. We must never forget that its aim is ultimate mastery of the entire world.

The Sweep of Aggression Continues

Even in the two and a half weeks since I last spoke to you, there have been still graver threats to the security of the nations with whose efforts our own are united. The sweep of aggression has been

carried still further in the Pacific. British naval losses in the Indian ocean have been severe. In Burma, despite the determined efforts of British and Chinese troops, the Japanese continue to advance. The Japanese threat to India has become daily more serious. After resistance that was heroically prolonged, the gallant defenders of Bataan in the Philippines have had to retire. Signs are not lacking of the growing domination of the whole of France by Nazi Germany. In Europe and in the Middle East, the great lines of battle are definitely emerging. These ominous signs all emphasize the growing danger.

When we stop to consider the extent to which the Axis' plan of world conquest has already been achieved, it becomes perfectly clear that we cannot wait for time to win the victory for us. Unless every possible means is taken to hold the enemy while the free countries gather their strength, time will be on his side, not on ours. The fact that other nations have been struck, and Canada has so far been spared, should blind no one to the danger to our national existence. Too many nations that believed themselves safe, are to-day enslaved.

Regard for all Aspects and Dangers

You are being told that if the danger is as great as it is said to be our men should be kept at home; that if you vote YES they will all be sent overseas to fight for some other country, and that Canada's own coasts will be left unprotected. This is the argument being used by those who tell you that Canada is not fighting for its own interests, but to protect the imperial interests of Britain, or the interests of Communist Russia, or the interests of the United States, or the interests of some other country than our own.

The Canadian army is in Britain for exactly the same reason as the troops of the United States are now also in the British Isles, and for exactly the same reason as the troops of the United States are in Australia. They are there to help preserve freedom in this world, to keep the enemy away from this continent, and to help defeat the enemy before he becomes strong enough to defeat us. These matters, however, have nothing to do with the question at issue in the plebiscite. The government itself is well aware of the need of increased home defences. In fact, additional provision to this end has already been made. This, like all other questions of defence, will be fully weighed by the government in the light of all existing conditions and available knowledge. They are proper subjects of debate in parliament. They will not be decided by the plebiscite.

Grave Responsibility Attaching to Vote

In the light of the dangers I have described; in the light of the threat to our own country, may I ask those who have been thinking of voting NO, if they have fully considered how great a responsibility they are thereby taking upon themselves.

By voting NO, as I see it, you will be saying that you understand the needs of our country, in this terrible crisis, better than they are understood by the government. You will be saying that you know better than the government how Canada should be defended. You will be saying that you refuse to trust the government of your own country and the parliament you yourselves elected, to make the right decisions for the protection of your homes and families.

National Unity and National Survival

The plebiscite affords a great opportunity for a demonstration of national unity. In appealing to you to vote YES, I am appealing to my fellow Canadians of all races, and all creeds, in all parts of Canada to trust one another. I am appealing to you all to demonstrate to your fellow Canadians and to the rest of the world that the unity of Canada is unbreakable. I am asking you to show that you are capable of making any sacrifice which is necessary to preserve our united national existence. Without unity, Canada cannot make her full contribution to the winning of the war, to the preservation of her own freedom, and to the restoration of freedom in the world. A free Canada can only survive in a free world.

I have sought to bring before your minds, the broad outline of the world situation as I see it in this titanic conflict between world freedom and world slavery. President Roosevelt has termed it the war of survival. And such in reality, I believe it to be. I ask you, my fellow citizens, faced with such a situation, is it in the interests of our country, whose future is irrevocably bound up with the future of the United Nations, that its government, in any particular, should be restricted in the exercise of its powers? I believe it is not.

The government and parliament should be wholly free to exercise their best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada, and for Canada's effort in the present war.

Our Own and Future Generations

Let me just say this, that if disaster should ever overtake us, it will certainly be said for generations to come that had the government's powers not been restricted the disaster would never have occurred. Such is the responsibility that may come to rest upon those who, in the existing crisis, are unwilling to remove restrictions and give to the government a free hand in its war policies.

To-day, the enemy is so strong that he can only be held at bay and finally defeated by the common action of all the United Nations. For her own security, Canada should make it perfectly clear to the other United Nations, and, above all, to the United States, that Canada is as ready to help them as we know they will be ready to help us. An overwhelming affirmative vote on Monday next will serve to make that perfectly clear.

