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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.

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

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

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

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

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

Public Papers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Personal Papers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1996-02-02

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

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

Accès contrôlé.

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers publics. Original,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers personnels.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Section des archives politiques.

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

FILE BEGAN ON PREVIOUS REEL

LE DOSSIER A DEBUTE SUR LA BOBINE PRECEDENTE

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
95		Kiska Island, Occupation, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	21 Aug. 1943	D 60608 - D 60637	
95		Roosevelt, President, Visit to Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Aug. 1943	D 60638 - D 60655	
95		Galleys of Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1943	D 60656 - D 60701	
95		Italy, Unconditional Surrender of. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Sept. 1943	D 60702 - D 60723	
95		Four Years of War, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1943	D 60724 - D 60735	
95		Titles for Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1943	D 60736 - D 60745	
95		National Liberal Federation, Chateau Laurier, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Sept. 1943	D 60746 - D 60826	
95		Address in Reply to Speech from the Throne. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60827 - D 60882	
95		Alaska Highway. Speeches in Parliament	20 Apr. 1943	D 60883 - D 60884	

Subsequently Submitted D60850

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

1. Notes on opening Remarks

re Speech on the Address

Attached are notes on the following topics:

2. Man power

3. Social Security under Laurier + King

1. The Growth of the Armed Forces
2. The Navy
3. The Army
4. The Air Force
5. War Production (Including Food)
6. Financial Measure of War Effort

(The above are designed to give an outline of Canada's War in 1942 with a comparison for 1941.)

7. The Financing and Allocation of War Supplies to the United Nations
8. Joint Food Production Committee
9. Reconstruction
10. Social Security

(Designed to amplify references in Speech from Throne; it is assumed that observations on Redistribution and Parliamentary Assistants will be held for debate on the Bills.)

11. Air Raid Precautions and Civil Defence - (a note of appreciation on lines suggested by Mr. Mackenzie - which might be worked in somewhere.)

D 60851

12. Bureaucracy. (A few suggested points for debate.) A few notes are being prepared on Manpower: since the subject is almost certain to be brought up by the Leader of the Opposition. They will be submitted later. attached

JWP

D 60852

Prime Minister's Speech on Address

Notes on Opening Remarks

Speech by Leader of the Opposition

Congratulations on tone of speech - reflection of spirit of unity in country -

tendency to put aside controversies of the past and to look to future -

great common objective is Victory -

No Victory will be complete which does not lay foundation of enduring peace -

Common recognition of all parties that international and domestic social security essential to enduring peace, hence planning for its achievment essential to winning of war.

All parties equally recognize that war itself is far from won, and the unity and fortitude on the home front is the least we owe to the hundreds of thousands of Canadians who have offered their all for our survival.

D 60853

As we embark on a new session, I am confident we all do so in the spirit to which such eloquent expression was given by the abbé Sabourin in describing the action at Dieppe.

> "On that particular morning" the padre said, "those who went to fight for you at Dieppe were not from English Canada or French Canada. They were from Canada as a whole. And we went off as good Canadians. .... Let us rejoice then that those who fought for Canada, shoulder to shoulder for their country, without regard for faith, tongue or tradition."

As it was at Dieppe, so also it was at Hong Kong, so, too, is it on the seas and in the skies wherever the young men of Canada are enduring and fighting and dying for the preservation of their country and the freedom of mankind.

I am sure all of us were moved by the proceedings on Friday last, as we listened to the able and eloquent speeches of two of our own members, representing the two great races, but representing even more their comrades in the three armed services who symbolize the unity and the strength of our young country.

Speaking for myself, I was never prouder in all my years in Parliament than I was as I listened to the hon. member for Grey-Bruce and the hon. member for Brome-Missisquoi. In their accents, I caught a vision of the future - of a future sombre, tragic, heart-breaking for many homes through which our country must yet pass before we emerge into the dawn of peace. But beyond that valley of the shadow, I glimpsed the promise of a better day - a future which all of us hope and pray our two gallant young colleagues may be spared to help in shaping - when our young men return triumphant from war, to wage the battles of peace, to enlarge and enjoy the freedom for the common man in a united country and a free world.

The mover and seconder of the address have brought all their comrades-in-arms, in the army, the navy and the air force much closer to us all. They have stood in this house as a symbol of the endurance, the valour, and the sacrifice imperishably associated with Hong-Kong, Dieppe, Cologne, Turin, and the skies over many towns in many lands, and ~~with~~ the dreary and the weary vigils on the North Atlantic. We think, too, of those who have gone never to return, of the wounded, and of those who wait so impatiently in the prison camps of Europe and of Asia for the hour of deliverance.

D 60855

I am sure the whole House will agree with me when I say to the hon. and gallant Members who are before long to leave our country to join the army overseas, that we are grateful to them for giving the key note to the deliberations of this session and that all are resolved to continue the session in the spirit in which this debate has opened.

May I also express to the hon. Member for Brome-Missisquoi, the Government's appreciation of the well-merited tribute to my colleague, the Minister of National Defence.

D 60856

Canada's War Effort

Growth of the Armed Forces in 1942

A year ago, the navy comprised over 350 ships and over 27,000 men. At the beginning of the present year, there were more than 500 ships and the personnel had almost doubled, the number exceeding 52,000.

At the beginning of 1942, the active army included some 260,000 volunteers and an additional 20,000 men called up under the Mobilization Act. At the beginning of this year the number of volunteers had risen to about 360,000 and the men serving compulsorily to about 55,000. A considerable proportion of the men called up had volunteered for general service.

In the air force, the number of men rose in 1942 from about 100,000 to about 150,000.

In addition to the armed forces, about 38,000 Canadian merchant seamen are serving on vessels of Canadian or foreign registry. Some 400 men are serving in Britain in the Corps of Civilian Canadian Firefighters.

Canada's War Effort

The Navy

The Canadian navy has three tasks. It shares with the army and the air force in guarding Canadian shores. It shares with the British and United States navies in protecting merchant shipping on the Atlantic. It co-operates with the sea forces of the United Nations. In engagements with the enemy, officers and men of the Royal Canadian Navy have borne themselves gallantly. Several enemy submarines have been sunk by Canadian naval forces.

A programme of expansion of the navy has been followed continuously since the outbreak of war. Only a part of Canadian shipbuilding capacity is devoted to the needs of the Royal Canadian navy. The total shipbuilding capacity is divided between the construction of cargo ships and naval craft. A considerable number of ships of both kinds are constructed for Britain, the United States and other of our allies. At the same time, British shipyards as well as our own are building ships for the Canadian Navy. A considerable increase in the number of ships, including several destroyers, is anticipated in the present year. The enlistment and training of naval personnel is keeping pace with the increase in the number of ships.

D60858

P.M's Speech on the Address

Canada's War Effort

The Army.

The Canadian army in Britain has continued to guard that island citadel and to prepare for offensive action against the enemy. In the combined operations at Dieppe, the valour and heroism displayed by our troops filled our country with pride.

In addition to hard training and ordinary duties of life in the field army, the army in Britain has done many other things. I should like to describe some of these activities in the words used by General McNaughton in his Christmas message to the people of Canada.

General McNaughton said: "There have been many things to do. Camps and roads and airfields to build; waste to be eliminated and salvage to be collected; help to give in the quest for key minerals needed for war production and tunnels to drive for power to aid in manufacture; forestry operations in Scotland to supply great quantities of timber when its import would have needed the use of precious shipping otherwise required; military schools and courses to organize and conduct; the

central administration patiently envolved, by those entrusted with this task, to regulate our dealings with the civil power and with the great departments of state with whom our daily business has been adjusted in harmony."

In the same message General McNaughton outlined the development of the army in its three years in Britain. These are his words:

"In Canada preparations were pressed forward with energy and decision and soon there was a steady flow of men to us, limited only by the capacity of the ships we could obtain. And gradually at first and then in rapidly rising tide, now approaching the flood, came our arms and vehicles and equipment of every sort and so today, our first few have become many tens of thousands and they now are firmly based on the vast arsenal which our country has become, we count ourselves most fortunate both in the quantity and, best of all, in the high quality of the supplies which Canada has sent to us."

In connection with the Army Overseas, the Canadian Active Army of two Army Corps, announced a year ago, has completed its formation in all its major components. Ancillary Units are month by month proceeding Overseas. Thousands are in training as reinforcements wherever required.

D60860

The programme of Army expansion in Canada announced on March 25th of last year is being carried out. The 6th and 7th Divisions and the Brigade Groups of the 8th Division are mobilized. There are, in addition, troops on garrison duty on our coasts and in vulnerable areas. In addition to the troops in Newfoundland, Labrador and West Indies, the Canadian Army is co-operating in the defence of Alaska.

Behind the Active Army are the tens of thousands of citizens who are effectively devoting time and energy to the important work of the Reserve Army.

P.M's speech on the Address

Canada's War Effort

The Air Force

The Royal Canadian Air Force continues to develop its three-fold activities: air training, territorial and coastal defence, and active combat against the enemy in all parts of the world.

During the year, the agreement which set up the original British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was renewed and extended. Royal Air Force training in Canada has been co-ordinated with the Commonwealth Plan in a greatly enlarged Combined Training Organization.

The expansion of the home war establishment, forecast a year ago and set out in greater detail on March 25th last is being actively advanced. The growing submarine menace off our eastern coast and in the St. Lawrence and the combined operations with the United States forces in Alaska have increased the combat activities for the squadrons of the home war establishment.

Canadian airmen in squadrons of the Royal Canadian Air Force and the Royal Air Force have been engaged in steadily mounting numbers in operations over Germany and German occupied Europe, Italy, North Africa and

D 60862

the Middle East, India and Ceylon and the South west Pacific. A Canadian bomber group was formed in Britain in December last. During the present year the number of R.C.A.F. squadrons will be increased to 38.

The Royal Canadian Air Force is undertaking increasing responsibility for the maintenance, equipment and welfare of Canadian airmen serving in combat areas overseas. The R.C.A.F. squadrons serving overseas will be fully equipped and maintained by Canada. In addition Canada is undertaking to provide the pay and allowances of the R.C.A.F. personnel serving in squadrons of the Royal Air Force.

Prime Minister's Speech on the Address

War Production

There is, I believe, no more graphic way of indicating the progress of Canada's war production in the past year than to cite a few figures of production in 1942 as compared with 1941.

First, as to the shipbuilding: in 1941 Canadian shipyards built 85 corvettes and minesweepers; in 1942, 74, a decrease of 11. But in 1942, many of the larger shipyards were devoted to building cargo ships. Over 80 cargo vessels were delivered, as compared with one in 1941.

The output of military aircraft in 1941 was under 1700; in 1942 it was almost 3800.

In 1941, Canada manufactured some 3000 armoured fighting vehicles, including tanks, universal carriers, scout cars and armoured cars; in 1942 well over 12,000.

The output of mechanical transport rose from less than 120,000 vehicles in 1941, to over 200,000 in 1942.

The increases in output of field guns, naval guns, machine guns and small arms, and in ammunition of all kinds are even more spectacular.

In money value, Canada's war production in 1942 had increased some 159% over 1941 from over $800,000,000 to over $2,100,000,000.

D 60864

The number of men and women employed in war industry at the close of 1941 was some 700,000; at the end of 1942 the number had risen to well over a million.

I agree with President Roosevelt that such figures can give no aid and comfort to the enemy; particularly when it is added that the peak of production has not yet been reached. They should be a source at once of pride and of encouragement to Canadian industry and to the working men and women whose labours made possible such production.

Canada's war production was not confined to ships and aircraft, machines and weapons and munitions. Primary production was also greatly increased. Aluminum, nickel, copper and other base metals, steel, timber and other essential raw materials were produced in greater quantity.

Canadian agriculture responded splendidly to the increased need for foodstuffs. Shipments to Britain were greater in all lines. Cheese increased from 112 million pounds in 1941 to 125 in 1942; bacon increased from about 425 million pounds to over 600 million pounds, in this case in a slightly longer period; dried eggs from some 15 million dozen to 38 million dozen. The programme for 1943 calls for 675 million pounds of bacon; 63 million dozen eggs and at least as much cheese as last year.

Most of the food Canada exports is sent to Britain, but Canadian implements and munitions of war have found their way to all our fighting allies and have been used on almost every front.

D 60865

More than two-thirds of our total munitions output is supplied to ot other of the United Nations. While our munitions programme has now reached full capacity, within the limits of available manpower and materials, we may expect the output for 1943 to exceed substantially that of 1942. In volume and quantity, it already compares favourably with that of any allied country.

D 60866

Financial Measure of War Effort

Because of the success achieved in preventing inflation and maintaining the purchasing power of the Canadian dollar, the real extent of Canada's war effort can be fairly accurately measured in financial terms.

In the calendar year, 1941, direct war expenditures amounted to more than $1,000,000,000 and an additional $900,000,000 was necessary to provide the Canadian dollars to meet the United Kingdom deficit. Canada's total war costs for 1941 exceeded ~~$1,000~~ 2,000,000,000. In the calendar year 1942 the corresponding total was ~~considerably~~ more than above $3,000,000,000.

The splendid way in which the financial burden of war is being borne by the Canadian people is evidenced by the fact that in addition to over $2,000,000,000 collected in 1942 in taxes and compulsory savings, Canada subscriptions for Victory bonds and War Savings Certificates exceeded $1,900,000,000.

Beyond saying that the financial burden of our all-out war effort will be greater in 1943 than in 1942, I shall leave forecasts to the Minister of Finance.

Figures subject-
to final
check

D 60867

P.M's Speech on the Address

Joint Food Production Committee

Food production recognized as war production.

Federal-provincial conference of departments of agriculture held in December to set production quotas for 1943.

Joint Food Production Committee of Departments of Agriculture of Canada and the United States agreed upon at recent conference in Washington attended by the Minister of Agriculture.

At an early date, Minister of Agriculture will report on the production programme and the scope of the Joint Committee.

Marks a further stage in the dove-tailing of Canada-United States war production flowing from the Hyde Park Agreement of April 1941.

D 60868

Reconstruction

When the war has been brought to a successful conclusion, there will remain major problems of domestic and international organization and reconstruction.

Canada has adhered to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and every attempt will be made to achieve its objectives.

By an exchange of notes with the United States, we have undertaken to begin conversations with that country and other United Nations at an early date.

Reconstruction will not be completed in a given period after the war. It will be a continuing task to be pursued without slackening for the ever fuller attainment of a higher and freer level of life for all.

Government is aware of the magnitude of the problems involved, and of the necessity of careful preparation to meet them; it has for some time been devoting attention to investigation of the field, and in particular to the methods by which plans for postwar action can best be laid.

Informal conversations with other of the United Nations, regarding certain international problems, have taken place. These will be continued and expanded.

D 60869

Government has decided to strengthen and increase the machinery for consideration and preparation of plans to be put into effect after the war. Already, departments of government have given consideration to specific postwar measures that may be required. These activities will increase.

The Committee on Reconstruction, under the Chairmanship of Principal Cyril James has launched studies of value, is gathering a wealth of information, and, through a series of sub-committees, is bringing the experience and ideas of many different individuals and organizations to bear on the problems. This valuable work will continue. The government will give careful consideration to all recommendations and suggestions which the Committee on Reconstruction makes.

Preparation for meeting the problems which will confront us on the cessation of hostilities and for reconstruction in the broader sense must be related closely to the elaboration of wartime policies and must be integrated with the work of the departments and agencies of government which will have to carry out the plans.

Co-ordination of post-war planning carried on by the various departments and agencies, including the Reconstruction Committee, has, accordingly, been entrusted to an inter-departmental committee on which senior

D 60870

officials of most departments of government have a place. It is the intention that by this means the discussions and proposals originating in various quarters may be brought together and turned into concrete measures for the consideration of the government and parliament.

Parliament will necessarily wish to give increasing attention to the problems of post-war reconstruction. To this end, the government will recommend that the Select Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment be reconstituted at an early date.

D 60871

Prime Minister's Speech on Address

Social Security

Foundation of social security is a healthy and vigorous economy.

Real wealth must be produced and distributed equitably if the community is to be strong enough to bear burden of social insurance.

Speech from Throne places "adequate incomes for primary producers and full employment" before social security.

War has taught us that the obstacles to full employment were not real obstacles; at the close of the war it will be the great task of statesmanship so to guide and direct affairs that useful and remunerative work will be available for all who need or want to work, whether on the farms or in other primary pursuits, or industry or commerce, or the professions or trades.

A sound national economy - and a sound international economy - can only be founded on equal opportunities for all and special privileges for none.

Equal opportunities are not enough - there must also be adequate safeguards against the hazards of economic social life in a modern industrial society.

D 60872

Those who are able and willing to work must be insured against involuntary unemployment whatever its cause; those whose livelihoods are subject to the whims of nature must be insured against calamity; the very young, the aged and the infirm must be cared for, if we are to attain the true end of a good society which is human welfare.

The working out of a comprehensive and practical national plan of social insurance which will serve, in the words of the Speech from the Throne, as a charter of social security for the whole of Canada will not be a simple task.

Two sides to social security:

1. Definition in precise of terms of its scope and objectives.
2. Devising the means, constitutional, financial and administrative of achieving objectives.

The Committee to be set up will be one of the most important in the history of Canada; its work will give Parliament an almost unequalled opportunity to serve our own generation and generations to come.

D 60873

Some will say that all these things - full employment, adequate incomes, social security - should be left until after the war: that now we should concentrate exclusively on winning the war.

Planning and working for a better future is part of the task of winning the war. We cannot all be in the fighting forces or in war industries, but we owe it to those who are fighting and working to ensure their future when the war is won. They are winning the war for us; it is our task to win the peace for them.

D 60874

Air Raid Precautions and Civil Defence

At the beginning of the present year well over 200,000 Canadians, 45,000 of them women, were enrolled in over 530 local A.R.P. or civilian defence organizations in those parts of Canada designated as "subject to the risk of enemy action."

This large number of civilians have been giving unselfishly of their time and talents with a degree of public-spiritedness that has won respect on all sides.

We are, indeed, fortunate that, so far, there has been no occasion for them to put their training into practice. We hope they will never be called upon to do so. All our citizens should, however, be grateful for the additional sense of security we owe to their devotion.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to express the government's appreciation of the splendid work being accomplished by the A.R.P. organization. It is a useful example of Federal-provincial co-operation in an aspect of our war effort which, though it has not been spectacular, is of very real importance to our national security.

D 60875

Prime Minister's Speech on Address

Bureaucracy

"Many ... ministers are working to the limit of their capacity. But that large part of their work beyond their capacity, the government, by order in council, has delegated, in many cases without essential democratic restrictions and controls, to a huge and growing bureaucracy .... the usurping of these powers by bureaucracy is the negation of responsible government." (Mr. John Bracken, December 21, 1942)

1. On so-called question of "bureaucracy" the official Opposition and the financial press have completely reversed their position.

(a) In 1940 they were demanding a non-political and independent "business" direction for the whole war production programme. In other words, the so-called "bureaucrats" were to be completely free from responsibility to the government and the Parliament.

(b) In 1942 and 1943, they are claiming that the government has handed control over to the so-called "bureaucrats" (exactly what they asked for two years ago) and they are now demanding more control by "politicians" - for that is what responsible government means.

D 60876

(c) The truth is that the government has <u>consistently</u> followed the same course - the control of policy has always been kept in the hands of the Ministers who are responsible to Parliament; the administration of policy agreed upon, has been entrusted to the most expert administrators who could be secured. Subject always to final ministerial responsibility, they have been given the greatest possible freedom to carry out government policy without "political" interference.

2. In war-time the respective functions of politicians and civil administrators are exactly parallelled by respective functions of politicians and the Military high command.

The politicians must determine the objectives and select the experts, whether generals or admirals or air marshals or civil administrators, whose task it is to attain the objectives set.

The experts, whether military or administrative, must be trusted with sufficient authority and discretion to enable them to act effectively.

The politicians must be ready to take the final responsibility for the administration as well as for policies.

D 60877

They have a duty to remove administrators, whether civil or military, in whom they lose confidence.

But the efficient conduct of war would be completely impossible if politicians interfered in the day to day administration.

3. An efficient administrative organization is just as essential to the successful prosecution of the war as well-organized and well-trained armed forces.

Vague and general charges against the "bureaucracy" like vague and general charges against the armed forces serve only to weaken confidence.

Criticism to be useful, should be precise and specific.

4. What do the critics mean by "bureaucracy"?

Do they mean the permanent civil servants?

If so, the increase has in numbers been very small and the only change in their conduct in war-time has been that, in general, they have worked harder and for much longer hours.

Do they mean the professional and business men who have undertaken to serve in a temporary capacity to meet wartime needs?

If so, this is a strange conception of bureaucracy.

These men and women have not entered the public service as a career; once their wartime service is completed they plan to return to their normal occupations; they are not bureaucrats at all. In the great majority of cases, they are working harder than ever, at considerable inconvenience to themselves and their families, actuated solely by a desire to do their part in winning the war.

5. What is behind the criticism?

Is it really "bureaucracy" which is objected to, or is it the controls and restrictions essential to an all-out war effort?

War cannot be won without heavy burdens and great and growing inconvenience.

It is very easy to blame the "bureaucrats" for the necessary restrictions and burdens of war, but such complaints hinder rather than help the war effort.

6. The government is answerable to Parliament for every aspect of the war administration. It has no desire and no power to hide behind the "bureaucracy". So long as that remains true, and it is as true today as it was in 1939, it is idle to talk about the "usurping of powers by bureaucracy" or the "negation of responsible government".

D 60879

Foundations of Social Security laid by Liberal Party under Laurier

1. Fair Wages resolution introduced in 1900 by Sir William Mulock after public discussion by Prime Minister of low wages paid by government contractors.

2. Establishment of a Department of Labour - greatly improved the public knowledge of social conditions through the gathering of information.

   Industrial Disputes Investigation Act a step in the direction of civilized to relations between capital, labour and the community.

3. First legislation to control conditions of labour - 1911. Prime Minister introduced legislation prohibiting the use of white phosphorus in match industry.

4. Initiated an investigation into the hours of labour - Parliamentary Committee in 1910.

D 60880

5. Legislation for investigation of trusts and combines - 1909

6. Cheap annuities for people of limited means - 1908.

D 60881

Measures of Social Security since 1921

1. Old Age Pension system established in 1926.

2. Fair Wages and Eight Hour Day Act - 1930.

3. Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations - an endeavour to find proper constitutional basis for social reform, plus a scientific effort to find the real facts about the social, economic and political conditions of Canada.

4. Unemployment Insurance -

5. Position of the Liberal Party on social reform was made clear by Prime Minister on January 21st, 1935. 14-point program aiming at full employment, sickness and accident insurance, improvement of international trade, public control of credit, equitable distribution of wealth.

These reforms have been in large measure realized, e.g.

1. Unemployment Insurance,

2. Public ownership of Bank of Canada,

3. Increases in Income Tax to distribute more evenly the burdens of public finance.

4. International Trade Agreements with U.S.A., Britain and other countries (such as Latin American States)

5. Reduction of tariffs.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
95		Kiska Island, Occupation, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	21 Aug. 1943	D 60608 - D 60637	
95		Roosevelt, President, Visit to Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Aug. 1943	D 60638 - D 60655	
95		Galleys of Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1943	D 60656 - D 60701	
95		Italy, Unconditional Surrender of. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Sept. 1943	D 60702 - D 60723	
95		Four Years of War, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1943	D 60724 - D 60735	
95		Titles for Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1943	D 60736 - D 60745	
95		National Liberal Federation, Chateau Laurier, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Sept. 1943	D 60746 - D 60826	
95		Address in Reply to Speech from the Throne. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60827 - D 60882	
95		Alaska Highway. Speeches in Parliament	20 Apr. 1943	D 60883 - D 60884	

NAR/SR
20.4.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

D 60883

I am enclosing a draft statement about travel on the Alaska Highway, which it would be helpful if you could make in the House today. The text of this announcement has been concerted with the United States Government and is also being released in Washington this afternoon.

Extra copies are being given to Mr. Turnbull for the use of press men who may wish them.

D 60884

Travel on the Alaska Highway

I am informed that requests for permission to travel along the military highway to Alaska are being received in considerable numbers by both the Canadian and United States authorities. Most of these requests come from persons who are actuated by an understandable curiosity or interest but who have no compelling reason for visiting the Northwest at the present time.

There are at present no facilities along most of the highway for ordinary civilian traffic. For sleeping accommodation, for food, for gasoline and for repairs such travellers would have to rely on assistance from the military authorities. Every non-essential traveller who has to be assisted in such ways will detract by that much from the primary work of the military authorities, the completion and operation of the highway for war purposes.

Under these circumstances we have agreed with the United States authorities that until further notice no civilian traffic will be allowed on the Alaska Highway except in the case of persons whose presence in the area will contribute to the prosecution of the war. It is contemplated that a joint Control Unit will be set up in Edmonton and will be given authority to issue permits to applicants who have legitimate reasons for wishing to travel on the Highway. No civilian will be allowed on the Highway without such a permit.

The arrangements which have been announced by which bona fide prospectors engaged in the search for oil or minerals of war value are allowed access to the area traversed by the Highway will continue in force and such prospectors will be granted permits to use the Highway.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
95		Bracken, Hon. John. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60885 - D 60886	
95		Cardin, Hon. P.J.A. Speeches in Parliament	Feb. 1943	D 60887 - D 60921	
95		Casablanca Conference. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60922 - D 60925	
95		Chiang Kai-Shek, Madame. Speeches in Parliament	16 June 1943	D 60926 - D 60947	
95		Civil Air Transport. Speeches in Parliament	2 Apr. 1943	D 60948 - D 60951	
96		Confederation. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60952 - D 60953	
96		Czechoslovakia, Dr. Edward Benes. Speeches in Parliament	3 June 1943	D 60954 - D 60959	
96		Defence of Lower St. Lawrence Region. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60960 - D 60981	
96		Deputy Speaker. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60982 - D 60984	
96		Dominion Day. Speeches in Parliament	1 July 1943	D 60985 - D 60991	
96		Eden, Rt. Hon. Anthony. Speeches in Parliament	1 Apr. 1943	D 60992 - D 60993	

Quention of privilege

July 5/43
D 60885

Speaking in Toronto on Friday last, Mr. John Bracken, Leader of the Progressive Conservative party, is reported in the press of Canada as having said that the war policy of the Dominion government had been "in too many of its aspects prompted by political cowardice".

Had Mr. Bracken, as Leader of the Progressive Conservative party, been a member of this House of Commons, I should today immediately have asked you, Mr. Speaker, to see that Mr. Bracken was obliged immediately to withdraw his charge of political cowardice. As one who himself has been a member of a Legislative Assembly, Mr. Bracken must know these untrue offensive words could not have been used in this House or in the Legislature of any province without the House insisting upon their being withdrawn. As Mr. Bracken is not in the House, I suppose I must content myself by saying that a charge of "political cowardice" comes with ill grace from a leader of a political party who, throughout the whole of a session of parliament, following his appointment as Leader of his party, has apparently sought to avoid attempting its leadership on the floor of the House of Commons.

I should like also to draw the attention of the House to Mr. Bracken's further reported reference in speaking of that part of the Canadian Army called up for service in the Western Hemisphere, to his "judgment that this home draftee army is not only an injustice to the men who are in it, but it

is the biggest hoax ever perpetrated on the nation."
I think the use of the word "hoax", which in existing
circumstances is equally uncalled for and equally but more and offensive ~~and~~
unparliamentary, is something which the Leader of the
Progressive Conservative party ~~itself~~ has will come greatly
to regret ever having used.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
95		Bracken, Hon. John. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60885 - D 60886	
95		Cardin, Hon. P.J.A. Speeches in Parliament	Feb. 1943	D 60887 - D 60921	
95		Casablanca Conference. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60922 - D 60925	
95		Chiang Kai-Shek, Madame. Speeches in Parliament	16 June 1943	D 60926 - D 60947	
95		Civil Air Transport. Speeches in Parliament	2 Apr. 1943	D 60948 - D 60951	
96		Confederation. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60952 - D 60953	
96		Czechoslovakia, Dr. Edward Benes. Speeches in Parliament	3 June 1943	D 60954 - D 60959	
96		Defence of Lower St. Lawrence Region. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60960 - D 60981	
96		Deputy Speaker. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60982 - D 60984	
96		Dominion Day. Speeches in Parliament	1 July 1943	D 60985 - D 60991	
96		Eden, Rt. Hon. Anthony. Speeches in Parliament	1 Apr. 1943	D 60992 - D 60993	

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CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

OF

Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

ON

The Sub-Amendment moved by Hon. P. J. A. Cardin, M.P., to The Address in Reply to The Speech from the Throne

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1943*

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I think it is advisable for me to intervene at an early stage in the debate on this amendment to the amendment if for no reason other than first to make perfectly clear what in reality the amendment to the amendment says and proposes and, in the second place, what, in our parliamentary practice, it means.

Notwithstanding the fact that the hon. member who has just taken his seat has read the subamendment in part, I should like to repeat what he has read, and also a portion of the subamendment he did not read. After it is stated that the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères (Mr. Cardin) moves, seconded by the hon. member for Chicoutimi (Mr. Dubuc) the subamendment begins:

That all the words after the word "that" in the first line of the said amendment be struck out and that the following be substituted therefor.

Amendment One of Non-confidence

The point I wish to make perfectly clear is this, that the amendment of the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères is in the nature of a want of confidence motion in the present government. The hon. member seeks to effect that end by substituting a want of confidence motion of his own for the want of confidence motion moved by the leader of hon. members sitting immediately opposite. The hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères proposes that the house should strike out of that amendment all the words except the first few, namely, "We respectfully submit to Your Excellency that—". Those words are allowed to remain, but all the words following are to be stricken out, and in their stead are to be substituted words which I shall read in a few minutes.

I do not know that I could take any exception to that part of the subamendment

* The Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne was moved on January 29th, 1943. On February 1st an amendment to the Address was moved by the Leader of the Opposition, and a sub-amendment by the Leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. On February 1st, the sub-amendment of the Leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was defeated by a vote of 182 to 20. The Honourable P. J. A. Cardin, M.P., thereupon moved another amendment.

(Sub-headings have been inserted for the convenience of readers. They do not appear in the official report.)

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which would strike out the want of confidence motion on the part of the Progressive Conservative party. I doubt however if they will be prepared to have their want of confidence motion eliminated in order that they might support the substitute motion which is being proposed by the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères.

The words the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères wishes to substitute are the following:

This house is of the opinion that in view of the recognized shortage of farm labour, also the admitted shortage of labour in war industries and in other essential industrial and transportation activities, Your Excellency's advisers should have provided for the withholding of the operation of the National Resources Mobilization Act in regard to the raising of men for military service until, at least, a complete investigation is made by a committee of the house, to ascertain and determine by what means or methods Canada can now most effectively contribute to the winning of the war, without destroying the economic, social and national life of the country.

Let me examine these various statements. First:

This house is of the opinion—

And what is the opinion in which we are asked to concur?

—that Your Excellency's advisers should have provided for the withholding of the operation of the National Resources Mobilization Act in regard to the raising of men for military service—

Note first these words:

—should have provided for the withholding of the operation of the National Resources Mobilization Act—

"Should have provided"—in other words before parliament assembled, and when the speech from the throne was being prepared, it is suggested by the hon. member that, instead of setting forth what was set forth in the speech from the throne of the government's programme, the government should have had His Excelleny say that a part of the government's programme was to withhold the operation of the National Resources Mobilization Act in regard to the raising of men for military service.

Withhold Calling Up of Men for Military Service

That point I wish to make perfectly clear. It indicates what my hon. friend thinks the government should have done, namely, that it should have come to the house when parliament assembled and told hon. members that part of its policy was to withhold at once the operation of that part of the National Resources Mobilization Act in regard to the raising of men for military service.

And for how long was the operation of this portion of the act to be withheld? The next clause in the amendment makes that clear:

—until at least a complete investigation is made by a committee of the house.

Only yesterday the hon. member for Broadview (Mr. Church) requested a debate in the house before another important matter, namely, social security, should go to a committee of the house for investigation. As his reason for wishing to have the debate at once he said that matters which went to committees were likely to be discussed there for the whole of a session, and that in all probability no recommendations would be made until the end of the session. As I said to him at the time I did not think my hon. friend was correct in that assumption. In any case it is perfectly clear from the amendment to the amendment that what the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères wished the government to do was to tell the house that until there had been full investigation by a committee of the house into the matters to which he has referred in his subamendment there should be no further operation of that part of the act which relates to the raising of men for military service.

But an even more remarkable feature, perhaps, is what the investigation was to determine. This investigation was—

—to ascertain and determine by what means or methods Canada can now most effectively contribute to the winning of the war.

In other words it was to be left to a committee of the house to determine the means and the methods by which Canada can now most effectively contribute to the winning of the war.

Committee of House to Determine Policy

My hon. friend is an old colleague. I have known him well, both within the cabinet and without it; and I recall very distinctly that when we were colleagues in the cabinet together no one was more insistent than my hon. friend upon the government having a policy of its own, and not leaving it to a committee of the house or any other body to determine its policy. Yet to-day he suggests in regard to the all-important matter of winning the war that the best method to employ from now on would be to leave the matter, in the first instance, to a committee of the house.

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This is all the more surprising, coming from the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères, when we find that the hon. member himself has quite frankly stated his warm approval of what the government has already done in the matter of its war effort. And this war effort, which my hon. friend has praised so unreservedly, was achieved by the present administration, with the support of the house, it is true, but without any reference to a select committee in the first instance. Let me read what the hon. member said in that regard in one of his speeches in the present debate:

The speech from the throne also reviews our war effort. It has been a magnificent effort, I admit, and I am glad of it. All Canadians are proud of it, and we have the profound satisfaction of having it recognized that our war effort surpasses that of any other country of our size. As far as man-power and finance are concerned, our war effort is superior to that of the great republic to the south, the United States.

I say to my hon. friend: If the government of the day was capable of so planning its war effort that up to the present time it merits the encomium which he himself has passed upon it, surely the government still remains capable of deciding the best ways and means by which Canada's war effort may be carried on during the remainder of the time it may have that responsibility.

But my hon. friend goes a step further. He suggests that we carry this out without destroying the economic, social and national life of the country. I shall have a word to say later in regard to that particular clause.

Serious Consequences of Course Proposed

I have indicated what my hon. friend in his amendment says the government should have done when it came to parliament, when parliament opened. I want to ask him, and I want to ask hon. members: what would have been said of the government if it had come to this house with the recommendation which he says we should have made at the time, or if we had followed the course which he says we should have adopted? Assuming that we had agreed to the view of my hon. friend and had come to this house and said: We have decided to withhold the operation of the national mobilization act with respect to the calling up of men for service until a committee of this house has made a full investigation and reported to the House of Commons on the best ways and means of carrying on the war from now on. How would that have been received in different quarters?

To begin with, so far as this House of Commons is concerned, there would instantly have been a cry from the other side to the effect that we no longer enjoyed the confidence of the house because we were unable to state a policy which was our own with respect to the carrying on of the war. What would have been the effect upon the people of Canada of a pronouncement of this kind? Simultaneously, from one end of the country to the other, it would have been said that the government was preparing to back out of the war; that the government was quitting the war altogether; that it had started off by suspending the operation of the national mobilization act with respect to the calling up of men.

May I point out in this connection that it is to that part of the mobilization act which refers to the calling up of men for the defence of Canada in Canada and immediate environments that my hon. friend's amendment refers. My hon. friend has made no reference in any particular to the sending of men overseas; that does not enter into it. He himself was a party in the cabinet to the drafting of the National Resources Mobilization Act; he was a supporter of it on the floor of this house. My hon. friend will recall that the National Resources Mobilization Act was enacted immediately after the collapse of France. He was eloquent at that time in his support of the act. Why? Because of what it would mean for the defence of Canada, as well as for the defence of freedom in other parts of the world. Throughout the country there was the strongest appeal for the support of this act, and the calling up of men under it to serve in the defence of Canada. Has the situation so developed that to-day the defence of Canada by men called up under the mobilization act is not as necessary as it has been at any time in this war? Unless I am wrong in my reading of the times, the necessity is greater than ever for protection against an enemy as powerful as the axis powers are at this present time. Let me repeat, my hon. friend was one who supported the policy embodied in the act; he advocated it; but now he says that we should suspend the operation of an important part of the very act he so strongly endorsed.

Effect Upon Canada's Armed Forces

What would have been the effect of action of that kind on the part of our government upon our men who are serving in all parts of the world in the armed forces of the country? What would have been the effect upon our troops in Great Britain and elsewhere? I

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say that it would have created consternation in the minds of the men of the armed forces in all parts of the world, if it could have been said by anyone that the government of the day at this time of war had ceased to continue in operation the part of the mobilization act which related to the defence of Canada itself. Those men who are a long distance from home, who are helping to protect this country and to save it from disaster, would be asking themselves: Is this the kind of support we are getting from our home country and from our government? Is our parliament going to support that kind of action? Does it mean that while we are fighting here we are not going to get the reinforcements that we had hoped would be ready to come if they were necessary? Does it mean that we are not going to get the supplies that are needed at the time of our greatest need? I ask my hon. friend, I ask all hon. members, what would be the effect upon the whole war effort of Canada if a feeling of that kind were spread abroad among the armed forces of this country?

Effect Upon Great Britain and Other Dominions

What would have been the effect upon Great Britain and the British dominions? Great Britain to-day has her men fighting in all parts of the world. They are fighting for the protection of Canada as well as for the protection of Britain. They are fighting for the defence of freedom throughout the world. They are fighting to prevent the axis powers from dominating this world. What would have been the effect in Great Britain if the government of Canada had met this parliament with the announcement that it no longer intended to operate under an act with respect to the calling up of men for military service which the parliament of Canada itself had passed, until a whole session of parliament had been devoted to making an investigation as to ways and means in which the war effort of Canada could be carried on from now on?

What about Australia, where men are fighting the Japanese? They are fighting our battle as well as their own when they are keeping the enemy engaged in the southwestern portion of the Pacific. What about the men of New Zealand, who have been fighting in Africa and in other parts of the world and who, at any time, may have to fight on their own territory? What about the men of South Africa who are fighting in north Africa? These men are fighting for the defence of their soil and for the defence of freedom. What would have been the effect upon them if they had read that the government of Canada had for the time being suspended the operation of an act which related to the calling up of men for the defence of its own country and territory?

Effect Upon United States and Other Allies

To go a step further, what would have been the effect upon our allies other than those I have mentioned? What would have been the effect in the United States? If my hon. friend had wished to give to the isolationists of the United States the finest weapon they ever had, he would have put one into their hands by having a proposal of that kind accepted. That weapon would be put into their hands now if this House of Commons were to adopt his amendment at this time. Does anyone think that, throughout the United States, from one end of that country to the other, attention would not have been drawn to the fact that the government of Canada had ceased to call up men? What would those isolationists have asked of their administration? We would soon have heard of a widespread demand throughout the United States that there be no more calling up of men for military service. How much would we be helping the cause of freedom and the allies if a cry of that kind were raised in the great country to the south? But my hon. friend has made clear in one of his speeches what he feels about the service that is being rendered by others of our allies. When I referred a moment ago to what my hon. friend said about the war effort I was referring to what he said on February 9, not last night.

I want to read to the house another statement which my hon. friend made on February 9, and I must say that when I heard him make that statement I felt that at last he had grasped the full significance of this war—that it was a world war, that it was a war which affects all the countries which love freedom, and that every country which sought to preserve its freedom was helping to preserve the freedom of other countries. No words could have been more emphatic than those which were used by my hon. friend when he said, speaking of China and Russia:

Effect in Particular on China and Russia

Dear old China, that we love so much to-day, that we praise so much to-day and proclaim to be one of the first peoples in the world!

And a little further on:

We have discovered that she is a great country, a country that deserves our praise and support. We have modified our views; we have become a little more courageous and

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ready to help China now, as well as Russia. Let us give them what they need most, not men but food and armaments. That is what they want to enable them to carry on this struggle. As a matter of fact they are fighting for us as much as they are fighting for their country.

That is what my hon. friend said, that China is fighting as much for us as she is fighting for China. I think my hon. friend had the correct vision then, the larger vision, and realized that we owe it to China to do all we can in a similiar way for her, that in fighting for ourselves, we are also fighting for her, and vice versa.

What did he say with respect to Russia:

If we have some success to-day, who has achieved that success? The Russians. Without Russia where would we be? Probably we would be signing a treaty of peace, not according to our terms or our will, but according to the will of others. That would be our position.

I say, Mr. Speaker, that if my hon. friend would go out through his own province from one end of it to the other and make those statements to the people, he would be rendering a real service to his country and a real service to the cause of freedom. I believe that there are few truer statements, no more correct perspective of this war and its significance for Canada as well as for our allies than are to be found in these two statements made by the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères. If we have some success to-day, he asks, who has achieved that success? I would not confine the answer to the Russians; I would include all the countries that are banded together as part of the united nations. It is true that the Russians have within the last year taken a part in the war which has saved other nations of the world and, in the mind of my hon. friend as expressed in the words I have quoted, has saved this dominion from being conquered—that is what it is—Russia has saved this dominion from being conquered. Without Russia, he asked, where would we be? And he went on:

Probably we would be signing a treaty of peace, not according to our terms or our will, but according to the will of others. That would be our position.

Are we going to reward China, are we going to reward Russia, for what these great countries have done for us as well as for themselves and others through the sacrifices of their men and women, by telling them that we in Canada have now reached a decision that we are not going to call up any more men under our National Resources Mobilization Act for service in our own country, but are going to suspend our war effort for a time while parliament and the government make up their mind how best we can carry out the war aims of Canada? I say to my hon. friend that if his resolution were to carry, and these words were to be read in China and in Russia to-morrow, there would be cause for humiliation indeed on the part of this country, and shameful humiliation at that.

Effect Upon Our Enemies

There is one other all-important aspect to be considered. I have spoken of the effect of his proposals upon our allies. What about their effect upon our enemies? And here I hope this House of Commons will appreciate the real significance of amendments of this character and of statements of this character when made in this House of Commons. The hon. member for Témiscouata (Mr. Pouliot) said that in every home throughout his province the people would be reading to-day the statement which was made by the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères last night. Well, perhaps, Mr. Speaker, in every home in Germany to-day that statement is being poured into the ears of the German people. Perhaps in every home in Japan this statement of a former member of the government of Canada —and stated as being such—is being poured into the ears of the Japanese people. You ask, why would they do that? Well, could anything bring more comfort to the enemy than to tell them that the parliament of Canada at last had had one of its members stand up and advocate that the Canadian government should not have its war policies clearly defined and those policies carried out until a committee of the House of Commons had begun, after months and months of study and investigation, to indicate what should be done?

Here may I read the last words of the proposed amendment and give them their true significance:

. . . until, at least, a complete investigation is made by a committee of the house, to ascertain and determine by what means or methods Canada can now most effectively contribute to the winning of the war, without destroying the economic, social and national life of the country.

Do not those last words carry with them the implication that the government's policies are destroying the economic, social and national life of the country? And if they carry that implication in our minds here, or were intended to have that implication on the part of the mover of the subamendment, how will they be interpreted in Germany? How will they be interpreted in Japan? They will be interpreted there as meaning that already in Canada the economic, social and national life of the country is beginning to be destroyed. Destroyed why? Because of Germany's successes! Because of Japan's

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successes, because of the power of the axis! It will be said that because of these successes we see already in the Dominion of Canada, the first of the great dominions of the British empire, a former minister of the crown and a member of parliament saying that the economic, social and national life of the country is being destroyed or about to be destroyed or may be destroyed in consequence of the war and the government's war policies. Is there anything that these axis powers desire more than to sow that kind of belief in the minds of their people, that here and there, first one nation, and then another nation, and then another, are becoming dissatisfied and beginning to withdraw from active participation in the war in which they have been participating up to the present time? I can imagine what Goebbels is saying to the German people. I can imagine what his vile tongue will repeat to the German people as to what is taking place in the Dominion of Canada. I wish to repeat that these are the things that count in this war—the morale of a people, the belief in the unity and determination of a people. These things mean more at this present crisis than any thing else could possibly mean. For any word to go out from Canada which could be construed in any way as meaning that the economic, social and national life of Canada was being destroyed because of the part we are taking in this war—I say that nothing more unpatriotic could possibly be expressed.

Present Position of Canada's Economic, Social and National Life

But is it a fact? What about the economic, social, and national life of our country? My hon. friend has spoken about agriculture and about industry. Is it not true that to-day industrial and agricultural production is greater than it has ever been in the history of Canada? Is it not true that the incomes of the people, the revenues of this country are higher to-day than they have been at any other time in its history? Is it not true that more men and women are in gainful employment to-day than have ever been in gainful employment in Canada in the whole of our history? How then can it be said that our economic, social and national life is being destroyed? I believe that there has never been a time in Canada's history when the Canadian people, speaking generally—not taking note of individuals here and there, but speaking generally—were more united and determined in any effort than they are in our war effort at the present time? And may I add to what I have said, as to the position of Canada, that there never was a time when consumer goods were as equitably distributed among the great body of the people as they are in Canada at this time.

Significance of Vote of Want of Confidence

Let me come now to the nature of the amendment to the amendment itself. I indicated at the outset that it was a no confidence motion, and I want every hon. member of this house to understand that. Those who support this motion are supporting a motion of no confidence in the administration. I want to ask the mover of this motion, the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères, this question: If he has no confidence in this administration, in whom has he confidence? I ask, has he confidence in the Progressive Conservative party opposite? Is he prepared to give his support to them? Has he confidence in the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, and is he prepared to give his support to that party? Has he confidence in the Social Credit party, and is he prepared to give his support to them? Has he confidence in the leader of the so-called Canadian party, the hon. member for Laval-Two Mountains (Mr. Lacombe), and is he prepared to give his support to him? Is he prepared to give his support to the new leader of le bloc populaire Canadien? And I notice there are several others who are styled as independents. Is he prepared to give his support and confidence to them? If he is not prepared to give his support and confidence to any of these parties, or groups, or individuals, why does he try to destroy the confidence of the people of this country in the one party upon whose shoulders rests the responsibility of carrying on this war?

Danger of Too Many Parties and Groups

There is something I should like to point out at this moment, which I think is very significant indeed in the history of Canada, in the light of what we have witnessed in Europe since the beginning of the war. It is the danger there is to a country that begins to have a great number of different political parties. Look at France as she was prior to the war. Why did France collapse? France collapsed because, prior to the war itself, there began to spring up in that country political party after political party and personal and political rivalries—personal rivalries as well as political. We had an illustration of that sort of thing in this house last night. My hon. friend who moved this motion rose to

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introduce it, and immediately the hon. member for Gaspe (Mr. Roy) felt that he was a political rival and that he should score, that he must have an opportunity of presenting a motion, no doubt something of the same character, before the hon. member, who was a former minister of the crown, obtained a chance to present his motion.

Mr. ROY: May I be permitted.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Sit down.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What is my hon. friend saying?

Mr. ROY: Will the Prime Minister permit me to make a statement?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Certainly.

Mr. ROY: The hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères did not rise before me; I rose before he did.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think *Hansard* will show very clearly where the personal and political rivalries came in, and I want to emphasize that fact. Those gentlemen who are forming new parties of their own, who are constituting themselves new leaders with a view to asserting certain views of their own in particular parts of the country, are doing the very same thing that was done by individuals in France in seeking to create parties and groups which would be able to satisfy their own personal ambitions, their own political aims; and the result was that the chamber of deputies in France—

Mr. GAUTHIER: On a point of order, I would call your attention, Mr. Speaker, to standing order 41. Even the Prime Minister is not allowed in this house to impute motives to any member, be he independent or a member of le bloc populaire Canadien, and this is the second time that the Prime Minister has done so this afternoon. I want him to withdraw that remark.

Mr. SPEAKER: With reference to the point of order raised by the hon. member, I did not take it that the Prime Minister imputed motives to anyone.

Mr. LACOMBE: Mr. Speaker, if you will permit me, I will read standing order 41:

> **No member shall speak disrespectfully of His Majesty, nor of any of the royal family; nor of the governor or person administering the government of Canada; nor use offensive words against either house, or against any member thereof. No member may reflect upon any vote of the house, except for the purpose of moving that such vote be rescinded.**

I think the Prime Minister should withdraw the remark.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already ruled that I did not take it that the Prime Minister had used offensive remarks regarding any hon. member, or imputed motives to any hon. member.

Danger of Situation in France Being Created in Canada

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I spoke of personal ambitions and political aims, and I said that certain gentlemen had personal ambitions and political aims in this country, seeking to exert their influence beyond this House of Commons among the people of the country. These different parties are beginning to create within Canada itself a situation such as existed in France prior to the beginning of the war. I say it is part of my duty, perceiving that situation, and realizing what it has led to in the old world, to point out that danger to the people of Canada at this time. And I say—and I hope my hon. friends will heed these words—if they will look at the present situation of the French people to-day, in France, in north Africa, and what has helped to make the situation the tragedy that it is, they will see the unwisdom of forming innumerable political parties for personal aims and political ambitions.

Efforts to Preserve National Unity

Now, Mr. Speaker, the session opened last year with an effort to divide this house on a major political issue. I thought I perceived at the time where that issue would lead, if this house ever became divided and the country became divided upon it. I did my utmost to keep this country united through the whole of that crisis, and I am a proud man to-day because I feel that I succeeded in that great aim despite all the belittlement, all the detraction that persons from different parts of this country as well as some inside this house sought to level at me. What I want to make plain is this: I do not intend to go through another storm of that kind this session. If we are going to have this session open with an effort again to divide this country, to destroy the unity that we now have, the sooner the government of this country knows it the better. And I want to say to my hon. friends around me that I look to them to show where they stand in their support of me. If we are going to have a multitude of leaders in this country I want to know whether I have the support that will commend my leadership to the people of all Canada, or whether I am among the number that cannot count upon their own following.

OTTAWA: Printed by EDMOND CLOUTIER, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1943.

CANADA

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HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATES

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

by

RT. HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M. P.

Prime Minister of Canada

on

the sub-amendment moved by Hon. P. J. A.Cardin, M. P.
to the Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne

Delivered in the House of Commons onFriday, February 19, 1943 X

(Insert beginning of text in this space)

Footnote: (small type) X The Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne was moved on January 29th, 1943. On February 1st an amendment to the Address was moved by the Leader of the Opposition, and a sub-amendment by the Leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. On February 1st, the sub-amendment of the Leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was defeated by a vote of 182 to 20. The Honourable P. J. A. Cardin, M. P., thereupon moved another amendment.

(Smaller type) Sub-headings have been inserted for the convenience of readers. They do not appear in the official report.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATES

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

by

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Delivered in the House of Commons on Friday, February 19, 1943 X

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On February 18, the sub-amendment of the Leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation

Footnote: X The Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne was moved ~~by Major W. E. Harris, M.P., and seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel Maurice Hallé, M.P.,~~ on February 16 on January 29, 1943. An amendment to the Address was moved by the Leader of the Opposition, ~~Mr. Gordon Graydon, M.P.~~, and a sub-amendment by the Leader of the C. C. F., ~~Mr. M. J. Coldwell, M.P., on February 1, 1943~~. ~~Mr. Coldwell's~~ amendment was defeated ~~on February 18, 1943~~, by a vote of 182 to 20. The Hon. P. J. A. Cardin, M.P., ~~immediately~~ then moved another sub-amendment.

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Co-operative Commonwealth Federation

WJT

Re: Cardin D 60896

The amendment - a motion of no-confidenc in the administration.

Effect if motion carries.

? ask - if no confidence in present administration, in what party or group has he confidence.

In Progressive-Conservatives ?

In C.C.F. ?

In Social Credit?

In Canadian party - Lacombe (Laval-Two Mountains)

In Bloc Populaire Canadien - Raymond (Beauharn Laprairie).

In Independent - (This H. of C. getti itself into positic of Chamber of Deput in France).

In himself.

If confidence in none, why seek to shak confidence of country in present administration at time of war?

(Cannot run with the hares) ride 2
and hunt " " hounds) horses

Effect of amendment - to create disunion at a time when united effort essenti

Want to know where I stand.

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Last session - political controversy.

Last session opened with effort to divide the House and the country on a larger political issue. I saw clearly its dangerous possibilities in the face of an enemy at time of war. I think the wisdom of the course then taken, though much doubted and criticized at the time, is apparent now.

I do not wish to go through another storm of the kind at this session in light of what I see ahead that our country may be called upon to bear and to endure.

Feb. 19, 1943

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Examine the sub-amendment

For the Conservative amendment

~~to~~ strike out and substitutes another.

Asks party and Conservatives to vote for striking out their own amendment and vote instead for his.

Asks entire House to vote non-confidence in government.

On what grounds?

Not on something we should do to aid war effort -

but on something we should have done.

What is that something?

Before parliament met.

(I) Withhold the operation of the National Resources Mobilization Act in regard to raising of men for military service -
(not for overseas)
for service in Canada.

(2) Until a complete investigation.

D 60899

Made by a Committee of the House

How long does a committee take -

Church (Broadview Toronto) committee

sat all session on one subject

social security.

Object

to ascertain and determine by

what means or methods Canada can

now most effectively contribute

to the winning of the war.

Suppose this had been done:

(I) In speech announced

What effect in Canada

said that Canada had gone out of the war.

(2) Overseas army troops

create consternation -
that they were going to lac
the reinforcements, the
supply, the food.

(3) On our allies - in U.S. and Brita
China and Russ

(see Cardin re)

 D 60900

(4) On the enemy.

Here I come to the concluding words - Words of infinite comfort to the enemy - just the thing they wwant to happen-

An implication that the economic, social and national life of the country is being destroyed.

How will that be read in Germany - in Japan?

Effect of enemy action beginning to tell in the British Dominions, also in America.

Goebbels on radio to German people.

(236)

D 60901

Mr. Cardin's Amendment

Based on a single premise:

a shortage of manpower

Shortage of manpower for civilian needs essential

to total war effort;

1,600,000 men and women, all potential workers, in armed forces and war industries - cannot expect to withdraw hundreds of thousands of workers to make war without shortages everywhere;

Government policy laid down on January 26, 1942

when Mr. Cardin a member of government, to withdraw manpower from civilian activities, i.e. to create shortages - to achieve a total effort;

(Quote statement of January 26, Hansard p. 40)

Same policy repeated in statement on Selective Service, March 24, 1942;

(Mr. Cardin still in Government).

(See statement, Hansard p. 1710)

Selective Service policy of March 24, 1942 placed agricultural needs in first place.

(Quote statement, Hansard p. 1712-13).

Mobilization Boards recently reminded by Minister of Labour of importance of strict adherence to government policy.

(See copy of letter)

Record shows that since March 24, 1942, over 93% of requests for postponements from agricultural workers granted; prior to March 24, 1942 only 63% granted.

Nothing could better illustrate effectiveness of government policy -

Minister of Labour sent letter not because polucy was unsuccessful, but because there was a certain lack of uniformity which needed to be corrected.

(See table attached for later period).

What would be the effect of adopting proposed amendment?

Would not help agriculture since existing policy safeguards agricultural position so far as military call-ups concerned.

D 60903

Would not help war industries and other essential activities since present system of postponements safeguards their essential needs.

Would simply halt the calling up of men engaged in non-essential activities.

In other words, all the amendment really proposes to do is to prevent the men who are not <u>at present</u> engaged in essential work from being called up for military ~~servi~~ service.

<u>Delay</u> caused by such suspension might endanger Canada's whole <u>military effort</u> and result in <u>failure to support our army with re-inforcements</u>, to say nothing of the risk involved in <u>weakening territorial defences of this continent</u>.

<u>Moral effect on United Nations</u>

Russia, China, Britain, United States would all conclude our effort was slackening.

Moral effect on Canadian army

400,000 volunteers would conclude the people at home were not ready to support them - this effect would be most disastrous of all.

Balanced effort must be maintained - men and women must continue to be shifted, in accordance with need, from less essential to more essential activities.

COPY

D 60905

Number of applications for postponement of agricultural workers, number and percentage granted and refused, 17th - 22nd military periods inclusive, by administrative divisions.

Administrative Divisions	Number Applications	Number Granted	Percent Granted	Number Refused	Percent Refused
A London	8,859	8,845	99.8	14	0.2
B Toronto	3,795	3,260	85.9	535	14.1
C Kingston	10,070	9,594	95.3	476	4.7
D. Port Arthur	339	289	85.2	50	14.8
E Montreal	10,370	10,279	99.1	91	0.9
F Quebec	4,500	3,876	86.1	624	13.9
G Halifax	780	570	73.1	210	26.9
H St. John	1,641	1,594	97.1	47	2.9
I Charlottetown	1,099	963	87.6	136	12.4
J Winnipeg	4,312	3,890	90.2	422	9.8
K Vancouver	1,073	1,021	95.2	52	4.8
M Regina	3,974	3,058	77.0	916	23.0
N Edmonton	2,101	2,005	95.4	96	4.6
TOTAL	52,913	49,244	93.1	3,669	6.9

RAC CONTENT-CANADA

D 60906

Ruin and Bankruptcy

Member for Beauce (Edouard Lacroix) described our war effort as "the path leading to ruin."

What is the truth?

Never before in the history of Canada:

has our industrial production been so great;

our agricultural production so great;

so many persons gainfully employed;

the total national income so great;

real wealth in consumer goods so fairly distributed.

The real "path leading to ruin" would have been taken if we had followed Member for Beauce and done nothing to prevent Nazi domination of the world.

Let him and his associates look at the fate of Poland, of Czechoslovakia, of Norway, of the Low Countries, of France, of Greece, yes, and of Italy.

That is the path along which he and his friends would lead the people of Canada.

122

D 60907

Mr. Cardin's Amendment

Based on a single premise:

a shortage of manpower

Shortage of manpower for civilian needs essential to total war effort;

1,600,000 men and women, all potential workers, in armed forces and war industries - cannot expect to withdraw hundreds of thousands of workers to make war without shortages everywhere;

Government policy laid down on January 26, 1942 when Mr. Cardin a member of government, to withdraw manpower from civilian activities, i.e. to create shortages - to achieve a total effort; (1)

(Quote statement of January 26, Hansard p. 40)

Same policy repeated in statement on Selective Service, March 24, 1942;

(Mr. Cardin still in Government).

(See statement, Hansard p. 1710) (2)

Selective Service policy of March 24, 1942 placed agricultural needs in first place.

(Quote statement, Hansard p. 1712-13). (3)

D 60308

Mobilization Boards recently reminded by Minister of Labour of importance of strict adherence to government policy.

(See copy of letter) (4)

Record shows that since March 24, 1942, over 93% of requests for postponements from agricultural workers granted; prior to March 24, 1942 only 63% granted.

Nothing could better illustrate effectiveness of government policy -

Minister of Labour sent letter not because policy was unsuccessful, but because there was a certain lack of uniformity which needed to be corrected.

(See table attached for later period). (5)

What would be the effect of adopting proposed amendment?

Would not help agriculture since existing policy safeguards agricultural position so far as military call-ups concerned.

D 60909

Would not help war industries and other essential activities since present system of postponements safeguards their essential needs.

Would simply halt the calling up of men engaged in non-essential activities.

In other words, all the amendment really proposes to do is to prevent the men who are not at present engaged in essential work from being called up for military ~~seri~~ service.

Delay caused by such suspension might endanger Canada's whole military effort and result in failure to support our army with re-inforcements, to say nothing of the risk involved in weakening tterritorial defences of this continent.

Moral effect on United Nations

Russia, China, Britain, United States would all conclude our effort was slackening.

D 60910

Moral effect on Canadian army

400,000 volunteers would conclude the people at home were not ready to support them - this effect would be most disastrous of all.

Balanced effort must be maintained - men and women must continue to be shifted, in accordance with need, from less essential to more essential activities.

D 60911

(1)

Unrevised Hansard
January 26th, 1942, page 40

Mr. King:

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.

LINEN BOND
RAG CONTENT-CANADA

D 60912 (2)

Unrevised Hansard
March 24th, 1942, page 1710

Mr. King:

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.

D 60913

3

Unrevised Hansard
March 24th, 1942, pages 1712-13

Mr. King:

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

D 60914

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 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.

MINISTER OF LABOUR
CANADA

D 60915

4

W-304
1943
Fam L.

Ottawa, February 8, 1943. W-304
1943

The attached letter has been sent to all Chairmen of the Mobilization Boards. A copy is sent herewith for your information.

Humphrey Mitchell

D 60916

MOBILIZATION ACT
INTERPRETATIVE LETTER NO. 1,
(LABOUR)

DEPUTY MINISTER OF LABOUR
CANADA

OTTAWA, February 3, 1943.

Dear Sir:

All will agree that uniformity of method in dealing with various problems by each of the Mobilization Boards across Canada is very desirable.

After conferring with the Manpower Committee of the Cabinet it has been decided that interpretative letters will be sent out from time to time indicating in some detail the policy in respect to the various phases of the National Selective Service Mobilization Regulations.

This is the first of such letters which will be issued by the Labour Department. As you will observe it is numbered. It is hoped that they will be helpful.

The growing scarcity of agricultural labour makes it increasingly important that essential agricultural workers be encouraged to remain on farms.

In the following the policy in regard to agricultural farm workers is briefly outlined:-

(1) An agricultural worker is, of course, free to volunteer for active service.

(2) It is the intention of the regulations that agricultural workers are to be retained in agricultural employment as far as practical through the National Selective Service (Civilian) Regulations. To the extent that their services can be spared from the farms during the "off crop" season they are to be encouraged to take temporary seasonal employment in lumbering and logging, forestry, fishing, coal and base metal mining, and acceptance of seasonal work in such industries does not

.....2

deprive men of their right to postponement as agricultural workers providing they return to farm work when the season re-opens.

(3) Agricultural workers are to be discouraged from taking employment outside agriculture except in the primary industries indicated above. If they leave agriculture without a permit from a National Selective Service Officer contrary to the regulations they, of course, lose any special rights to claim deferment as agricultural workers.

(4) Farm workers who apply for postponement from military training are to be granted postponement until further notice, unless it is established that the applicant is not an essential worker in agriculture. The regulations, it should be noted, do not require the farmer to produce proof that he is an essential farm worker. If the Board doubts that a man is an essential farm worker, even though postponement until further notice is given, it can always exercise the right to deny postponement by calling such a man before the Board when established facts are presented.

(5) If a worker who upon receipt of "Order-Medical Examination" claims to be an agricultural worker but is not considered by the Board to be essential to the operation of a specific farm, the question then arises as to whether or not he is essential to agriculture in the district. If agricultural labour is needed in the district, he should be given an opportunity to place himself in a position where his services would be essential to agriculture on some other farm; or in the alternative to increase the production of a specific farm. The Board could give a deferment for three months instead of "granting postponement until further notice" in order to give the man an opportunity of finding essential work.

(6) A person who may not have been employed in agriculture on March 23, 1942, but who has become engaged in agriculture since that time, and is shown to be essential to agriculture, may be considered for postponement on application if the merits of the case are established.

(7) Conscientious objectors including Doukhobors, Mennonites, and others who receive postponement of

.....3

D 60918

February 3, 1943.

military training until further notice and are agricultural workers should not be directed to report for alternative service so long as they are employed in essential work in agriculture.

(8) Application for leave should be invited from agricultural workers engaged in alternative service, and such applications should be given favourable consideration.

It is felt that if the above principles are followed by all Boards the increasing difficulties in maintaining essential farm production will be greatly alleviated.

Any comments and suggestions any Board may wish to offer regarding the above principles will be appreciated.

Approved

Yours very truly,

Minister

A. MacNamara,
Director National Selective Service.

COPY

D 60919

5

Number of applications for postponement of agricultural workers, number and percentage granted and refused, 17th - 22nd military periods inclusive, by administrative divisions.

Administrative Divisions	Number Applications	Number Granted	Percent Granted	Number Refused	Percent Refused
A London	8,859	8,845	99.8	14	0.2
B Toronto	3,795	3,260	85.9	535	14.1
C Kingston	10,070	9,594	95.3	476	4.7
D. Port Arthur	339	289	85.2	50	14.8
E Montreal	10,370	10,279	99.1	91	0.9
F Quebec	4,500	3,876	86.1	624	13.9
G Halifax	780	570	73.1	210	26.9
H St. John	1,641	1,594	97.1	47	2.9
I Charlottetown	1,099	963	87.6	136	12.4
J Winnipeg	4,312	3,890	90.2	422	9.8
K Vancouver	1,073	1,021	95.2	52	4.8
M Regina	3,974	3,058	77.0	916	23.0
N Edmonton	2,101	2,005	95.4	96	4.6
TOTAL	52,913	49,244	93.1	3,669	6.9

D 60920

Ruin and Bankruptcy

Member for Beauce (Edouard Lacroix) described our war effort as "the path leading to ruin."

What is the truth?

Never before in the history of Canada:

has our industrial production been so great;
our agricultural production so great;
so many persons gainfully employed;
the total national income so great;
real wealth in consumer goods so fairly distributed.

The real "path leading to ruin" would have been taken if we had followed Member for Beauce and done nothing to prevent Nazi domination of the world.

Let him and his associates look at the fate of Poland, of Czechoslovakia, of Norway, of the Low Countries, of France, of Greece, yes, and of Italy.

That is the path along which he and his friends would lead the people of Canada.

Personal author
here

D 60921

Vol. LXXXI.—No. 9

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT—DAILY EDITION

Tuesday, February 9, 1943

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PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1943

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker: The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN

TUESDAY, February 9, 1943.

The house met at three o'clock.

RAILWAY ACT AMENDMENT

FREE RAILWAY TRANSPORTATION FOR MEMBERS OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES

Mr. T. L. CHURCH (Broadview) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 5, to amend the Railway Act.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Explain.

Mr. CHURCH: Mr. Speaker, this bill raises the whole question of soldiers' transportation in Canada. The purpose of the bill is to amend the Railway Act to provide that members of the forces when in uniform may be carried free on railway trains within Canada. In the last war the railways voluntarily carried the members of the forces for single fare on week-ends. Now they carry them every day at half rate. The Railway Act itself does not provide for any special concessions to soldiers during the war, nor has the board of transport commissioners power to order any. In view of the fact that so many of the camps are far away from railways I think that some measure of free transportation should be provided for our troops who are training all over Canada. Furthermore, a large number of them have been killed on the highways when thumbing a ride. The fifty-mile limit on travel by bus over the highways should be suspended so far as soldiers are concerned.

Motion agreed to and bill read the first time.

VICTORY LOANS

STATEMENT AS TO DISTRIBUTION OF SUBSCRIPTIONS TO FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD ISSUES

On the orders of the day:

Hon. J. L. ILSLEY (Minister of Finance): Mr. Speaker, I should like to make two statements, one a brief one and the other a longer one. The brief statement is with regard to the sales of victory bonds.

As wholly inaccurate statements regarding victory bond sales have been made in certain quarters, I desire to table a statistical compilation showing a classification of the source of subscriptions, at time of issue, to the first, second and third victory loans. The statement has been compiled by the national war finance committee and reveals the amount of each issue purchased by individual investors; by banking institutions for their own account; by dominion, provincial and municipal government agencies or funds; by insurance companies, pension funds, etc.; by trust and mortgage companies, etc.; by colleges, churches, hospitals and charitable organizations; and by business firms and corporations.

For the information of the house I may point out that preliminary figures for the third victory loan show total subscriptions by individuals of $401·1 millions, leaving $590·4 millions representing the total purchases of all other kinds of buyers. Government agencies or funds purchased $54·5 millions; insurance companies, pension funds, etc., $176·7 millions; trust and mortgage companies, etc., $11·3 millions; colleges, churches, hospitals and charitable organizations, $3·3 millions; mining companies, $43·6 millions; other business firms and corporations, $298 millions; and banks, $3 millions.

Of the $3 millions purchased by banks, $2·5 millions were purchased by the Quebec savings banks and the remaining $·5 millions by the chartered banks. In the first victory loan the chartered banks had purchased for cash only $6·7 millions and in the second victory loan there were no cash subscriptions by chartered banks—although, of course, in both cases there were conversion subscriptions by the banks. I stress the insignificant volume of the purchases by the chartered banks because I fear the impression has been given in some quarters that the chartered

banks have been among the largest purchasers of these securities. As the house knows, we have actively discouraged the participation by the chartered banks in the purchases of victory bonds except in those cases where a short-term, low interest-bearing bond was offered as part of a victory loan issue for the purpose of converting a maturing issue already held by the banks.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Before the minister proceeds, will he say whether the statement covers dispositions and sales of victory bonds, say, by other investors such as corporations? My understanding is that a large number of corporations have sold their first and second victory loan bonds and others are still holding them for resale.

Mr. ILSLEY: The hon. member means, does it cover the number of sales?

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Yes.

Mr. ILSLEY: No.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Of course that is the fly in the ointment.

Mr. ILSLEY: It is not very serious.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): It is not? Well, I think it is.

Mr. ILSLEY: I am tabling this statement. It follows:

First, Second and Third Victory Loans
Estimated Derivation of Subscriptions at Time of Issue

The attached memorandum contains the estimated derivation of subscriptions, at time of issue, to the first, second, and third victory loans. Figures in regard to the third victory loan are preliminary, as the final results of this loan are not yet compiled.

The subscriptions to each loan are divided into two broad classes, designated Individuals and Non-individuals.

The group designated Individuals includes two sub-divisions, described as special names and all others. Special names individuals represents subscriptions received from investors believed to be capable of buying $25,000 or more par value of bonds at the time of each issue. The group shown as all others represents subscriptions received in the general and employee canvasses. This group includes subscriptions from small commercial and non-profit bodies, the aggregate subscriptions from which would be relatively small in proportion to the total.

The Non-individuals section has been subdivided to show subscriptions from banks for their own account; government accounts; insurance companies, pension funds, etc.; and miscellaneous, this latter group reflecting, for the most part, subscriptions from business firms and corporations.

These data have been compiled by the National War Finance Committee from information obtained at the time of public offering of the three loans, and from other sources. The data should be regarded as estimates, and the results of the third victory loan should be regarded as subject to revision when final results of the loan become available.

CANADA

VICTORY LOANS IN 1941 AND 1942—ESTIMATED DERIVATION OF SUBSCRIPTIONS AT TIME OF ISSUE

(Dollar Figures in Millions)

Item	First Victory loan			Second Victory loan			(Preliminary) Third Victory loan
	Cash	Conversion	Total	Cash	Conversion	Total	Cash
	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
ALL SUBSCRIPTIONS	730·4	106·4	836·8	843·1	153·6	996·7	991·5
Individuals (1)	316·0	35·3	351·3	364·6	1·0	365·6	401·1
Non-individuals	414·4	71·1	485·5	478·5	152·6	631·1	590·4
Individuals—							
(a) Special Names	36·5	0·8	37·3	29·0	1·0	30·0	26·3
(b) All others (1)	279·5	34·5	314·0	335·6	.....	335·6	374·8
Non-individuals—							
(a) Banks—own account	6·7	42·5	49·2	.....	117·5	117·5	3·0
(i) Bank of Canada	.....	7·0	7·0	.....	1·7	1·7	.....
(ii) Chartered	6·7	35·5	42·2	.....	115·8	115·8	0·5
(iii) Quebec Savings	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	2·5
(b) Government Accounts	31·6	.....	31·6	47·1	.....	47·1	54·5
(i) Federal	9·9	.....	9·9	19·6	.....	19·6	22·7
(ii) Provincial	21·7	.....	21·7	27·5	.....	27·5	18·6
(iii) Municipal and school							13·2
(c) Insurance companies, pension funds, etc	95·5	22·2	117·7	125·6	23·9	149·5	176·7
(i) Life insurance companies	88·9	20·4	109·3	114·7	23·4	138·1	155·3
(ii) All other insurance companies	6·6	1·8	8·4	10·9	0·5	11·4	12·4
(iii) Associations, unions, pension and benevolent funds	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	9·0
(d) Miscellaneous	280·6	6·4	287·0	305·8	11·2	317·0	356·2
(i) Mining companies	39·1	.....	39·1	29·4	8·5	37·9	43·6
(ii) Trust companies, investment trusts, mortgage and loan companies and real estate companies	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	11·3
(iii) Colleges, churches, hospitals, and charitable organizations	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	3·3
(iv) All others, being practically all subscriptions from business firms and corporations	241·5	6·4	247·9	276·4	2·7	279·1	298·0

(1) Includes small commercial and non-profit bodies, the aggregate subscriptions from which would be relatively unimportant.
(2) Not separately calculated, included under sub-section *(d)* (iv).

WARTIME PRICES AND TRADE BOARD

STATEMENT AS TO RELATIONSHIPS WITH DEPARTMENTS OF AGRICULTURE, FISHERIES, AND MUNITIONS AND SUPPLY

On the orders of the day:

Hon. J. L. ILSLEY (Minister of Finance): The other statement I wish to make is with regard to the wartime prices and trade board.

There has in recent months been some discussion in the press on relationships between the wartime prices and trade board and the Department of Agriculture and during the past ten days the subject has been raised in the house. It seems desirable, therefore, to make a statement regarding these relationships. The occasion also presents an opportunity for announcing certain other changes in jurisdiction affecting relationships between the Department of Finance and the Department of Munitions and Supply.

The wartime prices and trade board was created by the government on September 3, 1939, with the responsiblity and the necessary powers to control prices and under wartime conditions to ensure adequate supply and equitable distribution of civilian goods and services.

During the earlier stages of the war the frequent exercise of its mandatory powers was not warranted by the circumstances, and the board in respect of the commodities under its jurisdiction was able effectively to control prices and ensure adequate supply by anticipating and preventing distribution shortages with the minimum use of formal orders.

As the war progressed, as we approached the stage of total mobilization, the board's powers were further extended and it became more and more necessary to exercise its formal powers of regulations. Fifteen months ago the stage was reached when far-reaching and almost universal controls of prices and of other aspects of our economic structure became necessary, if we were to avoid inflation and secure, so far as war conditions permit, adequate supply and equitable distribution.

In the development of these controls and of other controls in other government departments, it was inevitable that some overlapping should occur and some uncertainty of jurisdiction arise. Such a situation began to develop in 1941 between the wartime prices and trade board and the Department of Munitions and Supply, and this was clarified by arrangements made and announced in August of that year.

I think quite a number of hon. members still may not realize the tremendous inflationary pressure that has been developing in Canada during the past eighteen months and how severe and complicated a task it is to prevent these pressures breaking out into a violent and uncontrolled price inflation that would jeopardize our war effort. In spite of what we have felt to be very severe taxation, in spite of the tremendous and gratifying success of our loan and savings campaigns, the pressure of free consumer purchasing power on the necessarily limited supply of consumer goods shows few signs of diminishing.

During the complicated period of organization of these new price and supply controls in the past year, things have had to be done quickly, and one result has been a blurring of the lines of responsibility between the wartime prices and trade board and the Department of Agriculture. Let me say at once that there have been frequent and detailed consultations between the departments concerned, but time has not always permitted either party to assess all the implications of the actions of one upon the other.

In recent weeks this matter has been fully reviewed by the Minister of Agriculture and myself with the result that a full understanding has been reached between the wartime prices and trade board and the Department of Agriculture, overlapping has been eliminated and clear-cut responsibilities established.

The new definition of functions presents no substantially new alignment of authority, but clarifies the basic considerations which have always applied, but which under the pressure of events have at times become confused. Such clarifications of relationships are a frequent, almost continuous, aspect of governmental administration and do not normally warrant a statement to the house. In this case, however, there has developed a good deal of speculation in the press and in some instances this speculation has given rise to greatly exaggerated ideas of the administrative difficulties which have arisen. It, therefore, seems appropriate to advise the house as to what the relationships between the Department of Agriculture and the wartime prices and trade board are.

The wartime prices and trade board is responsible to the Minister of Finance and, subject to that responsibility:

1. It is responsible for estimating and defining the over-all domestic needs for food. Such estimates will be prepared and from time to time revised in consultation with the other departments or agencies concerned.

2. It is responsible for food imports and their distribution subject to existing laws and regulations.

3. It has the final responsibility in all matters of price.

4. It is responsible for all consumer rationing of foods.

The Department of Agriculture, on the other hand, is responsible for the primary production of agricultural foodstuffs, and it has certain functions to perform in the distribution of agricultural products. In order to clarify relationships with the wartime prices and trade board, the following working principles have been adopted:

1. The Department of Agriculture is responsible for seeing that the greatest possible production is forthcoming within the price ceilings established by the wartime prices and trade board.

2. If the desired production cannot be obtained within established price ceilings, there will be consultation between the Department of Agriculture and the wartime prices and trade board. Such consultation will include consideration of subsidies, price adjustments, or a decision to regard the estimated deficiency of supply as non-essential.

3. Recommendations to council respecting subsidies to primary producers will be made by the Minister of Agriculture. Consumer subsidies, however, that is those designed specifically to reduce costs to the consumer, will be the responsibility of the wartime prices and trade board but any such subsidies relating to agricultural products produced in Canada will be a subject of consultation with the Department of Agriculture.

4. Export of such foods as are made available under contract to the united nations (except wheat for milling or flour, which are under Trade and Commerce) will be supervised by the Department of Agriculture.

5. All other steps necessary and desirable for the encouragement of domestic food production by primary producers rest with the Department of Agriculture rather than the wartime prices and trade board.

In the matter of distribution the Department of Agriculture is responsible for any necessary diversion of meat products, dairy products, poultry products, and fresh or dried fruits and vegetables to the armed forces and other priority users in accordance with approved allocations. Distribution to retailers and to ultimate civilian consumers is the responsibility of the board. To avoid duplication of services and staff there will be the closest possible cooperation between the board and the department in the inter-area wholesale movement of foodstuffs for civilian consumption. Wherever possible the use of existing machinery and mutual use of employees and offices will be arranged.

Hon. members will see from this statement that the lines of demarcation are simple and clear. In essence, the Department of Agriculture is responsible for production by primary producers, for export arrangements under contract to meet the needs of Great Britain and the united nations and, where its field organization is already functioning, for inter-area distribution and transfer of supplies as required. The wartime prices and trade board is responsible for imports, and for wholesale and retail distribution. The board also has final responsibility in all matters of price and rationing. Wherever there are mutual interests, there will be the fullest consultation, interchange of information, and cooperation and mutual use of offices and staff.

In this statement I have dealt with the wartime prices and trade board's relationships to the Department of Agriculture. A similar clarification of relationships with the Department of Fisheries has also been reached.

Another rearrangement in jurisdiction with a view to clarification of duties and responsibilities has been arrived at between the wartime industries control board of the Department of Munitions and Supply and the Department of Finance, and has to do with certain domestic end products of a civilian character heretofore under the jurisdiction of the controller of supplies, and to the control over coal and wood fuel.

In the division of jurisdiction between the Departments of Munitions and Supply and Finance, more particularly between the wartime industries control board and the wartime prices and trade board, there is, as I have said, a certain amount of inevitable overlapping of authority, but in so far as it is possible to state a general principle, it is that jurisdiction over basic materials or end products, the principal use of which is for war purposes, should rest with the wartime industries control board, while those which are primarily of a civilian nature should be with the wartime prices and trade board.

Prior to the introduction of the price ceiling policy and the establishment of industry administrators by the wartime prices and trade board, a number of end products of a civilian nature were declared to be "supplies" and were brought under the jurisdiction of the controller of supplies, not because the end products themselves were direct war requirements, but primarily because of their critical material content. These items have now been transferred from the controller of supplies to the appropriate industry administrators of the wartime prices and trade board.

In line with the general principle the control of oil, electrical energy and gas rests with the Department of Munitions and Supply through the wartime industries control board, but coal and wood fuel have been with agencies of the Department of Finance.

At one stage in the development of controls this arrangement was satisfactory, but the growing shortages of coal and wood fuel emphasize the desirability of centralized control over all forms of fuel in order to facilitate production planning. Moreover production of wood fuel is closely related to the timber control under the Department of Munitions and Supply. It is therefore proposed to transfer control over both coal and wood fuel to the Department of Munitions and Supply, which will now be responsible for all domestic primary production other than agricultural or fisheries products.

When these rearrangements have been completed responsibility for primary production will be clearly established. The Department of Agriculture or Fisheries will be responsible for the primary production of food, and the Department of Munitions and Supply for the primary output of the mines and forests.

These rearrangements will also serve to clarify the authority of the wartime prices and trade board in the fields of civilian distribution and supply. The board is responsible for imports for civilian consumption, for manufacturing of civilian goods and for wholesale and retail distribution and has full responsibility in all matters of price and consumer rationing with the exception of gasoline rationing which remains with the Department of Munitions and Supply.

Mr. GORDON GRAYDON (Leader of the Opposition): In what material respect does that alter the relationship that has heretofore existed between the wartime prices and trade board and the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. ILSLEY: It is a clarification.

Mr. GRAYDON: It is a clarification, but is there any actual change in the relationship between the Department of Agriculture and the wartime prices and trade board?

Mr. ILSLEY: I do not think that I can give any further explanation than is contained in the statement.

Mr. GRAYDON: If it is a clarification, then there is no actual change in principle in the relationship.

Mr. ILSLEY: This is just one instance of the application of these principles. Certain producer subsidies have been paid. They have been recommended and paid by the wartime prices and trade board agencies and hereafter recommendations with regard to subsidies will come from the Department of Agriculture because of the clarification of their position as being charged with primary responsibility for agricultural production.

[Mr. Ilsley.]

Mr. GRAYDON: It may be a clarification in the public mind of the relationship between the wartime prices and trade board and the Department of Agriculture, but the minister well knows that throughout Canada there has been a strong plea, particularly on the part of the agricultural interests, for the setting up of a food ministry and a food board under it to avoid the mistakes of the past which have led to the conditions that now exist. Did the minister in his statement really mean that there was to be some change in the relationship between the board and the Department of Agriculture? It seems to me that mere clarification is not sufficient to cover the situation as it exists.

OFFICIAL REPORT

On the orders of the day:

Mr. T. L. CHURCH (Broadview): I wish to correct a few words at the top of page 123 of *Hansard* of February 3. The words I used were "Ernest Benn" not "Ernest Bevin". Also at the foot of the same page, I used the figure £6000, not $6000.

CANADIAN WHEAT BOARD

QUESTION OF REFERENCE OF ANNUAL REPORT TO SPECIAL COMMITTEE

On the orders of the day:

Mr. E. E. PERLEY (Qu'Appelle): I wish to direct two or three questions to the Minister of Trade and Commerce. On Tuesday last he tabled the report of the Canadian Wheat Board for the year 1941-42. I should like to know, first, how he proposes to have this report considered this year and what opportunity will be given members to get information with respect to it. May I suggest to him that the report be referred to a special committee of, say, ten or eleven, rather than to the agriculture committee, which was very unwieldy last year in dealing with the report. I wonder if he would take that suggestion into consideration.

Hon. J. A. MacKINNON (Minister of Trade and Commerce): The annual report of the Canadian Wheat Board is at present in the hands of the printers. I expect to have it for distribution to members by the end of this week or possibly to-morrow. It has been my intention to have the report referred to the committee on agriculture. I shall take into consideration the suggestion made by the hon. member for Qu'Appelle.

Mr. PERLEY: One more question. The minister announced last week the new policy with regard to marketing of production. Can he indicate whether there will be any special bill with respect to the marketing of wheat this year, or will it be done by order in council?

Mr. MacKINNON (Edmonton West): There is no intention of introducing any special bill.

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S SPEECH

CONTINUATION OF DEBATE ON ADDRESS IN REPLY

The house resumed from Monday, February 8, consideration of the motion of Mr. W. E. Harris (Grey-Bruce) for an address to His Excellency the Governor General in reply to his speech at the opening of the session, and the amendment thereto of Mr. Graydon, and the amendment to the amendment of Mr. Coldwell.

Hon. J. G. GARDINER (Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, I rise to take part in the discussion of the motion which was so ably moved by the hon. member for Grey-Bruce, and seconded by the hon. member for Brome-Missisquoi (Mr. Hallé). I wish to join with all those who have spoken before me, and, I am sure, with all those who will speak after me, in expressing my own appreciation, and that of the people I represent in this house, of the clear and able manner in which those hon. gentlemen presented to the house their views on matters having to do with the carrying on of the most important task of this nation at the present time, namely, the prosecution of the war.

I rise this afternoon to answer the suggestion made in the amendment moved by the official opposition rather than to discuss the speech from the throne generally or to debate at length the amendment to the amendment moved by the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation group (Mr. Coldwell). My reason for stating that at this time is that a part of the amendment proposed by the leader of the opposition (Mr. Graydon) is to all intents and purposes a motion of want of confidence in the government, and particularly in the administration of the Department of Agriculture. Since this is the first opportunity that a minister has had to reply, I wish to confine my remarks largely to the part of that amendment which has to do with agriculture.

The criticisms which have been made by speakers in different parts of the house during the discussions have had some reference to matters which were dealt with a few moments ago by the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ilsley). Since a statement has been made covering those matters it is not my intention to go into them, other than to say that the line of demarcation of responsibility which has been indicated emphasizes the necessity of the Department of Agriculture giving even greater consideration from now on to the matter of production than has been given in the years since the war began.

The criticisms which have been made with regard to matters of policy have had to do largely with questions of production. Running through the speeches that have been made, there has been a suggestion of shortage in production of farm products. It will have been noted that in his statement the Minister of Finance refers to distribution shortages rather than to production shortages. I should like to put in another clause what we are usually referring to when we in this house and others outside the house speak of shortages. The clause I would rather use is this, that requirements for food increases have grown faster than production. There has not been a shortage of production in this country, nor has there been a shortage in the sense in which we speak of shortages in peace time. Whenever we have had sufficient production of any commodity in Canada to permit of exports we have always spoken of having surpluses. We have greater surpluses of farm products in Canada in that sense at the present time than we have ever had. It is scarcely correct, therefore, to say that we have food shortages in Canada.

I think a warning should be thrown out in regard to this matter for another reason. The amendment proposed by the leader of the opposition reads:

That the following words be added to the address:

We respectfully submit to Your Excellency that this house regrets that Your Excellency's advisers have failed:

(c) to provide adequate measures whereby Canadian agriculture can make its maximum war contribution and receive a fair share of the national income.

I have before me an important publication known as *The Statist*, which is widely read throughout the English-speaking world and which is considered to be an authority on matters relating to production in the different parts of the English-speaking world. I should like to throw out a warning to hon. members as well as to publishers in Canada as to the effect of the kind of discussion we sometime carry on has upon those who are thinking of our position outside of Canada. The heading of this article is: "Anti-Inflation Measures in Canada," and the writer states:

But apart from wheat there is little surplus farm production and the people of Canada have, for instance, been asked to eat less bacon so that more can be shipped to Great Britain.

This statement fully understood may have no bad effect, but not fully understood it may give an impression in many quarters outside of Canada that we in Canada are suffering for lack of sufficient food for our own people and for that reason are not able to do our share in the war effort. I am sure no hon. member is desirous of having that impression go abroad, partly because of the assurance it might give to our enemies, and partly because of the difficulty it might create for those who are arranging the food supplies for the nations with which we are associated in the war. I would emphasize again the fact that never before in the history of this country has there been such a large tonnage of foodstuffs produced in Canada as is being produced at the present time. I am not saying that never before have we received as much for the produce of our farms, but I might even make that statement, and probably will before I have concluded my remarks. But at the moment what I am emphasizing is that in actual production of food, apart altogether from the price received for it by farmers, a greater tonnage is being produced now than at any previous time in the history of our country.

The question may be asked, how have we arrived at that position? We have done so because of the efforts put forth by primary producers in agriculture to meet the requisitions made upon them from time to time by the government of this country.

Here I should like to reply to statements of those who say that no direction has been given to the farmers. It would appear that the only persons who feel that way are those who do not occupy farms. We are being told from time to time, in periodicals and otherwise, that no direction has been given to our people. But the remarkable thing is that every year since the war began our tonnage of production has increased by leaps and bounds, and in every year since the war started we have met the objectives which have been set for our people at the beginning of the production season. Farmers seemed to know what they were being asked to do; they applied the necessary energy to the task and got the results. This is my reply to those who say there has been no plan, no direction, that nothing has been made known to the farmers generally to lead them to produce the things that are needed in the war effort.

In order to make sure that this information would go out to the farmers the government set up at the beginning of the war an agricultural war supplies committee. That committee or board has functioned since the beginning of the war. Nine conferences have been held, attended by representatives of provincial governments and of farm organizations throughout Canada. At every one of these conferences, held not later than December in each year preceding the year in which the crop was to be grown, these matters were fully discussed with provincial authorities and representatives of farm organizations. The first gathering was held in the early winter of 1939. The provincial representatives then went back and organized fully the provincial departments of agriculture, and some of them went out and organized farm groups, municipalities and counties, to assist in giving the necessary information to the farmers in the different sections of their province. Finally in December of this year we had a meeting at which we were able to take into consideration not only the requirements from agriculture in this country but the requirements from agriculture in the great country in the south, which joined in the war in the early winter of 1941. Having set up this board, we then entered into agreements or understandings with the countries fighting on our side. Those first agreements naturally were made with Great Britain. It will be recalled by hon. members that we entered the war along with Britain, in association with France. In the spring of 1940 France dropped out, and during the greater part of 1940 and 1941 Great Britain, with her dominions, stood alone in the war effort against the axis powers. During that period of time we entered into agreements with the British government, and made known the terms of those agreements to the farmers long in advance of their spring operations, emphasizing the importance of producing the amounts necessary in order that our own people and the people of Britain might be fed.

That was the second effort put forth in order to get production. We made an early announcement of policy. The other day I picked up a farm publication issued in Canada, edited by a man who visits the department perhaps more than any other publisher in Canada, and I was surprised to read therein that the farm policy for last year on acreage reduction was announced on the last day of the session. I directed attention to the fact that the legislation having to do with acreage reduction last year was introduced in this house on March 9 and was finally assented to on March 27.

I recite this only in order to indicate that in spite of the fact that we have announced our policies in November and December of the year preceding the seeding; in spite of the fact that our legislation has been brought down early in the session, and in spite of

the fact that this year we brought it down so early, the leader of the opposition (Mr. Graydon) rose in his place to raise some objection based upon a statement which came from the west with regard to the announcement which was made on the first working day of this session. But I am happy to be able to say to the house to-day that the organization which met in Calgary met the government again to-day, and indicated in their statement that they have received an explanation from the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. MacKinnon), who made the original announcement, which is entirely satisfactory to them.

So much for the announcements. The government has not stopped at planning and at making early announcements of the programme for the succeeding year; we have also given financial assistance by way of subsidies. I am not going to discuss the question of subsidies at any length, but assistance has been given by the payment of a part of the freight upon fertilizer, in order that farms may produce more than otherwise would be the case. Assistance has been given through the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act and the wheat acreage reduction scheme, in order to increase the production of grass and to bring water to land that otherwise could not produce live stock. Assistance has been given by paying part of the freight on feed grain from Fort William to eastern Canada. This freight and fertilizer assistance has cost the government from $10,000,000 to $12,000,000 and has been of great help in increasing production in various parts of this country. I could add that this assistance was not given only to the movement of grain eastward and the movement of fertilizer within the eastern section of Canada; it also has been given in the province of British Columbia. In recent months, since the United States entered the war, it has been the custom of officials of the departments of agriculture of the United States and Canada to meet from time to time and coordinate the efforts of the two countries in the production of the foodstuffs necessary to the most vigorous prosecution of the war by the allied nations.

Perhaps now for a few moments I might dwell upon the results of the efforts which have been made to obtain greater production. Someone has spoken of shortages. What is the basis of the production of all animal products in this or any other country? Is it not the feed available for the production of live stock? When one looks at it from another point of view one realizes that while wheat is the basic cereal food of the people of Canada and of those who live in Great Britain and the United States, there are many European conuntries in which wheat is not the basic cereal food. Barley, rye—even oats, in Scotland—are very important cereal food products in other countries. What is the position in Canada? Not only are our elevators bulging with the wheat that is stored in them; the bins of the farms are running over. Much of the coarse grain of this country is piled in heaps on the prairies, and some of the bountiful crop which was produced in Canada last year is not yet harvested. Still some people talk about shortages in Canada. We have wheat; we have oats; we have barley; we have rye; we have flax, all in surpluses so great that now the farmer is concerned as to how he can turn his grain into cash in order that he may go on and produce a crop next year.

I make that statement in order to emphasize another point. Last night the hon. member for Moose Jaw (Mr. Ross) delivered a speech which displayed a vision of the future upon which I think he is to be congratulated. But I should like to emphasize the fact that it takes eight pounds of grain to produce one pound of beef, and five pounds of grain to produce one pound of pork. Under emergency conditions a man can live just as long on a pound of grain as on a pound of meat. If the task before this country is that which was outlined to us last night, as I am sure it is, the task of storing in this country foods which will enable us to assist those who will be joining our ranks as we advance toward victory, there is no food product that can be stored in Canada which will do more in that direction than cereal products such as barley, oats, rye and wheat. In other words under emergency conditions a man can be maintained at least five times as long by feeding him grain than by feeding him meat products produced from the grain.

I mention this in order to indicate that we in this country are fortunate in being producers of a product which can be stored so easily. The great task before us at the moment, Mr. Speaker, is to produce food in order that we may assist in winning the war. And while I am hopeful that the war may end much earlier than I really think it will, basing my conclusions upon a survey of the world as I see it to-day, I think all will agree that we must put forth an effort in every line of activity in order to see to it that the efforts which have been made by Russia, and by United States and British troops in the northern part of Africa during the last few months, may materialize in a push in the future which will bring this war to an end earlier than we expect.

Having said this, Mr. Speaker, may I add that in spite of the fact that you can keep a man eight times as long on grain as you

can keep him on beef fed from the grain, and five times as long on grain as you can on pork fed from the grain, in an emergency, over a long period you cannot have a balanced ration for a people composed entirely of cereals. When we look at the activities of Britain since the war began and match them with activities in this country, we must keep that thought in mind.

Prior to the war Britain was a large producer of live-stock products. She produced cattle. She paid a bonus on cattle for years before the war started, in order that people might import them and keep them walking around in the pastures for at least three months in order that they might be available in the form of fresh meat if necessary. But since the war started Britain has been insisting upon her people ploughing up the great pasture lands upon which cattle were pastured, lands which were the basis of the production of dairy products, and has insisted upon the production of cereals. The whole reason for this action arises out of what I stated a few moments ago. If submarine warfare is successful in blockading the British isles for a month or two months, cereal products during that emergency will keep a man much longer, pound for pound, than will meat products, or even dairy products, produced from the grain. Britain having taken this action in self-defence, she has said to those of us who are her friends and who are further removed from the scenes of battle, "Produce other necessities for us." And in spite of the fact that we can store foods in grain form cheaper and more effectively than we can any other kind of food, we are asking our Canadian people to produce meat—to produce pork, beef, cheese, butter; and milk which can be powdered and sent over to the British people at once.

What have we done? We have doubled the production of hogs slaughtered in this country. Seventy per cent of all hogs marketed in Canada find a market in the British isles. When anyone says that there is a shortage of hogs, then I point out to him that we have a surplus of seventy per cent in view of the policy being followed in this country at the present time.

What about cheese? At the beginning of the war we had a production of cheese which was very low as compared with present production. We started in with an objective of some time reaching 200,000,000 pounds. This is the amount of cheese we produced in Canada about the year 1900. We reached that 200,000,000 pounds, Mr. Speaker, this year. We reached that 200,000,000 pounds—and with what result? More than seventy per cent of all we produce is surplus and goes to Britain to help feed the British people, who in turn are growing cereals in order that they may meet any emergency which may be forced upon their country.

What about cattle? The other day when the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) was speaking in the debate a question was asked him across the floor of the house. He stated that the reason for rationing of butter in Canada, and the reason it had been suggested it might be necessary to have rationing of beef, was that we had been attempting to fulfil our trade agreement with Great Britain. Since that time at least two hon. members, during the time I have been in my seat, have challenged that statement. One went so far as to say it was incorrect.

Anyone who understands agriculture as it is carried on in Ontario and Quebec knows that there is a close association between the price which prevails for cheese and butter, and the production of those two products. Everyone in the house knows, too, that when the price paid for cheese is 20 cents a pound, and premiums and subsidies on top of that bring the price up to 24 cents a pound, a price lower than 40 cents for a pound of butter will not bring about an increase in its production in this country.

If we go back to the year before last, what do we find? Every agent from Britain who came to this country, every person who discussed the question on this side of the Atlantic, and every agent of ours who went to the other side and brought back a message to Canada, stated that Britain required cheese and wanted it even as against butter. We have shipped no butter to Britain since the war started. But butter is made from exactly the same kind of milk as is cheese. And when we pay a price in agreement with Great Britain which induces the production of cheese at the expense of butter, of course we render necessary the control of the consumption of butter in this country. This is exactly what was implied in the remarks of the Prime Minister the other day.

When I attempted to correct a statement made in the house by the hon. member for Souris (Mr. Ross), he said: But I am talking about beef. Well, the same is true, in another way, with regard to beef. When a man sits down to his dinner table and finds on it a roast of pork, unless he is a Yorkshireman he probably does not find a roast of beef there too. If he is a Yorkshireman he may also find the beef. However as a rule when we eat pork we do not eat beef, and when we eat beef we do not eat pork.

We were exporting 300,000 head of cattle—heavy cattle, light cattle, calves, and breeding stock—to the United States at the beginning of the war. And we were exporting just as many the year before last as we exported in any previous year. Last year, down to the first of July, we exported more cattle to the United States than we had in preceding years. We exported 121,000 head of cattle in the year 1942 to the United States, and there have been no exports since about the month of September. I give these figures to indicate that even in the matter of beef it is not a question of a shortage in this country. It is a matter of a transition from a period when we were feeding two-year-old steers for market in this country to a period when we are feeding three-year-old steers to be marketed one year later. That we are not able to get on our tables the kind of beef we desire is not because there is a shortage of beef in Canada, but because that six-months' period is required in order to make the transition from one form of feeding to the other. While, therefore, we have found it necessary to close off exports to the United States and to cut down on the consumption of pork, both have been made necessary by the fact that we must ship more and more bacon and ham to Great Britain in order to assist in feeding the British people.