The Eyes of the World on Canada

To-day, despite the magnificence of Canada's war effort, the impression is being fostered among other nations that because of a restriction on the powers of the government, Canada's effort is not an all-out effort. This impression is quite unfounded. Nevertheless, it is working a grave injustice to our country as a whole, and to every man and woman who is making any contribution towards the winning of the war. I want that injustice to end. And so I ask you, my fellow-countrymen—everyone of you—to help give to our country complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes, and in the eyes of the world. You can do this by voting YES on Monday next.

D 42584

Grave Responsibility Attaching to Vote

In the light of the dangers I have described; in the light of the threat to our own country, may I ask those who have been thinking of voting NO, if they have fully considered how great a responsibility they are thereby taking upon themselves.

By voting NO, as I see it, you will be saying that you understand the needs of our country, in this terrible crisis, better than they are understood by the government. You will be saying that you know better than the government how Canada should be defended. You will be saying that you refuse to trust the government of your own country and the parliament you yourselves elected, to make the right decisions for the protection of your homes and families.

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The government and parliament should be wholly free to exercise their best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada, and for Canada's effort in the present war.

Our Own and Future Generations

Let me just say this, that if disaster should ever overtake us, it will certainly be said for generations to come that had the government's powers not been restricted the disaster would never have occurred. Such is the responsibility that may come to rest upon those who, in the existing crisis, are unwilling to remove restrictions and give to the government a free hand in its war policies.

D 42585

To-day, the enemy is so strong that he can only be held at bay and finally defeated by the common action of all the United Nations. For her own security, Canada should make it perfectly clear to the other United Nations, and, above all, to the United States, that Canada is as ready to help them as we know they will be ready to help us. An overwhelming affirmative vote on Monday next will serve to make that perfectly clear.

The Eyes of the World on Canada

To-day, despite the magnificence of Canada's war effort, the impression is being fostered among other nations that because of a restriction on the powers of the government, Canada's effort is not an all-out effort. This impression is quite unfounded. Nevertheless, it is working a grave injustice to our country as a whole, and to every man and woman who is making any contribution towards the winning of the war. I want that injustice to end. And so I ask you, my fellow-countrymen—everyone of you—to help give to our country complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes, and in the eyes of the world. You can do this by voting YES on Monday next.

REPEAT
REPETITION

D42586

If disaster should ever overtake us, it will certainly be said for generations to come that had the government's powers not been restricted the disaster would never have occurred. Such is the responsibility that may come to rest upon those who, in the existing crisis, are unwilling to remove restrictions and give to the government a free hand in its war policies.

W. L. Mackenzie King.

AUTHENTIC COPY

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

D 42587

Ottawa,.....

Office copy

For release after delivery

April 24, 1942

D 42588

ADDRESS BROADCAST BY THE RT. HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.,
PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

Fellow Canadians:

Since I last spoke to you, there has been much discussion of the forthcoming plebiscite over the radio, in the press, and at public meetings. This discussion has gone far to clarify the issue. It has, however, also disclosed how little, in some parts of our country, the gravity of the world situation is appreciated; and how greatly, as a consequence, people are in danger of being misled by some of those who are asking them to vote NO on Monday next.

When the plebiscite was announced, many did not understand what it was on which they were going to be asked to express an opinion. Many thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was placing on the people the responsibility of deciding the issue of conscription, instead of assuming that responsibility itself, and making its own recommendation to parliament.

It has now been made clear that conscription is not the issue. Let me emphasize that fact. Those who tell you that conscription is the issue are misleading you.

D 42589

The sole purpose of the plebiscite is to obtain for the government, and for parliament, a perfectly free hand in dealing with this, as with all other questions. All you are being asked to say is whether or not you are in favour of the government's hands being perfectly free at this time of war. That is the meaning of the question to which you are being asked to reply YES or NO. If you reply YES, you will not be committing the government to conscription for service overseas; but you will be enabling the government and parliament to discuss and decide that question solely on its merits. Members of the government and members of parliament will no longer be suspected of being influenced in their judgment by political or other considerations arising out of promises or pledges which have been given in the past.