May I say a word or two about some of our other products? What shortages have we in Canada? Certainly we have no shortage of apples. We have been begging every country in the world to take apples, ever since the beginning of the war. We have begged every country into which we could ship our products under war conditions. It certainly has not been beans. We have been coaxing the British and United States governments to take more beans from this country, every year since the war started. It certainly has not been potatoes. One member who raised the question in the house cabled me when I was in Britain in 1940 to ask if I could not get an order there for potatoes, pointing out we had a surplus of potatoes in this country. But when I came back and told him that they were growing potatoes over there in every backyard and had millions of bushels of them, he realized, of course, that potatoes were a surplus in this country; and, Mr. Speaker, in spite of the remark made yesterday by one hon. member, potatoes are still a surplus in this country. Every potato grower knows that; every wholesaler knows it. Some difficulties in distribution have to be ironed out; there are always difficulties in distribution when you attempt to impose upon the people controls to which they have not been accustomed. But when those difficulties have been ironed out the distribution of potatoes in this country will meet the demands of the people of Canada.

Let me repeat; we have surpluses in all these important staple products in Canada, and these surpluses are being utilized to assist the allied countries in feeding their peoples. We shall have food when we have crossed the boundary lines of countries which are now enemy occupied. We shall have food produced in those countries when we have advanced far enough into them to permit of agriculture being carried on behind the lines. The food of our own people in surplus and the food of these people of Europe will be used to assist the allies in winning the war through food as well as through the use of bullets and machines of war.

But there has been one limitation upon the production of food during the years since the beginning of the war. In spite of all the effort that we could put into it there was a limit upon production, and that limit was the feed available. We had had a series of poor crops across Canada in the years immediately preceding the war. We had another poor crop in Canada in 1941. When I say to this house that on July 31, 1942, there was only one month's supply of feed in Canada, it will be realized what the limiting factor was in 1941-42. It was feed. Even had we had had ten times as much labour as we had during that period we should not have been able to raise more live stock, we should not have been able to finish more live stock unless we did what was advised by some people, namely, to feed our wheat. I do not know just how many farmers there are in this house, but every farmer here knows that there is a limit to the amount of wheat that you can feed to live stock. Everyone knows that if you attempted to keep horses on wheat you very soon would not have any horses. Everyone knows that if you attempted to feed cattle on nothing but wheat, unless you had an expert doing it, you probably would not have cattle very long. Perhaps this does not apply in the same measure to the feeding of hogs and chickens; nevertheless even there a proper rationed feed will do much better for the stock, for the farmer and for the country than the feeding of wheat itself.

What has happened with respect to wheat? We fed twice as much wheat in 1942 as we had fed in previous years. We gave special freight rates on wheat shipped to the east for feeding purposes. Wheat was fed from one end of the country to the other until the amount fed in that year was double the amount fed in the preceding year. In spite of that fact,

on July 31, 1942, we had only one month's feed supply on hand. Members will tell me that that was not so bad because we had the best crop standing that we have ever seen grow in Canada. But we did not know that when we bred the sows in December of the preceding year. We did not know it when we bred the cows in 1941. We did not know it when we were deciding whether to sell our milk to a cheese factory or to a creamery in the spring of 1942. We did not know until well on in July that we were going to be able to harvest that crop and make it available to the people of this country. So that the limiting factor down to the first of August, 1942, was our supply of grain.

But the government did not wait until 1942 to start to do something about that. We brought regulations into this house and we stated that we were in a hurry to get them through because of the necessity of having feed grain planted instead of wheat. What happened? The house held those regulations up day after day, and it was only by herculean efforts on the part of members, especially of the government, that we were able to get them through the house in sufficient time to let the farmers of western Canada know what was expected of them. That was in the spring of 1941. We repeated that action in the spring of 1942, and with what result? The result was that our lands in western Canada were cultivated in the manner in which they should always be cultivated, with a very considerable percentage of them under summer-fallow. When we sowed coarse grains and wheat on summer-fallowed lands in the spring of 1942, and when we had favourable weather conditions, even with a reduction of seven million acres in wheat in western Canada, we produced more wheat that year than we ever produced before.

What was our limitation in 1941-42? Our limitation was feed grain. We had twice as much feed grain when we harvested our crop of 1942 as we obtained from our crop of 1941. So that through the policies of this government—

Mr. COLDWELL: And the rain.

Mr. GARDINER: And the rain, yes. So that through the policies of this government—and I might say, Mr. Speaker, that the government always likes to work along with those who send the rain—we had the land ready, and one only has to read the scriptures to find out what that means: if you have your land prepared well in advance and your seed planted at the right time and the showers come and the sun beats down upon the land, you get a crop. And that happened in 1942.

In the spring of 1942 when those who represented the farm organizations came to Ottawa, they asked a natural question: When you were putting this measure through the house in 1941, members expressed the fear that you would so glut the market with coarse grains that we would be unable to market ours in eastern Canada, or that if we fed those grains to live stock in western Canada we would have so much live stock that we would not be able to market it in eastern Canada. I must say this for those representatives and farm organizations, that almost without exception the men who said that in 1941 got up in 1942 and said that they were wrong in 1941 and that they were going to join with the government in its policy of 1942 of attempting to get meat supplies and oil supplies to send to our allies in this war.

Let me repeat: it was not hindsight on the part of the government that got the results in 1942; it was not lack of planning; it was not that they did not give information to the farmers across Canada. The results that were obtained in 1942 were based upon the sound policies which had had their inception at the beginning of the war and have been developed constantly from the beginning of the war down to the present time. Might I say that the announcement made to-day by the Minister of Finance is just another indication that the government is keeping abreast of the situation in connection with production across this country.

Then I think I hear someone saying, If there is no shortage, why did you need rationing of butter? Why did you need to talk about rationing of something else? I should like to tell a story which illustrates a point. When I was in Washington in January I met on the street a man who turned out to be a newspaper reporter. Newspaper reporters are usually looking for information; and he said this to me, "I notice you have rationed butter in Canada." I said, "Yes, we have." He said, "What do you mean by saying you have rationed butter? I notice you are giving your people twenty-six pounds per head." I said, "Yes. They were eating thirty-two pounds before." "Well," he said, "that is far more butter than we eat down here. Our figures indicate that we eat only half that much." Well, I brought up a question which has been mentioned in this house from time to time—the consumption of oleomargarine; and he said, "Oh, but that makes up only about one-eighteenth of the

amount." We went on discussing the matter and finally agreed that there is a great deal of vegetable oils consumed all across the south country, consumed on vegetables instead of securing fats from animal production, but having the same results. After we counted all the figures we found that the individual on the other side of the line is eating about the same amount of butter plus oils as the individual in Canada eats of butter plus oils. So that when we talk about dealing with our people on this side of the line in the same way that they are dealing with their people on the other side of the line, we must take all the facts into consideration. It is not sufficient to say that in the United States they are rationing a product down to a certain level, and that therefore it must be rationed down to the same level in this country. We must take all the substitutes into consideration, and having done so, I believe every hon. member will agree that since we are in this war together we cannot build up on this side of the line a condition in relation to the feeding of our people which differs from the condition on the other side of the line, without creating a wrong impression. There may be a necessity for rationing even if there is no shortage of food products.

Or go, as I did a few months ago, to Britain. The British said to us: We want so much of a certain product if you can give it to us; and ever since the beginning of the war this government has taken the position that if it is at all possible to give Britain or any other of our allies the food supplies necessary to the winning of the war, even if it means a cutting down of the supplies to our own people, we prefer to give those supplies to the men and women who are in the front line of battle and fighting or suffering attack from day to day.

Again, Mr. Speaker, if it were not for rumours, if it were not for the publicity given to what are sometimes facts, we might not need to ration in this country. When a housewife goes to the butcher shop in war time and finds that she cannot get the cut which she desires from beef, or probably any beef at all, and the butcher says, "You might take lamb, or chicken, or turkey," somebody learns of that and writes it up as a story—usually not the housewife; usually someone else. In peace time what did we do under similar circumstances? We walked down the street a half-mile to another store and usually were able to find, if not exactly what we wanted, a reasonable substitute therefor. If we were doing that in all respects to-day in respect to food products we would not have as much agitation for rationing as we have. But even if we do the very best we can, even if we kill every rumour at its inception, when it is decided to cut down the supplies to the civilian population to absolute necessities there must be some kind of regulation of distribution, otherwise some will be left with nothing and others will have too much. So that it is not necessarily shortage in production which brings about rationing; it may be a shortage occasioned by the methods or incidence of distribution. We have had rationing of tea, of sugar and of coffee. All these are products which are produced in large volume outside this country and shipped in, and we have rationing because of an interference with shipping between those countries and Canada brought about by the war. Exactly the same reason brought about rationing at the beginning of the war in Britain, and in the end will bring rationing of some products in most of our countries.

Someone else says that labour has been a limiting factor in the production of our farms. I have been reviewing the speeches of hon. members opposite in other sessions, and I find that in every session since the war started there have been men on the other side of the house who have said that because of a labour shortage on farms it will be impossible to reach the objectives set by the department. One of those hon. gentlemen has already spoken in this debate and has made the same statement. He made it in 1941 and 1942; he has now made it in 1943. On each of the other occasions, in spite of any shortages of labour there may have been, we did reach those objectives. Now, when anyone asks me whether labour is a limiting factor in production on farms, I would say this. It has been a limiting factor on individual farms ever since the war began. And what type of farm is that? It is the type of farm from which every last son joined the army or the air force or the navy in the first weeks of the war. Why did they do it? They did it because they thought it was the most necessary thing to do at that time in order to bring this war to a successful conclusion as soon as possible. I am sure that we will all agree that while they may have left difficulties upon the farm, they are entitled to the thanks of this house, of the Dominion of Canada, and of the allied nations generally for the attitude they took. There is still a labour shortage on many of those farms.

There is another type of farm on which there has been a labour shortage ever since the war started. That labour shortage did not begin with this war; it started on exactly the same kind of farm as that from which all of the sons who were engaged in agriculture

enlisted in the last war. At that time their fathers and mothers were in their late thirties or early forties, and they were able to carry on the work of the farm. Many of those boys did not come back, and in some instances, because they did not come back, the fathers and mothers, now from sixty to seventy years of age, are still on the farms attempting to carry on. They are in a classification which was referred to this morning by a delegation that met the government, when it was suggested that these people should be encouraged to dispose of their farms and get others on the land who could produce more effectively because of their younger years. The government has gone so far as to record all the people in Canada who are in that classification, and I think I said to this house last year that there are about seventy thousand farms in Canada occupied by persons in that category.

Labour began to be a limiting factor in certain industrial areas in the second year of the war. You will recall that in the first year of the war there was a great deal of uncertainty, particularly during the first six months, but in the latter part of the first year industry was organized, and in the second year of the war men rushed into plants from farms surrounding industrial centres. I would ask hon. members the question: what did this house want them to do? I reply by stating that while I was not one of those who were fully convinced before I went to England in the fall of 1940, I came back to this country convinced that every possible man and woman in Canada had to be got into a plant that might produce munitions of war, or machines or ships, at the earliest possible day, if we were to win the war. We did not as a government go out and tell the farmers not to go into plants. We did not say, you must not go. We encouraged them to go, and if any member is able to stand in this house, as a member did the other night, and point to the production of munitions and supplies in Canada as one of the greatest accomplishments of this war, it has resulted from the fact that these young men and young women were not prevented by any means, directive or otherwise, from going to these plants and producing in volume at the earliest possible time.

Although we did that, what has been the result? Not long ago I was speaking in Saskatoon to a group of farmers. I had been asked the question that I am putting here, a question that has been asked in the house on numerous occasions since this debate began: Is there going to be a labour shortage this year? I had to say that we had been building up our objectives year after year while the number of persons on the farms has been going down year by year; we have not yet reached the peak of production under these conditions, and until we have done so I cannot say with absolute assurance that lack of labour will prevent us from reaching our objectives this year. I have this to say as well, and every member of this house, on both sides of the house, knows it is a fact. For eight years before this war started, boys and girls brought up on farms never intended to remain on the farm. They had been directed, from their childhood up, towards some other activity, but they found it impossible to get off the farm. While we counted our unemployed in Canada at one time at something in the neighbourhood of a million, if we had counted the young men and young women who were on the farms unemployed, or partly unemployed because they could not find employment elsewhere, the figure would have been increased by the 250,000 who have left the farms and gone into industry and elsewhere. With regard to overall production, our farms to-day, with these 250,000 gone, are producing more than they ever produced before.

I have eulogized the old people who have been left on the farms and the boys and girls who have worked on the farms. I have spoken of their long hours, beginning at four or five in the morning and ending at ten o'clock at night, particularly for the mothers. That does not answer anything. It should not be necessary to work from four in the morning until ten at night to earn a living on a farm, and that is one of the things which we shall remove in that glorious day so many talk about that we are going to have after the war. I hope we shall be able to remove the necessity for some of these long hours. But whether we eulogize them or not, the fact remains that they did the job and produced the food, and they are going out this year to attempt to do the same thing.

A delegation of men came to me and said, "We produced every bit of live stock and dairy products last year that we could produce with the labour on our farms." I said, "What are you here for?" They said, "What do you mean?" I said, "We are not asking you to produce any more. If you are producing all the live stock on your farm that you can possibly produce with the labour you have, nobody is asking you to produce more with that labour. But the fact remains that right in Saskatchewan one-fifth of the area is delivering only one hog on the average from every two farms, and I want these people to feed more hogs." These men said immediately, "Well, that puts a different light on the whole thing." And of course they will go back home and try to encourage their neighbours to produce more, and they will be encouraged by the provincial government.

I have listened to one or two stories in connection with the labour position, and they remind me of many letters that I receive in my office. People write to me about the difficulty they are having in increasing production, and I realize that it must be difficult. A man tells me he is sixty-nine years of age, and his last son has joined the army. I know he is having a difficult time; no one needs to argue about it. When I hear stories such as were told in this house yesterday to the effect that there are families in some of these neighbourhoods where there are three or four still on the farm, none of them having gone, I know what it means in that neighbourhood. But the stories I like to tell are of the opposite kind. Coming to the neighbourhood with which I am most familiar, I know one Yorkshire Englishman who has seven sons. On the day he got word that one of three who had already joined the forces had been shot down over the North Sea the fourth took the train to take his place in the forces, to take that brother's place. These are the stories I like to tell. I go five miles away from that place and find another farmer, a German, who worked his way out of Germany at the age of nineteen to avoid being called up for military training. He also has seven sons. Six of them are married and three are in the army. He is alone with one daughter working the farm and making no complaints about it. He is saying, "This is my job." These are the stories I like to hear from western Canada.

Western Canada creates situations which make possible hundreds of stories of that kind. I know of districts that are largely foreign-speaking, from every family in which someone has enlisted in the armed forces. I know of districts too where the casualty list, if placed before this house, in comparison with the number of English-speaking people that live there, would make us wonder where all the recruits came from, even among those who have given their lives already in this war. These are the stories I like to tell.

But I am forced by the statements that have been made in this house to deal with another situation. I am told, times without end, both by letter and by members of this house, that some of our boards that have been dealing with the question of man-power have not dealt with it in the interests of the farming population. Sometimes I am inclined to agree that there may be some truth in what they say. But again I am reminded, every time we have a delegation to Ottawa from farm organizations, and almost every time someone gets up in this house to criticize the activities of the government, that when we are appointing boards we ought to put farm representatives on them.

All I want to say is that the board that has been most criticized in this house and the one about which the most stories have been told is the only board I know of in Canada of which the president of a farm organization is a member. I should like to add that that board was at first composed of a judge and a member of the provincial legislature who is also a returned soldier and the leader of a political group that is not Liberal. When the administration of these regulations was taken over by the Labour department he personally suggested he would prefer not to be a member of the board because his business took too much of his time; he was prepared, however, to act as an *ad hoc* member or remain as he was and sit whenever he found it possible. From that time up to last week I do not think he ever sat on the board. The judge asked for another representative, choosing him himself because of his association with farm organizations. In order to be fair I must say I do not think he went to the farm organizations and asked for recommendations, but he did select a man and recommend him to the minister, saying he would like to have him appointed because of his associations with agriculture. I know he is quite a capable man. His name was submitted to me, and I was asked whether I knew him. I said I did and that he was working for a farm organization, and he was appointed.

That is the board that has been sitting on these cases, composed of a judge; a president of a farm organization, the only educational farm organization in that province; and an employee of a farm organization in Saskatchewan.

Mr. COLDWELL: If I may interrupt to ask a question, is Mr. Milliken still on that board?

Mr. GARDINER: Mr. Milliken never was on the board. He was the representative of agriculture appointed to place cases before the board.

Mr. COLDWELL: Has he resigned?

Mr. GARDINER: Yes, he has resigned, partly because of the difficulty he experienced while he was there.

These questions of course come up when I am in the west the same as they are brought

to the attention of hon. members who come from the west. I have discussed them on a number of occasions with persons who ought to be able to rectify the situation. On coming back to Ottawa I made representations to the Minister of Labour (Mr. Mitchell), and the minister had his deputy send out a letter which I am going to read to the house in order to have it on *Hansard*, because it states more clearly than I could otherwise the policy of the government in relation to this matter.

The letter is dated Ottawa, February 1, 1943, the beginning of this month. It happens to be addressed to Mr. Justice W. T. Henderson, chairman of the mobilization board at Toronto, but the same letter went to the chairman of every board. I would like to recall to hon. members that this matter was turned over to the Labour department on December 1, so that after all there has not been any considerable delay in the minister's taking action upon it.

This is the letter:

Dear Mr. Justice Henderson,

All will agree that uniformity of method in dealing with various problems by each of the mobilization boards across Canada is very desirable.

After conferring with the man-power committee of the cabinet it has been decided that interpretative letters will be sent out from time to time indicating in some detail the policy in respect to the various phases of the national selective service mobilization regulations.

This is the first of such letters which will be issued by the labour department.

The growing scarcity of agricultural labour makes it increasingly important that essential agricultural workers be encouraged to remain on farms.

In the following the policy in regard to agricultural farm workers is briefly outlined:

(1) An agricultural worker is, of course, free to volunteer for active service.

(2) It is the intention of the regulations that agricultural workers are to be retained in agricultural employment as far as practical through the national selective service (civilian) regulations. To the extent that their services can be spared from the farms during the "off-crop" season they are to be encouraged to take temporary seasonal employment in lumbering and logging, forestry, fishing, coal and base metal mining, and acceptance of seasonal work in such industries does not deprive men of their right to postponement as agricultural workers providing they return to farm work when the season re-opens.

(3) Agricultural workers are to be discouraged from taking employment outside agriculture except in the primary industries indicated above. If they leave agriculture without a permit from a national selective service officer contrary to the regulations they of course lose any special rights to claim deferment as agricultural workers.

(4) Farm workers who apply for postponement of military training are to be granted postponement until further notice.

[Mr. Gardiner.]

In passing I call the attention of hon. members to the fact that in the regulations the word used is "shall"—that "the board shall". It also provides that the decisions in connection with these matters are to be made by a quorum of the board. The board consists of three members, and two form a quorum.

Mr. TUSTIN: Will these boys continue to be called?

Mr. GARDINER: I am just coming to that:

Farm workers who apply for postponement from military training are to be granted postponement until further notice, unless it is established that the applicant is not an essential worker in agriculture.

It should be noted that the regulations do not require the farmer to produce proof that he is an essential farm worker. If the board doubts that a man is an essential farm worker, even though postponement until further notice is given, it can always exercise the right to deny postponement by calling such a man before the board when established facts are presented. The statement and the inference of the statement is that if the man is essential to agriculture and is given postponement he is not called again at least until the regulations are changed or until they are able to show that the information he gave was not correct.

Mr. COLDWELL: It is up to the board to prove that he is non-essential?

Mr. GARDINER: Yes.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): May I interject? It is a most interesting statement the minister has made. Is he able to tell us how often applicants are called before these boards? Because I have never heard of a single case in New Brunswick where an applicant actually appeared himself before the board.

Mr. GARDINER: I think my hon. friend will agree that he has a better knowledge of legal matters than I have, but a man can appear by letter, and most of them do appear that way.

Mr. GRAYDON: They appear personally too.

Mr. GARDINER: There are men who appear before some boards personally. To continue:

If a worker who upon receipt of "order—medical examination" claims to be an agricultural worker but is not considered by the board to be essential to the operation of a specific farm—

This is just as important as the other, and I wish hon. members would listen. If he is called and not given postponement—

—the question then arises as to whether or not he is essential to agriculture in the district.

If agricultural labour is needed in the district, he should be given an opportunity to place himself in a position where his services would be essential to agriculture on some other farm; or in the alternative to increase the production of a specific farm. The board could give a deferment for three months instead of "granting postponement until further notice" in order to give the man an opportunity of finding essential work.

This, read along with the other, indicates that the cases in which limited time should be given are those in which an effort is being made to distribute farm labour, not merely to retain it.

Mr. COLDWELL: Is that the district over which the board has control or the district in which the man resides?

Mr. GARDINER: There is no further definition given. These are the directions which have been issued, and it will be remembered that the boards have been asked to make any comments they wish, and those will be discussed. I would imagine it would be a different area in different places.

The next provision is new:

6. A person who may not have been employed in agriculture on March 23, 1942, but who has become engaged in agriculture since that time, and is shown to be essential to agriculture, may be considered for postponement on application if the merits of the case are established.

Mr. GRAYDON: Since what time?

Mr. GARDINER: This was issued on February 1.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): That is the case where the father buys a farm for the boy and makes him a farmer. Pretty dangerous.

Mr. GARDINER: I would rather recite the other type of case again, that it is for the boy who left the farm purposely to enter into a munitions factory, but now that food is considered more necessary in that community, he desires to come back. If he can establish these facts I think the board would be justified in taking action.

The next provision is:

7. Conscientious objectors, including Doukhobors, Mennonites and others, who receive postponement of military training until further notice and are agricultural workers should not be directed to report for alternative service so long as they are employed in essential work in agriculture.

8. Application for leave should be invited from agricultural workers engaged in alternative service, and such applications should be given favourable consideration.

It is felt that if the above principles are followed by all boards the increasing difficulties in maintaining essential farm production will be greatly alleviated.

Any comments and suggestions any board may wish to offer regarding the above principles will be appreciated.

That is signed by A. MacNamara, director of national selective service, and approved by the Minister of Labour.

Mr. GRAYDON: I should like to ask one question with regard to the dimensions of the areas mentioned there. That has a direct bearing on the whole question of the distribution of labour, because if it is confined to only the small area where the man resides, perhaps it will not meet the requirements that are so necessary. Possibly the minister might amplify that point.

Mr. GARDINER: Of course the minister would hope that this would be administered by the boards in a reasonable way, as I am sure it will.

There is just one other matter with which I wish to deal for a few moments, namely, the question, is price a limiting factor? That question has been discussed here from time to time, and the statement is frequently made that British and United States prices are higher than ours. Well, the statement could be made with equal truth that Australian and Argentine prices are lower than ours. For that reason I should like to place before the house for its consideration the fact that our position is not on all fours with either the United States or the British; neither is it on all fours with the Argentine or the Australian. We occupy a position somewhere in between. The United States and British position is affected by their dense population and by the nearness of Britain to the war itself. The position of the Argentine and Australia is affected by their distance from the places where the supplies are required. On the other hand we have a sparse population and large agricultural areas, and are located closer to the scene of battle than any of these other countries. Therefore our position is a little different.

I should like to remind hon. members that many things have been done by the government to assist the price position. Last year, as was stated the other day, we made a billion dollars available to the British government; and the fact that this amount of money was provided, whether it was used directly or indirectly, made it possible for us to dispose of our food products to Britain

with much better results than otherwise would have been the situation. Then the government has added to those returns by means of subsidies in certain cases, with which I am not going to deal at the moment. But now I come to the point which has been up for discussion year after year. It was brought before us to-day by the farm federation; it has been brought up in this house by a number of hon. members since the session opened, as it has been brought up continuously throughout the country. I refer to the demand for parity prices on farm products. No one has ever contended that we have parity prices on grains in Canada as compared with any other period that may be used as a basis. Those in this country who first asked for parity prices on farm products said that what they meant by parity was the same purchasing power for what was received for the product in the year in question as prevailed on the average during the period from 1926 to 1929. Recently that has been changed to some extent; some are saying that because we have taken as the basis of the wage position the highest wage in 1926-29 we ought to take the highest price in 1926-29 for farm products. But may I read the basis on which we have discussed this question year after year:

Parity definition: Parity price is the price of the commodity which will give a purchasing power with respect to articles the farmer buys equivalent to the purchasing power of such commodity in the base period.

The base period we have taken in working out the figures I am going to place upon *Hansard* is 1926-29, and the figure is the average figure for that period. On wheat we are down 54·5 cents; on oats we are down 9 cents; on barley we are down 11·2 cents, and on rye we are down 38·5 cents. I come now to flax, on which we are 25·5 cents up. On butter we are ·4 cents up; on cheese, 6·1 cents up; on eggs 1·3 cents down; on steers, ·24 cents up, and on hogs, ·67 cents up. In other words, on all animal and poultry products listed here, with the exception of eggs, we are, on the basis I have just suggested, above parity. This means that for flaxseed we are 112·8 per cent of parity; on butter, 101·2 per cent; on cheese, 133·2 per cent; on eggs, 86·6 per cent; on steers, 116·93 per cent, and on hogs, 105·92 per cent. Let me repeat that some of those coming before us now would dispute the fact that we have parity prices because they have somewhat shifted the basic position. In fact, some contend that they never took any other position but that we should start with the highest price during hat period, and of course if you start with the highest price it means that on all live-stock products, I think, with the exception of cheese, we shall be slightly below parity.

Mr. NICHOLSON: Has the minister the average for the entire group of commodities?

Mr. GARDINER: No, I have not, but it can be worked out from these figures.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I should like to say that those of us who have been speaking on agriculture have been emphasizing the necessity for labour during the coming year. I am going to repeat that I have not been convinced by any arguments I have heard in the house, nor am I convinced by our experiences of the past, that we cannot reach the objectives which we have placed before the farmers of this country for this fourth year of war. There is a possibility, however, that we may not reach those objectives, and I wish to emphasize that if we do not do so, it will not necessarily mean that we have not done everything possible in Canada to help win the war. At some period we shall reach the time, on account of either lack of feed, lack of proper weather conditions, lack of labour, or lack of all three, when we shall be producing everything we possibly can produce, with the facilities that are available to us for the production of food products. And when we are doing that, in so far as food is concerned we are holding up our end in the war activities.

In the first year of the war—the first six months of the war—we were piling up surpluses which no one wanted for the time being. Then, when France fell, we found ourselves in the position where these surpluses were useful. We have gone on producing more and more every year. And for every ton we produced we could find some use, with the exception, of course, of some of the products I enumerated earlier in my speech. They are not the most important food products we are producing in this country. Again, of course I must make the exception of wheat.

We now hope that we are at a time when our armed forces in the field, and those of our allies, can be equipped and supplied with munitions. Probably there is some reason for thinking that, with the support of all the great allied powers, and all their industry, there is reason for placing greater emphasis upon production on the farms than we have been placing during the last two years of the war. The government has put out these directions on farm labour as an indication that it believes that such a time had come when the regulations were put out in March.

Having said that, may I say this, that the greatest job to be done in connection with this war is still to be done on the battlefields. As Minister of Agriculture I am going to make an appeal to every farmer in Canada to produce this year all he can with the labour available, and I am going to make an appeal to the government—and I am sure it will be listened to—to give as high returns as possibly can be given for the commodities that are produced, always keeping in mind the fact that funds must be found for other things, as well as for paying for food.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. GARDINER: My hon. friends over here smile when I say that. Well, I have known many people in my lifetime who did not seem to know the value of money; and I have never known any of them to improve their position by laughing. After all, money is only the means by which we measure the real wealth, the things that are produced in the country. If we have parity prices, the prices which have been asked, we are of course giving what has been asked by those who are most concerned. If in some other direction parity has not been given, and if those foods are produced which are going to be surplus at the end of the war, I would suggest that we are not yet in a position to determine whether farmers will obtain what they are entitled to for their labours. That cannot be fully determined if their labour has resulted in the production of grain which may be fed or required by allied countries toward the end and following the end of the war.

I think hon. members will agree that the government has been keeping a fairly close tab on all these activities. In so far as the battle-front is concerned, only one thing will bring about the defeat of our forces, namely, if we have not a sufficient number of men at the spots attacked most heavily by the enemy—and they may choose some of the spots at which they are going to attack—if every man is not supplied with the best equipment which can possibly be supplied, and if every bit of that equipment is not supplied with the best ammunition possible of production. If we do not permit any such deficiencies, and if we place behind those forces the food necessary to feed them, and supply the food necessary to assist in feeding the British people, the food necessary to assist in feeding the people in north Africa, and the food necessary to assist in feeding the people in the countries on the continent of Europe, once they are won back to the side of the allies, we shall have accomplished all that is possible toward the successful conclusion of the war.

Mr. COLDWELL: Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order. I am sure no one wished to interrupt the minister during the exposition which he made of government policy. But I would point out that the minister has had one hour and twenty-five minutes in which to speak.

Mr. GARDINER: Within the rules.

Mr. COLDWELL: I do not think the minister was within the rules, since the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) spoke on behalf of the government, following the leader of the opposition (Mr. Graydon). If the privilege is going to be extended, then I think it should be extended with the consent of the house. Other hon. members have been interrupted and called to time when forty minutes has expired.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend, will recognize that the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Gardiner) was replying to his amendment, as well as to the amendment which had been moved earlier. And as a minister replying to an amendment containing additions he is entitled to whatever time he wishes. As a matter of fact the minister, if anything, was considerate in being as brief as he was.

Mr. COLDWELL: Is every minister entitled to make a reply for the government?

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Mr. Speaker, I raised no objection at the time to the minister's speaking for more than forty minutes, because we will all agree that it was a most interesting and instructive statement; and from the standpoint of view of his party I have no doubt it reflected great credit. However, I wondered about this question.

I rise now only for the purpose of asking for a clarification of the point. Standing order 37 was passed on March 22, 1927. I remember the committee which framed it. I should like, however to ask how many ministers can reply to an opposition amendment. By the way, may I make it clear to the Prime Minister that the Minister of Agriculture in his opening remarks made it quite clear that he was replying to the amendment of my leader, and not to the subamendment moved by the leader of the socialist party. This is what the standing order says:

No member, except the Prime Minister and the leader of the opposition, or a minister moving a government order and the member speaking in reply immediately after such minister—

That would be, say, the financial critic in an opposition.

—or a member making a motion of "no confidence" in the government and a minister replying thereto, shall speak for more than forty minutes at a time in any debate.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: That is what he was doing.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): The leader of the opposition moved what, of course, is in effect a want of confidence motion. The Prime Minister replied thereto. He was the member of the government who replied. How many members of the government are going to reply, and be entitled to speak for more than forty minutes when we, as private members, are restricted to forty minutes? That is the issue. We might as well have it settled once and for all.

I did not raise the point of order when the minister was speaking. I felt he was wrong, but I did not want to stop him. The issue is now fairly before the house. Let us have it settled. I take the ground that this rule means that only one minister may reply to an amendment such as my leader has moved, namely, an amendment involving want of confidence in the government. That reply was made; therefore it cannot be made again.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I thank my hon. friends and also the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (Mr. Coldwell) for not having raised the present point while the minister was making his statement. As I heard the minister, in the opening part of his remarks I thought he said that he intended to devote a considerable part of his time to the amendment which had been moved by the leader of the opposition; but that he was also speaking to the amendment to the amendment which had been moved—

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): No; that is where your ears deceived you. That is exactly what he did not say.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: As a matter of fact that is what he did, in effect. He made a reply to a motion of want of confidence in the administration. My hon. friend the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation would hardly say that this amendment was not a motion of want of confidence in the administration.

Mr. COLDWELL: It was an amendment to an amendment which had already expressed want of confidence in the government.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I should point out to my hon. friend that when the rule is being interpreted it would be well to remember that while we have one government we have four or five oppositions, and we have as a consequence amendments to amendments. In this regard the rule ought to be broadly interpreted. His Honour the Speaker will be able to give the interpretation.

[Mr. Hanson (York-Sunbury).]

Mr. COLDWELL: When I moved the amendment to the amendment I was limited to forty minutes. I saw the Speaker rising to stop me and I sat down.

Mr. SPEAKER: If no other hon. member wishes to speak on the point of order, I think the practice has been pretty well established in the past as to the case we have before us. Standing order 37, which has been read by the hon. member for York-Sunbury (Mr. Hanson), states:

> No member, except the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition, or a minister moving a government order and the member speaking in reply immediately after such minister, or a member making a motion of "no confidence" in the government and a minister replying thereto, shall speak for more than forty minutes at a time in any debate.

Under that standing order the Prime Minister has the right to speak without being subject to the rule of forty minutes. It is true that the Prime Minister spoke after the amendment was moved by the leader of the opposition (Mr. Graydon), but there has been a subsequent amendment to the amendment and the hon. Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Gardiner), I think, in the first statement he made was replying to a motion of no confidence and replying to it from the point of view of agriculture, and also from the point of view of man-power, both of which he dealt with in his speech. In my judgment, therefore, the Minister of Agriculture, speaking as the first minister to this amendment is entitled to invoke standing order 37 and is not limited in his time.

Mr. COLDWELL: Mr. Speaker—

An hon. MEMBER: Sit down.

Mr. COLDWELL: Somebody says "sit down." We are discussing a point of order, and in order that it may be clarified I submit that I am entitled to courtesy.

Mr. SPEAKER: I would point out to the hon. member that there can be no debate.

Mr. COLDWELL: Am I to understand, Mr. Speaker, that the mover of a subamendment expressing want of confidence in the government has the right to exceed forty minutes?

Mr. SPEAKER: That question has not been before me, and at the moment I would not wish to say anything beyond that I think he has not that right.

Mr. COLDWELL: The rule must work both ways.

Mr. SPEAKER: The point before us at the moment is as to the right of the minister to reply, without the time limitation, and I have given my ruling.

Mr. KARL K. HOMUTH (Waterloo South): Mr. Speaker, I am particularly pleased that no one interrupted the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Gardiner) and raised the point of order that the minister was exceeding his time because, before proceeding with the remarks I had intended to make, I wish to deal with two or three matters to which the minister referred. Perhaps the latter part of his speech was the most important when he began to deal with the question of farm labour and referred to the letter which each member of the house received this morning from the Minister of Labour (Mr. Mitchell). That letter in itself, I submit, justifies all the criticism that has been levelled against this government for taking labour off the farms of this country. The minister has said that we have produced a tremendous tonnage of foodstuffs. We have. We had to do it; it was our job to do it. But we have not produced as much foodstuffs in this country as we could have produced if we had had a proper farm labour policy applicable to this country. There are in this letter clauses which, if carefully read over will be seen to bear out the need for many of the things for which we have asked in the past. Under this new regulation, men who are conscientious objectors, men who knew nothing but farming, had done nothing but farming all their life, are now to be allowed to stay on the farm and to produce foodstuffs, instead of being sent up the Montreal river or into the northern wilds to build roads. In my county of Waterloo I know that many of these men were taken off the farm and sent into camps to build roads which will be destroyed before they can be completed. This was a wrong policy. Had these men been allowed to remain on the farms in the county of Waterloo we would have been able to produce larger amounts of foodstuffs than we did in our county. The farmers of this country have done a tremendous job. They had a job to do, and they faced it. They faced it in spite of the many obstacles which have been put in their way by the lack of a proper man-power policy under this government.

This letter also states that farmers will have the right in the off-season months to go into certain industries such as logging, mining and fishing. We have hundreds and hundreds of farmers who can be spared from our farms in western Ontario during the off-season. Under this new regulation they are to be restricted to these particular industries in their search for employment in the off-season. Nevertheless to-day hundreds of them are working in the munitions industries in western Ontario and doing a splendid job. I do not know how we could have got along without them. These men are now prohibited from going into any munitions factory during the off-season to produce munitions of war. Surely that regulation in itself shows that the matter has not been properly thought out. These men are not adapted to fishing and the other industries specified in the letter, but they are capable of going into munitions factories and producing munitions. Therefore I say that the regulations dealing with man-power on the farm are still far short of what they ought to be under a proper man-power policy. These men in the province of Ontario particularly, hundreds of them, have contributed hundreds of thousands of precious man-hours in producing the munitions of war.

At the beginning it was announced by the government that the farmers could go into the munitions industries during the off-season without losing their category as farmers. Then a few weeks ago another regulaiton came out prohibiting them from working for more than sixty days in a munitions factory. Yet these men are engaged in every form of munitions industry in western Ontario, and many of them have worked for much longer periods than two months. Have they now to quit their jobs, go back to the farm, at present covered with three or four or five feet of snow, and sit and twiddle their thumbs until seeding time comes around? Surely, Mr. Speaker, that in itself shows that this policy has not been well thought out and that there is still room for improvement in our man-power policy. The very fact of these regulations coming out shows beyond all peradventure that there is a shortage of man-power on the farms in this country and that the government is now beginning to realize this. The government is now trying to cure what is the result of their own ill-advised policy.

The Minister of Agriculture also lectured the members of the house for having made certain statements; for instance, a statement with regard to the shortage of bacon and that we should not buy bacon. Was it not the minister himself or one of the men in his department who made an appeal to the Canadian people not to eat bacon and other pork products so that we could ship more of them to Britain? It was not anything said by us in the house which publicized the statement referred to in that international journal; it was the Department of Agriculture itself that requested the people of Canada not to eat bacon and other pork products, and the people, I believe, rose to the occasion.

There is one other reference I wish to make. I am pleased that the minister was not interrupted. Coming from a district like

Waterloo county, where agriculture is very highly developed, I greatly appreciated the speech he made this afternoon.

Last evening a member of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation party, the hon. member for York South (Mr. Noseworthy) made one or two little jibes at the official opposition and read a letter which had been sent out by the South York Conservative organization. It was an appeal to join the Progressive Conservative association, and for a payment of one dollar the subscriber would become a member and would assist in defeating the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, an object which I hope we shall achieve, because I think it would be a good thing for the country. But I, too, have a letter here. It was not sent out by any political association within a riding, where they went to the post office and paid their postage, where they went to the printer and had their letter printed, and to the envelope manufacturer and purchased envelopes. This is a letter from the House of Commons, Ottawa, signed by Mr. A. M. Nicholson, M.P., national treasurer of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation party.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Franked.

Mr. HOMUTH: Franked; and with the House of Commons letterhead on the envelope. In this letter—and goodness knows how many thousands went out—is an appeal for funds, and the statement that they have been able to get a Rhodes scholar, Mr. Lewis, a graduate of McGill, to be secretary and organizer of their association; that he could get a position which would pay him a large salary out of which he could contribute a thousand dollars to the funds of the association, but that they wanted to keep him in their own employment.

What I want to bring to the attention of the house is a view I have always held, that no political party has any right to use the money of the taxpayers of Canada for the purpose of spreading its political propaganda or of trying to raise money for its operations. I am definitely opposed to such action. Furthermore, there is an old saying that people who live in glass houses ought to undress in the dark, and I think it applies to the hon. member for York South.

An hon. MEMBER: Have you another like that?

Mr. HOMUTH: Well, Mr. Speaker, I wish to confine myself to the remarks I had intended to make. I agree that it is a happy occasion to reconvene in Ottawa in the realization that the war situation is so much better, that after all we are now beginning to see at least the beginning of the end of this terrible conflict, with the allied troops winning victories on practically all fronts. But there is, of course, something rather saddening in the reconvening of a parliament. It has been my privilege, as a member of either the Ontario or the dominion house, to attend many new sessions, and always the occasion has not been without an element of sadness, because seldom have we met without the loss of some members. As we sit here now we begin to wonder in what direction our ranks will be depleted before another session comes, and how many more members will be lost to us by death. I wish to join with others who have paid tribute to those who have passed since the last session of this house; it is a source of great regret to us.

There was, however, another hon. member who has passed from this house, whose passing is not, I believe, so greatly regretted. He has passed to that "other place." I have never had such a high degree of satisfaction over a senate vacancy as I have as a result of that appointment—and I say that in no unkind spirit. But I should like to make this remark to the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King), realizing that suggestions from our side of the house are always welcome! There is an hon. member of his party who has endeared himself to everyone here; he is a French Canadian; he happens to come from the province of Ontario; and I trust that when the appointment of deputy speaker is made it will go to one who is held in such high regard by all members of the house. I refer to the hon. member for Cochrane (Mr. Bradette).

In his address the other day the Prime Minister asked us to avoid acrimonious debate, and I believe that, generally speaking, this debate has been on a very high plane. He asked us to cooperate with the government in trying to sell to the people, as it were, the various controls and restrictions which are necessary. I agree that we as members of this house have a grave responsibility. But we have another responsibility, namely that, if there are controls and restrictions which in our opinion are not in the interests of Canada, we must express our convictions in this place, the only place where it can be done. We cannot stand idly by and allow important matters to be adjudicated upon by the various boards throughout the country without saying what we think about them. We cannot talk to the boards; we cannot talk to the minister when the boards are set up. This is the place where these matters must be discussed. I do not believe that there was ever a government which held office in this country during a

trying time which had greater cooperation from an opposition than the present government has received. True, we have been critical, but I hope that the criticism we have levelled against the government has been constructive. If we look back over the plebiscite campaign, who were prouder to carry that vote than members of the official opposition?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: You took a long time about it.

Mr. HOMUTH: Very well, but when the vote was to be taken we went out and worked for it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I knew you would.

Mr. HOMUTH: Let me tell the Prime Minister that there were not a great many members of his party who did the same thing.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): You are right.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Oh, yes, there were.

Mr. HOMUTH: And when the victory loan campaigns were launched, members of this party worked hard to make them a success. Certainly it was our duty to do so, but what did the hon. member for Brant (Mr. Wood) and members for other ridings around my own do in this direction? How much time did they spend in organizing the victory loan campaigns? I followed the course of these loan drives very carefully—

Mr. WOOD: I would not trade Brant for your riding.

Mr. HOMUTH: The hon. member would have to give me the rest of the province to boot.

We have endeavoured in every possible way to assist the government, but there are some of these matters which I think we have to deal with on the floor of the house, and some of the things I am going to mention to-day have come to me as a result of my activity in industry, representing a farming district. As a result of our building up of control boards, they have seriously affected our output on farms and in the factories. Man-power and these control boards are directly interlocked. Some of these boards are exceptionally good and are doing a fine job. Some of them are headed by men who plan carefully and move warily, and when they put out an order one can depend upon it that it has been so well planned that the order will work smoothly and people will fall in line. But there are other boards that do not plan, boards that do not take the precautions they ought to take, and they make rulings that disorganize industry, so that within a very short time they have to change those rulings. The whole trouble is on account of the fact that the man who was at the head of that particular board was not practical or was not a good organizer. If he had been a good organizer, even if he was not practical in that particular line, he would at least have called in practical men and have discussed these matters with them.

Take, for example, the cost of living bonus, the original order in council dealing with that question. Every industry was told that it had to pay a cost of living bonus. Most of them complied. Some, however, did not, and before any action was taken to enforce it with these particular industries, a new order came out freezing the wages. These industries then could not pay that cost of living bonus, with the result that in many municipalities and industrial centres there was a checker-board system of wages, a system which was due entirely to the effect of the orders in council which were passed by the board, one contradicting another.

Then we have industries which are 100 per cent on war work. These industries are classed as non-essential, notwithstanding that everything they turn out is war material. They are classed as non-essential for one purpose, and everyone knows it, namely, that those called for service out of those industries do not get the same consideration as those who come from what are classed as essential industries. The idea is to get these men out of these industries and fill their places with old men or women if possible.

Orders were made freezing wages. The employees accepted that; the employer accepted it, and they went along their way satisfied as far as possible to cooperate with the government and the government's order. Then suddenly the government come along and start an industry of their own in the vicinity, or perhaps right within the municipality. As soon as they are ready to start they need help. There is no ceiling on the wages they offer. They break the wage ceiling immediately for the district. They will get men and women into that industry regardless—and they do. In these other essential war industries, however, wages are frozen. But this industry starts up, headed by someone appointed by the government, and breaks the wage ceiling, causing discontent in every other enterprise in the district. These are the things that are done by these boards through lack of planning, and they disrupt the whole industrial life of the country.

Then we have the cost-plus contracts. The Department of National Defence will take over some building. They will build a barracks or renovate some building they are taking over. They will send some contractor in with a cost-plus contract. Wages mean nothing to him; he will get help. There is no liaison between that job and the Department of Labour or the wartime prices and trade board. By reason of this contract he will pay fabulous wages, wages as high as a journeyman carpenter will get, to men who hardly know one end of a hammer from the other, and he will thus cause discontent in the district, which is a serious matter. I know of instances where high school boys were offered fifty-one cents an hour as helpers—wages higher than the whole wage structure in the district—by some contractor who came in with a job from the Department of National Defence.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Or by government engineers.

Mr. HOMUTH: These things are done by these various controls, and they have disrupted the whole economic fabric of the country and caused that discontent which we have in industry. We had the spectacle of the steel strike. That strike should never have occurred. I can understand a strike in some munitions factory, and other munitions factories carrying on. But here is an industry that is vital to every munitions factory in the country, an industry that is the very foundation of the munitions which we are making in the various factories in Canada. It was because of the vacillating labour policy of the government that that strike ever occurred, and it was declared illegal. Before that, the Minister of Labour (Mr. Mitchell) and the government should have prevented it from developing. They should never have allowed that board to rise until they had even moved to Ottawa, conferred with the government and brought down some sort of unanimous report. If they had done that there would have been no strike in that industry. But the strike occurred, and it was declared illegal. Then the government started to negotiate with those men who were carrying on an illegal strike, and finally the strike was ended. But what did the government do in making the settlement they did? They froze the cost of living bonus to the steel workers, so that as the cost of living index is reduced the bonus will remain, whereas the cost of living bonus in every other industry will be reduced. What are the employees in other industries going to say when, as the cost of living index diminishes, their cost of living bonus is reduced while that paid to the steel workers remains frozen? A settlement such as that cannot help stirring up trouble in other industries. Again I say it is because of the lack of force, the lack of sound reason in dealing with these matters, that a great many of the difficulties we have in industry to-day have been brought about.

One of the essentials in working out a manpower policy is that first of all we ought to know, and this house ought to know, how many men we shall require for the air force, and how many men we shall require for the army. How many men shall we require for the navy? How many men shall we require for the auxiliary services? How much farm labour shall we require? What shortage, if any, is there of industrial labour in this country? How can this house deal with these matters; how can we discuss them intelligently unless we get information from the government as to what their plans are? Surely it is not giving information to the enemy to say, We are going to raise another fifty thousand men for the air force, or the navy, or the army. Those are things we ought to know. Not since the war started have we had a clear-cut statement to this house.

What is happening to the draftees who are now being called up? What is their position? True, the government was freed from any obligations in regard to them by the vote on the plebiscite, but what is their position to-day? Suppose the Canadian army gets into battle and more and more reinforcements are needed; what is the position of these men who to-day are being called up for service in Canada or Newfoundland or on this continent? Is their position going to be that if a very sudden need is apparent the government overnight can pass an order in council and immediately make these men available for overseas service? The men themselves ought to know what position they are in. These men who are now being called for military training, ostensibly for duty on this continent, ought to know where they stand. The government ought to tell this house what their position is with regard to these men that they are calling. Is it any wonder that at times hon. members say there is no leadership, no guidance in regard to these matters?

Often many of these regulations that do not regulate but that do disorganize are passed simply, it would appear, because of fear of political repercussions. I say that honestly and sincerely. Too often it seems to be done with the political viewpoint in mind. We had one of the most upsetting things happen very recently, the exodus of thousands of men to the United States to go into the lumbering business there. The Minister of Labour stated that some 3,700 men had been given permits.

Would he say that only 3,700 men went over there to cut timber? Let him put his immigration officers on when these men start to came back and see if he will not find that double that number went.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): How many went illegally?

Mr. HOMUTH: They went over there to cut timber that is not required for our war purposes, whereas in Canada we have a tremendous shortage of these men.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Right in New Brunswick we have.

Mr. HOMUTH: Would the minister in charge of selective service say that no requests have been made by the lumbermen of Ontario for men to carry on the lumber business, that no request was made by the department of lands and forests, the minister or his officials? I know Mr. Hipel very well; I know something of the ability that he puts into his job; I know something of the difficulty he has in getting men into the northern woods to cut the timber we need. This afternoon the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ilsley) said that fuel wood is now to be controlled because there is a shortage of it; yet thousands and thousands of men are allowed to go over into the United States to cut wood there.

Over and above that a member—supposedly a member—goes to the selective service administration wanting to take five hundred men to the United States, if I am correctly informed.