When I spoke to you on April 7th, I said that I would not be true to the trust the people of Canada had reposed in me did I not say that I believed the situation, for all free nations, was far more critical than it had ever been. I added that Canada's position was no exception. I said then, and I wish to repeat tonight, that I have never been an alarmist. Throughout my public life, where I believed the situation required it, I have always tried to measure my words, to speak with moderation, and

only after careful reflection. I never spoke with a fuller consciousness of the meaning and weight of my words than I did when I told you how very critical is the situation which faces the five nations today.

Nothing has surprised me more than that this statement has been called into question by some of those who are urging you to vote NO on Monday next. They accuse me of exaggerating the danger. They say that I do not really believe the enemy has any designs on Canada. They say, for example, that Mr. King knows that it is scarcely possible that the British Empire and the United States, allied with Russia and with so many other countries, could find themselves in a desperate situation.

Now that is precisely what I did say, and it is precisely what I meant to say, because I believe it to be true. I do not believe that the United Nations are going to be defeated, if each and all of them put forth their utmost effort. But I do believe it is possible for them to be defeated, unless they put forth their utmost effort. I believe it is my duty to tell you this quite frankly. There is nothing to be gained by pretending that the danger to us all is not great. Nothing could be more harmful than to encourage the

people to believe

D 42591

people to believe that it is impossible for the enemy to win. Those who tell you such things refuse to face the truth.

The persons who have thus been questioning my statement have not stopped there. They have gone on to say that, even if I were right as to the danger, the enemy would not attack Canada even if he were victorious. Why, with Russia defeated, with England at their mercy, with the whole European continent at their feet, with the immense resources of the Middle East available, with the United States exposed to their attacks, why, they ask, should the Nazis attack Canada? Looking across the Pacific, they ask, why with the whole of India, Malaya and the East Indies to possess, with the almost empty continent of Australia to occupy, why should the Japanese attempt to come and install themselves in California, in Oregon or in British Columbia? They say that Mr. King has too good judgment to believe in these dangers; that they are, in fact, unbelievable. They say that other countries are as large and much richer, or more accessible and empty, or more desirable and easier to defend than Canada. They conclude that I am knowingly exaggerating the danger to our country.

D 42592

I do not believe I am exaggerating. If I did not believe it to be true, what possible motive could I have for saying that a world encircling danger may yet jeopardize the very existence of our country.

The fact that anyone could think that Canada is not liable to attack shows how little they realize how greatly conditions have changed as a result of the war. We thought most of the people of Europe about their countries at the beginning of the war; so until a few months ago thought the people of the United States; so until a few weeks ago thought the peoples of Australia, New Zealand and India. None of them seemed to perceive the enemy's plan of world conquest.

When those who tell you to vote NO say that no sensible man would wish to believe such stories or yield to such terrors, they are clearly attempting to suggest that no serious danger exists. They thereby foster a false sense of security. When they say, as they have said, that one may question whether Canada could withstand invasion, if Russia, the United States and England cannot remove this danger, they are, in effect, saying that Canada should let other nations win the war for Canada. Let us ask what the fate of Canada would be

D 42593

if the peoples of Russia, of England and of the United States adopted the attitude which those who thus advise you to vote NO suggest that Canada should adopt? If each of the United Nations had taken the attitude that the other nations could, without help, defeat Germany and Japan, the cause of freedom would already be lost, and Canada itself might by this time have been invaded.

When those who, in such words, tell you to vote NO, they are telling you to trust other nations to keep the enemy from our shores. They are telling you to trust the enemy to attack some other country instead of attacking Canada. At the same time, they are telling you not to trust the government of your own country to do what is necessary to defend your homes and your families.

Of published statements to which my attention has been drawn the most incredible is one which reads: "by voting NO you will protect yourselves, by voting YES you will be at the mercy of your own government". I would say that by voting "NO" you may be helping to place yourself and your country at the mercy of the enemy; whereas by voting YES you will, I believe, be helping to protect yourself and your country from the enemy. As

a.blm.of.war

D 42594

a time of war is it reasonable to trust the intentions of the enemy, rather than those of the freely elected government of your own country?

My colleagues and I have been elected to carry on the government at this time of war. If you cannot trust us to do what is right in the interest of the people, who are you going to trust? If you cannot trust the members whom you have elected to represent you in parliament to see that no step is taken which is not in your interest, and in the interest of our country, who are you going to trust? This is not an ordinary time; it is a time of war. The whole world is in a state of rapid change. At any time the responsibilities of government are heavy enough. They are greater today than they have ever been. For my part, if I did not believe that as head of the government, I continued to enjoy the confidence of the people, who, time and again, have returned me to office, I would not wish to remain in office an hour longer.