Mr. MITCHELL: Let me correct my hon. friend. There was never a member of parliament came to the Labour department for five hundred men.

Mr. HOMUTH: Well, I say a permit was given for five hundred men to go over there. Who signed the permit? Who gave the right to take them over? Was it denied by Mr. Nicholson and those in charge, and did they say to the minister that that right should not be given? Those are the questions which the people of this country want answered. Those are the questions which the lumbermen of northern Ontario want answered. Those are the things that industry wants to know, because those are the things that disorganize industry and make people feel that they cannot get the cooperation of this government that they should have. It is a serious situation, a serious indictment of the whole manpower policy of this government.

These boards are set up; very often they do things that are ridiculous. If we were not engaged in a war in which our very life is at stake, some of the regulations that are made, and unmade the next day, would be a joke. I sometimes think the minister says to himself, this, that or the other should be controlled; I will hunt up someone who can do it. Accordingly he hunts him up and gives him an office, a desk, a secretary and a brief case.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): And a carpet.

Mr. HOMUTH: Sometimes a carpet, and a pretty nice desk. He sits there and says to himself, I am here to control something; I am going to start to control. Immediately he starts to issue orders to control this or that or to do this or the other thing. In a short time the control has to be taken off or changed or the order unmade.

Is there anything more ridiculous to-day than the regulation of bus traffic in this country? The trip limit is fifty miles. A man gets on a bus wanting to go fifty-five miles. He has to get off five miles from the terminus and perhaps hire a taxi for the rest of the way, as many do, while the bus goes on with an empty seat. If you wish to go from Toronto to Bradford you take the bus for fifty miles, get off at a hay field, take a waiting taxi that takes you the rest of the way, the bus going on with an empty seat. The termini now for bus trips are not town to town but cornfield to turnip patch. The thing is so ridiculous.

Then we have control of truck traffic. Firms had special trucks built to handle their particular commodity. There are many such in my district. These trucks are of no use whatever for general cartage. They can now travel only thirty-five miles; they used to travel one hundred or one hundred and fifty miles. How do they get around this control? Some of the trucks are actually taken off the road; the tires are depreciating; the truck is depreciating; it is just so much waste machinery in the country. At least the government should have let them carry on until these specialty trucks were worn out. But if they do not lie idle they will carry the commodity thirty-five miles to where another branch has been established; the goods are unloaded from one truck to another and carried the next thirty-five miles, and so on until they reach their destination. Think of the waste of man-power. The thing is ridiculous.

As a result of this sort of thing people are beginning to lose confidence. The government ask for confidence. How can people have confidence in view of such silly controls as that?

This story may be far-fetched, although I am not so sure that it is. They tell me that

a farmer out west had a notice that he had not delivered his full quota of wheat to the board. He wrote back saying that man-power on his farm had been depleted, and that he could not deliver the wheat for another month because they were now in the lambing season. He got a letter back from the controller, "put off the lambing season for a month."

I realize that this may be far-fetched, but I do say that these things are serious. I am in the midst of it; I can see what is going on, and I do feel that to handle industry, agriculture or any other branch of our national economy, only the very best men one can find should be appointed. The other day the Prime Minister referred to the fact that we were criticizing the men who had been appointed to these positions and said, "But the members of the opposition asked us to do this." Certainly we did. At the beginning of the war, when we saw something of what was going on, when we saw the disorganized situation that existed, we urged the Prime Minister to go out and get the very best men he could find in every branch of industry to come in as advisers to the government and organize us for the war effort. But we did not ask him to have them come in and usurp the rights of parliament, as they are doing to-day.

These are just some of the things I wanted to bring before the house, realizing as I do that if we are to go out and sell this war effort, these controls and these restrictions to the people of our constituencies, the people of this country; if we are to build up confidence as we in this parliament are doing the very best we can to do, then the foolish things such as I have recited should be cleared up at once. Seriously I say that the time for any political face-saving has passed. It is up to us a build up a confidence in the minds of the people of this country. We have a tremendous effort to put forth. This may be the deciding year of the war. The extra food, extra munitions, extra equipment and so on that we can produce this year may be the deciding factor of the whole war. Let us go to work on it, and let the Prime Minister do as the other day he said he would. If it is true that some of these men do not fit into the job, let them go; clean up some of these things as they should be cleaned up. Then he will get the backing of every member of the opposition.

At six o'clock the house took recess.

[Mr. Homuth.]

After Recess

The house resumed at eight o'clock.

Hon. P. J. A. CARDIN (Richelieu-Vercheres): Mr. Speaker, being now a private member of the house I could listen with the greatest freedom of thought and mind to the speech delivered by the new leader (Mr. Graydon) of the newly baptized opposition party in the house. I do not hesitate for one moment in extending to him my heartiest congratulations, first of all upon having been given the honour of representing his party in the house as opposition leader and, second, upon his brilliant first speech in that capacity. The hon. member has many personal qualities, and I do not hesitate to say that he possesses both in mind and intellect the necessary qualifications to occupy an important place in the public life of this country. Whatever his views may be, he will always, I am sure, enjoy the respect of all hon. members, even though they do not agree with the sentiments or opinions he may express when speaking for himself and for the party to which he belongs. He has been in the house for a certain number of years, not very many compared with the time I have served here; but during those years he has made a great number of friends, and has been respected by members sitting on both sides of the house.

His presentation was good. I listened to him with careful attention, and with a somewhat more independent state of mind and spirit than I would have, had I been sitting on the treasury benches. He offered a good argument, and laid the foundations for a good conclusion, but, unfortunately, he did not arrive at a logical conclusion.

He made reference in strong, hard terms to the fact that parliament was in need of rebuilding its reputation before the public, and of creating or developing better procedure than had been the practice for a certain number of years. I agree with him on that point. Even if we do better than others, no one can dispute that the parliament of Canada does not at present enjoy the confidence and respect it enjoyed in the past.

The hon. member referred to the changing of the rules of the house. He was quite right. Our rules of procedure are obsolete. They have been framed after the rules followed at Westminster, but here we have not developed the methods and customs prevailing at Westminster. There is an urgent necessity for a change in the rules of the house, a change in our methods of procedure.

But, even if they are obsolete, the rules of the house in many respects are not observed.

This is particularly true in connection with the reading of speeches. That is something which helps to discredit parliament. To a certain extent the chamber has become what we call in French—I do not know the English expression—un cabinet de lecture.

It may be that under certain circumstances there is the necessity for reading a statement. However, I have lived long enough in political life to see great leaders of the past—Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Robert Borden, Sir George Foster, and other great cabinet ministers—being satisfied with only a few notes, even when making in the house a statement on the most important questions.

Exceptions may be made for the Prime Minister and the leader of the opposition, but this procedure of reading speeches should not prevail on any occasion and on all questions. Knowing the present Prime Minister as I do, I can say that he is a master of the English language, a master of his own mind and of his own thoughts. He says only what he wants to say at any time and in all circumstances. He does not need to couch on paper five or six days or a week in advance what he wishes to say in the House of Commons. He has a great gift in learning, and to my mind he would be the last one, had the practice not been developed in the past few years, to ask to be allowed to read his speeches or statements on matters of secondary importance.

The reading of speeches has been done by all parties in this house for some years. The other day we listened to a very good speech delivered by the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (Mr. Coldwell). It was a very good speech indeed, but if he will allow me to say so he nearly spoiled it by reading. Fortunately for him he is a good reader, and it was not too apparent that he was reading a text. But I would prefer to hear a gentleman give his ideas as they occur to him while he is on his feet; his speeches are then far more effective.

There are many other aspects in which the rules should be amended. I have no time to go into them now. I shall make only a brief reference to *Hansard*. I do not know whether I would be in favour of abolishing *Hansard*. But few people read it now. In the old days is was looked up very often by the leaders of all parties with a view to discovering some contradiction of statements. Nowadays, however, we do not bother about contradictions. We have contradictions not only between what was said in past years and what is said to-day, but we have contradictions in the very same speech. The end of a speech does not agree with the beginning and very often the beginning contradicts the conclusion. Thus I see no great need for recording what is said. Under the pretext of new conditions and of changed times leaders contradict themselves and continue blithely their way on, not worrying at all about contradictions. They do not care whether the stand they took a month, or a week, or a day ago, agrees with the stand they are taking at a given moment.

There are many other reasons why parliament is coming into public discredit and among them I might cite the attitudes which are taken by members or leaders which are in flagrant contradiction with their declarations to the electors. There is also the vacillating attitude taken on any question which is susceptible of gaining or losing votes to a party or group. All these things in the end come to the electors, and they have caused first suspicion which has often worked to the discredit of parliament.

With all due deference, and with all the personal friendship I have for him, may I say to the leader of the opposition that his amendment to the main motion is an example of those hesitating moves and vacillating attitudes which help to discredit parliament in the eyes of the people. I cannot vote for the conclusion of his speech. I would have been ready to accept most of the premises that he laid down, but the conclusion of his argument as contained in the amendment that he moved to the address is not in accordance with the premises. The amendment is vague, as vague as it can be. It is cloudy and open to all kinds of interpretations. Any party or group in this house could find therein something that would accord with their views.

Unfortunately the same remark applies to the subamendment which has been moved by the distinguished leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. It is in general terms which need to be explained in detail and which for the most part are not clearly understandable for the man on the street. If both hon. members will pardon me, I will say that the amendments appear to be like playing the game for the support of the people. It shows may I say, a possible lack of courage to state squarely and precisely the policy proposed or suggested. The amendments which have been moved, the speeches which have been delivered in support of them and, I might add, with some hesitation, the attitude of the government remind me of a man who is trying to ride three horses and trying to be Santa Claus and promise something to each group and satisfy all shades of opinion. But that cannot be done very long without destroying the confidence which the people of Canada should have in our parliament.

Then boards have been appointed, without any responsibility to parliament, to deal with matters which the departments could very well have taken care of. We have hired the services of outsiders who know nothing of politics and have had experience only in the limited field of their personal business activities. These boards are deciding public matters according to their whims. In their inexperience they are destroying established practices and customs which have been in existence in our country for over fifty years. The civil laws are being disregarded. The privileges and rights of the provinces are being interfered with by men who have no responsibility except the one of preparing a report to the minister. That is their only responsibility. Members of parliament have no importance or authority with these boards, these extraordinary men, these supermen who are directing the affairs of the country at the present time. All this comes down in the end to the people and helps to discredit our administration. We are fighting for liberty, we are fighting for democracy and parliamentary institutions. Yet most of our activities are in the hands of little potentates, men of no experience, dictators in the field that has been given to them for administration. There were in the public service a number of men who could have been brought together and could have administered and directed efficiently a number of our war activities. They are dollar-a-year men, but they receive salaries from the organizations to which they belong. I do not suggest that they are doing anything wrong, but certainly they are not likely to do anything against the welfare of the firms with which they are connected.

Propaganda is also a source of discredit to parliament. Propaganda such as is carried on to-day under such high-sounding titles as "winning the war" and "war service" is some kind of blackout of the intelligence of the population of Canada. The people are not getting the truth. Most of the time they are listening to appeals based on imagination, sentiments, feelings and half-truths, all this calculated to arouse unfairly the sentiments of our people.

Something which happened not long ago is a flagrant breach of a promise solemnly made in this house and of record. We were handed a few days ago a document, "Canadian War Orders and Regulations. Extra" dated February 1, 1943. It will be recalled that under the mobilization act of 1940, section 5, it is required that orders and regulations passed under the authority of that act, when parliament is not in session, "shall forthwith be published in the *Canada Gazette*" and distributed to the members of the House of Commons. Well, that little document dated February 1 carries on the first page an order in council dated January 19. It informs us that orders in council have already been passed on September 4, September 14, November 3, and December 8—orders in council based on the disposition of the mobilization act to send recruits outside Canada. The first order in council of September 4 and the others were not printed or published in the *Canada Gazette* at that time. They slept in the desk of the privy council from September 4 until January 19, or February 1. Is that observing the law and causing the printing of the order in council and its distribution "forthwith"? No; it is taking advantage, as I predicted would be done, of the last sentence of section 5, which provides for special circumstances.

The government took the power, when the amendment was passed, when Bill No. 80 was adopted, to order that publicity should not be given to decisions of the government when they felt it would not be in the public interest to do so. This is a breach of a promise. I remember very well the answer which I received on that point last session from a member of the government, "Oh, do not fear that this clause is going to be taken advantage of; if the power is used it will be only under the most extraordinary circumstances. We propose," said that gentleman, "to publish the orders in council and make all our actions public." That pledge has been broken. What danger was there to the national interest in making public on September 4 that we had sent recruits to Newfoundland? In what way could our war effort have been prejudiced by letting the public know that we had decided to use the recruits as regular volunteers and members of the militia of Canada? In no way could this have prejudiced our war effort or caused any difficulties, or have brought information of any real advantage to the enemy.

To-day we find that in orders in council the names of the regiments are omitted, because it is not in "the national interest" to say that regiment number three or regiment number five has been sent here or there. How can the disclosure of such a fact be destructive to our war effort? How can it give to the enemy encouragement or support or useful information to state that we have sent a certain regiment to replace another in Newfoundland? This gives the people an indication of what is going to happen if some day the government decides under the authority of the

mobilization act to send our sons and recruits overseas. These methods do not help to maintain the prestige of parliament.

The speech from the throne contains many words, but is rather poor in substance. Since my time is running short I will be brief in the observations I shall make on the speech from the throne. There is redistribution. That is nothing new. It has to be done in accordance with the constitution. But there are rumours that we shall not proceed with the bill. Newspapers have already stated that owing to certain difficulties, and the fact that certain provinces will lose some seats in the house, the bill may be postponed until after an election. At any rate that is what I have read in a newspaper.

Parliamentary secretaries are to be appointed. That is not new either. I do not think this is necessary. My remarks are not to be taken as a reflection on the personality of those who have been chosen already and, as I am told, have already started their work. They may all be good men, deserving recognition and deserving to be trained in the business of the house. It is quite all right from that point of view, but to my mind it is the fifth wheel to the coach.

Our position is not the same as in England where the government has to direct national and imperial affairs, together with what correspond to our provincial and municipal organizations. We are a small country and a small parliament, from the point of view of responsibilities, in comparison with the parliament of Great Britain, and this is an expenditure which we could easily avoid when our taxes are already high.

After all, what are the parliamentary secretaries going to do in the house? When they are asked a question about something that has been dealt with in the privy council they will be unable to answer, not being members of the cabinet. When they are asked a question on a matter of policy of the government they will not be in a position to answer because they are not members of the government. In fact, they will be only glorified private secretaries or deputy ministers; that is all. On all questions of policy they will have to promise information for the next day, and the next day they will read a statement which will have been prepared by the minister or by somebody in the department. Well, such a statement could be read by any minister present in the house. It seems to me that our administration, with its numerous departments, its exceedingly large numbers of boards, commissions and controllers, is cumbersome enough without that additional machinery.

We have been told that national health will be taken care of and that social security will be looked after. That is in the speech from the throne. But, as was mentioned by some other hon. gentlemen, these are largely provincial matters, and I hope that we are not going to take advantage of the situation created by the war to deprive the provinces of the privileges and exclusive rights guaranteed them by the pact of confederation, without adopting some other satisfactory method which would protect minorities and guard the provinces against a central organization in Ottawa. With that limitation, what can we do? Very little. It is probably for that reason that the Prime Minister told us in his speech that we are going to investigate, and probably we shall not have to deal with such questions.

I question the merit of the study that we can make of the situation that will exist after the war. Where is the man bright enough and with vision enough, the man capable of prophecy, who is able to tell us what are to be the foundations upon which we shall build the welfare of Canada after the war? We shall find ourselves in a situation which none of us at the present time can properly envisage and determine. We may do a certain amount of work here and there, but it may very well be that when we are faced with the real situation after the war all the plans now prepared will be of no avail.

What is the use of building a house when we do not know the condition of the soil upon which it is to be erected? Why lose our time in dealing with such uncertainties?

The speech from the throne also reviews our war effort. It has been a magnificent effort, I admit, and I am glad of it. All Canadians are proud of it, and we have the profound satisfaction of having it recognized that our war effort surpasses that of any other country of our size. As far as man-power and finance are concerned, our war effort is superior to that of the great republic to the south, the United States. Our war effort is really a great thing. It is abused, though, by a large number of people and is taken advantage of by many. Some reasoning ought to be put into our war effort and some courage applied in dealing with certain problems, and agriculture is one of the greatest problems.

I listened with great attention to the wonderful speech delivered by the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Gardiner) this afternoon, who always makes great speeches. He is a convincing speaker. Nevertheless the fact remains that there is a great man-power problem in the agricultural field in Canada. Whatever explanations may be given, even coloured with sentiment, they do not change the situation.

There is a shortage of farm hands in Canada. This is admitted everywhere, in all sections of the country, and this ought to be taken care of. The very letter from Mr. MacNamara, which was read by the minister this afternoon, admits that there is a very serious shortage. It refers to the difficult situation in which the farmers find themselves at the present time. The terms of the letter are very clear on that point. This is the substance of one of the preliminary paragraphs:

In view of the increasing shortage of farm labour it becomes more and more important to encourage essential farm labourers to remain on the land.

This is an official document which has just been signed by the director of selective service and approved by the Minister of Labour (Mr. Mitchell). I need not go any further. I have also the word of the Minister of Agriculture himself in his statement published in the Montreal *Standard* of February 6:

Can the farmers of Canada attain the 1943 objectives? Certainly they are going to make a valiant effort to do so, and if given some help both in man-power and farm machinery and equipment it is most likely they may perhaps surpass some of them.

Therefore there is a shortage of farm labour in Canada and we ought to cope with that situation. Such letters, circulars, promises and instructions given to judges, telling them how to read the law, are not satisfactory. That is not enough. It only means perpetuating the vague and nebulous system that exists at present and under which farmers never know definitely whether or not they are going to have the help of their sons to cultivate the land. In many instances they do not get deferment unless the military authorities give their approval. Such a hit-or-miss system that has prevailed up to the present time must cease. One might say that is an election promise if there were an election in sight!

Mr. SPEAKER: I have to inform the hon. member that his time has expired.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Go on.

Mr. CARDIN: Five minutes.

Is agriculture essential or not? It is essential. We ought to take every means to help this industry at the present time, because without it, without food products, however well-trained our men, however great our armament, the war would soon end. A man with an empty stomach is incapable of carrying the most perfect gun. Agriculture is the most important thing in the world at the present time. Canada, instead of trying to be first as far as man-power is concerned should strive to be first as far as agriculture is concerned, first in supplying food and armaments for the fighting forces. There are countries capable of supplying more man-power than Canada. Russia and China have inexhaustible resources of man-power; there, men can be found in as great numbers as may be desired. They need the armaments and also the food we can produce.

Let us base our participation in the war upon reason; let us see that what we can do best is done first and not second, even if it is a source of pride for us that certain of our men are fighting gallantly at one point or another. We must sustain them, and we must help to sustain Russia, China, and Britain and other parts of the British empire.

Munitions also are necessary, they are most important. The United States are thinking of fixing and limiting their man-power to 7,500,000 men. It is about time that we ourselves think of placing a limit—as high as possible, I admit—on our man-power overseas, and try to feed those who are in need of being fed. In north Africa people are dying, and the political and military heads there to-day say that what has been provided up to the present in the form of arms and food is only a drop in the bucket and that unless something more is done in regard to food and armaments we shall not succeed and thousands upon thousands of the population will die. The same situation prevails in China. China is threatened with famine, and she has not the armaments she needs to carry on her fight. Dear old China, that we love so much to-day, that we praise so much to-day and proclaim to be one of the first peoples in the world! For years she was fighting the Japanese on her own territory without our help, but to-day, what a change! We have discovered that she is a great country, a country that deserves our praise and support. We have modified our views; we have become a little more courageous and ready to help China now, as well as Russia. Let us give them what they need most, not men but food and armaments. That is what they want to enable them to carry on the struggle. As a matter of fact they are fighting for us as much as they are fighting for their country.

If we have some success to-day, who has achieved that success? The Russians. Without Russia where would we be? Probably we would be signing a treaty of peace, not according to our terms or our will, but according to the will of others. That would be our position.

What are we to do? I am going to be bold, not afraid to express my thoughts. I regret that the government at the present time has not seen fit to suspend the mobilization act of 1940 until at least a survey has been made of the whole situation in order to ascertain the most pressing needs of Canada as well as of the united nations. We ought to make such

a survey, instead of trying to attain the same end by a circular letter to be sent from time to time to the boards or to the committees that decide whether or not a man essential to the farm or to an industry should be given a military postponement. I hope we do not establish in this country, for the coming generation, a practice by which the authority is going to tell the judges and those who have been sworn to interpret the law what they ought to do and how they ought to interpret that law. I trust we have not reached that depth. If the law is not good, let us change it, but while the law is there, let us observe it in the letter and in the spirit. What this letter purports to do is to tell the boards that they should interpret the law according to what the authority thinks it is important to do at a given time. If that is what we are fighting for on the battlefield, we had better cease. If we are fighting for principles like those; if the law is to be changed according to the will of the government, according to the will of a superior officer, according to the will of a military authority, I do not know where it is going to end.

That is my suggestion, and I am not afraid to make it. I may be accused of not being alive to the situation, of not taking cognizance of the facts as they exist in the world to-day. To those who may be inclined to attack me and to be unjust I wish to say only this. To-day Irishmen are proud of Ireland even, though their country is neutral. The Australian people are also proud of their country, though they have limited the extent of the field in which they are going to fight. They are still part of the British empire and of the British commonwealth. South Africa is still a member of the commonwealth and its people are still proud to be citizens of that country, although they have also limited the field of their activities in this war. The United States are looking after themselves and their interests first. They are helping to defend what we call liberty, democracy, etcetera; but I have not seen anything in the press nor have I heard a speech by any politician in that country stating that they were ready to give second place to their rights, principles, advantages and interests. Russia is fighting for herself, too. No public man to-day would deny that statement. Why can we not be Canadians, though participating in the war? Why do we not see our war effort through our Canadianism? In doing all we reasonably can to help win the war, we should not try to surpass, for vainglory or vain pride, the efforts of other countries who are more vitally and directly interested in the conflict than Canada?

One further word and I shall conclude. I have lived long enough to remember that one man, at one time very powerful in the United Kingdom and who was a close personal friend of our Prime Minister—I refer to the late Mr. Ramsay MacDonald—was not in full accord with the government of his country in 1914-18. He was not in favour of England going into the war as deeply as she did in those years. Who would say that Ramsay MacDonald was not a good British citizen and a great man? A few years later he became Prime Minister of Great Britain, and we acclaimed him here in Canada when he paid us the honour of a visit. Perhaps that might answer those who may be inclined to criticize me too severely.

Something was mentioned about Casablanca. Either the leader of the official opposition or my good friend the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation asked the Prime Minister to make a statement with regard to the conference which took place between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt in that city. Before six o'clock, that day, the Prime Minister began to give his explanation, brilliantly as always, with a fine choice of words and a careful weighing of his sentences and expressions. He presented a very good argument. After six o'clock he continued by reading a document he had prepared on the same subject. As the Ottawa *Journal* put it the next day, the statement before six o'clock was much better than the one after six o'clock.

The Prime Minister gave many reasons why Canada was not represented at that conference. The first was, "Well, I was not invited." That reminded me of a little story regarding a visit which Emperor Napoleon paid to a little town in France. He was received by the mayor of the locality who explained to him that for various reasons they could not fire a gun in his honour on his arrival. In fact the mayor said that he had fifteen reasons for not having fired a gun, and he proceeded to enumerate them: "First, we have no gun." Napoleon interrupted him and said, "Well, I do not want to hear about the other reasons; that suffices me." The moment the Prime Minister told us he had not been invited to the Casablanca conference I thought that was good enough, and that no other explanations were needed to indicate that while not invited he was there not in person, but in thought, and also through knowledge, because General McNaughton who is in close touch with the military authorities must have, in all probability, been aware of the questions discussed

at the Casablanca conference. All these excuses and arguments were not as good as the first reason the Prime Minister gave before six o'clock, namely, that he was not invited.

I am not humiliated because we were not invited. We had no reason to be there. We had no place there, because we are not one of the main powers conducting the war. Our authority is secondary; our role is second to that of many others, and we must accept the decisions of the powers mainly responsible for carrying this war to a successful conclusion. We had no reason to be there, and we have no reason to complain because we were not invited.

Let us adjust ourselves to our role, to our position. We are a dominion. We are a member of the British commonwealth of nations. But we are not as powerful as England; we are not as powerful as the United States; we are not as powerful as Russia. We are a small nation trying to do our best to help the sovereign nations and the great cause. We cannot hope to impose our will or our wishes when decisions as important as those which no doubt were made at Casablanca are to be reached. Let us avoid all unjustified pride of ourselves. We are in this war, it is true. We are in it to do the best we can but as far as I am concerned, Canada comes first.

I am more interested in the welfare, well-being and maintenance of Canada than in anything else. It is all very well to coin phrases and to express opinions about this and that, opinions and coined phrases which in reality mean only one thing, that the end justifies the means. That is a nazi and fascist principle, and one to which I cannot subscribe.

We must be reasonable; we must keep our feet on the ground and not lose our heads in the clouds of excitement and exaggerated pride. Let us not exaggerate the importance and the extent of the contribution we can make in this struggle.

Let us be Canadians; let us think as Canadians and let us act as Canadians.

Mr. F. D. SHAW (Red Deer): Mr. Speaker, in coming to the conclusion that I should participate in this debate I was motivated by a very strong desire to give expression to my feelings regarding matters of current concern, and matters of future concern referred to in the speech from the throne. May I say at the outset that I cannot subscribe to the theory frequently advanced in the house that, through agreement or through some type of understanding, we should bring about a hasty conclusion to the debate on the address in reply to the speech from the throne. After all, this is the occasion upon which the private member has an opportunity of dealing with those many matters which affect not only his constituency, but all of Canada.

Upon entering the new year Canadians were greatly encouraged by the improved military position of the united nations. I fancy that it is not an exaggeration to say that we have been inspired by the offensive action in north Africa—offensive on our side, because we showed aggressiveness; and offensive so far as our enemies were concerned, because of the effect it had upon them. Furthermore, we have unbounded admiration for the people in the British isles who continue to carry on not only the defence of their shores against a threatened invasion but also the production of vast supplies of the tools of war and of the foodstuffs necessary to carry them through during the prosecution of the war.

We have been impressed, too, by the significent and heroic achievements of our Russian allies. All of those to whom I have referred are indeed deserving of our deepest gratitude. It would not be appropriate for me to proceed without further asserting that we entered the new year full of admiration for and confidence in the men of our own fighting forces who have gone into theatres of war on our behalf.

There is one danger, however, with which we are confronted at the present time. I fancy that as a result of the fact that at least for the most part the battles are now extremely favourable to us, we may relax our vigilance and endeavour to hide behind a cloak of optimism. We have among us too many volatile analysts and amateur strategists, if I may so describe them, who may endeavour to convince us that all is well, that the crisis is past, and that we may now relax. We have been told that the war will be long, that it will be bitter and bloody. I am satisfied that we should look upon the conflict in the light of the fact that it will still be longer, that it will still be much more bitter than it has been in the past, and that it will also be bloodier. We have heard it stated that the price of victory is blood, sweat and tears. We have not had a great deal of that yet, but let us not be unmindful of the fact that there shall be much of it.

In the speech from the throne many words were directed to the post-war world. I do not agree with those who assert that at this time we should not concentrate any of our efforts and our energies upon consideration of and preparation for the post-war period. With regard to that part of the speech from

the throne which refers to the post-war world, we find that the government intend to endeavour to provide freedom from fear and want. They intend, so they assert, to provide insurance against the inevitable consequences of major economic and social hazards. I may be unduly pessimistic—if I am, I am not alone—but I must say that I see in the expressions contained in the speech from the throne only pious platitudes. I cannot believe they are anything else. I fancy they were designed to be soothing; and I am indeed satisfied that much of it will prove to be meaningless.

As I have said, I do not care to be unduly pessimistic; but all we have to do is to look back over the last ten years, when there was every opportunity to do something about providing freedom from fear and want. Nevertheless in those years we did so little. I remember all the fine phrases and meaningless expressions of those days. Therefore, when I remember that the same individuals passed out for our consideration, mainly at election time, fancy phrases which once more crop up, I cannot be assured that they are not again being used for the same purpose. I trust—and I think I am expecting too much—that there shall be clarification of the expressions contained in the speech from the throne. I should hope that we may be given something concrete, so that our faith may be bolstered, so that we may be encouraged to exert ourselves to an even greater extent in our efforts to bring to fruition the promises now handed out so freely. Unfortunately, for decades politicians have been providing us with these vague phrases which, in almost every instance, have eventually proven that they could give us nothing but economic indigestion and disillusionment. Freedom from fear and want—I wonder what that means. I wonder which hon. member of this house can rise in his place to-night and tell us what he means by the expression "freedom from fear and want", and what he proposes to do in an effort to bring about that condition. We insist, Mr. Speaker, upon the government giving us something concrete and definite with regard to the post-war measures which they have in mind.

Another matter which comes to my mind is this: Are our changes to be basic? Are we going to get right down to business and endeavour to determine what these things are that have in the past caused the deplorable conditions which have been imposed upon us? Or are we going to devote our energies toward finding palliatives, patches, if you please, in an effort to make the old system perform functions which, deep down in our hearts, we know it never can perform? I assert that there should be a commitment in this regard; I assert that if we are merely to have a few more schemes comparable with unemployment insurance, the government might just as well introduce their bill now and get the misery over with as soon as possible. It would be a waste not only of the time of this house but of the money of the Canadian people if the energies of the members of this house were to be centred upon the searching out and utilization of patches. We have had enough of that, Mr. Speaker.

Furthermore, when I try to determine to my own satisfaction just what faith I should have in the government when it comes to the laying down of a sound post-war economy, I reflect back upon some of the policies which have been so dear to them in the past. I shall refer to only one or two, and that only briefly.

First, the old age pension. I hesitate to mention that for fear I might incur the wrath of the hon. member for Athabaska (Mr. Dechene), who, last year, when I made reference to old age pensions, chastized me because he asserted in effect that owing to my extreme youth I could not know anything about the conditions which prevailed among the old age pensioners.

Mr. DECHENE: I think the hon. member is wrong.

Mr. SHAW: That is just my hon. friend's opinion.

If the government are sincere in what they contend they are going to do or at least try to do, they could at least take a step forward and show their sincerity by immediately increasing the amount of the old age pension and lowering the age qualification. I go one step further. I say it is criminal that when the son of an old age pensioner joins the active service forces, and assigns part of his pay and secures a dependent's allowance for his parents the old age pension should be reduced accordingly. I repeat, that is criminal, and I say that without qualification.

Then, with respect to veterans' pensions. We are continually receiving letters from veterans of the first great war—yes, and my hon. friend beside me says, from veterans of the Boer war too—letters from veterans who have suffered degradation as a consequence of the reward which they received from the government of this country after they had offered their lives in its defence, and who in many instances returned to Canada maimed or otherwise impaired in health. I am not fond of quoting these cases, but I will make just a passing reference to one particular case.

It is that of a man who went overseas in the last war and fought in the mud and hell of Flanders' fields. He lost an eye and about 88 per cent of the vision in his other eye. Let me pause to ask you, Mr. Speaker, what would you part with an eye for? Or 88 per cent of the vision of the other eye? I dare say you would place a fancy price upon it. But what do we do about the other fellow? Here is this fellow given a pension of $20 a month. Then, because he took over a rural post office that pays him about $100 a year, less a ten per cent compulsory deduction for war savings, and because he raised $78 worth of grain and had one or two pigs to eat the slop, if I may use that term, the government officials came along, surveyed the situation and declared that his pension would be reduced by $10 a month. How can we expect a government that will condone actions of that sort to do anything for the boys who return from this war? Personally I cannot be led to believe that much can be expected. Mind you—all hon. members know it, I do not have to tell them—the case I have cited is only one case out of scores and scores and hundreds. As an indication of our good faith let us wipe these cases off the books and, if it takes $100 a month to provide the necessities of life, let us say to these men: "We will give you $100 a month, and we will not send a government official to peek around the corner of your barn to see whether there are ten or eight little pigs in that new litter."

How about the men who are returning from overseas now? I have a placard; I have not it with me to-night but I carry it with me very frequently, which is about the size of this sheet I hold in my hand. It is divided into two sections. In one section it sets forth all the advantages that accrue to the boys who will don his majesty's uniform. It gives the rates of pay for the various ranks. Then it gives the dollar value of the hospitalization services, the medical services and the dental services which he may expect. All that is set out in detail. Then it shows the dependents' allowance and the separation allowance, and it is a glorious thing when it is all added up in a corner of the placard. It just makes the fellow wonder why the government told him a few years ago that they could not afford to pay him more than twenty cents a day in a relief camp. Then in the other section are listed the advantages that accrue to the man upon his discharge, and they look beautiful too, especially when nailed on the telephone poles on every corner of my town. But it is not what the government promise that I am concerned about. What I am concerned about is what they do for the boys who are coming back now every day.

There is in my town a man who spent almost two and a half years overseas in this war. While on manoeuvres he was involved in an accident in an army lorry. His chest was crushed; his collar-bone was broken, and his arm was fractured. He came back to this country after being in hospital overseas for several months. He was discharged upon reaching this country. He appeared before a medical board and they assessed the damages which he had suffered. I might digress at this moment to give expression to my thoughts with respect to some of the boards, but I will try to curb my emotions at this time and refrain. This man, who cannot to-day carry on work, is receiving the noble sum of $7.50 a month; and he had to fight for that. The government cannot fool the people of my town, even though it used to be a Liberal town, when things like that are happening all the time. That means more than what appears on these papers. Let us show these boys that our statements are more than pious platitudes, more than surges of emotion that are here to-day and gone to-morrow. Let us prove through our actions that we are sincere in what we said about the things we are going to do for these boys who are fighting that our country may be preserved. The hon. member for Battle River (Mr. Fair) tells me not to forget the girls who are in uniform too. What I say about the men applies also to the girls in the service.

What the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Gardiner) said this afternoon with respect to agriculture did not fool me one iota, nor did it cause me to change my notes a fraction. Black is black to me regardless of who may contend that it is otherwise. We live back in those constituencies; we know what those farmers are confronted with, and it does not take a Minister of Agriculture or anybody else to tell us what those conditions are. To-day agriculture in western Canada is in a wild state of confusion, and I find it difficult to imagine that after this war, when all available foodstuffs will be required to assist the people of the depressed countries, out of the confused agriculture of to-day there can then emerge a stabilized agriculture.

In my own constituency, of which I speak because it is the district with which I am most familiar, approximately sixty per cent of our threshing could not be done last fall. I am not minimizing the fact that we had an unusually bad fall, but at the same time I am not overlooking the fact that farmers in my constituency do not operate threshing rigs with

two teams in place of six or eight just because they like to do so. Sixty per cent of our coarse grains and our wheat are either under the snow in the stooks or in swaths on the ground. The farmers in my constituency are mixed farmers, or, to use a more dignified expression, they carry on a diversified type of farming. They have encountered almost unbearable difficulties as a result of the acute shortage of feed for their live stock. I wish I could have the Minister of Agriculture in my constituency and take him for a drive.

An hon. MEMBER: Take him for a ride.

Mr. SHAW: "Take him for a ride," my hon. friend says. I will refrain from commenting on that.

The day before I left my home town to come to Ottawa I met a certain lady. I did not go out searching for her; I had not known her before that day; but she was introduced to me as one who had encountered great difficulty on account of the shortage of man-power. This lady is forty-six years of age; she lives with her eighty year old mother on a thousand acre farm not far from the town of Innisfail. I do not say that all of the thousand acres are under cultivation, but a large part of the farm is cultivated. They have sixteen milk cows which they milk morning and night; they have 100 hogs, they have 200 sheep. Last fall, after they had put in their own crop in the spring, they were obliged to cut and stook it. Unfortunately they did not get it threshed. Shortly before I met this lady she had purchased 2,000 bushels of coarse grain for the hogs, and she had shovelled all of it herself, both on to the wagon and off it after it was hauled to her place. That is but one case; I did not search for a glaring example of what we are up against.

The man-power shortage is attributable to these facts. A very great number of young men from my constituency have joined the active service. As I stated before, I reside in a town of approximately 1,200 people, and from that town and the immediate vicinity 430 men have enlisted. On top of that, the government exercised the authority vested in them under the National Resources Mobilization Act and drafted a number of men. Speaking with respect to the draftees, and the difficulties which we have encountered in connection with our agricultural problem as a consequence, I should like to refer to the letter which the Minister of Agriculture read this afternoon. To me that is one more headache, for two reasons. First, there is still too much of an indefinite nature about that letter; and second, there should be a postscript, "Please read this when you get it." I am satisfied that many of the officials whom we have in the selective service offices are in a mild state of confusion—or probably it is not so mild—on account of the fact that the instructions they receive can be interpreted in so many ways, and because, in many instances, that hard-boiled officialdom has cropped up again. Talk about an instruction such as this:

> Applications for leave should be invited from agricultural workers engaged in alternate work service, and such applications should be given favourable consideration.

To me that is bosh, in view of the experiences we have had. We have sent men to the selective service offices; we have begged for postponements because we knew definitely that they were urgently required, and we could not get them. There should be a clear-cut, definite and immediate investigation into the operation of the selective service offices. I got just beyond the point I wanted to cover, but these are the facts which I wished to place definitely and clearly before the house.

Unless our old age pension question is settled, and settled forthwith; unless we have these necessary revisions in the veterans' allowances and so forth, applicable to men of the last war as well as to those sent home during this war, and until such time as we have a clear-cut and definite man-power policy in this country, so that our agricultural industry will not flounder and ultimately fail—until we give consideration to these matters and thus prove our sincerity, we have no business talking about promises, the glowing promises of a grand, new post-war order.

There is another matter about which I should like to speak, because I believe that in this regard we encountered difficulties in my part of the country far more serious than those in other parts. I refer to the acute fuel shortage during this winter. I fancy that some hon. members have read in the press that in the city of Red Deer we were burning our fences and so forth. I know it is all right for someone to rise in his place and say that arrangements were made with the bank so that we could purchase fuel in advance; but do not forget—I learned this from actual experience—that if you did not need the money you could get it to buy coal, and if you did need it you could not. We were cautioned to put in our coal in advance. Many of us—and I had the experience myself—ordered our coal early in the summer and could never get it. We got small quantities, but we did not get enough. In view of the acute fuel shortage we should, as I have asked in a resolution which appears on the order

paper, immediately take such steps as are necessary to develop the undeveloped fuel resources of the country and to arrange for the proper distribution of those fuel resources.

We speak about miners and we often criticize the miners; but if you say to the coal-miners in our part of the country, "We will give you employment throughout the year; we are going to put aside reserves of fuel," you will get 100 per cent cooperation. But what they object to is being laid off this week and working day and night next week. Now is the time to examine into that fuel problem. We cooperated last year out there, but our problem existed just the same. Therefore now is the time to give most careful consideration to that matter.

And now one or two of my own observations with respect to the post-war order. It is imperative that we should cast aside certain prejudices which many of us have and assert that we shall examine carefully into every proposal that is advanced which might be of assistance to us in determining this post-war order. If members of the government sitting on the other side of the house stay there, or sit in the committee that is to be set up, and say repeatedly, "We want nothing of you, or we want nothing of this group or of that group", then you are beaten before you ever get started.

Surely out of every proposal there must be something worth while, and when I refer to the proposals which we have so frequently advanced in this house as social crediters, I should like to remind hon. members of three or four, or even half a dozen of those proposals, which have been made use of in the present war thus far, not all of them by this government. In the first place, I well recall that on December 18, 1940, the President of the United States, in discussing the requirements of the various allied countries, asserted that if we were to wait for those countries to get themselves into the position where they might be able immediately to compensate us for what we sent them, then they would suffer defeat. Therefore he used this expression: Cut out the financial nonsense. That is one of the things we must remember in our post-war reconstruction. If the United States had not cut out the financial nonsense, where would the products of your lease-lend agreement come from? Second, I know that when the submarine blockade during recent months threatened the British isles, to the extent that it appeared as though their food supplies might be cut off, through low cost credits the United States government assisted the agriculturists of the British isles to boost their production to the point where to-day we are told they are practically able to provide seventy-five per cent of their own foodstuffs.

The point I wish to bring out there is that there was a demand for the production of foodstuffs. No antiquated financial system was permitted to impede the farmers of the British isles in producing the maximum quantities of foodstuffs. I know, too, that it was not long ago that the financial requirements in Great Britain reached the colossal sum of £12,000,000 a day, and they were suffering acute difficulties in an effort to acquire the amounts necessary under the accepted orthodox method of financing. It immediately became necessary for the treasury of the British government and the Bank of England to get their heads together and say, "These are our requirements and we will so adjust our financial policy to make them possible." And they have done it.

In the next place, we encountered this situation in Canada only recently—rationing by coupons. Does not that open one's eyes to this extent, that if, through a system of rationing or whatever anyone may wish to call it, we can distribute the so-called scarcities of foodstuffs in war time, we can adopt some similar proposal to distribute the surpluses of peace time? I say it opens one's eyes. It should. Again, we had recent reductions in the prices of certain commodities—two cents a quart on milk for example, the very thing we have advocated, namely, the reducing of the price of the commodity to the ultimate consumer.

We are not completely satisfied with the sources of revenue used for the purpose of reducing that price, but the producers were subsidized and the consumers obtained the commodity at a lower cost than prior to that time. And last but not least—I hesitate to mention this because, as sure as anything, someone is going to grasp it and endeavour to twist it out of shape so that no one will recognize it—in 1933 Germany was financially bankrupt in the eyes of the world, but between 1933 and 1939 she built a colossal war machine without going out of Germany to get the money to do so. We have reason to believe that national credit was used to a very large extent for that purpose. In fact I have a letter signed by the governor of the Bank of Canada—he did not send it to me, but I saw it—in which he asserted the same thing.

I do not propose to transgress much further upon the time of the house, but I do wish to say I believe, as do many other hon. members, that there is danger in the scores and scores and scores of boards and controllers and so on that have come into existence in this country. I am not so much concerned about them as I am about the authority that the government of this country has vested in them. To-day it is getting to be that when I write from my home to a minister he refers it to a controller and the controller answers me. The minister as much as asserts that the responsibility has passed out of his hands and that controller So-and-so has it. Many of the regulations that we have to-day are not written in the laws of this parliament; they are not written by men chosen and known by the people of this country, but rather they are written in office dungeons by anonymous experts, so-called. The time has come when we should put a stop to this practice, even though we do admit that in war time certain extraordinary powers must be vested in a government.

Mr. BROOKE CLAXTON (St. Lawrence-St. George): Mr. Speaker, I propose to speak on a subject that is rather novel here, namely, the working of parliament, a subject that should interest us, because nothing is more interesting than the work we do.

Last session, on two or three occasions a number of hon. members referred to the working of parliament and made suggestions that something should be done to gear up parliament so as to make it a more effective instrument for helping the country and directing its efforts in the war. On May 26 last the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ilsley) had this to say:

> In my judgment parliament is more and more on trial at the bar of public opinion. There is something wrong with this House of Commons. I am not reflecting on the house, and I do not know what is the cause. But there is something wrong with it.

Since then, the leader of the opposition (Mr. Graydon) has proposed that it is time that we change the rules of the house, but the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) doubted whether this was a suitable time to do so. Meanwhile hon. members and the people are making two sets of comments about parliament. One is that parliament just talks; the other is that parliament is a rubber stamp, that its members are not independent enough. I ask hon. members how they would like to have the house full of some of our most independent members. I will not name them, but let hon. members think of them for themselves. We must have parties in order to organize opinion, or we would have a totally different system from the one in which we want to work.

Some of the criticism about the House of Commons and its working is just misinformed, and some of it probably is on account of the fact that some people are disappointed because some supporters of the government did not turn upon the government and turn it out. Other comment on the working of parliament results from the feeling that there is room for improvement and that we can do something about it so as to make parliament the great forum of the nation and a better expression of the national will.

I would suggest—and here I think all hon. members will agree with me—that there is no more certain way of weakening parliament than to sneer at it and its workings. We can all try to improve it, but there is no point whatever in just saying, What is the good of it?

If there is one answer to be made to the criticisms so far made about parliament it is that nobody seems to have studied and expressed why it is defective, if it is defective; what can be done to change it, what should be done, and when. So far we have not had a debate on the subject, because it appears that the rules do not permit of a debate relating exclusively to this subject.

It is not my suggestion that the rules should be substantially altered. My view is that the rules are all right, but that very slight changes should be made in the way in which we work the rules and that this will effect all the reforms that anyone would want to make. As I go along I propose to compare our procedure with the procedure in the British house. I do that for this reason, that the British people have had a very long experience of the workings of parliament, including a great deal of experience with the working of parliament in crises. Quite properly we regard the parliament at Westminster as the mother of parliaments, and the working of that parliament throughout the trials of this war has been one of the reasons why the whole world admires the British people. But I do not say that we should copy it in everything.

If time permitted, I should like to examine some of the rules of the congress in the United States and the parliaments of other members of the British commonwealth. I suggest that we can learn from the experience of other parliamentary bodies, and at the same time that we have a great deal in Canada that is better than is found anywhere else. But I do hope that hon. members will agree that if there is room for improvement we should try to make the improvement.

Please do not think I am setting up as an expert in parliamentary procedure. I recognize my own inexperience and limitations in that regard. It just happens that I have been interested in the subject, as other hon. members are; I have discussed it with older members and members of other parliaments whom I have known, and have read something about it.

The point at which I begin is this, that the rules, the procedure of parliament here and everywhere else were primarily designed for the passage of legislation. If one studies the matter and looks through the rules, one sees that they are designed to promote the enactment of legislation. Parliament is a legislative body; that was its primary function. But when we get into a state of war or meet the developments that have occurred in the last few years we find that the functions of parliament have changed. To-day parliament does not spend much of its time in enacting legislation, considering bills and passing them; that is largely done by the executive, and of necessity it must be done in large measure by the executive. To-day the main function of parliament is to support and control the executive and to conduct a kind of government by discussion, so as to keep the executive continuously responsible through parliament to the people, and also to keep the executive efficient and give it every support that we can. My submission is that the practice we have continued to follow in Canada is the practice that is adapted for the purpose of passing legislation, while in Great Britain the parliament at Westminster, under exactly the same rules, has adapted a practice which is more suitable to the changed conditions of the times.

May I illustrate that. Since this debate commenced we have had some six or seven days discussion on the address; and as everyone knows, this is a general debate. Let me take just a single day, February 4, and look through the discussion that took place on that occasion. On that day we discussed food control, social security, women's war work, the officials of the wartime prices and trade board making speeches, nutrition, wooden ships, the Japanese in Canada, fuel shortage in British Columbia, food control, farm labour, social security, farm income, man-power, fuel shortage, reinforcements, redistribution, national income, pensions, post-war developments, production and employment, farm prices, post-war food, farm prices, farm labour, social insurance, farm labour and labour. Similarly we could go through any general debate that occurs in the house, either this debate or the budget debate, and see subject after subject touched upon by one speaker and then perhaps left for three or four days before being taken up by another. That also has been illustrated to-night. The hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Shaw) who preceded me did not follow the hon. member for Richelieu-Vercheres (Mr. Cardin), and as yet I have not followed either of those two hon. gentlemen.

[Mr. Claxton.]

The point I make is that in a general debate of this kind there is no possibility of having consecutive discussion relating to a specific point. I suggest that there are ways and means of having that. What I have just said about general debates of this kind is perhaps even better illustrated by what happens in connection with the war appropriation bills. It will be remembered that in 1940 we had a general debate on the war appropriation bills and the conduct of the war. Throughout that entire debate the members of the cabinet, almost without exception, were continually in their seats, wasting their time—which is more valuable than the time of anyone else in this house or this country—in listening to that discussion, a great part of which did not concern them. In 1941 we spent some thirty-six days in that debate, covering about 805 pages of *Hansard*, and I believe I mentioned once before that the then leader of the opposition had no less than 954 separate innings. At the same time in the British house they were voting ten times as much money by a similar though not the same procedure. The debate in the British house covered forty pages of their *Hansard* and was completed in three days. In closing the debate the chancellor of the exchequer made a speech consisting of five sentences, of which I will quote the last two:

> I think only one direct question was put to me in the course of the debate. It was directed to ascertain my estimate of the revenue we expect during the coming year. I am sorry that I cannot give that information.

On the conclusion of that sentence he sat down, completing his answer to the discussion that had gone on. That was his only contribution to the debate, apart from his opening speech. Contrast that with the ordeal through which the Minister of Finance (Mr. Ilsley) had to go, sitting here day after day answering thousands of questions, then stepping right from the war appropriation bills into the budget debate and doing precisely the same thing. In 1942, the session just concluded, the practice was extended of dividing up the debate and taking the service departments one at a time. I think all hon. members will agree that was a great step forward. All that I suggest is that this practice be carried two or three steps further forward. At the end of that debate in 1942, after we had spent twenty-four days in a general discussion of the conduct of the war, the Minister of Finance made available a general break-down of the expenditures of a great number of departments, and for the last six days of the debate the discussion was related to that break-down. From that time on, the discussion was closely directed to the specific points set out therein, and we made very much better progress.