Surely, you are not going to be influenced in your vote on Monday by parades of young boys carrying banners and shouting "Down with Conscription", when conscription is not the issue. Nor do I imagine that you will be influenced by the radio from Paris, suggesting that you

<u>vote NO.</u>

D 42595

vote NO, when you are well aware that its voice is the voice of Hitler. When so much is at stake in the lives and homes of everyone, surely you will wish to be guided by the best informed and wisest counsel it is possible for you to receive.

Do you think that every member of the present government would be asking you to vote YES on Monday, if we did not all honestly believe that it was in the interest of yourselves, your families and our country for you to do so? I want you to know that that is what I very firmly believe. Let no one tell you that I am half-hearted in this matter.

Let me give you some of the reasons why in my last broadcast, I said, that to those who are able to look beyond the events of today into the future, it is no longer merely the unity, but the very existence of our country which they see to be in danger.

Germany, Italy and Japan were not <u>forced</u> into war. They were not even <u>drawn</u> into war. <u>They were themselves</u> aggressors. They made war of their own choosing, at their own time.

Germany, Italy and Japan assumed the role of aggressor with full knowledge of the military and industrial power of the free nations, and of the extent of the

<u>regulations.</u>

D 42596

populations, territories and resources of the British Empire, the United States, Russia, China and the empires of France and the Netherlands. When Hitler and his fellow gangsters attacked the free nations they knew they were attacking nations immensely superior to themselves in resources and population. Their action was proof that they believed that, in the end, they would be able to conquer all the continents; and that, later on, they would divide the spoils of a conquered world among themselves.

Far from regarding resources, populations, and vast territories as sources of strength to the free nations, these were the very things that lured the gangster nations into war. These were the very means by which, in their warfare, the aggressors hoped to be sustained. These were the prizes of war for which they were prepared to make any sacrifice.

Up to the present, the enemy no doubt feels that his policy has been justified by success. Germany has conquered country after country in Europe, and has made their enslaved populations feed her own. She has compelled their great industries to contribute to her own powerful military machine. The populations and resources of a dozen countries, which less than three years ago were free, are today forced to aid further Nazi aggression.

D 42597

The territories of the conquered countries have been turned from barriers against attack, into effective bases for further conquest.

The same is true of the swift and extensive gains of Japan in the Orient. In one third of a year, Japan has acquired the physical structure of a vast overseas empire. The French Empire in Asia has become a dependency of Japan. The United States has lost a number of its strategic island possessions. The British Empire has been in part dismembered; and in both the Pacific and the Indian oceans its very existence is threatened as never before. The Dutch Empire in the Far East has been destroyed.

In the Orient, as in Europe, what the free nations have lost in territory, in vital war supplies, in military and naval bases and strategic strongholds, the enemy has gained. The rubber, the tin, the oil which were formerly at the disposal of the free nations now go to strengthen the war effort of Japan. The security afforded until recently to the British, the Americans, the Dutch and the other democratic nations by the possession of Hong Kong, Singapore, the Philippines and Java, these bases now afford to the Japanese. They serve also as Japanese outposts for further aggression and conquest.

D 42598

The full significance of these facts, I am convinced, has never been appreciated.

There has been far too great a tendency to measure the strength of the United Nations, not in terms of what it actually is, but in terms of what it is hoped it will become. There has been too great a disposition to speak of that strength, in terms of the relative sizes of populations, and extent of resources. We should think and speak only in terms of effective fighting forces and ships, tanks, planes, guns, and other equipment and munitions of war, actually available. The whole course of the war has shown that all else may prove to be a delusion and a snare.

We must also guard against another delusion, perhaps the most fatal of all forms of deception in war-time. I refer to the comfortable doctrine that time is on our side. Time will prove to be on our side only if the enemy can be held at bay and prevented from acquiring new sources of strength.

D 42599

It is now altogether certain that Germany and Japan, plan to unite their land forces in the course of this present year. They plan also by gaining supremacy at sea to isolate this hemisphere. Once isolated, North and South America would certainly be attacked both from the East and from the West. The first of these attacks might well be directed against our own country. Surely the Axis pattern of world conquest is now wholly clear. We must never forget that its aim is ultimate mastery of the entire world.

Even in the two and a half weeks since I last spoke to you, there have been still graver threats to the security of the nations with whose efforts our own are united. The sweep of aggression has been carried still further in the Pacific. British naval losses in the Indian ocean have been severe. In Burma, despite the determined efforts of British and Chinese troops, the Japanese continue to advance. The Japanese threat to India has become daily more serious. After resistance that was heroically prolonged, the gallant defenders of Bataan in the Philippines have had to yield. Signs are not lacking of the growing domination of the whole of France by Nazi Germany. In Europe and in the Middle East,

D 42600

the great lines of battle are definitely emerging. These ominous signs all emphasize the growing danger.

When we stop to consider the extent to which the Axis' plan of world conquest has already been achieved, it becomes perfectly clear that we cannot wait for time to win the victory for us. Unless every possible means is taken to hold the enemy while the free countries gather their strength, time will be on his side, not on ours. The fact that other nations have been struck, and Canada has so far been spared, should blind no one to the danger to our national existence. Too many nations that believed themselves safe, are today enslaved.

You are being told that if the danger is as great as it is said to be our men should be kept at home; that if you vote YES they will all be sent overseas to fight for some other country, and that Canada's own coasts will be left unprotected. This is the argument being used by those who tell you that Canada is not fighting for its own interests, but to protect the Imperial interests of Britain, or the interests of Communist Russia, or the interests of the United States, or the interests of some other country than our own.

D 42601

The Canadian army is in Britain for exactly the same reason as the troops of the United States are now also in the British Isles, and for exactly the same reason as the troops of the United States are in Australia. They are there to keep the enemy away from this continent and to help defeat the enemy before he becomes strong enough to defeat us. These matters, however, have nothing to do with the question at issue in the plebiscite. The government itself is well aware of the need of increased home defences. In fact, additional provision to this end has already been made. This, like all other questions of defence, will be fully weighed by the government in the light of all existing conditions and available knowledge. They are proper subjects of debate in parliament. They will not be decided by the plebiscite.

In the light of the dangers I have described; in the light of the threat to our own country, may I ask those who have been thinking of voting NO, if they have fully considered how great a responsibility they are thereby taking upon themselves.

By voting NO, as I see it, you will be saying that you understand the needs of our country, in this terrible crisis, better than they are understood by the

D 42602

government. You will be saying that you know better than the government how Canada should be defended. You will bessaying that you refuse to trust the government of your own country, and the parliament you yourselves elected, to mak the right decisions for the protection of your homes and families.

The plebiscite affords a great opportunity for a demonstration of national unity. In appealing to you to vote YES, I am appealing to mynfellow Canadians of all races and all creeds in all parts of Canada to trust one another. I am appealing to you all to demonstrate to your fellow Canadians and to the rest of the world that the unity of Canada is unbreakable. I am asking you to show that you are capable of making any sacrifice which is necessary to preserve our united national existence. Without unity, Canada cannot make her full contribution to the winning of the war, to the preservation of her own freedom, and to the restoration of freedom in the world. A free Canada can only survive in a free world.

I have sought to bring before your minds, the broad outline of the world situation as I see it in this titanic conflict between world freedom and world slavery. President Roosevelt has termed it the war of survival. And such in reality, I believe, it to be. I ask you, my fellow citizens, faced with such a situation, is it in the interests of our country, whose future is irrevocably bound up with the future of the United Nations, that its government, in any particular, should be restricted in the exercise of its powers? I believe it is not.

The government and parliament should be wholly free to exercise their best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada, and for Canada's effort in the present war.

Today, the enemy is so strong that he can only be held at bay and finally defeated by the common action of all the united nations. For her own security, Canada should make it perfectly clear to the other united nations, and, above all, to the United States that Canada is as ready to help them as we know they will be ready to help us. An overwhelming affirmative vote on Monday next will serve to make that perfectly clear.

D 42604

Today, despite the magnificence of Canada's war effort, the impression is being fostered among other nations that because of a restriction on the powers of the government, Canada's effort is not an all-out effort. This impression is quite unfounded. Nevertheless, it is working a grave injustice to our country as a whole, and to every man and woman who is making any contribution towards the winning of the war. I want that injustice to end. And so I ask you, my fellow-countrymen -- everyone of you -- to help give to our country complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes, and in the eyes of the world. You can do this by voting YES on Monday next.