My suggestion is that in view of the tremendous burden which is placed upon the government and upon parliament, in view of the changed functions of government as a result of the wide extension of the whole realm of governmental activities, there is no way in which the deliberations of parliament can be carried on effectively unless they are organized and controlled. I suggest that the time has come when this houes should direct the government to assume the responsibility of allocating time to debate, day by day, and indicating precisely what subjects will be discussed and how long will be spent on them. Such a practice requires no change in the rules of the house. It requires acquiescence on the part of members of the house; it requires that they should discipline themselves and cooperate with the government in seeing how best we can do the work of this house, to make it the most effective instrument for carrying out the national will. In Great Britain, again, that is actually done to-day. It has been done for a great number of years, and it is done under precisely the same rule that we have in Canada; namely, the order providing for closure. There is no provision in the British standing orders or rules for the allocation of time by the government. It is all done because the government has the power of closure if it desires to use it. Out of that comes the power of the government, acquiesced in by the other members, to arrange the time of the house; and of course in doing so the government consults with the Speaker and with the whips of the other parties.

I suggest that we might well look to the government and ask it to begin—not too rigorously at first—to proceed in this way when we come to the war appropriation bills which will come up for discussion within the next few days. In the United Kingdom they finished in November the debate on the address, corresponding to the debate now going on here. For that debate the government had allocated eleven days. Of those eleven days six were spent in general debate; five were devoted to private members' amendments, which is a very interesting development there. The total number of British *Hansard* pages devoted to the general debate was 185, and of the six days allocated to that debate the greater part of two were spent in secret session. But then, having finished the general debate in six days, they went on to discuss a number of amendments which had been suggested by private members in order to concentrate discussion on specific points that were of general interest. Those amendments were selected by Mr. Speaker, after consultation with the various parties, as being the amendments which would concentrate the discussion on specific points, one at a time. I have in my hand copies of the British *Hansard* for the period I have mentioned, and when I come to No. 7 of the current session, for November 25, I see the first amendment that came up. It has to do with war injuries compensation. Then on the next day the next amendment came up, and they had a discussion on colonial development, a matter of great public concern in Great Britain and elsewhere throughout the world. Then on the third occasion they had a debate on reconstruction. That debate continued for two days, and during its course the paymaster general, Sir William Jowitt, who had charge of coordinating British practice on reconstruction, made an extensive report to the house and to the country through the house, as to what was being done on that very important question.

If, however, the government is to have vested in it by the acquiescence of the house, or through the use or threat of closure, if necessary, the power to allocate the time of the house, and to designate specific subjects, then of course as a corollary the government must give opportunities for the discussion of subjects of general interest, and create such opportunities time after time as occasion arises. In that connection I suggest that now there are one or two subjects of utmost importance to all of us, and with respect to which many of us would like to hear discussions, and would like to know what is happening. I refer first to the general international situation, and then to the particular development of defence arrangements in Canada, having regard to our very close and, I am glad to say, cordial and effective arrangements for the defence of this continent, to 200 questions are asked and answered. Very are two subjects upon which the house should concentrate its attention for at least a day. I should hope very much that at some time in the future the government may be in a position to allow that.

In England, as we know, one of the most interesting, characteristic and distinguishing features of the British parliamentary system is the question period. Every day, according to the rules, from 2.45 to 3.45 p.m. there is a full sixty minutes of questioning. Questions are placed on the order paper the day before. Those for which oral answers are desired are marked with an asterisk. Each day from 150 to 200 questions are asked and answered. Very few of those questions are designed to get

information. They are all designed to bring to the attention of the government a point of view or a grievance; and the form of the question is quite different from the form we follow.

I have chosen a question at random, and I find that it reads:

Sir W. Smithers asked the parliamentary secretary to the ministry of food what position Mr. Calder holds in his ministry; and what were Mr. Calder's connections with bacon factories previous to his appointment. . . .

Sir W. Smithers: Will the minister take steps to dissipate the idea . . .

And so on. The under-secretary makes reply. Then, the next question:

Mr. Thorne asked the parliamentary secretary to the ministry of food whether he will have some of the bread made of flour, oats and barley put in the tea room?

Not only have they questions, but supplementary questions are also allowed, within reasonable limits. As I say, very few of these questions are submitted for the purpose of getting information. They are designed to bring forward a point of view briefly and quickly, and that point of view registers for what it is worth. Often when this is done it obviates the necessity of putting the point in a more formal way in debate in the house.

Supplementing questions is the adjournment debate. It is quite a different matter from our procedure to adjourn the house to discuss a matter of urgent public importance. The parliament at Westminster has that procedure, too. However, we have not anything like the debate on the adjournment. This is a procedure whereby any member who is dissatisfied with the reply of a minister says, "I give notice that I will raise that on the adjournment," or else he gives notice without having a question. Then, the government may occasionally raise a debate on the adjournment. The whips get together and arrange that within a day or two when the normal time for the adjournment of the house takes place, opportunity will be given for a member to state his case. Two or three members may join in, if there is time, and the minister or under-secretary will reply, the matter thereby being disposed of when it is hot, and when there is still interest in it. That is the last that is heard about it. However, it has the result of releasing the subject at once, ventilating it and securing the attention of parliament, the country, and the minister. It also supplements the very effective method of interrogating the government by way of questions.

Then, each day there are adjournment debates. Even during the period I have mentioned, at the beginning of the last session of the house when the debate on the address was in progress they had, on the second day, a debate on estate duties; on the third day a debate on the situation and status of Prince Paul and Princess Olga of Yugoslavia; on the fourth day a general debate on the business of the house; on the seventh day a debate on Royal Observer Corps centres; on the eighth day a debate on essential work order; on the ninth day a debate on the weaving mill at Tayport; on the tenth day a debate on the Royal Air Force, airmen's application; and on the eleventh day a debate on civil service pensions.

That is the period I have under review. Almost every day opportunity is given toward the end of the sitting for about a half hour to be spent in the venilation of some subject. Through those devices of questions and adjournment debates it is possible for private members to bring matters to the attention of the government and the people exceedingly quickly. All my conversations with members of parliament at Westminster have indicated that they regard the question period as the most important single feature in British parliamentary institutions. As we all know, we have not that kind of question period here. Our method is to ask questions which seek information, a great deal of which is sometimes available in blue books. Such information is placed on *Hansard* or supplied through sessional papers as orders for returns. I think hon. members will agree with me, however, that a great part of the material asked for in our questions is of no permanent value, and might just as well be obtained by the member through direct communication with the department or the minister. With respect to these other types of questions, may I point out that a very large percentage of them are of a contentious and argumentative nature, and have the effect of stating a case.

In addition, arrangements are made in the British House of Commons for the holding of debates on special topics. During the debate on the budget, for example, it may be agreed that the second day will be spent on some specific topic, and the third day on another. In that way they break down the whole broad scope of a debate into topics which can be handled. Members may speak consecutively, and ministers or under-secretaries may reply. In those debates there is a meeting of minds and a clash of wills. At once they become much more lively and interesting, and at once there is something the people can follow. At the same time it is a debate about which the press gallery can write, with interest. It is something which can be handled and which has some meaning, because it is not scattered

throughout a whole session. For instance, statements respecting reconstruction, and thoughts in line with that subject, will be recorded on one occasion. Having taken place on such an occasion they are not so likely to take place at other times. I suggest that in this way the parliament at Westminster not only secures more orderly and organized discussions, but saves the time of the ministers, who know the subjects likely to be considered. At times when matters outside their interest are not under consideration, they need not be present.

Then, too, there is much more satisfaction in dealing with a subject in a manner which makes one feel that he is making some contribution, progressively. One idea, of course, leads to another. There is all the great advantage of discussion in a deliberative assembly, without the disadvantage of having a series of set speeches on different subjects, such as we are making to-night, and such as we make on other occasions when we have general debates. We are told, of course, that the kind of thing to which I have referred should take place on the estimates. That may be so, and it may not. It depends upon the year. In 1940, the business of the house was such that we dealt on a very hot August day and night with 493 items in the estimates, totalling $191,623,349.69; that was on the second last day of the session, on August 6. In 1942, on the last day of the session, we dealt with 190 items totalling $251,974,758.

Mr. MacNICOL: They were not dealt with; they were just voted.

Mr. CLAXTON: They were voted, and some of them were discussed. That was the only opportunity accorded for discussing the subject I am now discussing, the procedure in the House of Commons, because the appropriation for the House of Commons came up on that day. It is for that reason that I venture to take up the time of the house on this subject to-night, because on account of pressure of work another opportunity may not occur until very late in the session, and we know what it is to bring up a new subject in the house toward the end of the session. It reminds me of a little boy in class at school who does not understand a question, and who is scared to ask because he is afraid of holding up the whole class to hear the answer.

There are other suggestions that might be made in connection with the business of the house, but I would present for the consideration of hon. members in the government the suggestions I have made, namely, that time should be allotted to specific subjects; that they should be picked out and dealt with one at a time; that the question period should be extended and liberalized a little so that occasionally the government might commit itself on a question of future policy; that debates, like the budget debate, for instance, might be adjourned to provide an opportunity for the discussion of special topics. These proposals I have made could be carried out without a single change in the rules of the house. All they require is the general will of the membership of the house to put them into effect and the willingness of the government to carry them out, and I would hope that the government would be willing to do so because I can see no other way of saving the time of the government and making its work in the house easier than by means of these suggestions.

One further suggestion is in connection with committees. I think most hon. members would like to see the practice of referring matters to committees extended. I have had a very short experience in the house, only three years, but during that time I have served on some thirteen committees of which ten were active. During that time—and I know this is the experience of other hon. members—in no one of these committees was there a single vote on party lines. As soon as the members got on the committee they began to work seriously and intensely to find the best solution for the problem committed to them. If the problem was one which was suitable for study by a committee, and the committee was not too large, it invariably brought in a sensible, constructive report which was carried out by the government in every case except one.

I mention the size of a committee because it is my experience both outside the house and in, and the experience, I think, of other members, that the effectiveness of a committee decreases geometrically in proportion to the increase in its membership over fifteen. I think fifteen is the right number. It is the number fixed in the rules of the house. With a small committee of that size the members are much more conscientious; the responsibility is not diffused, and there is a more steady attendance, a much closer discussion, and more opportunity for the members to meet in between meetings and work up material. Therefore I suggest that fifteen should be the maximum number for a committee, and I hope that this suggestion will be taken into consideration by the government when it comes to appointing a committee on social legislation.

I think it is our experience that the chairman of a committee should preferably, not be a member of the government. I have sat on committees with chairmen who are

members of the government, and I must say they presided magnificently. Nobody could have presided better or with greater objectivity, but at least on one occasion it led to some embarrassment that a member of the government should have been chairman of the committee. My idea in this is that once we get a matter out of the house and before a committee we lose the atmosphere of the arena and we get into the atmosphere of the workshop, where we want to do the job as quickly, effectively and efficiently as possible. That is my experience.

I suggest that some committees need expert assistance, and I sincerely hope that the committee on social legislation is not set up without a great deal of expert assistance, similar in standing, if possible, to that provided for the royal commissions in England which ultimately resulted in the Beveridge report. It is impossible for members of a committee to give the detailed work and study and have the background and special knowledge necessary to handle a topic of that kind.

Then the committee produces a report. By that time the matter has been screened through the committee, and the discussion of its report in the house provides an opportunity for a useful short debate on the subject, in which debate usually only the members of the committee take part. It has been my experience in the last three years that these debates have been the best in the house, and I do not think any one of them has ever taken more than a day.

We all know, too, that the mere fact that a committee may look into a matter has a salutary effect upon some government departments. I believe that in time we ought to have committees of the house on different subjects to which matters would be automatically referred, such as man-power, labour, munitions supply, agriculture, reconstruction, international affairs and information—topics like that, and not merely matters which are to be the subject of legislation. Also I think orders in council should be referred to a committee.

This brings me to my next suggestion. We have heard a great deal said about government by order in council, but the people who talk against government by order in council seldom say how government should be carried on. The fact is that we have the executive taking the responsibility of using the authority we have given to it, but the people who complain of government by order in council would be the first to complain if the executive failed to use that authority. It is greatly to the credit of the government, parliament and the country that at no stage has our government failed to have the courage to use the authority it has been given. It alone of all democracies was the first to introduce effective measures to deal with the spectre of inflation. I see no other means whereby that could have been dealt with so effectively as by order in council. But we have had 25,000 orders in council, and now there is a kind of public clamour growing up against government by order in council which will grow as victory comes closer and people want to get rid of bureaucratic control, as they call it. I suggest that the way to prevent that practice from growing too fast is to do what I think we should do anyway. That is, in order to preserve the supremacy of parliament, we must have some say at some stage in these orders in council, and in a great number of instances we cannot have it before. The practice of tabling orders in council is, for all practical purposes, an empty form. I suggest that orders in council be referred to a committee for consideration —not all the orders, but orders having the effect of legislation of a general nature. Even when they get to the committee, all the orders of that kind would not be discussed; but if the committee felt that one particular matter should be discussed it could take up that order, have the departmental officials there to explain it, and make its report to the house. This could be done exceedingly quickly. In this way there would be an opportunity of improving the drafting of the orders, which sometimes leaves a great deal to be desired; there would be exercise of control over the executive, opportunity for ventilating grievances, and also observance of the important principle of the supremacy of parliament. I suggest that is one way in which it could be done without any sacrifice of the speed and decisive action which are necessary in order to carry on the war.

There is some need of an appeal from orders of a punitive nature. I do not see why all the boards which have orders of that kind should not act like the wartime prices and trade board; that is, use the courts exclusively. I believe that anyone who regards himself as aggrieved by the application of an order in his individual case should have an opportunity of appealing to some authority other than the men who made, enforced, policed and executed the order. Therefore I suggest there should be an administrative tribunal of the same character as the war contracts depreciation board or the board appointed under the Excess Profits Act. Both of these boards have done magnificent work.

There also ought to be an appeal from all orders under the national mobilization regulations. It is the only way in which uniformity throughout the country can be preserved. It is the only way in which possible injustices through the board being too rushed can be corrected or further consideration given. Accordingly I suggest that there should be an appeal from all these boards to some authority.

In conclusion, I have this to say. We live at a time much more important in the history of parliament and of our country than any other. There is no one who occupies a more important role in the life of Canada than the members of this house. Not only do people look to us for leadership and guidance; they want everything that we can give in the way of devoted service to our country. We are willing to give it, and I believe, from what I have seen of them, the members of this house of all parties would be only too anxious to make very real sacrifices of time, health, family life, and future expectations of a financial nature, in order to do something which would be more valuable to the country, and which, I suggest, might come about through the further consideration of some of the suggestions I have made this evening.

Mr. R. T. GRAHAM (Swift Current): A number of very fine addresses have been made in this particular debate. The speaker who just preceded me made an interesting contribution on an unusual subject, one which, of course, will have to be given great study, as he no doubt expected it would, before it can be accepted in its entirety. Nevertheless I should like to compliment the hon. member for St. Lawrence-St. George (Mr. Claxton) upon being sufficiently fresh in his viewpoint to introduce the subject and deal with it as he has done, indicating the considerable amount of study he must have given to the subject with which he dealt.

In addition, I wish to join those who have spoken before me in commending the addresses of the mover (Mr. Harris) and the seconder (Mr. Hallé) of the address in reply to the speech from the throne. It is for me a happy thought that I have in my constituency a highly thought of citizen who is a lady cousin of the mover of the address. I have a sense of pride in the fact that there is at least some connection between the far-off constituency of Swift Current and that of my hon. friend who moved the address in reply. My remarks of commendation of course apply equally to the hon. and gallant member who seconded the motion.

May I also say, and I think the house will agree, that it would be well to note the value of the address delivered by the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Gardiner) this afternoon. Regardless of our political viewpoints we, as a former speaker pointed out, are the representatives of the different sections which go to make up Canada; and the concise and cogent information given to this house this afternoon by the Minister of Agriculture makes the task of every member that much easier.

May I also, in commenting upon the addresses in this debate, pay a word of compliment to at least two members of his majesty's loyal opposition. I refer to the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Senn) and the hon. member for Waterloo South (Mr. Homuth). The one dealt with agriculture, and the other with the industrial war effort of Canada. While I do not find myself in agreement with many of the points which they made, it struck me that they were moved by a sincere desire to criticize fairly and constructively the policy of the government with regard to these two important phases of our war effort. Constructive criticism, as we all know, is a valuable adjunct of any government charged with the responsibiliy of carrying on the business of a nation.

The speech from the throne dealt with many matters of importance. The most important, of course, is the successful prosecution of the war. Anyone who read that speech or heard it at the opening of this session must have been struck with the fact that not only did it specifically express a note of confidence in our present position, as regards the war situation generally, but the very fact that the speech contained matters such as post-war reconstruction and social security indicates that there is in the minds of those who advised his majesty in the drafting of that speech a certain measure of confidence which will be heartening not only to the members of this house but also to the people of this country.

It is easy, too, to realize the truth of the statement that we can take pride in the progress which has been made in the successful prosecution of this war. It is only necessary to think back to the perilous days of Dunkirk, and to the time when we sat in this house and received the news of the fall of France, and compare the situation then with what it is to-day, to realize that progress has been real and substantial, and we can take pride in the immense advance which has been made upon the road to victory.

Canada's war effort is becoming more and more a matter of great pride to all Canadians. That war effort is not the result of accident; it is of course the result of a sustained and

well planned programme of contribution to the common cause of the united nations. I believe that the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) and the government who have led the country in that effort can be justly credited with a great deal in so far succeeding as they have done in making Canada's contribution something of which we can all be proud. Not only that, but I say to members on this side of the house that those of us who saw fit to support the Prime Minister in the rather trying days of last session and the session before can all take a great deal of pride in recognizing that his aims and objects were dictated by wisdom, and in giving him that loyal support which enabled him to put that programme into effect.

I agree, however, with the note of caution expressed by the Prime Minister when speaking in this debate, that the measure of success which we have realized is only a warning to us of the path we must follow in order to achieve victory. We, in a democracy, of course hate war so intensely, and it is so foreign to our whole philosophy of life to believe that other peoples would use war as an instrument of aggrandizement, that we welcome any sign of approaching victory and the time when we can turn back to the peaceful pursuits that so suit our philosophy of life. Yet we would be foolish indeed if we did not recognize the immense task that lies ahead of us. I read in a *National* magazine recently of the forces that Japan still has at its disposal to fight the battle in which we are engaged with that country at the present time, and they are still a great menace. She occupies vast territories that have so widened her economy that she faces want in one or two items only. She is immensely strong in man-power, immensely strong in ships, immensely strong in the strategic position she succeeded in securing for herself by her treacherous attack prior to the outbreak of war between herself and the United States. We must recall, too, that Germany is still mighty in her military strength, the accumulation of many generations of that race that seems so far to have been bent on world domination. As Germany is forced back on her own central home front, she solves many of her communication problems, and this leaves her with a freedom of action in defence, which we must overcome before victory can be ours. So that never for a moment, either in our hearts or in our minds, should we permit the feeling of optimism, or of confidence even that pervades Canada at the present time, to weaken us in any way in the determination to see to it that Canada's material, physical and human resources shall continue to be used for the purpose we have before us, which is to defeat those forces of evil that so violently and disgracefully attacked the democracies.

May I also point this out. I think it is something we should note, those of us who by the nature of our position take a great interest in the political life, not only of this country, but of other countries as well, that in the commencement of the fourth year of the war the great democracies, Great Britain, the United States, Canada and the other component parts of the British commonwealth of nations, can feel that democracy, with all its apparent faults, has stood the test in the hour of trial, and that democracy is the democracy we have always known—a democracy of free parliaments, a free press, freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom in the expression of the opinons we see fit to utter so long as they do not offend the rights of our fellow men. It is a great thing to keep that in mind when discussing the relative merits of this or that kind of governing system. In the last analysis, these free democracies are standing the test, and we are all of the profound belief at this moment that ultimately they will achieve victory over the totalitarian states.

In passing, I would call the attention of those who advocate a planned economy, or the setting up of government whose control is vested in a group of experts to deal with the lives and the welfare of our people, to the importance of always keeping in mind that, despite the fact that Hitler has had many men of brains and capacity, sometimes regarded as supermen in Germany, and having devoted all the talents of that country to the planning of success in this war venture of his for world domination, nevertheless he and all his cohorts and experts will fail in the task to which they have set themselves. The same is true of Mussolini and Italy. So that I think the nature of the progress we have made should strengthen our belief in democracy as we have known it, and we should not hastily or lightly cast aside a system that has brought us the results it has during this war period.

It is true that our democracy has certain weaknesses. It is inclined to be hesitant in coming to a decision; it is inclined to engage in controversy to too great an extent; it is inclined to an inability to gird up its loins to exert its maximum war effort. Yet these weaknesses are the corollary of free institutions, and I am not afraid to say that the expression of these weaknesses in war time will become the very strength and bulwark of the free institutions of democracy in the times which we so much desire that lie ahead.

There were one or two matters that arose either in the speech from the throne or during the discussions in this house of peculiar interest to me as coming from Saskatchewan. One was the suggestion, in fact the declaration of intention, that a redistribution of seats in this house should occur at this particular session. I add my voice to those from western Canada who suggest to the government that it would be extremely unfair at this time in Canada's history to propose that Saskatchewan, the third largest province in the dominion in point of population, and its neighbouring province of Manitoba, should find, largely as a result of the war effort and the transfer of people from the prairies to the industrialized sections of Canada, that they are penalized for making that contribution by losing, for a period of at least ten years, the number of representatives they have heretofore had in the house of commons. I am sure hon. members will agree that no other part of Canada has the troubles which have beset western Canada, struggling to construct an economy that will support itself, or deserves more the fullest measure of sympathy in this house which can be given it. I therefore strongly urge on the government and the members of this house, who in the last analysis will have the decision in the matter, that they exercise generosity in recognizing the cause of the shifting population from Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and that in any redistribution measure which may be introduced, the effect of that legislation will be deferred until 1953, or for a considerable period after the cessation of the war, so that we can then see whether the movement from those provinces has been temporary or permanent.

There is also the other matter that is constantly raised, without any fruitful results, I am sorry to say, namely, the concentration of Canada's industrial life in the two central provinces. I for one have always recognized and forgiven, if that is the proper word, the Minister of Munitions and Supply (Mr. Howe), having regard to the immense task with which he was presented during the early period of the war, in procuring the great amount of material that was required at once for Canada at war. I did not blame him much, that, on account of the necessity with which we were faced, in the early days of the war he seized upon plants that were already in existence and transformed them into the arsenals of munitions and supply that we so urgently required. Since then, however, there has been a great change. We have had time, and we have time at present, to consider the larger question, the result of the great concentration of industrial activity in the central provinces and the failure of Canada as a whole to remove one of the constant points of irritation in confederation, and to see to it that decentralization takes place where it is wise and proper, and in that way balance the economy of the outlying portions of Canada to a greater extent than has been done hitherto. I believe that if we continue now on the path we have been following we shall continue on it in peace time as well. The fact that the plant, equipment, management and all the essentials are there will be used to justify the continuance of the use of those properties.

Hon. members know as well as I do that we have been seeking ways to use our surplus of wheat. I was told by one who ought to know that the United States government is spending immense sums of money and employing a large group of highly trained people to look into ways and means of using cereal crops for the manufacture of industrial products. For industrial alcohol, synthetic rubber and similar products we have in western Canada not only immense quantities of materials but immense potential capacity to produce those materials. We would thus be serving the best interests of western Canada and, indeed, of the whole of Canada if we could, to some extent at least, break up this concentration of industrial life in the two central provinces, which concentration sooner or later will cause serious trouble. We can do it wisely, and the whole of Canada will profit.

In listening to the different problems that were brought to the attention of the house during this debate, I naturally followed with great interest the speech delivered by the new leader of the official opposition (Mr. Graydon). I join with others in congratulating the Progressive Conservative party upon the choice of him as their acting house leader. I did, however, note that in putting upon *Hansard* most of the party's platform adopted at Winnipeg he did not include in the apparently important sections of that programme the resolution which the hon. member for Qu'Appelle (Mr. Perley) succeeded in having passed at that convention and which had to do with the price of wheat. I am afraid that this was a child whose desirability was questioned at that convention.

I noticed also a suggestion that appeared in the Ottawa *Journal* and was mentioned by some hon. members in this debate, namely, that the selection of the new name—to which I have no objection—need cause no comment, because Sir John A. Macdonald once used the same name to describe the historic party of which he was the head. But may I point out that those who use that argument rob the Winnipeg convention programme of much of its freshness and the hope that it and the Port Hope meeting inspired in the minds of the people that the addition of the word

"Progressive" meant a decided change in the policy of the old Conservative party. The argument lends strength to the suggestion that this is merely a revival of the old party with a new name but with no real change in its policies. I say to the members of that party that I hope Mr. Bracken will be able to persuade the members of the party that the programme is a worth-while programme, one that he in western Canada has always supported with regard to freer trade and a freer economy in this country. I shall be happy indeed—I say this quite sincerely—if members of the Progressive Conservative party in this house will declare their intention of accepting whole-heartedly the new programme now adopted by the party as expressed in its Winnipeg platform and make vigorous speeches in this house in favour of free trade and a freer economy. I for one will welcome to my side at least and to the side of a great many hon. members on this side of the house any support that hon. members can give to that wise and beneficent policy that we have so long advocated.

Also I could not help noticing that the hon. member for Rosetown-Biggar (Mr. Coldwell), the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation party, suggested that the speech from the throne was merely a series of pious platitudes. He will not mind if I say to him that I listened with considerable interest to his radio address a couple of weeks ago and noted the fine manner of its delivery to the public of Canada. Nevertheless let me say to him that his address dealt only with generalities. The comment of a friend of mine next morning who said he had listened to the hon. member's address was that he had come to the conclusion that there were not many Canadian soldiers in Libya. I asked him why. He said, "Well, because if there had been, Mr. Coldwell would undoubtedly have promised them ice and air conditioning". There is an element of truth in that statement.

I have listened to thousands of expressions of opinion as to what should be done in this country, and almost without exception what one gets is a statement of a problem, phrased in varying language but still simply a statement of the problem; seldom is there any concrete suggestion as to how a solution of the problem can be achieved. The only time in his speech in this debate that the hon. member for Rosetown-Biggar became specific is worthy of note. I draw this particularly to the attention of the hon. member for Cape Breton South (Mr. Gillis) who suggested that in the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation programme there is no suggestion whatever of state socialism or statism or concentration of power in the state as opposed to the present system of government. The specific contribution made by the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation was the suggestion that we appoint a representative committee. He stressed that point, that it be truly representative. How it could be formed to the satisfaction of my hon. friend is a matter that would have to be decided. Nevertheless the suggestion was that we appoint such a committee to consider ways and means of carrying out a reconstruction or rehabilitation programme, and that this House of Commons, representative of the free people of Canada, should without question, or without discussion—I take it that was meant—immediatley undertake, without examination of the proposals, in two years to vote five billion dollars to that committee and allow it to expend that money in the manner it suggested.

Mr. COLDWELL: A representative committee instead of a non-representative one, and report to this parliament.

Mr. GRAHAM: To me that is the very essence of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation programme, and I suggest to the hon. member for Cape Breton South that he note that the only concrete and specific recommendation, in which social security is mentioned, made by the leader of his party during this debate, is the suggestion that this parliament voluntarily give up its position as trustee for the people of Canada in connection with the expenditure of money; that not only do we turn over to someone else the task of preparing a programme, but that we undertake not to spend any time in examining into or discussing their proposal, and that we give them this amount of five billion dollars to spend in a given period of time.

Mr. COLDWELL: That is absolutely wrong.

Mr. GRAHAM: Well, I have the hon. member's speech before me.

Mr. MacINNIS: Parliament does not give up its trusteeship when it votes money for the carrying on of the war.

Mr. GRAHAM: As I say, to me the suggestion to which I have referred is a denial of the democracy I took the time to praise a few moments ago. As the hon. member for Jasper-Edson (Mr. Kuhl) said the other night, it would mean the securing of social security at the cost of our individual liberty, to which I think no sane member of this house would agree. May I say, too, in all fairness to the members of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation party that considering the task with which this country will

be faced after the war is over; considering that some eight hundred thousand men will be coming back to our shores—at least we hope so—whom we shall have to place back in civil life in a reasonably prosperous condition; considering the dislocation that will occur in our industrial life, our farming life and, in fact, every phase of Canadian life as a result of this prolonged struggle, would any sane person suggest that in addition at this moment, or between now and the cessation of war, we should agree to revolutionize suddenly the whole system of democratic government under which we have lived and under which we shall succeed in winning this war? Would anyone suggest that in addition to the problems which we shall have to face then, we should add the further problem of the dislocation that would result from any such change, even if that change were meritorious and justified?

Mr. DOUGLAS (Weyburn): Certainly we shall have dislocation if we do nothing.

Mr. GRAHAM: I suggest that democracy can undertake the task of building upon what we have learned in the past, using the wisdom we may acquire during this war, to see to it that our problems are wisely met and our difficulties minimized to the greatest possible extent during the period of dislocation, re-establishment and reconstruction through which we must pass.

I now turn to the subject that really caused me to take part in this debate, one in which I take a great interest. I refer to the question of social security. As I have already stated, most of the contributions offered so far in the editorial columns of the newspapers and in speeches from different individuals have consisted of statements of the problem itself, statements of what we must face. Seldom is there any concrete, wise suggestion offered as to how social security may be achieved. Together with a great many members of this house I was very much interested in the fact that in England a commission headed by Sir William Beveridge, an economist of whom I happen to be a great admirer, brought forth what is now known as the Beveridge report, which, of course, as he has stated is only a suggestion for a solution of a certain phase of the social security problem. At least it is a concrete contribution, and I for one have greatly appreciated the opportunity of reading the result of the work of Sir William Beveridge and those associated with him in that task. Naturally his report applies peculiarly to industrialized Great Britain. I believe it is founded upon Liberal principles, according to my understanding of Liberalism. I believe members of this house and the people of this country would be well repaid if they carefully studied that report in order to ascertain the value of any ideas therein contained which might be beneficially applied in this dominion. However, I think I should say this, in connection with the whole programme for social security, that in our desire to bring about that result we must not assume that it will come simply because we are united in that desire.

On motion of Mr. Graham the debate was adjourned.

At eleven o'clock the house adjourned, without question put, pursuant to standing order.

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EARL C. YOUNG,
Editor of Debates, Room 324.

F. W. S. GALBRAITH,
Associate Editor, Room 325.

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HENRI MACKAY, *LL.L.*,
rédacteur des débats français,
chambre 514

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95		Casablanca Conference. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60922 - D 60925	
95		Chiang Kai-Shek, Madame. Speeches in Parliament	16 June 1943	D 60926 - D 60947	
95		Civil Air Transport. Speeches in Parliament	2 Apr. 1943	D 60948 - D 60951	
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Mr Jarrabet

Casablanca

W.L.M.K. - 27.I.43

D 60922

It is always a pleasure, after a long adjournment of the House or at the beginning of a new session, to have an opportunity of greeting honourable members and renewing the many associations of Parliament.

Though the business of the present session was concluded almost six months ago, and the proceedings, this afternoon, are almost wholly formal, I am sure it would be the wish of all honourable members that the proceedings of the session should not conclude without a mention however brief of the meeting between the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States at Casablanca, in North Africa, of which announcement was made over the radio last night.

It is, I think, true to say that when the House adjourned on the 1st of August last, we had reached what seemed to be the darkest hours in the fortunes of the United Nations. Subsequent events have made it appear that these darkest hours were among those which so often precede the dawn. Certainly no single announcement since the commencement of the war has done more to throw a brighter light upon the horizon than that relating to the conference between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, and the word that the leaders of Britain and the United States, both military and civil, had agreed upon a war plan for the present year designed to maintain the initiative in every theatre of war.

Ample opportunity will be afforded in the new session to discuss all matters pertaining to the war and, if desired, to the Casablanca conference. Meanwhile I know I am giving expression to the feelings of all honourable members of this House when I say that we have learned with the utmost satisfaction of the conference itself, and that we deeply cherish the hopes that the plans of warfare agreed upon may, in the course of the present year, be realized in the fullest measure.

D 60924

The Conference at Casablanca

Always a pleasure to meet Members after absence

Today closing a session which began more than a year ago -- one of the longest in our history.

Appropriate that Parliament re-assembles at this momentous time.

Members will expect a brief reference to meeting at Casablanca.

Historic occasion -- reference to courage and capacity for endurance of Mr. Roosevelt - first President to fly - first to leave country in midst of war.

No new experience for Mr. Churchill.

Complete accord between Britain and United States. China and Soviet Russia kept in closest touch.

Plans for 1943 designed to maintain allied initiative on all fronts.

D 60925

Whole free world will rejoice at news of meeting of General de Gaulle and General Giraud, and word that they "have registered entire agreement on the end to be achieved, which is the liberation of France and the triumph of human liberties by the total defeat of the enemy."

Hope that foundations laid for a complete union of all French forces fighting the Axis.

For Canada, announcement of plans for 1943 confirms my statement on New Year's Eve that "the coming year will see all our armed forces in action."

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D 60926

APPENDIX

ADDRESS

OF

MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK

TO

MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

IN THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS CHAMBER, OTTAWA

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 16, 1943, AT 11 A.M.

Madame Chiang Kai-shek was introduced by the Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister

Hon. James Allison Glen, Speaker of the House of Commons, presided

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Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker of the Senate, Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons, Honourable members of both Houses of Parliament: Our country is honoured today by the presence in its capital of a gracious lady who is one of the great personages of the world.

To Madame Chiang Kai-shek I extend the sincerest of welcomes on behalf of the government, the parliament and the people of Canada. We welcome Madame Chiang for what she is in herself. We welcome her as the devoted wife of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the great leader of the republic of China. And we welcome her as the interpreter of the needs and the virtues of the patient and heroic people of China, the first great power to resist axis aggression.

I should like to thank Madame Chiang anew for having promised, some little time ago, to visit Canada before her return to China; and for having consented, while in Ottawa, to address the members of Canada's parliament from the floor of its House of Commons. Madame Chiang was obliged to postpone her return to her homeland for some weeks in order that her health might permit her to fulfil the promise she had made. We are deeply conscious of her kindness in so doing.

Madame Chiang speaks today, as it has been given to few individuals in all history to speak. She speaks for the struggles and sufferings, and equally for the highest aspirations, of an ancient race. She speaks for an immemorial culture. Combining with dignity and grace, great spiritual courage, she stands in our midst fully mindful of the toil and sacrifice which, over many cruel years, she has shared with China's valiant defenders. No recital of the noble qualities of her mind and heart could add to the respect and admiration with which we receive her in our halls of parliament to-day.

The inspired leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his brilliant wife personifies the spirit of China's fight for freedom—freedom not only from aggression, but from all the forces of evil. Moreover it is freedom not for China alone, but freedom which, through understanding and mutual aid among men and nations, will further the well-being of mankind throughout the world. Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek voice and exemplify the spirit which animates the defenders of freedom everywhere.

We would ask you, Madame Chiang, to carry to the Generalissimo the expression of our high regard for him, and the assurance that

D 60927

the people of Canada have unreservedly joined with the people of China in putting forth their utmost effort to destroy the evil forces that now seek to dominate the world.

We should like you to tell the men and women of China how unbounded is our admiration of their unswerving fortitude. Their uncomplaining courage has not been surpassed in the annals of human resistance. Canada, in common with all the united nations, is increasingly conscious of the debt that freedom owes to the unconquerable spirit of China.

We are proud to-day to recall that within the expanding circle of the united nations, Canada and China, through the exchange of ministers, have strengthened the ties of friendship between our two countries.

It is the earnest hope of all Canadians, Madame Chiang, that to you and to the Generalissimo may be granted the health and Divine guidance which will enable you together to continue your magnificent work for the unity of your own country and the liberation of all its people.

Our prayers are joined with yours that the day may not be far distant when China, wholly free, may take her rightful place among the free nations of the world.

Hon. J. A. GLEN (Speaker of the House of Commons): Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Mr. Speaker of the Senate, honourable members of both Houses of Parliament: In these war days this parliament has in its deliberations and affairs created many precedents, and to-day we are making further progress. Never before in our history have we heard the voice of a woman, not a member, address us from the floor of the House of Commons. The occasion which provides so unique an event must have attributes and meanings so outstanding and so deep as to render this gathering appropriate and most befitting.

In all grave crises in national and international affairs we have seen great figures and great personalities arise who seem to embody in themselves the issues to be decided. History abounds with such figures. In the records of this present struggle, to the generic term "mankind" must be specifically attached the term "womanhood". Certainly in no other war of magnitude has the power and service of women been so universally employed, and inevitably there have arisen women leaders and world figures who by precept and example have set the standard of devotion, duty and sacrifice—safe guides in an unsafe world. Our distinguished guest to-day is one of those great world figures.

Madame Chiang Kai-shek has honoured us by her presence and it is our privilege to receive that honour. During almost six years she has borne the toil and sorrow of unceasing warfare. She has lived in her country occupied by a remorseless foe who has inflicted on her beloved people unparalleled barbarities. Yet, through it all she has kept alive the high spirit of her people in a manner truly amazing, commanding the wondrous admiration of the whole world. Her very presence with us to-day is an illustration of the spirit which has sustained her through those years which the locusts have eaten, the triumph of mind o'er the ills of the body.

Honourable members of both Houses of Parliament, it is with modest pride that I, a mere mortal, present one of the immortals, Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK: Mr. Speaker, Mr. Prime Minister, members of the Senate and members of the House of Commons: I deem it a privilege and pleasure to be here in your midst to-day, for I have been long looking forward to visiting you and your country. I am conscious of the honour of addressing your parliament, because your national assembly, as an institution, dates back in unbroken lineage to that ancient and worthy institution, the Anglo-Saxon witenagemot. It is an institution which has proven its mettle in weather fair or foul. Parliamentary government to you and to me means that it is built on the basic laws of the land and the common consent of the people carrying out a policy within the mandate given by the people. Based on this authority of ancient usage and the legislative enactment of the supreme authority in the state, we have custom which connotes "unwritten law," and law which is "written enactment." I think it was well put when a great Roman writer of the first century B.C. said: "A people is not an assemblage of men brought together in any fashion but an assemblage of multitude associated by consent to law and community of interest."

We would all agree that a truly parliamentary form of government is the most nearly-perfect system of government human reason could ever evolve. And we say that parliamentary government is run by the "rule of law." In other words, it has its foundation on immemorial custom and right reason. No single individual, no group, no class is above law. Parliament has final competence in expressing law and men can only be punished by breach of law. In this way every individual citizen is within the framework of the law and is thereby protected.

D 60928

For release when delivered in the House of Commons,

June 16, 1943

Introduction of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek

to the Houses of Parliament, Ottawa,

June 16th, 1943

by the Prime Minister

Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King

D 60929

Mr. Speaker of the Senate,
Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons,
Honourable members of both Houses of Parliament:

Our country is honoured today by the presence in its Capital of a gracious lady who is one of the great personages of the world.

To Madame Chiang Kai-shek, I extend the sincerest of welcomes on behalf of the government, the parliament and the people of Canada. We welcome Madame Chiang for what she is in herself. We welcome her as the devoted wife of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the great leader of the Republic of China. And we welcome her as the interpreter of the needs and the virtues of the patient and heroic people of China, the first great power to resist axis aggression.

I should like to thank Madame Chiang anew for having promised, some little time ago, to visit Canada before her return to China; and for having consented, while in Ottawa, to address the members of Canada's Parliament from the floor of its House of Commons. Madame Chiang was obliged to postpone her return to her homeland for some weeks in order that her health might permit her to fulfil the promise she had made. We are deeply conscious of her kindness in so doing.

Madame Chiang speaks today, as it has been given to few individuals in all history to speak. She speaks for the struggles

D 60930

and sufferings, and equally for the highest aspirations of an ancient race. She speaks for an immemorial culture. Combining with dignity and grace, great spiritual courage, she stands in our midst fully mindful of the toil and sacrifice which, over many cruel years, she has shared with China's valiant defenders. No recital of the noble qualities of her mind and heart could add to the respect and admiration with which we receive her in our halls of parliament today.

The inspired leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his brilliant wife personifies the spirit of China's fight for freedom - freedom not only from aggression, but from all the forces of evil. Moreover it is freedom not for China alone, but freedom which, through understanding and mutual aid among men and nations, will further the well-being of mankind throughout the world. Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek voice and exemplify the spirit which animates the defenders of freedom everywhere.

We would ask you, Madame Chiang, to carry to the Generalissimo, the expression of our high regard for him, and the assurance that the people of Canada have unreservedly joined with the people of China in putting forth their utmost effort to destroy the evil forces that now seek to dominate the world.

We should like you to tell the men and women of China how unbounded is our admiration of their unswerving fortitude. Their uncomplaining courage has not been surpassed in the annals of human resistance. Canada, in common with all the United Nations, is increasingly conscious of the debt that freedom owes to the unconquerable spirit of China.

We are proud, today, to recall, that within the expanding circle of the United Nations, Canada and China, through the exchange of Ministers, have strengthened the ties of friendship between our two countries.

It is the earnest hope of all Canadians, Madame Chiang, that, to you and to the Generalissimo, may be granted the health and Divine guidance which will enable you together to continue your magnificent work for the unity of your own country and the liberation of all its people.

Our prayers are joined with yours that the day may not be far distant when China, wholly free, may take her rightful place among the free nations of the world.

D 60932

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June 16, 1943

Introduction of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek

to the Houses of Parliament, Ottawa,

June 16th, 1943

by the Prime Minister

Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King

D60933

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Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons,
Honourable members of both Houses of Parliament:

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to the Houses of Parliament, Ottawa,

June 16th, 1943

by the Prime Minister

Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King

D 60937

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Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons,
Honourable members of both Houses of Parliament:

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D 60940

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Introduction of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek

to the Houses of Parliament, Ottawa,

June 16th, 1943

by the Prime Minister

Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King

D 60941

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Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons,
Honourable members of both Houses of Parliament:

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D 60944

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June 16, 1943

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to the Houses of Parliament, Ottawa,

June 16th, 1943

by the Prime Minister

Right Honourable W.L. Mackenzie King

D 60945

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April 2, 1943.

STATEMENT OF THE POLICY OF THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT ON CIVIL AIR TRANSPORT MADE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON APRIL 2, 1943, BY THE PRIME MINISTER, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

DOMESTIC AVIATION

1. During the war a remarkable expansion of Canadian aviation has taken place--in the training of air and ground personnel, in the construction of airports and air navigation facilities, in the manufacture of aircraft, and in the extension of air transport services. Details of this expansion in aviation cannot be revealed at present, and therefore its magnitude is not generally appreciated. The Canadian Government is aware of the importance of the developments in aviation now in progress and intends that the people of Canada shall benefit from them to the fullest possible extent.

2. The expansion of air transport services during the period of the war has been confined to war requirements. Canada has concentrated on the development of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan and on combat flying and, as a result, by agreement with our allies, military air transport in the northwest has largely been undertaken by the United States Army and on the northeast ferry routes by the Ferry Commands. When war necessities permit and suitable equipment can be obtained, the Government will encourage the further development within Canada of air transport services, to supplement and form part of an up-to-date transportation system for Canada by land, water and air. Transport by air requires close supervision on the part of the Government. The Board of Transport Commissioners will be responsible for regulating traffic matters and for allocating new routes apart from the lines brought under the Trans Canada Air Lines Act. The Civil Aviation branch of the Department of Transport will be responsible for the administration of traffic and safety regulations and for the physical development of airways. The Government intends to plan a number of routes suitable for post-war air services and offering traffic possibilities that will warrant a service. These routes will make use of aerodromes that have been developed for war purposes. The Government will also continue to develop airports and other facilities for weather reporting and communications, which will contribute to the expansion of Canadian air transport.

3. While the employment in a peace-time air transport service of all the air and ground personnel of the Royal Canadian Air Force and all the men and women now employed in the aircraft industry in Canada will be impossible, a considerable number will be absorbed into the peace-time aviation industry. To this end the Government has undertaken the design of distinctive Canadian types of transport aircraft suitable for post-war industry, in the hope that, when the war ends, a part at least of the equipment for Canadian air transport will be furnished by Canadian factories.

4. Trans-Canada Air Lines will continue to be the instrument of the Government in maintaining all ~~the~~ trans-continental air transport services and in operating services across international boundary lines and outside Canada. The Government will encourage the company to obtain modern aircraft which will keep present services up to modern standards and will expand these services to the fullest extent that post-war conditions permit. The development of supplementary routes will continue to be left to private enterprise, unless considerations of public interest indicate that certain of these routes should be designated by the Government as routes to be operated by T.C.A. The operations of T.C.A. will continue to be limited to important services of a mainline character, where the volume of passenger and mail traffic would justify it.

INTERNATIONAL AVIATION

5. Canada has a geographical position that will enable it to play an important part in the development of international air transport routes. During the war, the development of international civil air routes must be deferred in favour of military aviation. Canada today is the fourth greatest military air power among the United Nations, and in the post-war period Canada can make an equally great contribution to civilian air transport.

6. The future of international air transport will be determined in large measure by negotiations between the governments of the United Nations. The policy of the Government at the moment in dealing with all questions which affect international air transport is to make temporary arrangements, leaving the issues open so that Canada may be able to support, in international negotiations when they take place, whatever policy appears best at that time. The Government, however, intends to press vigorously for a place in international air transportation consistent with Canada's geographical position and progress in aviation. All concessions and privileges

that have been granted by Canada to other countries as part of the war effort will terminate at the end of the war or almost immediately thereafter.

7. T.C.A. has by its charter the right to operate international air transport services and has already been designated as the instrument of the Canadian Government in air transport service across the North Atlantic, and in Canadian services to the United States. The fact that international negotiations of great importance must shortly take place confirms the wisdom of Government policy under which its freedom of action in international negotiations is not limited by the existence of private interests in international air transport services.

8. The Government has established an inter-departmental committee on international civil aviation to advise it on all matters of international air transport which affect Canada, and particularly on the attitude which Canada should adopt towards post-war developments. This committee has already been at work for a considerable time.

9. The problems of international air transport are, of course, immense and cannot be solved by one country. We are determined, however, that our influence on the course of events will be in the direction of international co-operation and collaboration. The Canadian Government is in complete agreement with the United Kingdom Government that "some form of international collaboration will be essential if the air is to be developed in the interests of mankind as a whole, trade served, international understanding fostered and international security gained."

CONCLUSION

10. The policy of the Canadian Government on air transport may be summed up as follows:

(a) The Government sees no good reason for changing its policy that Trans-Canada Air Lines is the sole Canadian agency which may operate international air services.

(b) Within Canada, Trans-Canada Air Lines will continue to operate ~~the~~ all trans-continental system, and such other services of a main-line character as may from time to time be designated by the Government. Competition between air services over the same route will not be permitted whether between a publicly-owned service and a privately-owned service or between two privately-owned services. There will remain a large field for the development of air transport in which private Canadian

companies may participate, and, while preventing duplication of services, the Government will continue to encourage private companies to develop services as traffic possibilities may indicate.

(c) In order to prepare for forthcoming international negotiations on air transport, the Government is studying carefully the problems which will have to be dealt with in the negotiations.

(d) The Canadian Government strongly favours a policy of international collaboration and co-operation in air transport and is prepared to support in international negotiations whatever international air transport policy can be demonstrated as being best calculated to serve not only the immediate national interests of Canada but also our over-riding interest in the establishment of an international order which will prevent the outbreak of another world war.

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Mobilization Act, and further the minister knows that the properties outside Canada from which the raw materials are taken are owned by Aluminium Limited one hundred per cent, so that we could have taken them over at the same time.

CANADA AND THE WAR

REVIEW OF EVENTS OF RECENT YEARS—76TH ANNIVERSARY OF CONFEDERATION

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): To-day Canada celebrates the seventy-sixth anniversary of confederation. To-day is also the fourth Dominion day to be celebrated since the outbreak of war. To place our war-time situation in perspective, I should like for a moment to recall the conditions of war in previous years.

On July 1, 1940, the whole free world had been shaken to its foundations by the collapse of France. That was the darkest period in the war. The British nations alone stood—and they stood almost unarmed—against the seemingly invincible nazi war machine. Italy had joined the aggressor, and her armies were poised on the borders of Egypt. Most of the world waited anxiously for some inevitable climax.

The year which followed was the year of survival for the cause of freedom. The seemingly inevitable did not happen. Britain stood, battered but unbroken, against the nazi onslaught.

On July 1, 1941, the character and scope of the war had just been vastly changed by the furious and treacherous nazi assault on Soviet Russia. The minds of free men, deceived for years by lying propaganda, were suddenly called upon to face a wholly unexpected situation. None of the free nations faltered. In that hour, all extended the hand of friendship to the Soviet Union.

In the following year, as the titanic struggle on the steppes of Russia ebbed and flowed, the war in the east was joined with the war in the west. The dastardly attack upon Pearl Harbor made of the war a global struggle.

On July 1, 1942, the war had reached another dark hour. The soviet armies were being driven back; Japanese power had been extended far and wide in southeast Asia, and the islands of the Pacific. The gates of India were threatened by Japan; the Germans and Italians had reached the outskirts of Alexandria. Suez was in deadly peril. On the Atlantic and on the Pacific, enemy sea-power was increasing. The shores of North America were threatened.

The past year, however, witnessed the turn of the tide. In Russia, the Germans were driven back. In the Pacific, Japanese advances were checked. The axis forces were driven completely out of Africa; and on the Atlantic the U-boat menace has, for the time being at least, been greatly reduced.

On this Dominion day, July 1, 1943, the world scene is vastly changed from a year ago. The united nations have everywhere gained the initiative. In the Atlantic, in the Mediterranean, in Europe, in the far east, and in the Pacific—in fact, in every theatre of war, there are substantial reasons for encouragement. The united nations are prepared for even fiercer fighting. They have steeled themselves to endure heavy losses, and to meet reverses and setbacks. All are determined to do their utmost to win. All now believe that their combined efforts will result in ultimate victory.

Each Dominion day in war time has marked steady progress in Canada's contribution to the cause of freedom. In 1940 we had only one division of our army overseas, a mere handful of airmen in action, a few ships on the Atlantic. Air training was only beginning; war production barely beyond the stage of planning and organization.

In 1941, our army overseas had served for a year as a bulwark of Britain's defences in the period of her gravest peril; our trained airmen were already a considerable factor in combat; our navy, greatly expanded, was taking a growing share in guarding the vital north Atlantic sea lanes; our war production and our foodstuffs had proved essential to Britain's continued resistance.

In 1942, our forces on land, at sea, and in the air had still further expanded. Canada's fighting men had continued to keep the world's citadel of freedom secure from invasion. Our fighting men had seen action on every sea and in the air, over almost every battlefront in a world-encircling conflict. Our war production was approaching its peak; our production of foodstuffs reached heights which seemed incredible. Our country was approaching a total effort.

To-day, July 1, 1943, as the united nations everywhere turn to the offensive, Canada is ready to take her full part in the forthcoming combined assault upon the enemy. We have mobilized our production, our forces, and our resources for the great offensive.

The war effort of Canada—on the production lines of the home front, in the skies over many an embattled land, on all the seas around the world, and in preparation for the supreme offensive against the European stronghold of the nazi enemy—is an evidence of our

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strength and of our purpose. It is an affirmation of our faith in the cause for which all the united nations fight. It is a gauge of Canada's emerging importance among the great nations of the world.

In the course of the last great war, we saw general recognition given to Canada's status as a nation; a status later accorded full recognition at the imperial conference of 1926, and still later confirmed by the parliament of the United Kingdom in the statute of Westminster. In the course of the present war, we have seen Canada emerge from nationhood into a position generally recognized as that of a world power.

In the greetings which have come to the governent from many parts of the British commonwealth, and from foreign countries, this note has been predominant. The consensus is summed up, I believe, in the following paragraphs, which, according to a Canadian Press cable, appeared to-day in a leading London newspaper:

> Britain and the empire join in a salutation on the dominion's 76th birthday.
>
> They hail her not only as a member of our group of peoples, but as a world power in her own right.
>
> Such is the energy of her people that industrially, and by measure of armed power, Canada ranks fourth in all the company of the united nations.

As our contributions to the war effort of the united nations have increased, so also has the stature of our nationhood. We are all proud of the extent to which mutual aid from Canada is helping other allied nations in arms, in the fight against axis aggression. In the years that lie ahead, our country will have responsibilities never hitherto imagined. There will be tasks of helping to feed the liberated peoples whose homes and homelands have been destroyed and despoiled; of joining in the economic rebuilding of shattered national economies, and coordinating them within a world-wide system of interchange of goods and services; of sharing in the ordering of the world community for the future, so that there may be peace and justice, freedom and security for all. These are great tasks for any nation. We are already preparing to take our full share of these tasks.

The realization that we may still be at war when we reach July 1st of next year must certainly colour our thoughts and remembrances on this national anniversary.

The new year of our existence as a dominion, which begins to-day, will witness the supreme effort of Canada. Our people may, in the course of its days, be called upon to pass through an ordeal greater than our country has ever experienced. In that ordeal we know that our fighting men will nobly uphold the honour of our country; that they will display the utmost resourcefulness, fortitude and heroism. The coming months will demand from all of us steadiness, determination and the utmost unity.

After nearly four years of war our country, fortunately, is more united than it has been at any time since the outbreak of war. Canadian workingmen and women, Canadian farmers, Canadian business men, Canadians in all walks of life, have shown their readiness to put the interests of their country and of the world's freedom before their own immediate interests. In a world in which racial strife and racial domination are the instrument and the aim of the enemy, we in Canada have achieved a measure of racial harmony which is surpassed in no other country. It may truly be said that we have built a nation founded on the principles of equality and brotherhood among men. If a new era in which men and women can enjoy peace and prosperity is to be achieved, the application of these principles must be extended to the relations of all nations with one another. By our strength in war, and by our understanding and cooperation in peace, Canada can contribute mightily to the building of a better world.

To-day it is the prayer of the people of Canada that the Divine Power which has guided and guarded our country throughout the years of its growth may sustain our armed forces in their endurance of bitter conflicts, may give courage to our homes during the period of supreme trial that already is so nearly upon us, and may endow all the forces of freedom with the power and wisdom necessary to secure for mankind a just and enduring peace.

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APPENDIX

ADDRESS

OF

HIS EXCELLENCY DOCTOR EDUARD BENES

President of Czechoslovakia

TO

MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

IN THE

RAILWAY COMMITTEE ROOM, HOUSE OF COMMONS, OTTAWA

THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1943, AT 12 NOON

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): We in Canada are indeed greatly honoured to have in our country today His Excellency Doctor Eduard Benes, the President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia. I wish at once to extend to Doctor Benes the warmest of welcomes on behalf of the government, the parliament and the people of Canada. Doctor Benes is such a well-known international figure and has played such a prominent part in world events over the past three decades that he does not come to us in any sense a stranger, and needs no introduction to any democratic audience in any part of the world.

I should like to say to Doctor Benes what I said in the House of Commons yesterday, that he will have noticed a very close sympathy between the people of Canada and the people of the Czechoslovak republic. The agreement at Munich, which had the effect of partitioning his country and caused great sacrifices on the part of his people, sacrifices made, it was thought at the time, in the interests of the whole of Europe but which have since proved to have been on behalf of the whole world—that agreement was never recognized by Canada and is not recognized by Canada today.

We share in regard to Czechoslovakia the view of the British government that the Munich agreement has ceased to exist as a factor either in present or post-war relations. We look forward to the day, which we hope is coming speedily, when the Czechoslovak republic in its entirety will again be restored to its full independence.

One expression, Mr. President, which we have sought to give to our feelings of close relationship with the people and government of Czechoslovakia has been to welcome to Canada Doctor Frantisek Pavlasek, who is seated to my left, as minister of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, and to appoint in London a minister from Canada to the country of which you are presently the head. I would take advantage of this opportunity to say how greatly Doctor Pavlasek as minister of Czechoslovakia has endeared himself to all those who have had the privilege of making his acquaintance while here. As you yourself told me, Mr. President, when we recently talked together in Washington, Doctor Pavlasek was a close friend of the founder of your great republic, Masaryk, the country of which you are a co-founder and that he was one of the most cultured gentlemen in Czechoslovakia. We here have come to appreciate through the personality of Doctor Pavlasek and in his public utterances not only much of the culture of Czechoslovakia but also the high ideals of your country.

I am not going to take time this morning to say more than one other word by way of welcome to Doctor Benes. It is that we welcome him not only as representing the brave

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people of Czechoslovakia and the great services they have rendered to democracy but we welcome him also and in great measure at this moment on account of himself. He has a career of public service that has been paralleled by very few men in the world's history. As all present know he was co-founder of the Republic of Czechoslovakia. He was the first Foreign Minister of that country and has been its President for many years. He bore the heaviest responsibilities throughout the trying period of the Munich discussions and the years which followed, a time when his country was passing through a terrible ordeal. He did all within his power to keep united the forces of freedom in his own and other lands. It is of interest to know that he came at that very time to America and was for a very short period associated with the university of Chicago. He found there a sphere from which as President in exile from his country he might be able to direct its affairs in its titanic struggle for freedom. He has, as you know, been responsible for the organization of the different forces of Czechoslovakia. I should like to say to him how much the people of Canada in common with people everywhere who love liberty appreciate the great services which Czechoslovakia rendered to the cause of freedom in the last great war and the great services she has never ceased to render to the cause of freedom since and in the present war.

Czechoslovakia has had to bear some of the heaviest burdens any country has ever been called upon to endure by way of sacrifice for a great cause. These she bore at the time of Munich. These she has borne ever since. These she is bearing heroically to-day. Notwithstanding that at present the country is occupied by the enemy, her forces both within Czechoslovakia and in different parts of the world, are fighting in the cause of freedom with the allied and united nations of the world. That is a great tradition for a nation and we know that that heroic effort is going to win its due reward.

I need not touch on other aspects of Doctor Benes' career, of his presidency of the Assembly of League of Nations and of course his leadership at the present time of his government in exile. From the beginning and all through his life he has been the exponent of high and noble ideals and of those great aims, purposes and practical measures which seek not only the higher development of the peoples of his own country but also fraternity and unity between all nations.

When I was recently at Washington I asked Doctor Benes how it was that he came to venture on some of the prophecies that he had made, prophecies which are giving much in the way of hope to the world at this time. He said to me, in reply, that the so-called prophecies were not in reality prophecies, that as a matter of fact he has had the good fortune, in the many years he has been in public life, to form intimate friendships with men in many countries and had been particularly fortunate in being able for the most part to keep up these friendships through the period of the war, and that from information he had gathered at first hand in this way he has ventured to give open expression to some of the views which he holds regarding the present and the future.

I should like in this connection to read a statement that Doctor Benes publicly made before the war actually took place. All of us would, I think, regard it as a prophecy. Doctor Benes himself would say that it is based on logic and philosophy and expresses only a sequence of facts gathered from the confidences of the acquaintances he has maintained.

In November, 1938, the gentleman who this morning is seated to my right made the following statement in regard to what he believed was likely to happen within a short time after the Munich agreement had been entered into. He said at that time that he believed war was inevitable after Munich. He went on:

> I do not know when it will break out, possibly in a year, perhaps in two or three. I personally doubt whether it will take more than a year.

This was in November, 1938. The attack on Poland came on September 1, 1939.

> The first to suffer the blow will be Poland. . . . France will pay horribly. . . . Hitler will attack all—in the west, and even Russia—and in the end America, too, will be in it.

I do not think I need say anything further by way of introduction of the President of the Czechoslovak republic as one who is entitled to speak with great authority on international affairs.

Dr. EDUARD BENES (President of Czechoslovakia): Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Speaker of the Senate, Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons: Let me first thank you very warmly and sincerely for the kind words with which I have been introduced to this distinguished audience.

It is the first time in the history of Canadian-Czechoslovak relations that a president of Czechoslovakia has the honour of addressing the Canadian parliament. I am cognizant of the great historical significance of this event, and I am profoundly grateful that the honour is mine.

The great contribution of Canada to the struggle of the world for the defeat of German nazism and for the reestablishment of liberty, the achievements this country has

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made in her war, the organization of her army, navy and air force, industrial and especially financial success in solving extremely difficult war problems, the steadiness and the spirit of this country, evoke a deep and sincere admiration.

The sympathy of the Canadian government and people for Czechoslovakia, expressed in words and deeds during the past four years, has been an encouragement and inspiration in this darkest period of modern Czechoslovak history.

You know that for centuries beginning with the middle ages this small nation in the heart of Europe had been a glorious independent kingdom and a prosperous state. The state that first began the fight for religious freedom in Europe. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Prague, its capital, was a great centre of learning, contributed largely to European cultural, spiritual and material development, and played an outstanding role in European history and particularly in the history of the Holy Roman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Perhaps your government knew, too, the famous declaration made by the German Chancellor Bismarck after his victory over Austria in 1866:

> Whoever is master of Bohemia, is master of Europe. Europe must, therefore, never allow any nation except the Czechs to rule it, since that nation does not lust for domination. The boundaries of Bohemia are the safeguard of European security and he who moves them will plunge Europe into misery.

In my estimation there can be no better comment on the position of my country even to-day.

The recognition of our cause here in this country in 1918 was also undoubtedly due to the unmistakable determination of our people to live as a free and independent nation. More than one hundred and fifty thousand Czechoslovak soldiers, many of whom came from Canada to Europe, fought for their country's liberation in the first world war in Russia, France and Italy. When the war was drawing to a close, the epic march of the Czechoslovak legionnaires across the Siberian plains to Vladivostok fired the imagination of the Canadian people as well as the rest of the world. The first unit of our legionnaires made its way across the Pacific from Russia to the battlefields of France, landed in Vancouver and was enthusiastically welcomed by the Canadian people.

Czechoslovakia's twenty years' record as a free and independent democratic state is one of which we are justly proud. Surrounded on all sides by authoritarian countries and governments, she remained faithful to the democratic traditions which came to her very largely from the western hemisphere. Her social legislation and her educational system were progressive and advanced; her financial system was stable, her currency, one of the soundest in Europe; her general economic standard was very high and her import and export trade greater than that of Italy. Until 1938 this republic was one of the most prosperous and happy countries in Europe. Even the concentrated campaign of Nazi Germany, beginning in 1936, using corruption, lying propaganda and threatening war and violence, failed to shake the inner harmony of the Czechoslovak republic.

In her foreign policy Czechoslovakia resolutely and consistently followed the policy of peace, international arbitration and collective security. She fostered and encouraged friendship with her neighbours—Austria, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Rumania. She was the most loyal member of the League of Nations. She supported the Locarno policy, was an original signatory of the Briand-Kellogg pact, and was ready to play the part demanded of her in any generally accepted system of collective security. In Geneva she resolutely opposed the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and China; I was President of the Assembly of the League of Nations when we voted the sanctions against Italy upon her invasion of Abyssinia. Czechoslovakia was ready to oppose militarily the occupation of the Rhineland and Austria. Our army and air force were ready and thoroughly efficient. Up to the year 1939 we did our duty completely, not only to our nation, but to Europe and democracy as well.

Czechoslovakia was in mortal danger from the moment that Hitler and the nazi leaders came to power. When Hitler saw that the policy of sanctioning against Italy was not strictly applied and when the German remilitarization of the Rhineland was not opposed by force, he thought that the countless seeds of bitterness and mistrust sown by the dictators would permit him to reap a harvest of destruction of democracy in Europe and bring about the realization of his pan-German plan. The success of the annexation of Austria in March led to the September crisis in 1938.

My own view then was that Hitler's demands and attacks against Czechoslovakia should have been rejected even at the cost of a war. We had ready one and a half million splendid soldiers. But the western powers were not ready for war in 1938, either morally, or materially. Through the sacrifice made by Czechoslovakia, Europe and the world gained a year's time in which to prepare better for the defence against the coming onslaught. In my opinion, the second world war began with

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the criminal occupation of Prague. And from the very day of occupation, March 15, 1939, all Czechoslovak citizens have been at war with Germany.

Since 1938 the Czechoslovaks at home have endured great hardships, sorrows and suffering. They know that many of their soldiers and airmen who escaped from their enslaved homeland lost their lives while fighting for its liberation in Poland and in France. They know that after the Franco-German armistice, Czechoslovak soldiers and airmen reassembled in Great Britain, and that in the decisive Battle of Britain, Czechoslovak airmen played an honourable part. They know that Czechoslovak soldiers are now fighting in Russia and in Africa and manning the defences of Great Britain even while they see their own country being converted into an arsenal for a war against the united nations. Many are now working as forced labourers in Germany and elsewhere. Those who resist the oppressors are either executed in masses or tortured in prisons and concentration camps. Their country is pillaged and germanized, their national education completely destroyed. The undying memory of the martyred village of Lidice forbids us ever to relax in the world-struggle now waged against the powers of evil and darkness.

We know what we are fighting for. Our every effort is, first of all, spent for the restoration of our democratic way of life, for those moral values that are fundamental to it, as opposed to the nazi creed which deprives individuals and nations not only of freedom but of human dignity and equality. We are fighting, too, for the return of international order, in which the sanctity of treaties and the pledged word will prevail, in contrast to their deliberate violation whenever the nazis consider it expedient. We are fighting for some sort of international charter—a charter which shall embody the rights of man and be applicable to the people of all countries; in short, for a world that is new and free. In my opinion, this entails the punishment of all those people who are guilty of perpetrating numberless crimes and cruelties of the past four years—not in the spirit of vengeance, but with a full measure of justice.

Secondly, we are fighting for a social and economic reorganization of the European continent, which will be in great danger of chaos and disruption after the present war. The consequences of this war will be far-reaching and social and economic difficulties far greater than those of 1918 in Europe. The democratic united nations will have the duty to remain politically and militarily together even after the present war. But the peace which comes after this war will necessitate their new close collaboration also in the social and economic spheres.

Thirdly, we are fighting for a more lasting peace in the future, one which will be guaranteed effectively by an international organization. A new system of collective security must be prepared and established, one which will be more practical and function more effectively than the last. The first steps have already been made in the treaty signed by the united nations, but more discussion and preparations on the far-reaching questions of peace will be necessary before unity among the united nations will be achieved.

This is directly connected with the fourth fundamental aim of the present war, the one which will perhaps be the most difficult and at the same time most decisive to realize: a new political reorganization of Europe and the world. All these aims are interrelated and inseparable.

All the united nations, the great British commonwealth in which Canada has so vital a part and which has played such a glorious role in the present war; your great neighbour, the United States, whose friendly three-thousand mile boundary is an example of good neighbourliness to the rest of the world; Soviet Russia, who first broke the legend of nazi invincibility; China, whose strength seems incredibly increased as we look back on her heroic fight against the Japanese aggressors, as well as the smaller united nations, all share in this global struggle and all agree in these four great peace aims, which must be achieved in this second world war. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg, Norway, Austria as well as France—all have to be liberated. France has had to come to humiliating terms with the enemy. Even to-day the enemy has not exacted his last full measure of humiliation and vengeance. Germany has torn up the armistice agreement, imprisoned her manhood, or compelled it to work at forced labour. Yet France has never ceased to be capable of greatness. I believe that before very long France will rejoin her allies as a fully sovereign and belligerent nation. She will take her place at a council table of Europe. Europe needs a strong and regenerated France—and the same is true of the other subjugated nations—and without her there will be no lasting peace on the European continent.

D 60958

After the collapse of Germany the united nations must, in my opinion, remain an organized body which will create the basis for the new post-war international order and for the new system of international collaboration and security, in which every member will play its due and proportionate part.

All Czechoslovaks are greatly indebted to Canada as well as to Great Britain and to the British commonwealth for the magnanimity with which she received Czechoslovak citizens who fled from their homeland in the past several years. They only followed their fellow countrymen who came years before to establish themselves permanently in Canada and are now faithful Canadian citizens and true Canadian patriots. I firmly believe that they are fully sharing Canada's effort in this war and will always serve to promote and strengthen our mutual understanding and friendship.

Canadians of Czechoslovak origin are now fighting in the Canadian and partly in the Czechoslovak army abroad. Many fliers, Canadian and Czechoslovak, trained here in your great country, are bravely fighting together to defeat our common enemy, who brought this war upon us.

Czechoslovakia's gratitude for Canada's consistent policy toward Czechoslovakia since 1918 is boundless. Mr. Mackenzie King's repudiation of the wanton German aggression against Czechoslovakia in the House of Commons on March 20, 1939, Canada's refusal to recognize the occupation of Czechoslovakia on April 7, 1941, and the granting of full recognition to the government of Czechoslovakia in England on July 17, 1942, has been the rounding out of this mutual relationship. These are ties that bind Canada and Czechoslovakia together and will bind them forever; and my thanks for all this, Mr. Prime Minister, to you, to your Parliament, and to your great country.

Czechoslovakia's policy has not changed since 1918. Nor will it change after victory is ours. I feel authorized to declare on behalf of my nation that after the final victory in this great war is achieved, the Czechoslovak nation will reconstruct its old home rapidly and successfully by its untiring efforts, remaining faithful—as it always was during the difficult periods of its long, chequered and glorious history—to the democratic way of life, to the principles of spiritual and religious freedom and to the ideals of peace and peaceful international collaboration, of which Canada and its brave and freedom-loving people was always one of the most typical and courageous representatives in the policy of the whole world.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I would ask the Speaker of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Commons if they would express on behalf of the members of parliament our appreciation of the memorable address to which we have just listened by the President of the Czechoslovakia republic. May I say to Dr. Benes that we follow in our parliament the practice he followed as President of the League of Nations, and speak in either one of two official languages. I know, had time permitted, the President, as was the custom at the League of Nations, would have wished to repeat in French the address which he has just delivered in English. I would suggest that one of the two gifted gentlemen who will express our thanks to Doctor Benes might take notice of the fact that we are a parliament which recognizes more than one language.

Hon. THOMAS VIEN (Speaker of the Senate): Excellence, c'est pour moi un honneur singulier de vous offrir, au nom des membres du Sénat et de la Chambre des communes, nos remerciements chaleureux pour avoir bien voulu nous honorer de votre présence et nous adresser la parole.

Je m'acquitte de cet agréable devoir en ma langue maternelle, l'une des deux langues officielles de ce pays, avec d'autant plus de joie que vous la parlez vous-même avec une grande élégance.

Depuis très longtemps, Excellence, nous souhaitions avoir le privilège que vous nous octroyez aujourd'hui. Pendant le dernier quart de siècle, nous vous avons vu à l'œuvre et nous avons suivi votre rapide ascension vers les plus hauts sommets de la carrière politique. Nous avons vivement applaudi à la naissance de la République tchécoslovaque. Nous avons partagé ses joies, admiré le courage héroïque de son peuple, pleuré, comme nous pleurons encore, sur ses malheurs. Notre Premier Ministre, et votre ami, le regretté sénateur Raoul Dandurand, de retour de Genève, nous ont souvent parlé de votre illustre maître, M. Masaryk, et de vous-même, son digne successeur. Votre réputation mondiale vous a précédé chez nous. Nous admirons en vous, Excellence, la sagesse et la prudence de l'homme d'Etat; la vigilance et le courage du patriote; l'infatigable vaillance de l'apôtre diffusant dans le monde les immortels principes sur lesquels reposent la véritable démocratie, la liberté, l'ordre et la paix.

En une circonstance mémorable de votre brillante carrière, vous vous proclamiez vous-même citoyen de cette jeune Europe, née de la plus terrible conflagration que le monde ait connue, et d'un Etat nouveau qui a consacré ses forces et son énergie à la reconstruction d'un monde toujours en formation.

Comme nous, vous êtes à la recherche d'un idéal, d'un symbole, et d'une formule de civilisation qui assureraient à l'humanité entière le libre exercice de ses droits et l'affranchiraient à jamais de la crainte et du besoin.

Nous vous remercions d'être venu raviver de votre chaude éloquence notre foi dans la vérité, l'honnêteté et la fraternité humaine. Nous garderons de votre visite un impérissable souvenir et cette date restera à jamais gravée en lettres d'or dans nos annales et dans nos cœurs.

Hon. J. A. GLEN (Speaker of the House of Commons): Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. President and ladies and gentlemen; There are many occasions, Mr. Prime Minister and Mr. President, during a man's life when the hopes and dreams of the past become the realization of the present. I think that Doctor Benes is in that position to-day. He to-day sees in the immediate future the realization of those hopes. Everyone will remember Doctor Benes during those days of Munich of 1938, and how he conducted himself with cool and calm courage, steady judgment and with a definite purpose in mind. He held for himself during that time a high honour—I think he will consider it a high honour—that he incurred the most bitter hatred of Hitler. For all of us will recall those days of the Sudeten incident when Doctor Benes was leading his people, how Hitler chose him as public enemy No. 1 and reviled him to the whole world as a traitor to Czechoslovakia and, therefore, a traitor to Germany! I shall always recall the steadiness with which that challenge was met, and the determination with which Doctor Benes carried on his high office in behalf of his country.

The Prime Minister has told you of the prophetic utterance by Doctor Benes in November, 1938, which was fulfilled to the last word. Now Doctor Benes has given us another prophecy, though he himself knows and says this is a very dangerous field. He predicts the end of this war; I think the words he used were: "in the winter of 1943-44." May he see the fulfilment also of that prediction. Doctor Benes' address to us is an inspiration to Canada. It conveys to us some measure of the courage and steadfastness which was exhibited by his people and by himself during those terrible days. I should like to recall a broadcast that was made by Doctor Benes some time ago, which has remained in my memory. I do not recall his exact words, but I remember that he asked himself one question: "What do I want?" The answer he gave was, "I want to go home. I want to go to my own country. I want a free Czechoslovakia in a free Europe."

Mr. President, on behalf of those who are gathered here at this joint meeting of both houses of parliament, I thank you for your presence here with us to-day. As I stated, you have again entered into the realm of prophecy, and we do hope that your prediction on this occasion will come true within at least another year. Whether or not, I want to assure you that all Canada joins with you and your country, that we shall prosecute and continue our efforts until this war is successfully finished. On behalf of this joint meeting I express to you that which has been so evident from time to time during your address, the great pleasure you have given us. I express the wish of every man and woman in this audience when I say to you that we hope in the very near future you may return to your own home, your own country, a free Czechoslovakian, in a free Europe.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
95		Bracken, Hon. John. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60885 - D 60886	
95		Cardin, Hon. P.J.A. Speeches in Parliament	Feb. 1943	D 60887 - D 60921	
95		Casablanca Conference. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60922 - D 60925	
95		Chiang Kai-Shek, Madame. Speeches in Parliament	16 June 1943	D 60926 - D 60947	
95		Civil Air Transport. Speeches in Parliament	2 Apr. 1943	D 60948 - D 60951	
96		Confederation. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60952 - D 60953	
96		Czechoslovakia, Dr. Edward Benes. Speeches in Parliament	3 June 1943	D 60954 - D 60959	
96		Defence of Lower St. Lawrence Region. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60960 - D 60981	
96		Deputy Speaker. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60982 - D 60984	
96		Dominion Day. Speeches in Parliament	1 July 1943	D 60985 - D 60991	
96		Eden, Rt. Hon. Anthony. Speeches in Parliament	1 Apr. 1943	D 60992 - D 60993	

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, June 9/43

Miss Gregoire:

These are copies of a statement Mr. King made in the House yesterday.

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D 60960

The Ministers of National Defence having made their respective statements to the House on defence matters generally, this would appear an appropriate moment for me to make a statement with respect to the measures which have been adopted in co-operation with civilian authorities in the organization of the defences of the Lower St. Lawrence Region, with a view more particularly to countering expected submarine activities in that area.

These measures include the appointment of a Defence Co-ordination Officer to co-ordinate civilian defence efforts and provide the necessary liaison with the service forces in the region.

D 60962

Upon the advice of the Chiefs of Staff, Vice-Admiral Percy Nelles, Air Marshal Lloyd S. Breadner, and Lieutenant General Kenneth Stuart, the Government has appointed Squadron Leader J.P.J. Desloges, R.C.A.F., as Defence Co-ordination Officer in the Gaspe and Lower St. Lawrence.

The creation of this new position and the appointment to it of Squadron Leader Desloges complete an extensive and highly integrated organization of all civilian and service defence facilities of this region. The Service-Civilian organization will be operative against any type of enemy action, but it has been designed particularly with a view to providing the most powerful possible counter-measures to German U-boat activities which are to be expected in the waters of the river and gulf this season.

Squadron Leader Desloges' duties will be to supervise and co-ordinate the work of the civilian organizations which will operate in intimate co-operation with the Navy, Army, and Air Force, and to provide liaison between these civilian organizations and the Armed Forces. The civilian organizations are the Quebec Civilian Protection Committee (A.R.P.), the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Quebec Provincial Police, and the Aircraft Detection Corps. Partly in the civilian and partly in the Service field, the Reserve Army also has an important role to play in the plan.

Specialized instruction in submarine detection and aircraft identification is being given to the residents of every town, village and hamlet of the Gaspe and Lower St. Lawrence region, and also to all persons in the rural districts, including remotely located farmers, fishermen and lumbermen. Four mobile instruction units are already at work and to date more than thirty community meetings have been held. These meetings, which are for the purpose of forming local civilian defence organizations and for hearing details of the plan, have almost all been called by the municipal authorities themselves. In nearly every instance, they have been presided over by the parish priest or the mayor. Speakers provided by the Civilian Protection Committee, the Aircraft Detection Corps, the Local Reserve Army units, and by the other defence forces, have addressed these meetings, describing how each organization and Service fits into the plan.

D 60963

Briefly, the already smoothly working Aircraft Detection Corps is being extended and trained to function equally well as a submarine detection corps. The A.D.C., along with units of the Quebec Civilian Protection Committee, will provide the means through which all citizens can render invaluable service. It need be no secret that members of the A.D.C. have already made valuable contributions in the battle against the U-boats, particularly off our Atlantic coasts, during the winter months.

At the present time members of the A.D.C. in the Gaspe and Lower St.Lawrence region are turning in more than 500 reports of all kinds a week. Most of these reports have, of course, referred to the sighting of our own planes, and the story of how members of the A.D.C. have facilitated the rescue of lost airmen is already well known.

This aircraft detection work has given a large organization excellent training and practice in handling reports swiftly. When a submarine is sighted this training, and the channels of communication already established, will enable a clear-cut report, devoid of the confusion of undue excitement, to reach operational units of the Navy, Army, and Air Force in the shortest possible time.

To get action, any resident of the region who sights a submarine, or any A.D.C. observer who sights either an aircraft or a submarine, has only to go to the nearest telephone and ask the operator for "Aircraft Detection Corps". The operator will instantly clear all lines to a reporting centre connected with the operational units so that the persons reporting may give their messages directly to the Service personnel who are on duty at the reporting centre twenty-four hours a day. The reporting centre passes the information by direct telephone to the operational units of the defence services concerned where immediate action is taken in accordance with pre-arranged plans for dealing with the enemy.

A point which I wish to emphasize is that the report goes from the reporting centre directly to operational units which not only have full authority but the duty of taking instant action. Every officer knows exactly what has to be done and knows that it is his job to get it done without waiting for instructions from any higher authority. Furthermore, among the Services plans have been so fully worked out that combined operations by two or more of the Services occur automatically without waiting for further instructions from higher authority.

Thus, the moment a report is received at an operational station, planes of the Air Force that are already in the air on anti-submarine patrol are directed by radio to the spot where the U-boat was sighted. Ships of the Navy already on patrol in the same area are also directed by radio to the location. If the scene is one in which shore guns of the Army can be effective, the appropriate battery is immediately notified and has full authority to go into instant action. Meanwhile other planes at aerodromes in the district and additional Naval vessels at local harbours are in constant readiness.

After action orders have been given, or possibly simultaneously with them, reports of course go to superior authority. These are not only for the information of such authority but are also to enable senior officers to order into action, if they deem it necessary, any additional forces from neighbouring or perhaps distant districts which they think might add to the success of the operations, but let me again make it clear, in view of misconceptions on the part

D 60964

of some of the public last year, that a message does not go all the way to headquarters in Nova Scotia and orders come all the way back again before counter-action against the enemy is initiated.

In certain remote areas there are as yet no telephone lines. In these cases means are available for getting the messages through by telegraph. If neither telephone nor telegraph lines exist, radio communication is available. All operators, whether telephone, telegraph or radio, are already fully instructed in the means of getting messages through rapidly. An observer who spots a submarine in regions not served by 'phone can get his message through by getting it to any telegraph or radio operator. A further detail worth mentioning is that all three means of communication will be available for emergency messages of this kind twenty-four hours a day. In districts where the rural telephone system, for example, has in the past closed down during the night, special arrangements through the co-operation of all concerned have been made for operators to answer at any hour all incoming calls reporting aircraft movements or enemy activity.

It has been mentioned that the Reserve Army, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Quebec Provincial Police, and the Quebec Civilian Protection Committee, all have important roles in the over-all plan. The job of the Reserve Army is a dual one. All its members in the Gaspe and Lower St. Lawrence region have been made ex officio members of the Aircraft Detection Corps organization. In this capacity they will function along with all other civilians as submarine and aircraft spotters. If, however, local defensive action is required, the Reserve Army units are equipped and trained to defend their communities and put up effective resistance pending the arrival of additional military forces or assistance from the Naval or Air Services.

The R.C.M. Police and the Quebec Provincial Police will maintain a vigilant watch for possible enemy agents and saboteurs. They will be assisted by the Reserve and Active Army units located at isolated points along the coast and by information furnished by members of the Civilian defence organizations.

I should like to point out that bringing thousands of civilians into our defensive system in this region implies no weakening or relaxing of the defensive facilities already provided by the three Armed Services. On the contrary, naval, land, and air defences undertaken by the Active Service forces have all been considerably strengthened during the winter months. What has happened in bringing civilian organizations into the picture to a much greater degree than formerly, is that the Armed Forces and Police authorities are being provided with thousands of additional eyes and ears - and these extra eyes and ears are being given technical instructions to make them extremely useful. The Navy, Army, Air Force, and Police will maintain their patrols as usual, but all four will now have the advantage of the additional help provided by all residents of the region.

Along with the community meetings which are being held in the Gaspe and Lower St. Lawrence region by the mobile instruction units (these units, by the way, will use boat and plane if necessary to get to places not served by roads), the system of instruction of the civilian population includes the use of pamphlets and posters and the co-operation of press and radio. The A.D.C. and the Quebec Civilian Protection Committee are jointly responsible for

D 60965

the educational program. This program is planned to include A.D.C. exercises. In these exercises the residents of the various communities would have an opportunity to test their skill in aircraft recognition and their efficiency in making concise, clear reports. Other details which will be taken care of are educational work to make the "dim-out" in this region still more effective, and the Civilian Protection Committee will explain to the citizens what this precautionary measure does and why it is necessary.

Another educational campaign that will be intensified is discouragement of careless talking about ship movements and military installations. The purpose of this, of course, is to keep the enemy from gaining any information useful to him.

The new Defence Co-ordination Officer, Squadron Leader Desloges, whose headquarters will be in the Gaspe area, has not only had extensive experience in combat in this war, but is bilingual and has a personality which should make co-operation through him between all the participating organizations an easy matter.

Squadron Leader Desloges was a member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police prior to his appointment to a commission in the R.C.A.F. in October, 1937. He was one of the early Canadian pilots to participate in the Battle of Britain. He was wounded, losing the sight of an eye, in August, 1940, thus being eliminated from further front-line combat duty. After returning to Canada he became widely known throughout the Province of Quebec as the result of a series of lectures which he gave. Subsequently he was appointed to the command of an Air Gunners' Ground Training School.

Another prominent personality in the plan is Marcel Gaboury, K.C., who is not only Commissioner of the Quebec Provincial Police, but also head of the Quebec Civilian Protection Committee, both of which organizations are components of the new defence plan. Commissioner Gaboury will supervise the educational campaign sponsored by the Quebec Civilian Protection Committee and will be assisted by the Public Relations Officers of the three Services.

The Services feel that this fine co-operation by civilians will enhance the value of the co-ordinated defence facilities which they had already set up jointly. I need hardly say that I thoroughly agree with them. We have here an ideal example of civilians and Service personnel working in complete co-operation and co-ordination in the defence of our nation.

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D 60970

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D 60971

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The creation of this new position and the appointment to it of Squadron Leader Desloges complete an extensive and highly integrated organization of all civilian and service defence facilities of this region. The Service-Civilian organization will be operative against any type of enemy action, but it has been designed particularly with a view to providing the most powerful possible counter-measures to German U-boat activities which are to be expected in the waters of the river and gulf this season.

Squadron Leader Desloges' duties will be to supervise and co-ordinate the work of the civilian organizations which will operate in intimate co-operation with the Navy, Army, and Air Force, and to provide liaison between these civilian organizations and the Armed Forces. The civilian organizations are the Quebec Civilian Protection Committee (A.R.P.), the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Quebec Provincial Police, and the Aircraft Detection Corps. Partly in the civilian and partly in the Service field, the Reserve Army also has an important role to play in the plan.

Specialized instruction in submarine detection and aircraft identification is being given to the residents of every town, village and hamlet of the Gaspe and Lower St. Lawrence region, and also to all persons in the rural districts, including remotely located farmers, fishermen and lumbermen. Four mobile instruction units are already at work and to date more than thirty community meetings have been held. These meetings, which are for the purpose of forming local civilian defence organizations and for hearing details of the plan, have almost all been called by the municipal authorities themselves. In nearly every instance, they have been presided over by the parish priest or the mayor. Speakers provided by the Civilian Protection Committee, the Aircraft Detection Corps, the Local Reserve Army units, and by the other defence forces, have addressed these meetings, describing how each organization and Service fits into the plan.

Briefly, the already smoothly working Aircraft Detection Corps is being extended and trained to function equally well as a submarine detection corps. The ~~A.D.C.~~ aircraft Detection Corps, along with units of the Quebec Civilian Protection Committee, will provide the means through which all citizens can render invaluable service. It need be no secret that members of the ~~A.D.C.~~ aircraft Detection Corps have already made valuable contributions in the battle against the U-boats, particularly off our Atlantic coasts, during the winter months.

At the present time members of the ~~A.D.C.~~ aircraft Detection Corps in the Gaspe and Lower St.Lawrence region are turning in more than 500 reports of all kinds a week. Most of these reports have, of course, referred to the sighting of our own planes, ~~and~~ The story of how members of the ~~A.D.C.~~ aircraft Detection Corps have facilitated the rescue of lost airmen is already well known.

This aircraft detection work has given a large organization excellent training and practice in handling reports swiftly. When a submarine is sighted this training, and the channels of communication already established, will enable a clear-cut report, devoid of the confusion of undue excitement, to reach operational units of the Navy, Army, and Air Force in the shortest possible time.

To get action, any resident of the region who sights a submarine, or any ~~A.D.C.~~ aircraft Detection Corps observer who sights either an aircraft or a submarine, has only to go to the nearest telephone and ask the operator for "Aircraft Detection Corps". The operator will instantly clear all lines to a reporting centre connected with the operational units so that the persons reporting may give their messages directly to the Service personnel who are on duty at the reporting centre twenty-four hours a day. The reporting centre passes the information by direct telephone to the operational units of the defence services concerned where immediate action is taken in accordance with pre-arranged plans for dealing with the enemy.

A point which I wish to emphasize is that the report goes from the reporting centre directly to operational units which not only have full authority but the duty of taking instant action. Every officer knows exactly what has to be done and knows that it is his job to get it done without waiting for instructions from any higher authority. Furthermore, among the Services plans have been so fully worked out that combined operations by two or more of the Services occur automatically without waiting for further instructions from higher authority.

Thus, the moment a report is received at an operational station, planes of the Air Force that are already in the air on anti-submarine patrol are directed by radio to the spot where the U-boat was sighted. Ships of the Navy already on patrol in the same area are also directed by radio to the location. If the scene is one in which shore guns of the Army can be effective, the appropriate battery is immediately notified and has full authority to go into instant action. Meanwhile other planes at aerodromes in the district and additional Naval vessels at local harbours are in constant readiness.

After action orders have been given, or possibly simultaneously with them, reports of course go to superior authority. These are not only for the information of such authority but are also to enable senior officers to order into action, if they deem it necessary, any additional forces from neighbouring or perhaps distant districts which they think might add to the success of the operations, but let me again make it clear, in view of misconceptions on the part

of some of the public last year, that a message does not go all the way to headquarters in Nova Scotia and orders come all the way back again before counter-action against the enemy is initiated.

In certain remote areas there are as yet no telephone lines. In these cases means are available for getting the messages through by telegraph. If neither telephone nor telegraph lines exist, radio communication is available. All operators, whether telephone, telegraph or radio, are already fully instructed in the means of getting messages through rapidly. An observer who spots a submarine in regions not served by 'phone can get his message through by getting it to any telegraph or radio operator. A further detail worth mentioning is that all three means of communication will be available for emergency messages of this kind twenty-four hours a day. In districts where the rural telephone system, for example, has in the past closed down during the night, special arrangements through the co-operation of all concerned have been made for operators to answer at any hour all incoming calls reporting aircraft movements or enemy activity.

It has been mentioned that the Reserve Army, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Quebec Provincial Police, and the Quebec Civilian Protection Committee, all have important roles in the over-all plan. The job of the Reserve Army is a dual one. All its members in the Gaspe and Lower St. Lawrence region have been made ex officio members of the Aircraft Detection Corps organization. In this capacity they will function along with all other civilians as submarine and aircraft spotters. If, however, local defensive action is required, the Reserve Army units are equipped and trained to defend their communities and put up effective resistance pending the arrival of additional military forces or assistance from the Naval or Air Services.

The R.C.M. Police and the Quebec Provincial Police will maintain a vigilant watch for possible enemy agents and saboteurs. They will be assisted by the Reserve and Active Army units located at isolated points along the coast and by information furnished by members of the Civilian defence organizations.

I should like to point out that bringing thousands of civilians into our defensive system in this region implies no weakening or relaxing of the defensive facilities already provided by the three Armed Services. On the contrary, naval, land, and air defences undertaken by the Active Service forces have all been considerably strengthened during the winter months. What has happened in bringing civilian organizations into ~~the picture~~ active participation to a much greater degree than formerly, is that the Armed Forces and Police authorities are being provided with thousands of additional eyes and ears - and these extra eyes and ears are being given technical instructions to make them extremely useful. The Navy, Army, Air Force, and Police will maintain their patrols as usual, but all four will now have the advantage of the additional help provided by all residents of the region.

Along with the community meetings which are being held in the Gaspe and Lower St. Lawrence region by the mobile instruction units (these units, by the way, will use boat and plane if necessary to get to places not served by roads), the system of instruction of the civilian population includes the use of pamphlets and posters and the co-operation of press and radio. The ~~A.R.P.~~ Aircraft Detection Corps and the Quebec Civilian Protection Committee are jointly responsible for

D 60974

the educational program. This program is planned to include ~~A.D.C.~~ Aircraft exercises. In these exercises the residents of the various communities would have an opportunity to test their skill in aircraft recognition and their efficiency in making concise, clear reports. Other details which will be taken care of are educational work to make the "dim-out" in this region still more effective, and the Civilian Protection Committee will explain to the citizens what this precautionary measure does and why it is necessary.

Another educational campaign that will be intensified is discouragement of careless talking about ship movements and military installations. The purpose of this, of course, is to keep the enemy from gaining any information useful to him.

The new Defence Co-ordination Officer, Squadron Leader Desloges, whose headquarters will be in the Gaspe area, has not only had extensive experience in combat in this war, but is bilingual and has a personality which should make co-operation through him between all the participating organizations an easy matter.

Squadron Leader Desloges was a member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police prior to his appointment to a commission in the R.C.A.F. in October, 1937. He was one of the early Canadian pilots to participate in the Battle of Britain. He was wounded, losing the sight of an eye, in August, 1940, thus being eliminated from further front-line combat duty. After returning to Canada he became widely known throughout the Province of Quebec as the result of a series of lectures which he gave. Subsequently he was appointed to the command of an Air Gunners' Ground Training School.

Another prominent personality in the plan is Marcel Gaboury, K.C., who is not only Commissioner of the Quebec Provincial Police, but also head of the Quebec Civilian Protection Committee, both of which organizations are components of the new defence plan. Commissioner Gaboury will supervise the educational campaign sponsored by the Quebec Civilian Protection Committee and will be assisted by the Public Relations Officers of the three Services.

The Services feel that this fine co-operation by civilians will enhance the value of the co-ordinated defence facilities which they had already set up jointly. I need hardly say that I thoroughly agree with them. We have here an ideal example of civilians and Service personnel working in complete co-operation and co-ordination in the defence of our nation.

D 60975

Déclaration du Premier Ministre concernant
la défense de la région du Bas Saint-Laurent

Aux correspondants et rédacteurs de journaux.

Cette déclaration, strictement confidentielle, est fournie pour la commodité des journaux, à la condition qu'elle soit tenue officiellement secrète, qu'elle ne soit pas publiée ni divulguée avant qu'elle ne soit prononcée par le Premier Ministre à la Chambre des Communes.

Sur l'avis des chefs d'état-major suivants: le vice-amiral Percy Nelles, le maréchal de l'Air Lloyd S. Breadner, et le lieutenant général Kenneth Stuart, le Gouvernement a nommé le chef d'escadrille J.-P.-J. Desloges, du C.A.R.C., officier de coordination de la Défense pour la région de Gaspé et du Bas Saint-Laurent.

La création de ce nouveau poste et la nomination du chef d'escadrille Desloges sont le complément d'un groupement vaste et compréhensif de tous les moyens de défense civils et militaires de cette région. Cet organisme civil et militaire aura pour tâche de défendre la région contre toute attaque de la part de l'ennemi, mais son objet principal consistera à appliquer les mesures les plus efficaces contre la menace des sous-marins allemands qui, comme on peut s'y attendre, feront des incursions dans les eaux du Fleuve et du Golfe au cours de l'été.

Les fonctions du chef d'escadrille Desloges consisteront à surveiller et à coordonner le travail des organismes civils appelés à collaborer intimement avec la marine, l'armée et l'aviation, et à servir de trait d'union entre ces organismes civils et les forces armées. Les organismes civils sont le comité de protection civile du Québec (C.P.C.), la Royale gendarmerie à cheval du Canada, la Police provinciale du Québec et le Service de détection des avions. L'armée de réserve, qui agira en partie dans le domaine civil et en partie dans le domaine militaire, jouera aussi un rôle important dans ce plan de défense.

D 60976

Des cours spéciaux portant sur la détection des sous-marins et l'identification des avions seront donnés aux habitants de chaque ville, de chaque village et de chaque hameau de la région de Gaspé et du Bas Saint-Laurent, ainsi qu'à tous les habitants des districts ruraux, y compris les fermiers, les pêcheurs et les bûcherons qui vivent dans les régions isolées. Quatre unités mobiles d'instructeurs sont déjà à l'oeuvre et jusqu'ici des réunions ont été tenues dans plus de trente centres. Ces assemblées, dont l'objet est de former des organismes locaux de défense civile et d'expliquer ce plan de défense, ont presque toutes été convoquées par les autorités municipales. Dans la presque totalité des cas, c'est le curé ou le maire de l'endroit qui a présidé ces réunions. Des conférenciers, fournis par le comité de protection civile, par le Service de détection des avions, par les unités locales de l'armée de réserve et par d'autres divisions de l'armée de défense, ont porté la parole à ces assemblées et expliqué les fonctions et le rôle des divers organismes et services dans le plan général.

Bref, on est à élargir les cadres du Service de détection des avions, service dont le fonctionnement est excellent, et à enseigner à son personnel à s'acquitter également bien du service de détection des sous-marins. De concert avec les unités du comité de protection civile de la province de Québec, le Service de détection des avions fournira à tous les citoyens les moyens de rendre des services inestimables. Il n'est pas nécessaire de cacher que les membres de ce service ont déjà, au cours des mois d'hiver, apporté une aide précieuse à la lutte que nous livrons aux sous-marins, particulièrement au large des côtes de l'Atlantique.

A l'heure actuelle, les membres du Service de détection des avions dans la région de Gaspé et du Bas Saint-Laurent remettent plus de 500 rapports divers par semaine. La plupart de ces derniers, cela va de soi, signalent la présence de nos propres avions. Quant à vous dire comment les membres de ce corps ont facilité le sauvetage d'aviateurs qui s'étaient perdus, c'est une histoire que vous connaissez déjà très bien.

Ce travail de détection des avions a fourni aux membres d'une vaste organisation un excellent entraînement, en ce sens qu'il les a formés à exécuter rapidement les diverses opérations relatives aux rapports. Lorsqu'un sous-marin sera aperçu, cet entraînement et les moyens de communication déjà établis permettront aux unités combattantes de la marine, de l'armée et de l'aviation d'obtenir, dans le plus bref délai possible, un rapport précis que la surexcitation n'aura pas embrouillé.

Pour mettre en jeu nos moyens de défense, l'habitant de la région qui aperçoit un sous-marin, ou l'observateur du Service de détection des avions qui aperçoit un aéronef ou un sous-marin, n'a qu'à se rendre au téléphone le plus rapproché et à demander à la téléphoniste le "Service de détection des avions". Celle-ci dégagera immédiatement toutes les lignes pour mettre la personne qui fait le rapport en communication avec un centre de renseignements, lequel est relié aux unités combattantes. La personne en cause pourra donc soumettre son rapport directement aux membres du Service qui sont à leur poste au centre de renseignements vingt-quatre heures par jour. Le centre de renseignements communique le rapport, par ligne directe, aux unités combattantes intéressées, lesquelles prennent immédiatement les mesures nécessaires conformément aux plans prévus pour disposer de l'ennemi.