For release after delivery

April 24, 1942 D 42605

ADDRESS BROADCAST BY THE RT. HON. W.L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P., PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

Fellow Canadians:

Since I last spoke to you, there has been much discussion of the forthcoming plebiscite over the radio, in the press, and at public meetings. This discussion has gone far to clarify the issue. It has, however, also disclosed how little, in some parts of our country, the gravity of the world situation is appreciated; and how greatly, as a consequence, people are in danger of being misled by some of those who are asking them to vote NO on Monday next.

Of the persons who already have decided to vote YES, many are now asking themselves why it was that so great a storm of protest should have been raised against the idea of a plebiscite when it was announced. Why was it, they ask, that the matter was debated at such great length in parliament, when, today, so many of those who were strongest in their opposition to the holding of a plebiscite are united in asking for an affirmative vote.

I want to say a word to you tonight on both these matters. I hope that what I say may serve to resolve any doubts in your minds as to the importance of your voting YES; and I hope it may also convince you of the necessity of doing all you can to see that the affirmative vote is as large as possible.

D42606

When the plebiscite was announced, many did not understand what it was on which they were going to be asked to express an opinion. Many thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was placing on the people the responsibility of deciding the issue of conscription, instead of assuming that responsibility itself, and making its own recommendation to parliament.

It has now been made clear that conscription is not the issue. Let me emphasize that fact. Those who tell you that conscription is the issue are misleading you. The sole purpose of the plebiscite is to obtain for the government, and for parliament, a perfectly free hand in dealing with this, as ~~well as~~ with all other questions. All you are being asked to say is whether or not you are in favour of the government's hands being perfectly free at this time of war. That is the meaning of the question to which you are being asked to reply YES or NO. If you reply YES, you will not be committing the government to conscription for service overseas; but you will be enabling the government and parliament to discuss and decide that question solely on its merits. Members of the government and members of parliament will no longer be suspected of

being influenced in their judgment by political or other considerations arising out of promises or pledges which have been given in the past.

My colleagues and I have been elected to carry on the government at this time of war. If you cannot trust us to do what is right in the interest of the people, who are you going to trust? If you cannot trust the members whom you have elected to represent you in parliament to see that no step is taken which is not in your interest, and in the interest of our country, who are you going to trust? This is not an ordinary time; it is a time of war. The whole world is in a state of rapid change. At any time the responsibilities of government are heavy enough. They are greater today than they have ever been. For my part, if I did not believe that, as head of the government, I continued to enjoy the confidence of the people, who, time and again, have returned me to office, I would not wish to remain in office an hour longer.

Surely, you are not going to be influenced in your vote on Monday by parades of young boys carrying banners and shouting "Down with Conscription", when conscription is not the issue. Nor do I imagine that you will be influenced by the radio from Paris, suggesting that you

D 42608

vote NO, when you are well aware that its voice is the voice of Hitler. When so much is at stake in the lives and homes of everyone, surely you will wish to be guided by the best informed and wisest counsel it is possible for you to receive.

Do you think that every member of the present government would be asking you to vote YES on Monday, if we did not all honestly believe that it was in the interest of yourselves, your families and our country for you to do so? I want you to know that that is what I very firmly believe. Let no one tell you that I am half-hearted in this matter.

Some who pretend to be speaking my mind have been urging you to vote NO in order, as they say, to protect me from the advocates of conscription. The suggestion that a man can be protected by keeping his hands tied, when he is himself asking to have his hands free, is surely a strange one.

It is being said that, if the plebiscite carries, the government will immediately, under the War Measures Act, enforce conscription for service overseas. The government has no such intention.

In order to meet a sudden grave emergency, which would threaten our very shores, it might be necessary for the government, at any time, to act in advance of a reference to parliament. Apart from such an emergency, if the government comes to feel that changes should be made in any statute to permit of a wider application of its provisions, this step will be taken by act of parliament. It will not be taken by an order-in-council under the War Measures Act. The government's action will have to meet with the approval of parliament.

Let me return for a moment to what I was saying about the storm of protest which arose at the time the plebiscite was announced. It so happened that four by-elections were pending at that time. Elections sometime help to confuse rather than to clarify issues. You may have noticed that, once the by-elections were over, argument about the plebiscite did not last long. The principle of the plebiscite bill was adopted in the House of Commons without division.