Un point sur lequel je désire insister, c'est que le rapport est transmis directement par le centre de renseignements aux unités combattantes qui ont non seulement toute l'autorité mais le devoir d'intervenir immédiatement. Chaque officier sait exactement ce qu'il faut faire et sait qu'il lui incombe de prendre ces mesures sans attendre d'instructions de ses supérieurs. De plus, les plans ont été tellement bien élaborés chez les différents services que des opérations combinées de la part de deux services ou plus sont effectuées automatiquement sans qu'on ait à attendre de recevoir d'autres instructions d'une autorité supérieure.

D 60978

Ainsi, dès qu'une station de combat reçoit un rapport, elle donne instruction par radio aux avions du Corps d'aviation, qui sont déjà en patrouille pour découvrir des sous-marins, de se rendre immédiatement à l'endroit où l'on a vu le sous-marin. Les vaisseaux de la marine qui font la patrouille dans la même région reçoivent également ordre par radio de se diriger vers l'endroit en question. Si la scène se trouve à portée de canons de l'armée installés sur la rive, on avertit immédiatement la batterie la plus rapprochée, et cette dernière est pleinement autorisée à entrer en action. Pendant ce temps, d'autres avions stationnés aux aéroports de la région et des unités additionnelles de la marine dans les ports locaux sont toujours prêts à intervenir.

Après avoir donné les ordres d'entrer en action, ou peut-être en même temps, on transmet naturellement des rapports à l'autorité supérieure. Ces rapports ne visent pas seulement à renseigner cette autorité, mais aussi à permettre à ces officiers supérieurs, s'ils le jugent nécessaire, de donner ordre à des forces additionnelles des environs ou même de centres éloignés de prendre part aux opérations afin d'augmenter les chances de succès. Cependant, je veux qu'il soit bien compris, vu les idées fausses qu'on s'était faites dans le public à ce sujet l'an dernier, qu'un message n'a pas à être transmis jusqu'au quartier général en Nouvelle-Ecosse et des ordres n'ont pas à en émaner avant que l'on puisse engager l'ennemi.

Dans certaines régions écartées, il n'existe pas encore de lignes téléphoniques. Dans ces cas, on peut transmettre les messages par le télégraphe. Là où il n'y a ni téléphone ni télégraphe, on peut communiquer par radio. Tous les téléphonistes, télégraphistes et radiotélégraphistes ont appris comment transmettre rapidement un message. Un observateur qui aperçoit un sous-marin dans des régions sans service téléphonique peut faire transmettre son message en le communiquant à n'importe quel télégraphiste ou radiotélégraphiste. Un autre détail digne de mention, c'est que ces trois moyens de communication seront disponibles vingt-quatre heures par jour pour tout message urgent de ce genre. Dans les régions où jusqu'ici le téléphone rural ne fonctionnait pas la nuit, on a pris des mesures spéciales, avec la

collaboration de tous les intéressés, pour que les téléphonistes répondent à toute heure à toutes les communications signalant les mouvements d'avions ennemis ou une incursion de l'ennemi.

On a mentionné que l'armée de réserve, la Royale gendarmerie à cheval, la Police provinciale du Québec et le comité de protection civile du Québec ont tous un rôle important à jouer dans l'exécution de ce plan d'ensemble. L'armée de réserve a une double tâche à remplir. En Gaspésie et dans la région du Bas Saint-Laurent, tous ses membres ont été créés d'office membres du Corps de détection des avions. En cette qualité, ils serviront, ainsi que les autres civils, de dépisteurs de submersibles et d'avions. Toutefois, en cas d'engagement défensif à un endroit, les unités de l'armée de réserve possèdent l'équipement et la formation nécessaires pour défendre leurs localités et opposer une résistance efficace en attendant l'arrivée de renforts ou l'aide des services naval ou aérien.

La Royale gendarmerie à cheval et la Police provinciale feront bonne garde contre les agents de l'ennemi et les saboteurs possibles. Ils recevront l'aide des unités de la réserve et de l'active établies à divers points le long du littoral et des organismes de la défense civile qui leur communiqueront des renseignements.

Je ferai remarquer que l'entrée en jeu de milliers de civils dans notre système de défense de cette région n'implique aucunement un affaiblissement ou un relâchement des moyens de défense que fournissent déjà les trois services armés. Au contraire, la défense par voie de mer, de terre et des airs confiée aux services actifs a été grandement renforcée au cours de l'hiver. L'effet de l'utilisation des organismes civils dans une plus grande mesure qu'auparavant, c'est que les forces armées et les autorités policières reçoivent le renfort de milliers d'autres yeux et oreilles, et ces collaborateurs supplémentaires obtiennent des instructions précises pour faire oeuvre très utile. La marine, l'armée, l'aviation et la police continueront leurs patrouilles comme d'habitude, mais les quatre bénéficieront désormais de l'aide de tous les habitants de la région.

En même temps que les réunions locales que tiennent en Gaspésie et dans la région du Bas Saint-Laurent les unités mobiles du service d'instructions (soit dit en passant, ces unités voyageront par bateau et par avion, en cas de nécessité, pour atteindre les localités dépourvues de routes), le système adopté pour fournir des directives à la population civile comprend l'emploi de brochurettes et d'affiches et la collaboration des journaux et de la radio. Ce programme éducatif est confié et au Corps de détection des avions et au comité de protection civile. Le programme inclura les exercices du Service de détection des avions. Ces exercices permettront aux habitants des différentes localités d'éprouver leurs aptitudes à répérer les aéronefs et à préparer des rapports concis et clairs. Une campagne d'éducation contribuera aussi à rendre plus total l'obscurcissement dans la région, et le comité de protection civile expliquera aux citoyens les effets et la raison d'être de cette mesure de précaution.

Une autre campagne d'éducation, conduite avec plus de soin, visera à faire disparaître dans les conversations toute mention inutile du mouvement des navires et des installations militaires. Il s'agit naturellement d'empêcher l'ennemi de se procurer tout renseignement qui lui serait utile.

Le nouvel officier de la coordination de la défense, le chef d'escadrille Desloges, qui aura son quartier général dans la région de Gaspé, en plus de jouir d'une grande expérience acquise sur les théâtres même de la présente guerre, parle le français et l'anglais, et il possède une personnalité qui devrait rendre facile, par son intermédiaire, la coopération de tous les organismes participants.

Le chef d'escadrille Desloges faisait partie de la Royale gendarmerie à cheval du Canada avant d'obtenir son brevet d'officier dans le Corps d'aviation royal canadien, en octobre 1937. Il fut l'un des premiers pilotes canadiens à participer à la bataille de Grande-Bretagne. En août 1940, à la suite d'une blessure, il a perdu un oeil, ce qui l'a empêché de continuer de servir sur la ligne même de combat. De retour au

Canada, il a entrepris dans la province de Québec une longue série de conférences qui l'ont rendu très populaire. Dans la suite, il a été nommé à la direction de l'école terrestre des mitrailleurs d'aviation.

Nous comptons également sur les services d'un autre personnage éminent, M. Marcel Gaboury, C.R., qui est à la fois commissaire de la protection civile dans la province de Québec et chef du comité de protection civile du Québec, deux organismes qui font partie du nouveau plan de défense. Le commissaire Gaboury sera chargé de surveiller la campagne d'éducation placée sous le patronage du comité de protection civile du Québec et il aura l'assistance des officiers des relations publiques des trois services.

Les services estiment que cette précieuse coopération des civils accroîtra la valeur des moyens de défense coordonnée qu'ils avaient déjà établis conjointement. Il va sans dire que je partage sans restriction leur avis. Nous avons là un magnifique exemple de civils et de membres du personnel des services qui travaillent en parfaite coopération et coordination pour la défense de la nation.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
95		Bracken, Hon. John. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60885 - D 60886	
95		Cardin, Hon. P.J.A. Speeches in Parliament	Feb. 1943	D 60887 - D 60921	
95		Casablanca Conference. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60922 - D 60925	
95		Chiang Kai-Shek, Madame. Speeches in Parliament	16 June 1943	D 60926 - D 60947	
95		Civil Air Transport. Speeches in Parliament	2 Apr. 1943	D 60948 - D 60951	
96		Confederation. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60952 - D 60953	
96		Czechoslovakia, Dr. Edward Benes. Speeches in Parliament	3 June 1943	D 60954 - D 60959	
96		Defence of Lower St. Lawrence Region. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60960 - D 60981	
96		Deputy Speaker. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60982 - D 60984	
96		Dominion Day. Speeches in Parliament	1 July 1943	D 60985 - D 60991	
96		Eden, Rt. Hon. Anthony. Speeches in Parliament	1 Apr. 1943	D 60992 - D 60993	

D 60982

Re: Deputy Speaker

Standing Order 56.

Vacancy created, appointment T. Vien (Outremont) to Senate - Oct. 6, 1942

Importance of position.

High and honourable;

Requires qualities and attainments similar to Speaker;

presides over Committee of Whole;

substitutes for Speaker.

House should make best possible choice.

Qualifications.

Long experience in Parliamentary affairs.

Familiar with the rules.

Judicial temperament;

conciliatory and firm.

Enjoy esteem of members.

Have knowledge of other official

language than that of Speaker.

D 60983

Bradette's suitability.

Many qualifications to find in one ma

Possessed by:

Joseph Arthur Bradette,

M.P. for Cochrane, On

One of the oldest members of House.

Well and favourably known to all.

Now in 17th year as a member -

(elected - 1926).

Born in Province of Quebec -

resided for many years,
moved to Northern Ontario.

Familiarized himself with English
language till he has become a
master of it - a ready speaker
in both languages.

Faithful attendant on proceedings.

Already presided over Committees on ma
occasions.

Official opposition expressed view mos
acceptable to them:
will be equally acceptable to t

Motion.

D 60984

Precedence for government business

Motion — Monday, 22nd February

Terms - identical with previous sessions in this Parliament.

Reasons - identical - if anything, stronger.

1. War Session.
   Impression in country.

2. Necessary to proceed rapidly with war measures.

3. Attention concentrated on war effort.

Motion similar to those in British House

- by Chamberlain,
- by Churchill.

British motion goes further -
does not permit introduction of public bills, other than government bills.
Desired by Govt. - time of Ministers

Desired for House - concentrate- not be diverted.
" " public service - civil servants, busy.
" " country - not to have attention distracted.

Other opportunity to private members, estimates, war appropriation, budget.

Only suspending rights of private members

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
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96		Confederation. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60952 - D 60953	
96		Czechoslovakia, Dr. Edward Benes. Speeches in Parliament	3 June 1943	D 60954 - D 60959	
96		Defence of Lower St. Lawrence Region. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60960 - D 60981	
96		Deputy Speaker. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60982 - D 60984	
96		Dominion Day. Speeches in Parliament	1 July 1943	D 60985 - D 60991	
96		Eden, Rt. Hon. Anthony. Speeches in Parliament	1 Apr. 1943	D 60992 - D 60993	

July 1, 1943

D 60985

DOMINION DAY

Today, Canada celebrates the 76th anniversary of Confederation. Today is also the fourth Dominion Day to be celebrated since the outbreak of war. To place our wartime situation in perspective, I should like for a moment to recall the conditions of war in previous years.

On July 1st, 1940, the whole free world had been shaken to its foundations by the collapse of France. That was the darkest period in the war. The British nations alone stood - and they stood almost unarmed - against the seemingly invincible Nazi war machine. Italy had joined the aggressor and her armies were poised on the borders of Egypt. Most of the world waited anxiously for some inevitable climax.

The year which followed was the year of survival for the cause of freedom. The seemingly inevitable did not happen. Britain stood, battered but unbroken, against the Nazi onslaught.

On July 1st, 1941, the character and scope of the war had just been vastly changed by the furious and treacherous Nazi assault on Soviet Russia. The minds of free men, deceived for years by lying propaganda, were suddenly called upon to face a wholly unexpected situation. None of the free nations faltered. In that hour, all extended the hand of friendship to the Soviet Union.

D 60986

In the following year, as the titanic struggle on the steppes of Russia ebbed and flowed, the war in the east was joined with the war in the west. The dastardly attack upon Pearl Harbour made of the war a global struggle.

On July 1st, 1942, the war had reached another dark hour. The Soviet armies were being driven back; Japanese power had been extended far and wide in South-east Asia, and the islands of the Pacific. The gates of India were threatened by Japan; the Germans and Italians had reached the outskirts of Alexandria. Suez was in deadly peril. On the Atlantic and on the Pacific, enemy seapower was increasing. The shores of North America were threatened.

The past year, however, witnessed the turn of the tide. In Russia, the Germans were driven back. In the Pacific, Japanese advances ~~have been~~ were checked. The Axis forces ~~have been~~ were driven completely out of Africa; and on the Atlantic the U-boat menace has, for the time being at least, been greatly reduced.

On this Dominion Day, July 1st, 1943, the world scene is vastly changed from a year ago. The United Nations have everywhere gained the initiative. In the Atlantic, in the Mediterranean, In Europe, in the Far East, and in the Pacific - in fact, in every theatre of war, there are substantial reasons for encouragement. The United Nations

D 60987

are prepared for even fiercer fighting. They have steeled themselves to endure heavy losses, and to meet reverses and setb cks. All are determined to do their utmost to win. All now believe that their combined efforts will result in ultimate victory.

Each Dominion Day in wartime has marked steady progress in Canada's contribution to the cause of freedom. In 1940, we had only one division of our army overseas, a mere handful of airmen in action, a few ships on the Atlantic. Air training was only beginning; war production barely beyond the stage of planning and organization.

In 1941, our army overseas had served for a year as a bulwark of Britain's defences in the period of her gravest peril; our trained airmen were already a considerable factor in combat; our navy, greatly expanded, was taking a growing share in guarding the vital North Atlantic sea lanes; our war production and our foodstuffs had proved essential to Britain's continued resistance.

In 1942, our forces on land, at sea, and in the air had still further expanded. Canada's fighting men had continued to keep Canada free from invasion, the world's citadel of freedom. They had seen action on every sea and in the air over almost every battlefront in a world-encircling conflict.

Our fighting men

D 60988

Our war production was approaching its peak; our production of foodstuffs reached heights which seemed incredible. Our country was approaching a total effort.

Today, July 1, 1943, as the United Nations everywhere turn to the offensive, Canada is ready to take her full part in the forthcoming combined assault upon the enemy. We have mobilized our production, our forces, and our resources for the great offensive.

The war effort of Canada - on the production lines of the home front, in the skies over many an embattled land, on all the seas around the world, and in preparation for the supreme offensive against the European stronghold of the Nazi enemy - is an evidence of our strength and of our purpose. It is an affirmation of our faith in the cause for which all the United Nations fight. It is a gage of Canada's emerging importance among the great nations of the world.

In the course of the last Great War, we saw general recognition given to Canada's status as a nation; a status later accorded full recognition at the Imperial Conference of 1926, and still later confirmed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom in the Statute of Westminster. In the course of the present war, we have seen Canada emerge from nationhood into a position generally recognized as that of a world power.

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In the greetings which have come to the government from many parts of the British Commonwealth, and from foreign countries, this note has been predominant. The concensus of opinion is summed up, I believe, in the following paragraphs, which, according to a Canadian Press cable, appeared today in a leading London newspaper:

"Britain and the Empire join in a salutation" on the Dominion's 76th birthday.

"They hail her not only as a member of our group of peoples, but as a world power in her own right.

"Such is the energy of her people that industrially and by measure of armed power, Canada ranks fourth in all the company of the United Nations."

As our contributions to the war effort of the United Nations have increased, so also has the stature of our nationhood. We are all proud of the extent to which mutual aid from Canada is helping other allied nations in arms in the fight against Axis aggression. In the years that lie ahead, our country will have responsibilities never hitherto imagined. There will be tasks of helping to feed the liberated peoples whose homes and homelands have been destroyed and despoiled; of joining in the economic rebuilding of shattered national economies, and coordinating

them within a world-wide system of interchange of goods and services; of sharing in the ordering of the world community of the future, so that there may be peace and justice, freedom and security for all. These are great tasks for any nation. We are already preparing to take our full share of these tasks.

The realization that we may still be at war when we reach July 1st of next year must certainly colour our thoughts and remembrances on this national anniversary.

The new year of our existence as a Dominion, which begins today, will witness the supreme effort of Canada.

~~The people of Canada~~ Our people may in the course of its days be called upon to pass through an ordeal greater than any our country has ever ~~known~~ experienced. In that ordeal we know that our fighting men will nobly uphold the honour of our country; that they will display the utmost resourcefulness, fortitude, and heroism. ~~It~~ The coming months will demand from all of us: steadiness, determination, and the utmost unity.

~~On this day we should also recall the reasons we have for pride in the character of the nation we have built on the northern half of this continent.~~ After nearly four years of war, our country, fortunately, is more united than it has been at any time since the outbreak of war. Canadian workingmen and women, Canadian farmers, Canadian businessmen, Canadians in all walks of life, have shown their readiness to put the

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interests of their country and of the world's freedom before their own immediate interests. [redacted], In a world in which racial strife and racial domination are the instrument and the aim of the enemy, we in Canada have achieved a measure of racial harmony which is surpassed in no other country. It may truly be said that we have built a nation founded on the principles of equality and brotherhood among men.

If a new era in which men and women can enjoy peace and prosperity is to be achieved, the application of these principles must be extended to the relations of all nations with one another. By our strength in war, and by our understanding and cooperation in peace, [redacted] Canada can contribute mightily to the building of a better world.

Today, it is the prayer of the people of Canada that the Divine Power, which has guided and guarded our country throughout the years of its growth, may sustain our armed forces in the endurance of [redacted] bitter conflicts; [redacted] may give courage to our homes during the period of supreme trial that already is so nearly upon us; and may endow all the forces of freedom with the power and wisdom necessary to secure for [redacted] mankind a just and enduring peace.

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95		Cardin, Hon. P.J.A. Speeches in Parliament	Feb. 1943	D 60887 - D 60921	
95		Casablanca Conference. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60922 - D 60925	
95		Chiang Kai-Shek, Madame. Speeches in Parliament	16 June 1943	D 60926 - D 60947	
95		Civil Air Transport. Speeches in Parliament	2 Apr. 1943	D 60948 - D 60951	
96		Confederation. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60952 - D 60953	
96		Czechoslovakia, Dr. Edward Benes. Speeches in Parliament	3 June 1943	D 60954 - D 60959	
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96		Deputy Speaker. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60982 - D 60984	
96		Dominion Day. Speeches in Parliament	1 July 1943	D 60985 - D 60991	
96		Eden, Rt. Hon. Anthony. Speeches in Parliament	1 Apr. 1943	D 60992 - D 60993	

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker: The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN

THURSDAY, April 1, 1943.

The house met at three o'clock.

RIGHT HON. ANTHONY EDEN

SUSPENSION OF SITTING TO WELCOME THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY

Mr. SPEAKER: In accordance with arrangements which have been made for Mr. Eden's visit, it has been considered advisable not to enter upon routine proceedings, and with the consent of the house I would ask that the sitting be suspended until 8 o'clock this day.

SITTING SUSPENDED

At 3.05 p.m. the sitting of the house was suspended until 8 p.m.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, on behalf of hon. members of both houses of this parliament of Canada, it is my privilege and pleasure to extend a very warm welcome to the Right Honourable Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the United Kingdom, who has honoured us with his presence on the floor of this chamber this afternoon and very kindly consented to address the members here assembled a little later in the course of the afternoon.

May I say to Mr. Eden that I extend this welcome, not only on behalf of the members of the two houses of parliament, but on behalf of the Canadian people as a whole, whose representatives we are.

When we learned that Mr. Eden had accepted the invitation extended to him by the government of the United States to visit the United States to discuss with the President and his colleagues matters pertaining to the war, we were delighted to learn that he hoped to be able also to visit Canada before returning to the United Kingdom. I should like at once to thank Mr. Eden most warmly for having accepted so promptly the invitation which upon his arrival in Washington was extended to him by the government of Canada—not only for his kindness in accepting the invitation, but also for agreeing in the course of his stay to address both houses of parliament and to speak to the Canadian people over our radio broadcasting system; and may I add, for his courtesy in sparing the time to spend two or three days with us in the capital.

I am not going to reflect upon the intelligence of members of the two houses of parliament by attempting to review even in briefest outline the outstanding attainments of Mr. Eden's very notable career. They are known not only in this country and in all British countries but in all parts of the world. I would however say to Mr. Eden that we specially welcome him in our parliament to-day because of the important place which he has filled for some twenty years past in the parliament at Westminster, and for the position he now holds of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the United Kingdom and as leader of the British House of Commons. In his twenty years in parliament Mr. Eden has been more intimately associated with the work of the Foreign Office than most of his distinguished predecessors in that high position. I believe it is true that the present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has visited more countries in Europe and in other parts of the world, has visited more parts of the British commonwealth of nations, knows personally more of those who are directing the affairs of both the allied countries and the enemy nations, than any previous occupant of his high office. It is certainly true that no secretary of state for foreign affairs has held that all-important position at a time more critical in the affairs of the world. He has brought to his high office exceptional qualities—qualities, may I say to him, which have been reassuring to all who are members of free assemblies.

We welcome him not only for his position as Secretary of State and for all of high attainment that it signifies, not only for his position of leader of the House of Commons of Britain, which he also holds at the present time. We welcome him also because

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of the high and important mission on which he has come to this side of the Atlantic. Mr. Eden himself has told us that his mission was to undertake a general exchange of views with the President of the United States and his colleagues on all aspects of the war situation and to discuss the most effective method of preparing for meetings between the governments of all united nations to consider questions arising out of the war and questions which will continue to confront the united nations as they seek to work out the problems of peace and of the post-war world. It is not less gratifying to me than I am sure it has been to Mr. Eden himself and to the President, the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, and other members of the government of the United States, to know that he and they were in such complete agreement in respect of the many important subjects they discussed.

Mr. Eden has come to us to discuss similar problems. As hon. members are aware, since the time of his arrival on Tuesday afternoon he has been meeting, almost continuously members of the war cabinet and other of my colleagues. We have been discussing the same subjects and problems. May I say to him that I think we have found ourselves in measure of agreement with him equal to that in which he and the President found themselves in relation to matters they discussed.

In his memorable address at Annapolis, before leaving the United States, Mr. Eden spoke of the British commonwealth of nations as affording a pattern for the better organization of the united nations and for more effective means of consultation and conference between them in carrying out the great purposes they have in common. In making that statement I think I may say that he has spoken for Canada as well as for the United Kingdom. I am sure he has spoken for all the self-governing parts of the British commonwealth of nations.

We welcome Mr. Eden not only for his great accomplishments, for all that he has so successfully achieved in the twenty years of his public life, for his great experience and wisdom in public affairs and his knowledge of men and affairs, but also and most of all for what he is in himself. There is no doubt that the new order, which we all hope is going to follow the termination of this war and prevail in the period of peace, will take on the character of the men who are at the head of affairs and will have to do with the shaping of that new order. It is fortunate indeed for the world that a man who holds the high standards of thought and purpose which Mr. Eden has so consistently upheld, one who has been so strong a champion of the rights of free men, and of justice as between nations, should be one who will be a foremost figure in the matters which will have to do with the shaping of that new era. It is I say a fortunate thing for the well-being of mankind, for the relations between individuals and between nations, that one who possesses so eminently the high qualities of integrity and justice and love of freedom, the belief in the oneness of the human family, and so strong a sense of human brotherhood, should be of those who will have a commanding voice in the shaping of the new order that is to come.

In conclusion, Mr. Eden, may I ask you on your return to Britain if you will take with you the most loyal of greetings and expressions of devotion of His Majesty's Canadian subjects to the King and Queen. Will you also take with you the warmest and best wishes to the Prime Minister of Britain. Tell Mr. Churchill how relieved we all were at his speedy recovery after the unfortunate indisposition he suffered on his return from North Africa, and tell him we do hope and pray that he will continue to the end to enjoy the vision, the wisdom and the endurance which he has manifested from the beginning in his conduct of the affairs of this war. And tell him and tell all the people of Britain that Canada is heart and soul with them in this struggle, and that we shall continue so to remain until the fight itself is ended and victory and peace have been achieved.

Mr. GORDON GRAYDON (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, speaking on behalf of the members of the Progressive Conservative party may I add a word to what has been so eloquently said by the leader of the government of Canada, the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King). I should like to join in the welcome he has extended to our distinguished guest and to say that we in this chamber are honoured and privileged to have with us not only the voice of Britain itself, but a distinguished world figure.

Mr. Eden fought valiantly, courageously and heroically in the dark and trying days of the last war. He was decorated by His Majesty for those services; and throughout the period between the last war and the present one his years of contribution to the preservation of the peace for which he and so many others fought, shone as a beacon light in a confused and stormy international sea. At times he stood almost alone in that period. But may

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96		Food Conference. Speeches in Parliament	June 1943	D 61020 - D 61033	
96		Foreign Policy. Speeches in Parliament	July 1943	D 61034 - D 61038	
96		Manion, Hon. R.J. Speeches in Parliament	5 July 1943	D 61039 - D 61051	
96		National Resources Mobilization Act, Calling up of men. Speeches in Parliament	19 Feb. 1943	D 61052 - D 61058	
96		Post-War Food Problems. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 61059	
96		Prince George-Whitehorse Highway. Speeches in Parliament	5 Mar. 1943	D 61060 - D 61061	
96		Roosevelt, President, Visit to Ottawa. Speeches in Parliament	25 Aug. 1943	D 61062 - D 61103	
96		Sicily, Canadian Forces in. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 61104 - D 61122	
96		Social Security. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 61123 - D 61138	

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No. 25 EXTRA Vol. LXXIV

THE CANADA GAZETTE

LA GAZETTE DU CANADA

OTTAWA, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1940

OTTAWA, VENDREDI 13 SEPTEMBRE 1940

PROCLAMATION

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:

PROCLAMATION

E. MIALL,
Acting Deputy Minister of Justice, Canada

WHEREAS it is provided by The National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940, that the Governor in Council may make from time to time such orders and regulations requiring persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty in the right of Canada for the use within Canada or the territorial waters thereof, as may be deemed necessary or expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of Canada, the maintenance of public order, or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies or services essential to the life of the community;

AND WHEREAS pursuant to the powers therein contained, and the provisions of The War Measures Act, our Governor in Council did on the 27th day of August, 1940, make regulations to provide a system for calling out men for military training within Canada and the territorial waters thereof, such regulations being known as the National War Services Regulations, 1940;

AND WHEREAS pursuant to and in accordance with the said Regulations, it has been decided to call out for military training, as aforesaid, every male British Subject who is or has been at any time subsequent to the first day of September, 1939, ordinarily resident in Canada and who, on the 1st day of July, 1940, had reached the age of twenty-one years but had not yet reached the age on that date of twenty-two years or had reached the age of

PROCLAMATION

ATHLONE
[L.S.]

CANADA

GEORGE SIX, par la Grâce de Dieu, de Grande-Bretagne, d'Irlande et des Territoires britanniques au delà des mers, Défenseur de la Foi, Empereur des Indes.

A TOUS CEUX À QUI les présentes parviendront ou qu'icelles pourront de quelque manière concerner,—SALUT:

PROCLAMATION

E. MIALL,
Sous-ministre intérimaire de la Justice, Canada.

ATTENDU que la Loi de 1940 sur la mobilisation des ressources nationales stipule que le Gouverneur en conseil peut, à l'occasion, édicter des arrêtés et règlements ordonnant à des personnes de se mettre, avec leurs services et leurs biens, à la disposition de Sa Majesté pour le compte du Canada, et pour l'emploi à l'intérieur du Canada ou de ses eaux territoriales, selon qu'il peut être jugé nécessaire ou opportun pour garantir la sécurité publique, pour assurer la défense du Canada, le maintien de l'ordre public ou la poursuite efficace de la guerre, ou pour maintenir les fournitures ou services essentiels à la vie de la collectivité;

ET ATTENDU qu'en vertu des pouvoirs qui y sont contenus et des dispositions de la *Loi des mesures de guerre*, Notre Gouverneur en conseil a, le vingt-septième jour d'août 1940, édicté des règlements prévoyant un système pour appeler les hommes afin de subir l'instruction militaire à l'intérieur du Canada et de ses eaux territoriales, ces règlements étant connus sous le nom de Règlements de 1940 sur les services nationaux de guerre;

ET ATTENDU qu'en vertu et en conformité desdits règlements, il a été décidé d'appeler pour subir l'instruction militaire, tel que précité, tout sujet britannique du sexe masculin, qui habituellement réside ou a résidé au Canada à toute époque postérieure au premier jour de septembre 1939 et qui, au premier jour de juillet 1940, avait atteint l'âge de vingt et un ans, mais qui, à cette date, n'avait pas encore atteint l'âge de vingt-deux ans, ou qui

SEP 16 1940.

D 60995

twenty-two years but had not yet reached the age on that date of twenty-three years, or who had reached the age of twenty-three years but had not yet reached the age on that date of twenty-four years, or who had reached the age of twenty-four years but had not yet reached the age on that date of twenty-five years and who was on the fifteenth day of July, 1940, unmarried or a widower without child or children;

NOW THEREFORE KNOW YE that pursuant to The National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940, and the War Measures Act, and pursuant to and in accordance with the National War Services Regulations, 1940, promulgated under the provisions of the said Acts, we do hereby call out the aforesaid classes of men to submit themselves for medical examination and to undergo military training for a period of thirty days within Canada or the territorial waters thereof, and to report at such places and times and in such manner and to such authorities or persons as may be notified to them respectively by a Divisional Registrar of an Administrative Division appointed by the Governor in Council pursuant to the above mentioned regulations.

OF ALL OF WHICH Our Loving Subjects and all others whom these Presents may concern, are hereby required to take notice.

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, Member of Our Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Honourable 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 eleventh day of September, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty, and in the fourth year of Our Reign.

By Command,
E. H. COLEMAN,
12-3 Under-Secretary of State.

OTTAWA—Printed by J. O. PATENAUDE, I.S.O., Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

avait atteint l'âge de vingt-deux ans, mais qui, à cette date, n'avait pas encore atteint l'âge de vingt-trois ans, ou qui avait atteint l'âge de vingt-trois ans, mais qui, à cette date, n'avait pas encore atteint l'âge de vingt-quatre ans, ou qui avait atteint l'âge de vingt-quatre ans, mais qui, à cette date, n'avait pas encore atteint l'âge de vingt-cinq ans, et qui, le quinzième jour de juillet 1940, était célibataire ou veuf sans enfants;

SACHEZ DONC MAINTENANT qu'en conformité de la *Loi de 1940 sur la mobilisation des ressources nationales* et de la *Loi des mesure de guerre,* et en vertu et en conformité des Règlements de 1940 sur les services nationaux de guerre, promulgués sous le régime des dispositions desdites lois, Nous appelons par les présentes les classes précitées, pour subir l'examen médical ainsi que l'instruction militaire pendant une période de trente jours, à l'intérieur du Canada ou de ses eaux territoriales, et se présenter aux endroits, aux autorités ou personnes, ainsi qu'aux époques et de la façon qui pourront leur être indiqués par un registraire de division d'une division administrative, nommé par le Gouverneur en conseil conformément aux règlements précités.

DE CE QUI PRÉCÈDE, Nos féaux sujets et tous ceux que les présentes peuvent concerner sont par les présentes requis de prendre connaissance.

EN FOI DE QUOI, Nous avons fait émettre Nos présentes Lettres Patentes et à icelles fait apposer le Grand Sceau du Canada. TÉMOIN: Notre cher Oncle, Notre très fidèle et très aimé Cousin et Conseiller, Alexandre Auguste Frédéric Georges, Comte d'Athlone, Chevalier de Notre Ordre très noble de la Jarretière, Membre de Notre très honorable Conseil privé, Chevalier grand-croix de Notre Ordre très honorable du Bain, Grand Maître de Notre Ordre très distingué de Saint-Michel et de Saint-Georges, Chevalier grand-croix de Notre Ordre royal de Victoria, Compagnon de Notre Ordre du Service distingué, Colonel de Notre Armée (retraité), ayant le grade honorifique de Major-Général, un de Nos Aides de camp personnels, Gouverneur Général et Commandant en chef de Notre Dominion du Canada.

EN NOTRE HÔTEL DU GOUVERNEMENT, en Notre cité d'Ottawa, ce onzième jour de septembre en l'an de grâce mil neuf cent quarante, le quatrième de Notre Règne.

Par ordre,
E.-H. COLEMAN,
12-3 Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat.

OTTAWA—J.-O. Patenaude, O.S.I., Imprimeur de Sa Très Excellente Majesté le Roi

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STATEMENT ON EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, 1943 60996

In the earlier part of the Session, and especially in the statement which I made on February 1, I reviewed in some detail the known proceedings of the Casablanca Conference between Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt, and various officers of the armed forces of both nations. I called attention also to various developments in the means and usages of consultation and conference among the governments of the United Nations. I suggested that some of the gaps, in these means of consultation, would have to be filled in as the further planning of offensive warfare progressed.

Progress of the War

What I am about to say ~~today~~ relates to developments of the last few months and especially to the mounting successes in the offensive warfare of the United Nations.

During most of the months between May of 1940 and August of 1942, the story of the war was mainly one of aggression succeeding aggression in many parts of the world. In no aspect of the general picture of the war in 1942 was there any more significant departure than the extent to which the United Nations were able to take the offensive on a large and sustained scale against the Axis.

In many areas throughout the summer of 1942, battle forces were so evenly matched that in any particular theatre, even a slight alteration of forces, even a slight accession of concentrated strength, might have tilted the balance towards victory or defeat. As late as mid-October, I felt it was necessary to say that there was no sign that the tide of war had definitely turned.

D 60997

We know now to what extent good use was made of those months from June to October in supplying reinforcements and equipment to a few areas in which a later offensive against the Axis might be launched. We know now how careful and precise was the planning which, once the initiative had been taken, made it possible for the offensive to be sustained.

That offensive marked the first turning of the tide in the great battle around the world. The main offensive phase began in the Southwest Pacific with the American landings in the Solomons in August, 1942. It was continued, nearer the European fortress, in the offensive launched by the British Eighth Army, westward from El Alamein, late in October. It received its greatest impetus from the Allied landings, in Morocco and Algeria, early in November.

On May the 10th, in introducing a resolution of congratulations upon the victory of the Allied forces I reviewed the campaign to North Africa in some detail. I shall not say more of it today. The results are well known. They marked the triumphal close of an all important chapter in the war.

Elsewhere, campaigns which were holding actions on a vast scale have been turned against the original aggressors with increasing force. In Russia, what looked

D 60998

for a long time like a last-ditch defensive stand was turned into an offensive of such proportions that the entire German Sixth Army was annihilated at Stalingrad. Losses of men and materials on this front have been heavier than in any other theatre of operations. Before the end of 1942, at various points: at the eastern edge of the Black Sea, in the Don Valley, on the central front, and in the Northwest region fronting on the Baltic, steady gains had been made by Russian forces.

On January 18th of this year, while talks between Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt were continuing at Casablanca, the siege of Leningrad was lifted. Until the present week, for many weeks past, the front in Russia had been relatively quiet. A new German offensive has now been launched along nearly 200 miles of the central front. It, along with the recent intensified bombings of strategic targets over Europe, marks a place of new beginning in the war in Europe.

In the Pacific area, Japan's hold remains widespread. There have been some local gains by China in freeing her soil, though the Chinese effort is sharply limited by supplies available, and even more by the length and the difficulties of the supply routes into China. The organization of free China, and the maintenance of industries, education, social services - many of which migrated for hundreds of miles - has been one of the most resourxeful answers to aggression in the history of the world.

In the great area of sea and islands in the South West Pacific, the power of Japan has been held at bay, and losses have been inflicted upon her shipping greater than her present capacity to replace it. United States forces have recently driven the Japanese out of some of their strongholds in the Solomon Islands. By a determined initiative, they have denied to Japan other bases and harbors which might be used to attack Australia or to prey upon the sea routes from the United States to Australia and the Indian Ocean. Forces of Australia and New Zealand have joined in fighting the Japanese in New Guinea and other islands to the north of Australia.

[redacted]

One other area, much closer to our own shores, deserves more than passing mention. As a part of Japan's attempt to control the Pacific, her naval and air forces reached out, during 1942, into the Aleutian Islands. The Japanese made determined efforts to build and fortify bases for submarines, seaplanes, and other aircraft at Attu and Kiska. During the latter part of May, following initial landings on May 11th, Japanese forces were driven out of Attu Island, which is now under American control.

D 61000

Kiska remains a potential centre of attack upon our shores, and upon other parts of this continent. To combat this menace, squadrons of the R.C.A.F., based in Alaska, have been operating continuously in conjunction with United States forces.

The War in 1943

From all of the developments of the past eight months, from what is known of decisions taken at Casablanca and during Mr. Churchill's visit to Washington in May, and from the combined planning which continues from day to day, the picture of the war in 1943 emerges more clearly. Germany and Italy have been driven out of Africa. In addition to the loss of all her African territories, Italy has had to relinquish Pantelleria, and other islands in the Central Mediterranean. The aerial and commando assaults against Italy and Sicily, against Sardinia and Crete, are parts of a single strategy which the immediate future may be expected rapidly to unfold.

The war in 1943 must be thought of as a vital part of the war of liberation of the oppressed countries of Europe, of which the liberation of the French Empire in Africa was both an essential and a memorable prelude.

D 61001

United Nations Organization and Planning

The supreme direction of the war, the co-ordination of the war effort of the United Nations, and the planning of certain aspects of the post-war period and the peace, are all matters which are engaging the attention of appropriate boards or committees representing the United Nations.

The United Nations have no formal organization. In the prosecution of the war they act together by constant consultation through the usual channels between governments. These channels are supplemented by a series of international advisory bodies which have been set up to facilitate rapid agreement and speedy execution of joint plans. Canada now has very extensive machinery for consultation with the other United Nations. Through the Canadian High Commissioners in all the countries of the British Commonwealth, through the Canadian Ministers in the United States, the Soviet Union, China, and diplomatic relations with other allied governments, and through the High Commissioners and Ministers of the United Nations represented in Ottawa, we have the equipment for constant day to day consultation regarding the conduct of the war and the framing of the peace. In addition we have the continually improving methods of consultation and co-operation by direct exchange of cables between governments.

These channels of communication have been supplemented, especially in London and in Washington, by enlarging staffs and by establishing missions representing particular Canadian departments and services, such as the Joint Staff Mission in Washington, the representation of the Department of Munitions and Supply in both capitals, and the offices abroad of the Wartime Information Board. There has been a similar growth of specialized representation in Ottawa, particularly in the case of the United Kingdom and the United States. On the military side, I need scarcely refer to the work performed in England by General McNaughton and by the overseas headquarters of the three Armed Services.

Before the United States entered the war we had supplemented our methods for considering problems of common interest by the creation of a series of joint advisory bodies dealing with the defence of North America, with raw materials, with economic co-ordination, and with war production. To these a Joint Committee on Agriculture has recently been added. These committees and bodies supplement but do not replace the normal methods of consultation.

Shortly after Pearl Harbour, in order to secure more rapid co-operation between the war efforts of the United States and the United Kingdom, a group of combined agencies was established. These agencies are:

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1. The Combined Chiefs of Staff, meeting continuously in Washington, composed of the United States Chiefs of Staff and representatives of the British Chiefs of Staff;

2. The Munitions Assignments Boards, meeting in Washington and in London, to allocate finished war materials on strategic grounds as they become ready for delivery;

3. The Shipping Adjustment Boards, also meeting in Washington and in London, to regulate the pools of shipping controlled by the United States and the United Kingdom; and

4. The Combined Raw Materials Board, meeting in Washington, charged with the duty of planning the most effective use of raw materials. There were later added two further Boards, both meeting in Washington:

5. The Combined Food Board, and

6. The Combined Production and Resources Board.

With one exception these bodies are composed of representatives only of the United States and the United Kingdom and their chief duty is to make recommendations to these two Governments in the light of the joint study of the problems before them. They are war bodies formed for special purposes to facilitate the rapid taking of decisions on matters vital to the conduct of the war.

D 61004

It is essential that the high strategy of the war should be discussed by a small group in conditions of the most absolute secrecy. To avoid giving aid to our enemies, a degree of secrecy, which would be intolerable in times of peace, must surround the taking of decisions, not only on strategy but on almost every aspect of war direction. The recommendations of the Combined Boards frequently concern governments other than the United States and the United Kingdom. When Canadian action is required to give effect to their recommendations, these recommendations are referred to Canada for approval. The Government has sought, with a considerable measure of success, to ensure that in framing their recommendations the Combined Boards should give the fullest consideration to the position and resources of Canada.

A Canadian Joint Staff Mission has offices in the building which houses the Combined Chiefs of Staff, and it is represented at discussions of direct concern to Canada. We have developed special methods of liaison with each of the Combined Boards. In the case of the Combined Food Board, for example, a representative of the Canadian Government participates as a full member on all the commodity sub-committees.

On one Board, the Combined Production and Resources Board, Canada is represented by a full member. The Minister of Munitions and Supply is a member of this Board.

I have outlined the chief agencies that have been established for the direction of the war effort. The Government hopes that it will be found possible to have a broader basis given to some of these bodies.

Turning now to the planning of the settlement, I have said on previous occasions in this House that informal and exploratory discussions about international aspects of the settlement were constantly taking place, and that Canadian experts and officials were participating in these discussions. On matters as complex as methods for stabilizing currencies, it is obvious that there must be many preliminary talks between experts from many countries before plans can be framed for the consideration of governments. Canadian officials have participated in such talks in London and in Washington. These meetings are supplemented by the constant exchange of information through the usual inter-governmental channels. As the end of the war comes closer, such meetings will grow in number. As plans are framed, they are likely to become the subject of more formal conferences at which most, if not all, of the United Nations will be represented.

The first of such conferences - the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture - has already been held at Hot Springs, Virginia. Hon. members will recall that on June 14th, in tabling the Final Act of this conference, I made a statement on the general work of the conference and the programme for future action. A further United Nations conference to consider the international organization of relief in the immediate post-war period will be held later in the present year.

Other meetings will follow as the preliminary discussions complete the preparatory work on each major subject for international agreement. I cannot yet indicate exactly what these subjects will be. Doubtless among them will be included the distressing and baffling problem of refugees, which has lately been discussed at a meeting in Bermuda between representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom. I shall speak of this problem in a moment.

It is too early for me to attempt even a shadowy outline of the form of the international settlement, political and economic, which may follow the ending of hostilities. It may be useful, however, to say a word about one of its aspects. The strong bonds which have linked the United Nations

into a working model of co-operation must be strengthened and developed for even greater use in the years of peace. It is perhaps an axiom of war that, during actual hostilities, methods must be improvised, secrecy must be observed, attention must be concentrated on victory. The time is approaching, however, when even before victory is won the concept of the United Nations will have to be embodied in some form of international organization. On the one hand, authority in international affairs must not be concentrated exclusively in the largest powers. On the other, authority cannot be divided equally among all the thirty or more sovereign states that comprise the United Nations, or all effective authority will disappear. A number of new international institutions are likely to be set up as a result of the war. In the view of the Government, effective representations on these bodies should neither be restricted to the largest states nor necessarily extended to all states. Representation should be determined on a functional basis which will admit to full membership those countries, large or small, which have the greatest contribution to make to the particular object in question. In the world, there are over sixty sovereign states. If they all have a nominally equal voice in international decisions, no effective decisions are likely to be taken. Some compromise must be found between the theoretical equality of states and the practical

D 61008

necessity of limiting representation on international bodies to a workable number. That compromise can be discovered, especially in economic matters, by the adoption of the functional principle of representation. That principle, in turn, is likely to find many new expressions in the gigantic task of liberation, restoration and reconstruction.

Statement on Refugees

I shall now make a statement on the policy of the Government with respect to refugees from Europe.

Only the most callous could contemplate with indifference the situation of most of those unfortunates who, since Hitler's assumption of power, have been driven from their homes. Among them are to be found members of nearly every nationality and creed under the sun. They have been scattered far and wide. Most of them, however, including those whose sufferings are greatest, are still contained within the ring of territories held by the Axis armies. For them, except perhaps for a tiny number who may by subterfuge or stealth cross the Axis-held frontiers to neighbouring neutral countries, the only escape from persecution lies in the victory of the armies of the United Nations.

Inside German dominated Europe terrible things are happening, but the lash has fallen on the backs of the Jews more heavily than on any other group or race. Last December, the Allied Governments in London, in conjunction with the United Kingdom and the United States, issued a declaration denouncing the ruthless German policy of extermination of the Jewish people under their control and promising retribution. The Government of Canada was glad immediately to associate itself with this declaration.

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There is, unfortunately, abundant evidence that there has been no change during the last six months. Indeed, in Eastern Europe especially, the signs are that the treatment of the Jews has grown even more pitiless, and Jews from the Western European territories under German control have been moved eastwards to share the fate of those from Central and Eastern Europe.

There is nothing that the Allied Governments can do to save these hapless people except to win the war as quickly and as completely as possible. They cannot be removed from Axis territory. Efforts to aid them, even if aid was feasible, would prolong their agony if these efforts were to prolong the war. It was agreed, at the recent Bermuda Conference between officials of the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom, that no negotiations could be undertaken with Hitler since his entire record has left no doubt that he would only agree to such solutions as would be of direct aid to the Axis war aims. It was also agreed that nothing could be recommended that would interfere or delay the war effort of the United Nations.

This Bermuda Conference, however, has made a number of recommendations for the purpose of assisting those refugees who have already managed to penetrate through the Axis ring to neutral countries. While victory alone can reach the central core of the refugee problem, it is not by any means

beyond the power of the United Nations to aid those who have escaped but have not yet found a safe asylum until peace is restored. I cannot give the House details either of the number of refugees in various neutral and allied territories or of the proposals - now accepted by the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom - which were recommended by the Bermuda Conference. The delegations agreed that the details of their deliberations must be regarded as confidential so long as a knowledge of their recommendations would be of aid or comfort to our enemies or might adversely affect the refugees whom all are trying to aid. The universal problem of shipping was also recognized at the Conference as of the utmost urgency and it was agreed there that any plan that looked to the diverting of allied shipping from the war effort, to remove or care for refugees, would present considerations of a military character which would disclose almost insuperable difficulties.

Refugees who have reached Switzerland and Sweden cannot be moved to other destinations as there is no means of transporting them. Refugees who have escaped into Spain, Portugal, the Middle East, and Africa, but have not yet found a safe resting place, can, if shipping is available, be moved to places where they can remain until peace is restored. This group includes many thousands of many races: Poles and Frenchmen, Czechs, Greeks and Yugoslavs, as well as Jews.

All that I can say about the decisions at Bermuda, is to quote as follows from the statement issued after the conference:

> "The conference was able to recommend measures both for removing refugees from neutral countries and, in those cases, where such removal was not possible, for giving assurances of international cooperation in the future of the refugee problem so far as it affected them.
>
> It also recommended a number of temporary refugee havens to which refugees could be transported and maintained if and when shipping should become available. At least one such movement has been effected."

The Bermuda Conference also made certain recommendations of a more general character. The refugee problem is essentially an international one, which can only be solved by cooperative effort. The Conference recommended that the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees, which was established at the Evian meeting of 1938, should be reconstituted with increased authority, larger membership and greater financial resources. The Canadian Government will be glad to play its part in giving effect to this recommendation. The Conference also recommended, in order to allay the anxiety especially of neutral European countries, that the United Nations should

in a declaration providing for the repatriation of refugees to their own lands at the end of the war. The Conference adopted other proposals designed to make it easier for neutral countries to maintain the refugees in their territories whose removal could not be arranged. The Canadian Government has not yet been asked to assist in giving effect to the proposals framed at Bermuda, but it will be glad to play its full part as soon as these proposals are presented to the United Nations. This would include participation in the revised and strengthened inter-governmental committee, and also the reception in Canada until peace is restored of a number of refugees in addition to those already within the country.

I cannot state how many additional refugees Canada will be prepared to receive. This depends on many factors not within the control of the Canadian Government. The dispersion of refugees now in neutral European countries, and the reception of those who may hereafter escape from Axis territories, must be conducted under international auspices, with consideration given to the possibilities of transport, of repatriation at the end of the war, of uniting families and of useful employment in the war industries. Considerations of security must be carefully weighed in individual cases. A declaration such as the Government has been urged to make, that Canada would receive all refugees from Axis territory who could reach her shores, would be an invitation to the German Government to distribute in this

manner their spies and secret agents.

There is outstanding an offer of the Canadian Government made last autumn to receive for the duration of the war up to 1,000 Jewish children then in unoccupied France and separated from their parents. The care and maintenance of these children was guaranteed through the Canadian Jewish Congress under conditions generally similar to those applied to children evacuated from the British Isles in 1940 under the Government scheme. Before effect could be given to this offer, the Germans occupied the whole of France. The offer, however, is still valid. If arrangements can be made through neutral countries or the Intergovernmental Committee for the departure of these children from France, we shall gladly accord them admission to Canada.