What perhaps occasioned most in the way of protest when the plebiscite was announced was that many persons thought the government would not be holding a plebiscite unless we had reason to believe that there was some immediate need for conscription for

D 42610

service overseas. As a matter of fact, there was no such thought in the government's mind.

Many people felt that the war effort would be delayed while the plebiscite was being held. They were naturally indignant, even to the point of exasperation, at the thought that, in the face of growing danger, anything would be allowed to hold up Canada's part in the prosecution of the war. We are within three days of the date fixed for the plebiscite. It is apparent that no aspect of our war effort has in any way been delayed.

Let me speak now of some of the doubts that still remain, and of reasons which, in some quarters, are being given as to why you should vote NO and not YES on Monday next.

When I spoke to you on April 7th, I said that I would not be true to the trust the people of Canada had reposed in me did I not say that I believed the situation, for all free nations, was far more critical than it had ever been. I added that Canada's position was no exception. I said then, and I wish to repeat tonight, that I have never been an alarmist. Throughout my public life, where I believed the situation required it, I have always tried to measure my words, to speak with moderation, and

a time of war is it reasonable to trust the intentions of the enemy, rather than ~~the~~ those of the freely elected government of your own country?

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Let me give you some of the reasons why in my last broadcast, I said, that to those who are able to look beyond the events of today into the future, it is no longer merely the unity, but the very existence of our country which they see to be in danger.

Germany, Italy and Japan were not <u>forced</u> into war. They were not even <u>drawn</u> into war. <u>They were themselves</u> aggressors. They made war of their own choosing, at their own time.

Germany, Italy and Japan assumed the role of aggressor with full knowledge of the military and industrial power of the free nations, and of the extent of the populations, territories and resources of the British Empire, the United States, Russia, China and the empires of France and the Netherlands. When Hitler and his fellow gangsters attacked the free nations they knew they were attacking nations immensely superior to themselves in resources and population. Their action was proof that they believed that, in the end, they would be able to conquer all the continents; and that, later on, they

<u>would divide the spoils</u>

would divide the spoils of a conquered world among themselves.

Far from regarding resources, populations, and vast territories as sources of strength to the free nations, these were the very things that lured the gangster nations into war. These were the very means by which, in their warfare, the aggressors hoped to be sustained. These were the prizes of war for which they were prepared to make any sacrifice. ~~Instead of being a deterrent to~~ aggression, the enormous populations, ~~vast~~ territories and unlimited resources of the free countries have been, in the eyes of the piratical nations, a main incentive.

Up to the present, the enemy no doubt feels that his policy has been justified by success. Germany has conquered country after country in Europe, and has made their enslaved populations feed her own. She has compelled their great industries to contribute to her own powerful military machine. The populations and resources of a dozen countries, which less than three years ago were free, are today forced to aid further Nazi aggression. The territories of the conquered countries have been turned from barriers against attack, into effective bases for further conquest.

D 42613

The same is true of the swift and extensive gains of Japan in the Orient. In one third of a year, Japan has acquired the physical structure of a vast overseas empire. The French Empire in Asia has become a dependency of Japan. The United States has lost a number of its strategic island possessions. The British Empire has been in part dismembered; and in both the Pacific and the Indian oceans its very existence is threatened as never before. The Dutch Empire in the Far East has been destroyed.

~~As in Europe, so~~ In the Orient as in Europe, what the free nations have lost in territory, in vital war supplies, in military and naval bases and strategic strongholds, the enemy has gained. The rubber, the tin, the oil which were formerly at the disposal of the free nations now go to strengthen the war effort of Japan. The security afforded until recently to the British, the Americans, the Dutch and the other democratic nations by the possession of Hong Kong, Singapore, the Philippines and Java, these bases now afford to the Japanese. They serve also as Japanese outposts for further aggression and conquest.

D 42614

The full significance of these facts, I am convinced, has never been appreciated.

There has been far too great a tendency to measure the strength of the United Nations, not in terms of what it actually is, but in terms of what it is hoped it will become. There has been too great a disposition to speak of that strength, in terms of the relative sizes of populations, and extent of resources, ~~rather than~~ as Planned that and Speech only in terms of effective fighting forces and ships, tanks, planes, guns, and other equipment and munitions of war, actually available. The whole course of the war has shown that all else may prove to be a delusion and a snare.

If geographical areas, extent of potential resources, and sizes of populations were the factors that counted for most in warfare today, Germany, Italy and Japan would never have gone to war at all.

We must also guard against another delusion, perhaps the most fatal of all forms of deception in war-time. I refer to the comfortable doctrine that time is on our side. Time will prove to be on our side only if the enemy can be held at bay and prevented from acquiring new sources of strength.

D 42615

The Canadian army is in Britain for exactly the same reason as the troops of the United States are now also in the British Isles, and for exactly the same reason as the troops of the United States are in Australia. They are there to keep the enemy away from this continent and to help defeat the enemy before he becomes strong enough to defeat us. ~~The fact is that~~ these matters, however, have nothing to do with the question at issue in the plebiscite. The government itself is well aware of the need of increased home defences. In fact additional provision to this end has already been made. ~~This and~~ like questions, all questions of defence will be fully weighed by the government in the light of all existing conditions and available knowledge. They are proper subjects of debate in Parliament. They will not be decided by the plebiscite.

In the light of the dangers I have described; in the light of the threat to our own country, may I ask those who have been thinking of voting NO, if they have fully considered how great a responsibility they are thereby taking upon themselves.

By voting NO, as I see it, you will be saying that you understand the needs of our country, in this terrible crisis, better than they are understood by the

government.

D 42616

government. You will be saying that you know better than the government how Canada should be defended. You will be saying that you refuse to trust the government of your own country, and the Parliament you yourselves elected, to make the right decisions for the protection of your homes and families. ~~You will be saying that you are ready to risk the very existence, and the whole future of Canada for the sake of holding the government to a promise made at a time when the full extent of the present danger could not possibly have been foreseen.~~

The plebiscite affords a great opportunity for a demonstration of national unity. In appealing to you to vote YES, I am appealing to my fellow Canadians of all races and all creeds in all parts of Canada to trust one another. I am appealing to you all to demonstrate to your fellow Canadians and to the rest of the world that the unity of Canada is unbreakable. I am asking you to show that you are capable of making any sacrifice which is necessary to preserve our united national existence. Without unity, Canada cannot make her full contribution to the winning of the war, to the preservation of her own freedom, and to the restoration of freedom in the world. A free Canada can only survive in a free world.

I have sought to bring before your minds, the broad outline of the world situation as I see it in this titanic conflict between world freedom and world slavery. President Roosevelt has termed it the war of survival. And such in reality, I believe, it to be. I ask you, my fellow citizens, faced with such a situation, is it in the interests of our country, whose future is irrevocably bound up with the future of the United Nations, that its government, in any particular, should be restricted in the exercise of its powers? I believe it is not. ~~Responsibility and power should go together. The Government's responsibility could not be greater than it is. Its powers should not be limited in any way.~~

The government and parliament should be wholly free to exercise their best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada, and for Canada's effort in the present war.

Today, the enemy is so strong that he can only be held at bay and finally defeated by the common action of all the united nations. For ~~our~~ her own security, Canada should make it perfectly clear to the other united nations, and, above all, to the United States that Canada is as ready to help them as we know they will be ready to help

us. An overwhelming affirmative vote on Monday next will serve to make that perfectly clear.

Today, despite the magnificence of Canada's war effort, the impression is being fostered among other nations that because of a restriction on the powers of the government Canada's effort is not an all-out effort. This impression is quite unfounded. Nevertheless, it is working a grave injustice to our country as a whole, and to every man and woman who is making any contribution towards the winning of the war. I want that injustice to end, and so I ask you my fellow-countrymen -- everyone of you -- to help give to our country complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes, and in the eyes of the world. You can do this by voting YES on Monday next.

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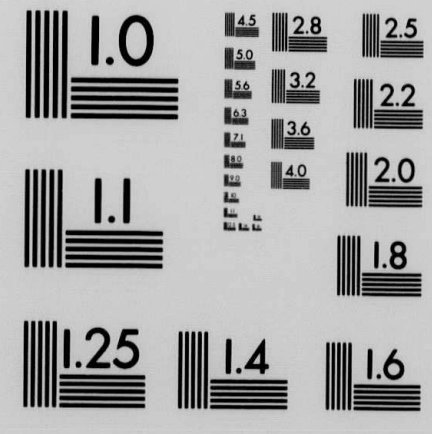
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