We already have in Canada a very considerable refugee population. Many of those here have been admitted for permanent residence in accordance with the provisions of the Immigration Act and Regulations. Other have been granted asylum for the duration of the war only, and it is to this latter group that I wish now to refer for a moment. There are doubtless among them many who would be glad to make their permanent homes in Canada, including some who have come from the British Isles and some from countries of continental Europe. While the Government can give no general undertaking that all who wish to stay will be granted the right to reside

permanently in Canada, individual applications for permission to remain in this country after the war will be given full and sympathetic consideration.

It is hard to say how many refugees from Europe have been admitted to Canada since Hitler's rise to power. In our Immigration statistics there is no category of entrants who are recorded as refugees. My impression is that those who criticize what has been done, and accuse the Government of inertia and inhumanity, are often not fully cognizant of the facts. In the years 1933-42, 9,000 persons were admitted as immigrants to Canada by special Orders-in-Council, and most of them were European refugees. In addition, shortly before the war, 300 families and a substantial number of single men from the Sudeten area were admitted for agricultural settlement in Western Canada, and hundreds of other agricultural refugees from Central Europe were also admitted during that period. The total immigration from Europe, between April 1st, 1933, and March 31st, 1942, was 39,000, the bulk of whom were refugees. All these entered Canada for permanent residence.

I cannot even give an approximate figure of those admitted temporarily, as the records do not exist. All I can say is that these amount to several thousands, not including nearly 8,000 women and children who have been evacuated from the British Isles since the spring of 1940. We have released also, under temporary status in Canada, about 900 persons of German and Austrian citizenship, who were transferred to

Canada in July 1940 by the United Kingdom Government. In addition we have received several hundred Polish and Czech technicians to work in our war industries. Quite apart from all these groups I should mention the many thousand prisoners of war who have been transferred to Canada for safe custody; while they are in no way refugees they constitute nevertheless a drain on our supplies and resources and their presence here has made it easier for refugees to be accommodated in African and Middle East territories under allied control.

We have not, of course, done all that we could have done and perhaps we have not done all that we should have done. Our record, however, is better than it is frequently made out to be and I think that it will stand comparison with the records of other parts of the British Commonwealth and of the United States.

Diplomatic Representation

Since the outbreak of war Canada's diplomatic representation has been greatly extended. In September 1939, Canada had, in addition to the long-established office of the High Commissioner in London, legations in the United States, France, Japan, and in Belgium and the Netherlands, as well as the office of the Permanent Delegate to the League of Nations. Since that time, the Legations in Paris, Tokyo, Brussels and The Hague and the office in Geneva have been closed. But in the interval, 14 new offices abroad have been established. Of these, five represent the appointment of High Commissioners within the British Commonwealth, to Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Ireland and Newfoundland. Five are of new Legations, to U.S.S.R. and China, and in South America to Brazil, Argentine and Chile. In addition, one Minister has been accredited to seven of the Allied Governments established during the war in London: Belgium, The Netherlands, Poland, Norway, Yugoslavia, Greece and Czechoslovakia.

All of the countries I have mentioned are represented in Ottawa by Ministers, High Commissioners or Accredited Representatives as the case may be.

Consular officers of Canada are serving in Greenland, and in St. Pierre and Miquelon. Most recently, with the appointment of a Consul-General to New York, the first separate consular establishment in the United States has been opened.

The Supervisory Commission of the League of Nations still meets, though not at Geneva, and there is a Canadian representative on this continuing body. An important part of the League, the International Labour Organization, has since 1940 had its headquarters at Montreal.

All of these formal relationships speak of the developing importance of Canada in the world community. The fortunes of war - or perhaps something more than the fortunes - have brought to Canada valiant men and women of many nations: sovereigns, prime ministers, foreign ministers and officers of state; chiefs of staff and ranking officers of armies, navies and air forces of many lands.

Canada - a world power

The stature of nationhood which Canada has reached - I mean the position of Canada as a world power - has been reached, not on material grounds alone, though Canada's contributions to mutual aid have been impressive by any standard. Neither does it owe its emergence to political considerations. It has arisen, I believe, from our recognition of the needs of humanity. Our conception of nationhood rejects, as it must always reject, any attachment

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to ideas which are non-democratic, or to usages which would constitute the negation of free institutions and the untrammelled expression of the free souls of free men. It is something which speaks not simply for today, or next month, or the year after next, but for all the future of Canada.

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D 61020 10.6.43.

DRAFT STATEMENT FOR THE PRIME MINISTER ON THE FOOD CONFERENCE:

I wish to make a statement in regard to the United and Associated Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture which concluded its sessions a week ago Thursday. This Conference, the first Conference of the United Nations, was called forth against a sombre background of war to give its attention to freeing the world from hunger; needless to say it would not have met against a background of impending defeat; its coming together was predicated on complete confidence in victory, a victory to be followed by lasting peace. Unity will win the peace in the same way that unity will achieve victory in the war.

For the first Conference to study post-war matters, no subject could be more suitable for exploration than that of food and agriculture. The search for food is the first endeavour of man; everybody needs it and even to-day more than 2/3 of the population of the earth is engaged in the production of it.

The subject divides itself easily into three parts: the quantitative and qualitative goals to be set in the consumption of food; the production of foodstuffs to meet these consumption needs; the better distribution of the produce of agriculture and of fisheries.

A The Conference recognized that ~~there has never been enough food for the health of all peoples. Responsibility for that cannot today be ascribed either to our ignorance or to the niggardliness of nature.~~ food production throughout the world had never been adequate to maintain The nutrition experts who were gathered at the Conference set the quantitative and qualitative goals for the achievement of better standards of health and indicated various measures which might be taken to that end: briefly the provision of more adequate amounts of food, particularly of protective

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The development of the Science of nutrition has added greatly

and other nutritionally desirable foods. We therefore know, as a result of their labours, what food is needed. The problem is then one of producing this food and making it available to the ready consumer.

The primary conclusion to be drawn from the studies made by the nutrition experts is that the production of food must be increased, if freedom from want is to be achieved. The Conference gave attention to methods whereby the supply of food could be increased to meet these consumption goals: it gave consideration to raising the efficiency of production, to the employment of additional land and labour, to the conservation of resources and to the advantages to be derived in some cases from international specialization. Producers of food are also important consumers of their own produce and of other goods as well. The general welfare which will result from an expanding agricultural production must therefore take due account of the need for these producers to have a fair return for their labours. The largest market for the produce of agriculture lies amongst the tillers of the soil. Special measures were therefore considered to increase the purchasing power of agriculturists generally and particularly that of the less advanced and less favoured peoples. Agricultural products, other than food, were also considered both from the point of view of maintaining agricultural incomes and from that of meeting consumers' needs.

The expansion of agricultural production, however, must be part of the expansion of the whole world economy. Poverty must be made to disappear, so that all can buy the food which they need and markets opened for an expanded food production. The provision of full employment, an increasing industrial production, the absence of exploitation so

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that men have a fair return for their labours, the development of social legislation, the orderly management of investments and currencies, the fostering of international trade through the reduction of trade barriers could not be studied in detail at the Conference although they are important to the achievement of the purposes of the Conference on Food and Agriculture. They are matters for study at some other time and in some other place.

While primarily concerned with agriculture, the Conference did not overlook the value of fish among foods and its importance to the economy of many countries and it recommended that the general conclusions which it had reached should apply, wherever appropriate, to fish and marine products.

The Conference realized the importance of security as a condition of the achievement of freedom from want, but freedom from fear and freedom from want stand in such a relationship to one another, that the Conference could feel confident that efforts towards the abolition of want would also assist in securing freedom from fear.

In its deliberations, the Conference had to face the special world conditions under which it was meeting, while the greatest war of all times was being waged all over the world. Its study of the problems of food and agriculture had therefore to take account of the intermediate period between now and the time when the long term goals which it set could be actively pursued and achieved. There are two questions of great importance, however, which did not come within its terms of reference: the first concerns the production of food and its distribution in war-time, which are tasks for agencies already in existence; the second

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is the question of relief which is to be the subject of an early Conference

Countries which are free from the tyranny of the invader may already take steps towards the attainment of the goals set at the Conference, and as other countries are liberated they too can strive towards these goals. The aim, ~~at first~~ in short, is the abolition of hunger, to be followed later by the achievement of freedom from want. In this transition period, a number of policies will have to be adopted to meet the special circumstances caused by the war. The long term goals, however, should be kept firmly in mind so that adjustments can be facilitated and temporary expedients are not perpetuated into permanent maladjustments.

Throughout its deliberations, the Conference recognized the primary responsibility of each nation for seeing that its own people are fully employed and that they have the means of procuring the food needed for a healthy life. Steps to this end are for national determination. But the Conference also agreed that the fullest prosperity of each nation can be secured on a sound basis only through spirited and effective collaboration with others.

The Final Act of the Conference, the result of its deliberations, comprises a Declaration and thirty resolutions. In the first Resolution, the Conference recommends that all Nations represented ~~at it~~ should set out in a formal declaration their individual obligation to their own people and to one another, to collaborate both in raising the levels of nutrition and standards of living of their peoples, and in improving the efficient production and distribution of agricultural products; and to report to one another on the progress achieved. Other Resolutions contain statements of principles and recommendations of policy for the short-term and the long-term period; these recommendations will receive detailed study

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by the Government. ~~They deal,~~ In addition to the matters already mentioned, the Resolutions deal with the development of suitable undeveloped areas for settlement and food production, the fostering of desirable changes in the pattern of production designed to give greater emphasis to protective foods, the provision of agricultural credit, the advancement of co-operative societies, and the improvement of marketing facilities.

To facilitate collaboration among nations in this field of endeavour the Conference recommended that they establish a permanent international organization on Food and Agriculture. It suggested that each Government represented at the Conference appoint a representative to an Interim Commission whose duty it would be to carry out the recommendations of the Conference and to prepare a specific plan for ~~the~~ a permanent international organization on Food and Agriculture. ~~It~~ The Conference invited the President of the United States of America to arrange for the establishment of this Interim Commission and ~~its coming together~~ for the calling of ~~at~~ an early ~~date. (Mr. Coldwell's question)~~ meeting, recommending

The Conference, in ~~outlining~~ the functions of the proposed permanent organization, followed closely the comprehensive agenda which had been ~~set~~ fixed for its own deliberations. It also urged the Interim Commission to give consideration to the questions of providing for membership in the Permanent Organization of countries not represented at the Conference, and for the association of the permanent organization with other institutions, which already exist or which may be set up later, in the field of food and agriculture and in related scientific, economic and other fields.

~~In his inspiring speech before the delegates to the Conference on Monday,~~ The President of the United States of America ~~hailed the~~ in his speech

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~~good work of the Conference; he called it~~ to the delegates on Monday last, described the Conference as Mr Roosevelt "epoch making" ~~he~~ associated himself with the Declaration of the Conference that every nation ~~ought~~ should ~~to~~ assume the responsibility ~~of seeing,~~ in collaboration with others, ~~that its people are well fed~~ providing adequate food for its own people ~~to~~ The President ~~willingly~~ accepted the ~~task of calling~~ recommendation that he should call together the proposed Interim Commission.

These are promising results for this first United Nations Conference; they fulfill the promises which already had their germ in the friendly spirit which inspired the deliberations of the Conference, in the earnestness of the delegates in working together towards worthy ends, and in the unanimity with which they reached decisions.

It gives me great pleasure to lay before the House copies of the Final Act of the Conference. I shall make copies in French available on Monday.

D 61026

For release when delivered by the Prime Minister, Right Hon. Mackenzie King in House of Commons, June 14th, 1943.

United Nations Food Conference

On June 8th, I stated, in reply to a question by the Leader of the Opposition, that I would table the report of the United and Associated Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture as soon as it was available, and that, at the same time, I would make a brief general statement on the work of the conference and the programme for future action. I now table the report as approved on June 3rd, under the designation: Final Act.

The Food Conference was held at Hot Springs, Virginia. Its sessions opened on May 18th and were concluded on June 3rd. It was the first general conference of the United Nations. That in itself gives the conference an historic significance. While the conference met in time of war, it was not concerned with the prosecution of the war. It had to do with one of the problems which demand solution if, after the termination of hostilities, the world is to enjoy enduring peace. Its purpose was to assist in freeing the peoples of the world from want, once the Axis powers have been defeated. The Conference was an act of faith in the continuing solidarity of the United Nations.

The fact that the subject matter of the Conference was food and agriculture is evidence of a determination to make a fundamental approach to the solution of post-war problems. No subject could have been more suitable for exploration. The production of food is the most important of man's economic activities. It absorbs the energies of more men and women than all other economic pursuits combined.

A consideration of the problems falls naturally into three parts: the objectives in quantity and quality to be set in the consumption of food; the production of foodstuffs to meet consumption needs; the better distribution of the produce of agriculture and of fisheries.

The Conference recognized that there had never been enough food produced in the world to maintain the health of all its peoples. The development of the science of nutrition has added greatly to the knowledge of the kinds of food needed to maintain health and efficiency. The nutrition experts who were gathered at the Conference set the goals for the achievement of better standards of health, and indicated various measures which might be taken to that end, particularly the provisions of protective and other nutritionally desirable foods. The problem to be faced was stated by the conference to be that of ensuring the production of the necessary food and having it

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made available to the consumer. The primary emphasis in all the studies made by the nutrition experts, and the basic conclusion of the Conference itself was that the production of food must be increased if freedom from want is to be achieved.

The Conference gave attention to methods of increasing the supply of food by such means as raising the efficiency of production, the employment of additional land and labour, the conservation of resources, and the advantages to be derived, in certain cases, from international specialization.

The largest market for the produce of agriculture lies amongst the tillers of the soil. Producers of food are also important consumers of other goods as well as of their own produce. It was recognized by the Conference that the general welfare would be promoted by ensuring to the producers of food a reasonable return for their labour. The conference therefore considered special measures to increase the purchasing power of agriculturists generally, and, particularly, the purchasing power of the less advanced and less favoured peoples.

A second main conclusion of the Conference was that the expansion of agricultural production must be part of the expansion of the whole world economy. It was recognized that if markets are to be opened for an expanded food production, and if people are to be able to buy the food which they need, poverty

must be made to disappear. The increasing of industrial production, the provision of full employment, the prevention of exploitation, the development of social legislation, the orderly management of currencies and investments, the fostering of international trade through the reduction of trade barriers, were seen to be problems to be considered if the purposes of the Conference on Food and Agriculture were to be realized. These studies lay outside the scope of the Conference and call for separate consideration, which some of them are already receiving.

The Conference was primarily concerned with agriculture, but it did not overlook the value, as foodstuffs, of fish and marine products. It recognized the importance of fish in the economy of many countries. It recommended that the general conclusions which it had reached, wherever appropriate, should apply to fish and marine products.

In its deliberations, the Conference had to take account of the special world conditions under which it was meeting. There were two questions of great importance which did not come within its terms of reference. The first concerns the production of food and its distribution in war-time, which is a task for agencies already in existence. The second is the question of relief, on an international scale, which is to be the subject of a conference at an early date.

The conference's study of the problems of food and agriculture was partly concerned with the intermediate period between the present, and the time when the long term goals of the Corference could be actively pursued and achieved.

Countries which are free from the tyranny of the invader are already able to take steps towards the attainment of the goals set at the Conference. As other countries are liberated, they, too, can strive towards these goals. The immediate aim must be the abolition of hunger as a first step towards freedom from want. During the transition period which will follow the cessation of hostilities in particular areas, measures will have to be taken to meet the special circumstances caused by the war. Long term goals will have to be kept firmly in mind so that temporary expedients will not result in permanent maladjustments.

Throughout its deliberations, the Conference recognized the primary responsibility of each nation to ensure that its own people are fully employed, and that they have the means of procuring the food needed for a healthy life. The Conference also agreed that only through active co-operation with other nations can the fullest prosperity of each nation be secured.

The Final Act of the Conference, the result of its deliberations, comprises a Declaration and some thirty resolutions.

In the first Resolution, the Conference recommends that all Nations represented should set out in a formal declaration their individual obligation to their own people, and to one another, to collaborate in raising the levels of nutrition and standards of living of their peoples, and in improving the efficient production and distribution of agricultural products. It also recommends that they report to one another on the progress achieved. Other resolutions contain statements of principles and recommendations of policy for the short-term and the long-term period. The resolutions also dealt with the opening up of undeveloped areas suitable for settlement and food production, the fostering of desirable changes in the pattern of production designed to give greater emphasis to protective foods; the provision of agricultural credit; the advancement of co-operative societies, and the improvement of marketing facilities. I need scarcely assure the House that all these recommendations will receive detailed study by the Government.

To facilitate collaboration among nations in this field of endeavour, the Conference recommended that a permanent international organization on Food and Agriculture be established. It suggested that each Government represented at the Conference appoint a representative to an Interim Commission, the duty of which would be to carry out the recommendations of the Conference and to prepare a specific plan for a permanent

D 61032

international organization on Food and Agriculture. The Conference invited the President of the United States of America to arrange for the establishment of this Interim Commission, and for the calling of an early meeting.

In recommending the functions of the proposed permanent organization, the Conference followed closely the comprehensive agenda which had been fixed for its own deliberations. It also urged the Interim Commission to give consideration to the question of providing for membership in the Permanent Organization of countries not represented at the Conference. It recommended as well the association of the permanent organization with other institutions, which already exist, or which may be set up later, in the field of food and agriculture, and in related scientific, economic and other fields.

President Roosevelt in his speech to the delegates on Monday last, described the Conference as "epoch making". He willingly accepted the recommendation that, as President of the United States, he should call together the proposed interim commission.

The President associated himself with the declaration of the Conference that every nation should assume the responsibility, in collaboration with others, of providing adequate food for its own people. I am prepared to make at once a similar declaration

on behalf of Canada.

In conclusion, I should like to mention among other of the promising results of the first United Nations Conference, the friendly spirit which inspired its deliberations, the earnestness with which the delegates worked together toward worthy ends, and the unanimity with which their decisions were reached.

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96		Social Security. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 61123 - D 61138	

Mr. Turnbull

JAG/Z
16.7.43

Notes re Speech on

Canadian Foreign Policy

D 61034

I. The meaning of foreign policy
and how it changes from time to time.

2. Objectives of Canadian foreign policy:

(a) win the war,

(b) attitude towards United States in negotiations,
(contrast with idea of unity within the Empire)

(c) supreme direction of the war and where Canada fits in

3. Note the outstanding reciprocal agreements
between Canada and United States:

(a) Rush-Bagot Agreement - 1817
- self-denying ordinance for reciprocal disarmament;

(b) International Joint Commission - 1909
- appeal to reason rather than to force;

(c) Canada-United States Trade Agreement - 1935, revised 1938
- reciprocity in trade;

(d) Agdensburg Agreement - 1940 - Permanet Joint Board on Defence
- reciprocity in defence;

(e) Lease-Lend by United States,
Mutual aid by Canada.

July 9, 1943

D 61035

Re: Hanson

First opportunity to discuss Canada's foreign policy.

Foreign policy = win the war.

Agreement as to order of business:

Budget
Mutual Aid Bill
War Appropriation Act.

Did not expect time.

Suggested Foreign Affairs Committee,

Industrial international relations

also in Senate.

Canada's foreign policy up to present:

Good-will with nations
carried too far
No commitments
Canada could not be consulted.

Nations of Commonwealth stand together

regardless of issue.

Best test of policy

action of this Parliame

D 61036

Equality of status -

Canada a nation.

Canada a world power.

Needs of vision of the nation.

Canada taking a stand.

Canada willing to assume her share of responsibility.

Foreign policy too indefinite -

too many provisions.

Suggested broad principles for foreign policy -

No longer not to have commitments
" " isolation

Accept share of responsibility for law and order.

Answer - Canada's attitude in present war:

Canada intends to sstay in British Commonwealth of Nations.

Canada world power at side of Britain.

Canada believes British family should speak with one voice.

(Canada's personality and identity to be submerged or lost)

D 61036

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Canada world power at side of Britain.

Canada believes British family should speak with one voice.

(Canada's personality and identity to be submerged or lost)

REPEAT
REPETITION

Ask whether Member desires distinctive place to be given Canada's Forces.

Canada now the keystone of the British Empire.

Canada to develop as a nation within the British Commonwealth.

British Commonwealth and United States should be an alliance.

Canada should be a member of the Pan-American Union.

Canada should have close relations with China and U.S.S.R.

Hope for world order -

co-operate with other nations.

Test of foreign policy.

Is it in interests of Canadian people?

We ought to go on as a world power

or develop a small nation complex.

Ask whether Member desires distinctive place to be given Canada's Forces.

Canada now the keystone of the British Empire.

Canada to develop as a nation within the British Commonwealth.

British Commonwealth and United States should be an alliance.

Canada should be a member of the Pan-American Union.

Canada should have close relations with China and U.S.S.R.

Hope for world order -

co-operate with other nations.

Test of foreign policy.

Is it in interests of Canadian people?

We ought to go on as a world power

or develop a small nation complex.

REPEAT
REPETITION

July 9, 1943 D 61038

Re: Coldwell

First chance to deal with External Affairs

Something unpleasant -
made personal attack.

Aluminum transaction one negotiated by Department of Munitions and Supply in connection with war supplies.

Regrets Canada has not received more recognition in councils of United Nations.

No other nations -
other parts of British Empire.

Regarding refugees

Canada might have initiated conference to help make situation better.

This is to see country do what it can to help.

Not liking trend of events in North Africa.

Giraud and de Gaulle.

Canada should become member of Pan-American Union.

(all republics)

Would not diminish our association with British Commonwealth.

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July 5, 1943

re Manion

Expression of loss sustained, D 61039

sudden death a shock

Natural wish to pay tribute
due his long association with parl't.

Manion last to expect estimate of place in history,

for others than me to express.

despite differences - close association

Voluntary services - positions

ensure name a high place.

Career

began as physician and surgeon,

the physician
battlefield,
Nat. Director of Civil Air Raid Defences.

entered parliament 1917.

Minister of Crown
political manners
personal characteristics.

qualities of pioneer
love of Canada.

D 61040

Leader of Party 1938 and Opposition

Disappointment on defeat

service in other directions.

Authorship - added to record

characteristic of his energy.

Life an Adventure

thoughts bequeathed

pages disclose

genial nature
fearless attitude
spirit of service.

Today 5th anniversary of selection
of leader

M.P.'s at burial

in House tributes.

Life an adventure

I take leave of him in halls
of parliament...

D 61041

Tribute by the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister,

To the memory of the Hon. Robert J. Manion, P.C.
House of Commons - July 5, 1943.

It will be the wish, I am sure, of honourable members of all parties of the House of Commons that I should give some expression to the loss which our country has sustained in the passing of the Honourable Robert J. Manion. His very sudden death at a late hour on Friday evening last must have come as a great shock, not only to his many personal friends and admirers, but to all who have followed his notable career.

Although not a member of this House during the present session, Dr. Manion's long association with parliament, - he was a member for some twenty years - and the high and important positions which he held in the public life of Canada, would cause it to be the natural wish of many who sat with him in previous parliaments to pay, in this place, some slight tribute to his memory, and to the many services he rendered Canada, both in and out of parliament.

Dr. Manion, I am sure, would have been the last to wish, or to expect, that any attempt should be made at this time to estimate the place which history may accord his many contributions to our public life.

I, myself, am the first to recognize that, at any time, it would be for some other, rather than for me, to whom he was politically opposed, to perform that task. At the same time, I should like to say that, while differences in political opinion occasioned changes in our political affiliations, and open opposition in our political relationships, I shared throughout the course of many years an association in public affairs with Dr. Manion much more intimate than most political opponents enjoy, and a personal friendship correspondingly close.

A mere enumeration of the national services voluntarily performed by Dr. Manion, and of the positions of confidence and trust which he held, are in themselves sufficient to ensure that his name will hold a high place in the honour roll of Canadian statesmen who, throughout their lives, have sought to give to the service of their fellowmen and to their country the best that is in them, at home and abroad, in times of war, and in times of peace.

Dr. Manion began life as a physician and surgeon, and to the end of his days he kept the touch of the physician in his desire to be of service to his fellowmen. The Great War saw him ministering to the needs of soldiers on the field of battle. The present war saw him discharging, with his characteristic enthusiasm and vigour, the precautionary duties of National Director of Civilian Air Raid Defence.

He entered the House of Commons in 1917 as a supporter of the Union government, and quickly made his mark as a parliamentarian. In the governments of Mr. Meighen, he respectively held for a few months the portfolios of Minister of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment and of Postmaster General. Throughout Mr. Bennett's tenure of office, from 1930 to 1935, he was Minister of Railways and Canals. In these positions he was regarded as an able administrator.

Dr Manion ~~D. ...~~ in parliament and on the platform, was at all times, fearless and outspoken. His thoughts came rapidly to his mind and were as rapidly expressed. I imagine, however, that at times he ~~not infrequently~~ wished he might have spoken with greater caution. He had many of the qualities of the pioneer: a resolute courage, complete self-reliance, and a sturdy independence of character. He possessed a great love for Canada, and her interests and future were ever closest to his heart. First and foremost he was a Canadian.

Although defeated at the general elections of 1935, such was the confidence he had won among the membership of his party that he was chosen its leader at the Conservative National Convention in 1938. He then became, as well, for the ensuing two years, the Leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition in this House.

The failure of his party to gain office at the general elections of 1940, and his defeat in his own constituency, must have been, for Dr. Manion, a bitter disappointment. Without recrimination he accepted the verdict of the country and sought to continue his service in other directions. Shortly after his resignation as leader of his party, he offered his services to the government. The House is fully aware of the devoted manner in which Dr. Manion's time and talents were subsequently given to the country's service up to and including the day of his death.

It was characteristic of Dr. Manion's energy, and of his desire to impart something of his own spirit to others, that he should have found time in the course of his active life to have written one or two books, and thus to have added to his record of Surgeon and Soldier, Parliamentarian and Patriot, the distinction also of being an Author. His autobiography published under the title: "Life is an Adventure", contains in its pages many of the thoughts he would have wished most to bequeath to his fellowmen. Its pages disclose his genial nature, his fearless attitude, and the spirit of service which was the underlying purpose of his life.

It was on the fifth of July, 1938, that Dr. Manion was chosen Leader of his party. Today is the fifth anniversary of that memorable day in his career. The period of his leadership was brief. Brief indeed was the course of his life on earth, brought as it was to its close at the age of 61, when from him, had he been spared, so much more might have been expected. This morning, members of all parties accompanied his mortal remains to their last resting place. As we meet this afternoon ~~to~~ we pay common tribute to his memory.

Life, truly, is an adventure; an adventure far beyond our ken. In these halls of parliament, which witnessed our political battles in bygone years, I take my leave of him, with the thought, surely all is not over here that — ~~"that force~~

~~Surely, has not been left vain!~~

" Somewhere, surely, afar,
In the sounding labour-house vast
Of being, is practised that strength,
Zealous, beneficient, firm!"

D 61046

Speaking in Toronto on Friday last, Mr. John Bracken, Leader of the Progressive Conservative party, is reported in the press of Canada as having said that the war policy of the Dominion government had been "in too many of its aspects prompted by political cowardice".

Had Mr. Bracken, as Leader of the Progressive Conservative party, been a member of this House of Commons, I should today immediately have asked you, Mr. Speaker, to see that Mr. Bracken was obliged immediately to withdraw his charge of political cowardice. As one who himself has been a member of a Legislative Assembly, Mr. Bracken must knowthese offensive words could not have been used in this House or in the Legislature of any province without the House insisting upon their being withdrawn. As Mr. Bracken is not in the House, I suppose I must content myself by saying that a charge of "political cowardice" comes with ill grace from a leader of a political party who, throughout the whole of a session of parliament, following his appointment as Leader of his party, has apparently sought to avoid attempting its leadership on the floor of the House of Commons.

I should like also to draw the attention of the House to Mr. Bracken's further reported reference in speaking of that part of the Canadian Army called up for service in the Western Hemisphere, to his "judgment that this home draftee army is not only an injustice to the men who are in it, but it

D 61047

is the biggest hoax ever perpetrated on the nation."
I think the use of the word "hoax", which in existing circumstances is equally uncalled for and equally untrue and offensive ~~and unparliamentary~~, is something which the Leader of the Progressive Conservative party himself will come greatly to regret ever having used.

D 61048

Question of privilege

Speaking in Toronto on Friday last, Mr. John Bracken, Leader of the Progressive Conservative party, is reported in the press of Canada as having said that the war policy of the Dominion government had been "in too many of its aspects prompted by political cowardice".

Had Mr. Bracken, as Leader of the Progressive Conservative party, been a member of this House of Commons, I should today immediately have asked you, Mr. Speaker, to see that Mr. Bracken was obliged immediately to withdraw his charge of political cowardice. As one who himself has been a member of a Legislative Assembly, Mr. Bracken must know these offensive words could not have been used in this House or in the Legislature of any province without the House insisting upon their being withdrawn. As Mr. Bracken is not in the House, I suppose I must content myself by saying that a charge of "political cowardice" comes with ill grace from a leader of a political party who, throughout the whole of a session of parliament, following his appointment as Leader of his party, has apparently sought to avoid attempting its leadership on the floor of the House of Commons.

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is the biggest hoax ever perpetrated on the nation."
I think the use of the word "hoax", which in existing circumstances is ~~unparliamentary~~ uncalled for and equally offensive and ~~unparliamentary~~, is something which the Leader of the Progressive Conservative party ~~itself~~ himself will come greatly to regret ever having used.

July 5, 1943

D 61050

It is with great regret that I have to inform the House that General Sikorski, Prime Minister of Poland, and Commander in Chief of the Polish Armed Forces, was killed in an airplane accident this morning while returning to the United Kingdom from a visit to the Polish forces in the Middle East.

General Sikorski was an eminent statesman and soldier whose place in the Councils of the United Nations it will indeed be hard to fill. He had faced with supreme courage, high intelligence and unshaken confidence the baffling problems that confronted a Government which had been deprived of direct control of all of its national territory. He had also been foremost in the task of reorganizing units of a Polish Army which have lately fought with great gallantry in North Africa and other theatres of war.

General Sikorski visited Canada in 1941 and in 1942, and again briefly early in the present year. Only on Friday last, I read to the House, a cable received from General Sikorski from Cairo, extending his good wishes on the celebration of Canada's Dominion Day, and an expression of his own and the Polish nation's admiration of Canada's contribution to the Allied cause on the battlefieldsof this war. On the occasion of each of his visits to Canada, General

Sikorski impressed all who met him as one of the ablest diplomats and bravest fighters in the common cause. In my contacts with him during his visits to Canada, I felt that if he were spared to survive the war he would be destined to play a leading part in the reconstitution of a free and independent Poland and in the establishment of stability in Eastern Europe. He has not been so spared, and his untimely death is an irreparable loss not only for the Polish Government and people, to whom I extend sincerest sympathy in the name of the Government and people of Canada, but also for all of the United Nations.

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D 61052

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

OF

Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

ON

Proposal to Withhold Calling Up of Men under the National Resources Mobilization Act

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1943*

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I think it is advisable for me to intervene at an early stage in the debate on this amendment to the amendment if for no reason other than first to make perfectly clear what in reality the amendment to the amendment says and proposes and, in the second place, what, in our parliamentary practice, it means.

Notwithstanding the fact that the hon. member who has just taken his seat has read the subamendment in part, I should like to repeat what he has read, and also a portion of the subamendment he did not read. After it is stated that the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères (Mr. Cardin) moves, seconded by the hon. member for Chicoutimi (Mr. Dubuc) the subamendment begins:

That all the words after the word "that" in the first line of the said amendment be struck out and that the following be substituted therefor.

Amendment One of Non-confidence

The point I wish to make perfectly clear is this, that the amendment of the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères is in the nature of a want of confidence motion in the present government. The hon. member seeks to effect that end by substituting a want of confidence motion of his own for the want of confidence motion moved by the leader of hon. members sitting immediately opposite. The hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères proposes that the house should strike out of that amendment all the words except the first few, namely, "We respectfully submit to Your Excellency that—". Those words are allowed to remain, but all the words following are to be stricken out, and in their stead are to be substituted words which I shall read in a few minutes.

I do not know that I could take any exception to that part of the subamendment

* The Address in Reply to the Speech from the Throne was moved on January 29th, 1943. On February 1st an amendment to the Address was moved by the Leader of the Opposition, and a sub-amendment by the Leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. On February 18th, the sub-amendment of the Leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was defeated by a vote of 182 to 20. The Honourable P. J. A. Cardin, M.P., thereupon moved another amendment to the amendment.

(Sub-headings have been inserted for the convenience of readers. They do not appear in the official report.)

75603

which would strike out the want of confidence motion on the part of the Progressive Conservative party. I doubt however if they will be prepared to have their want of confidence motion eliminated in order that they might support the substitute motion which is being proposed by the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères.

The words the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères wishes to substitute are the following:

This house is of the opinion that in view of the recognized shortage of farm labour, also the admitted shortage of labour in war industries and in other essential industrial and transportation activities, Your Excellency's advisers should have provided for the withholding of the operation of the National Resources Mobilization Act in regard to the raising of men for military service until, at least, a complete investigation is made by a committee of the house, to ascertain and determine by what means or methods Canada can now most effectively contribute to the winning of the war, without destroying the economic, social and national life of the country.

Let me examine these various statements. First:

This house is of the opinion—

And what is the opinion in which we are asked to concur?

—that Your Excellency's advisers should have provided for the withholding of the operation of the National Resources Mobilization Act in regard to the raising of men for military service—

Note first these words:

—should have provided for the withholding of the operation of the National Resources Mobilization Act—

"Should have provided"—in other words before parliament assembled, and when the speech from the throne was being prepared, it is suggested by the hon. member that, instead of setting forth what was set forth in the speech from the throne of the government's programme, the government should have had His Excelleny say that a part of the government's programme was to withhold the operation of the National Resources Mobilization Act in regard to the raising of men for military service.

Withhold Calling Up of Men for Military Service

That point I wish to make perfectly clear. It indicates what my hon. friend thinks the government should have done, namely, that it should have come to the house when parliament assembled and told hon. members that part of its policy was to withhold at once the operation of that part of the National Resources Mobilization Act in regard to the raising of men for military service.

And for how long was the operation of this portion of the act to be withheld? The next clause in the amendment makes that clear:

—until at least a complete investigation is made by a committee of the house.

Only yesterday the hon. member for Broadview (Mr. Church) requested a debate in the house before another important matter, namely, social security, should go to a committee of the house for investigation. As his reason for wishing to have the debate at once he said that matters which went to committees were likely to be discussed there for the whole of a session, and that in all probability no recommendations would be made until the end of the session. As I said to him at the time I did not think my hon. friend was correct in that assumption. In any case it is perfectly clear from the amendment to the amendment that what the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères wished the government to do was to tell the house that until there had been full investigation by a committee of the house into the matters to which he has referred in his subamendment there should be no further operation of that part of the act which relates to the raising of men for military service.

But an even more remarkable feature, perhaps, is what the investigation was to determine. This investigation was—

—to ascertain and determine by what means or methods Canada can now most effectively contribute to the winning of the war.

In other words it was to be left to a committee of the house to determine the means and the methods by which Canada can now most effectively contribute to the winning of the war.

Committee of House to Determine Policy

My hon. friend is an old colleague. I have known him well, both within the cabinet and without it; and I recall very distinctly that when we were colleagues in the cabinet together no one was more insistent than my hon. friend upon the government having a policy of its own, and not leaving it to a committee of the house or any other body to determine its policy. Yet to-day he suggests in regard to the all-important matter of winning the war that the best method to employ from now on would be to leave the matter, in the first instance, to a committee of the house.

This is all the more surprising, coming from the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères, when we find that the hon. member himself has quite frankly stated his warm approval of what the government has already done in the matter of its war effort. And this war effort, which my hon. friend has praised so unreservedly, was achieved by the present administration, with the support of the house, it is true, but without any reference to a select committee in the first instance. Let me read what the hon. member said in that regard in one of his speeches in the present debate:

The speech from the throne also reviews our war effort. It has been a magnificent effort, I admit, and I am glad of it. All Canadians are proud of it, and we have the profound satisfaction of having it recognized that our war effort surpasses that of any other country of our size. As far as man-power and finance are concerned, our war effort is superior to that of the great republic to the south, the United States.

I say to my hon. friend: If the government of the day was capable of so planning its war effort that up to the present time it merits the encomium which he himself has passed upon it, surely the government still remains capable of deciding the best ways and means by which Canada's war effort may be carried on during the remainder of the time it may have that responsibility.

But my hon. friend goes a step further. He suggests that we carry this out without destroying the economic, social and national life of the country. I shall have a word to say later in regard to that particular clause.

Serious Consequences of Course Proposed

I have indicated what my hon. friend in his amendment says the government should have done when it came to parliament, when parliament opened. I want to ask him, and I want to ask hon. members: what would have been said of the government if it had come to this house with the recommendation which he says we should have made at the time, or if we had followed the course which he says we should have adopted? Assuming that we had agreed to the view of my hon. friend and had come to this house and said: We have decided to withhold the operation of the national mobilization act with respect to the calling up of men for service until a committee of this house has made a full investigation and reported to the House of Commons on the best ways and means of carrying on the war from now on. How would that have been received in different quarters?

To begin with, so far as this House of Commons is concerned, there would instantly have been a cry from the other side to the effect that we no longer enjoyed the confidence of the house because we were unable to state a policy which was our own with respect to the carrying on of the war. What would have been the effect upon the people of Canada of a pronouncement of this kind? Simultaneously, from one end of the country to the other, it would have been said that the government was preparing to back out of the war; that the government was quitting the war altogether; that it had started off by suspending the operation of the national mobilization act with respect to the calling up of men.

May I point out in this connection that it is to that part of the mobilization act which refers to the calling up of men for the defence of Canada in Canada and immediate environments that my hon. friend's amendment refers. My hon. friend has made no reference in any particular to the sending of men overseas; that does not enter into it. He himself was a party in the cabinet to the drafting of the National Resources Mobilization Act; he was a supporter of it on the floor of this house. My hon. friend will recall that the National Resources Mobilization Act was enacted immediately after the collapse of France. He was eloquent at that time in his support of the act. Why? Because of what it would mean for the defence of Canada, as well as for the defence of freedom in other parts of the world. Throughout the country there was the strongest appeal for the support of this act, and the calling up of men under it to serve in the defence of Canada. Has the situation so developed that to-day the defence of Canada by men called up under the mobilization act is not as necessary as it has been at any time in this war? Unless I am wrong in my reading of the times, the necessity is greater than ever for protection against an enemy as powerful as the axis powers are at this present time. Let me repeat, my hon. friend was one who supported the policy embodied in the act; he advocated it; but now he says that we should suspend the operation of an important part of the very act he so strongly endorsed.

Effect Upon Canada's Armed Forces

What would have been the effect of action of that kind on the part of our government upon our men who are serving in all parts of the world in the armed forces of the country? What would have been the effect upon our troops in Great Britain and elsewhere? I

say that it would have created consternation in the minds of the men of the armed forces in all parts of the world, if it could have been said by anyone that the government of the day at this time of war had ceased to continue in operation the part of the mobilization act which related to the defence of Canada itself. Those men who are a long distance from home, who are helping to protect this country and to save it from disaster, would be asking themselves: Is this the kind of support we are getting from our home country and from our government? Is our parliament going to support that kind of action? Does it mean that while we are fighting here we are not going to get the reinforcements that we had hoped would be ready to come if they were necessary? Does it mean that we are not going to get the supplies that are needed at the time of our greatest need? I ask my hon. friend, I ask all hon. members, what would be the effect upon the whole war effort of Canada if a feeling of that kind were spread abroad among the armed forces of this country?

Effect Upon Great Britain and Other Dominions

What would have been the effect upon Great Britain and the British dominions? Great Britain to-day has her men fighting in all parts of the world. They are fighting for the protection of Canada as well as for the protection of Britain. They are fighting for the defence of freedom throughout the world. They are fighting to prevent the axis powers from dominating this world. What would have been the effect in Great Britain if the government of Canada had met this parliament with the announcement that it no longer intended to operate under an act with respect to the calling up of men for military service which the parliament of Canada itself had passed, until a whole session of parliament had been devoted to making an investigation as to ways and means in which the war effort of Canada could be carried on from now on?

What about Australia, where men are fighting the Japanese? They are fighting our battle as well as their own when they are keeping the enemy engaged in the southwestern portion of the Pacific. What about the men of New Zealand, who have been fighting in Africa and in other parts of the world and who, at any time, may have to fight on their own territory? What about the men of South Africa who are fighting in north Africa? These men are fighting for the defence of their soil and for the defence of freedom. What would have been the effect upon them if they had read that the government of Canada had for the time being suspended the operation of an act which related to the calling up of men for the defence of its own country and territory?

Effect Upon United States and Other Allies

To go a step further, what would have been the effect upon our allies other than those I have mentioned? What would have been the effect in the United States? If my hon. friend had wished to give to the isolationists of the United States the finest weapon they ever had, he would have put one into their hands by having a proposal of that kind accepted. That weapon would be put into their hands now if this House of Commons were to adopt his amendment at this time. Does anyone think that, throughout the United States, from one end of that country to the other, attention would not have been drawn to the fact that the government of Canada had ceased to call up men? What would those isolationists have asked of their administration? We would soon have heard of a widespread demand throughout the United States that there be no more calling up of men for military service. How much would we be helping the cause of freedom and the allies if a cry of that kind were raised in the great country to the south? But my hon. friend has made clear in one of his speeches what he feels about the service that is being rendered by others of our allies. When I referred a moment ago to what my hon. friend said about the war effort I was referring to what he said on February 9, not last night.

I want to read to the house another statement which my hon. friend made on February 9, and I must say that when I heard him make that statement I felt that at last he had grasped the full significance of this war—that it was a world war, that it was a war which affects all the countries which love freedom, and that every country which sought to preserve its freedom was helping to preserve the freedom of other countries. No words could have been more emphatic than those which were used by my hon. friend when he said, speaking of China and Russia:

Effect in Particular on China and Russia

> Dear old China, that we love so much to-day, that we praise so much to-day and proclaim to be one of the first peoples in the world!

And a little further on:

> We have discovered that she is a great country, a country that deserves our praise and support. We have modified our views; we have become a little more courageous and ready to help China now, as well as Russia. Let us give them what they need most, not men but food and armaments. That is what they want to enable them to carry on this struggle. As a matter of fact they are fighting for us as much as they are fighting for their country.

That is what my hon. friend said, that China is fighting as much for us as she is fighting for China. I think my hon. friend had the correct vision then, the larger vision, and realized that we owe it to China to do all we can in a similiar way for her, that in fighting for ourselves, we are also fighting for her, and vice versa.

What did he say with respect to Russia:

> If we have some success to-day, who has achieved that success? The Russians. Without Russia where would we be? Probably we would be signing a treaty of peace, not according to our terms or our will, but according to the will of others. That would be our position.

I say, Mr. Speaker, that if my hon. friend would go out through his own province from one end of it to the other and make those statements to the people, he would be rendering a real service to his country and a real service to the cause of freedom. I believe that there are few truer statements, no more correct perspective of this war and its significance for Canada as well as for our allies than are to be found in these two statements made by the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères. If we have some success to-day, he asks, who has achieved that success? I would not confine the answer to the Russians; I would include all the countries that are banded together as part of the united nations. It is true that the Russians have within the last year taken a part in the war which has saved other nations of the world and, in the mind of my hon. friend as expressed in the words I have quoted, has saved this dominion from being conquered—that is what it is—Russia has saved this dominion from being conquered. Without Russia, he asked, where would we be? And he went on:

> Probably we would be signing a treaty of peace, not according to our terms or our will, but according to the will of others. That would be our position.

Are we going to reward China, are we going to reward Russia, for what these great countries have done for us as well as for themselves and others through the sacrifices of their men and women, by telling them that we in Canada have now reached a decision that we are not going to call up any more men under our National Resources Mobilization Act for service in our own country, but are going to suspend our war effort for a time while parliament and the government make up their mind how best we can carry out the war aims of Canada? I say to my hon. friend that if his resolution were to carry, and these words were to be read in China and in Russia to-morrow, there would be cause for humiliation indeed on the part of this country, and shameful humiliation at that.

Effect Upon Our Enemies

There is one other all-important aspect to be considered. I have spoken of the effect of his proposals upon our allies. What about their effect upon our enemies? And here I hope this House of Commons will appreciate the real significance of amendments of this character and of statements of this character when made in this House of Commons. The hon. member for Témiscouata (Mr. Pouliot) said that in every home throughout his province the people would be reading to-day the statement which was made by the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères last night. Well, perhaps, Mr. Speaker, in every home in Germany to-day that statement is being poured into the ears of the German people. Perhaps in every home in Japan this statement of a former member of the government of Canada—and stated as being such—is being poured into the ears of the Japanese people. You ask, why would they do that? Well, could anything bring more comfort to the enemy than to tell them that the parliament of Canada at last had had one of its members stand up and advocate that the Canadian government should not have its war policies clearly defined and those policies carried out until a committee of the House of Commons had begun, after months and months of study and investigation, to indicate what should be done?

Here may I read the last words of the proposed amendment and give them their true significance:

> . . . until, at least, a complete investigation is made by a committee of the house, to ascertain and determine by what means or methods Canada can now most effectively contribute to the winning of the war, without destroying the economic, social and national life of the country.

Do not those last words carry with them the implication that the government's policies are destroying the economic, social and national life of the country? And if they carry that implication in our minds here, or were intended to have that implication on the part of the mover of the subamendment, how will they be interpreted in Germany? How will they be interpreted in Japan? They will be interpreted there as meaning that already in Canada the economic, social and national life of the country is beginning to be destroyed. Destroyed why? Because of Germany's successes! Because of Japan's

successes, because of the power of the axis! It will be said that because of these successes we see already in the Dominion of Canada, the first of the great dominions of the British empire, a former minister of the crown and a member of parliament saying that the economic, social and national life of the country is being destroyed or about to be destroyed or may be destroyed in consequence of the war and the government's war policies. Is there anything that these axis powers desire more than to sow that kind of belief in the minds of their people, that here and there, first one nation, and then another nation, and then another, are becoming dissatisfied and beginning to withdraw from active participation in the war in which they have been participating up to the present time? I can imagine what Goebbels is saying to the German people. I can imagine what his vile tongue will repeat to the German people as to what is taking place in the Dominion of Canada. I wish to repeat that these are the things that count in this war—the morale of a people, the belief in the unity and determination of a people. These things mean more at this present crisis than any thing else could possibly mean. For any word to go out from Canada which could be construed in any way as meaning that the economic, social and national life of Canada was being destroyed because of the part we are taking in this war—I say that nothing more unpatriotic could possibly be expressed.

Present Position of Canada's Economic, Social and National Life

But is it a fact? What about the economic, social, and national life of our country? My hon. friend has spoken about agriculture and about industry. Is it not true that to-day industrial and agricultural production is greater than it has ever been in the history of Canada? Is it not true that the incomes of the people, the revenues of this country are higher to-day than they have been at any other time in its history? Is it not true that more men and women are in gainful employment to-day than have ever been in gainful employment in Canada in the whole of our history? How then can it be said that our economic, social and national life is being destroyed? I believe that there has never been a time in Canada's history when the Canadian people, speaking generally—not taking note of individuals here and there, but speaking generally—were more united and determined in any effort than they are in our war effort at the present time? And may I add to what I have said, as to the position of Canada, that there never was a time when consumer goods were as equitably distributed among the great body of the people as they are in Canada at this time.

Significance of Vote of Want of Confidence

Let me come now to the nature of the amendment to the amendment itself. I indicated at the outset that it was a no confidence motion, and I want every hon. member of this house to understand that. Those who support this motion are supporting a motion of no confidence in the administration. I want to ask the mover of this motion, the hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères, this question: If he has no confidence in this administration, in whom has he confidence? I ask, has he confidence in the Progressive Conservative party opposite? Is he prepared to give his support to them? Has he confidence in the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, and is he prepared to give his support to that party? Has he confidence in the Social Credit party, and is he prepared to give his support to them? Has he confidence in the leader of the so-called Canadian party, the hon. member for Laval-Two Mountains (Mr. Lacombe), and is he prepared to give his support to him? Is he prepared to give his support to the new leader of le bloc populaire Canadien? And I notice there are several others who are styled as independents. Is he prepared to give his support and confidence to them? If he is not prepared t give his support and confidence to any of these parties, or groups, or individuals, why does he try to destroy the confidence of the people of this country in the one party upon whose shoulders rests the responsibility of carrying on this war?

Danger of Too Many Parties and Groups

There is something I should like to point out at this moment, which I think is very significant indeed in the history of Canada, in the light of what we have witnessed in Europe since the beginning of the war. It is the danger there is to a country that begins to have a great number of different political parties. Look at France as she was prior to the war. Why did France collapse? France collapsed because, prior to the war itself, there began to spring up in that country political party after political party and personal and political rivalries—personal rivalries as well as political. We had an illustration of that sort of thing in this house last night. My hon. friend who moved this motion rose to

introduce it, and immediately the hon. member for Gaspe (Mr. Roy) felt that he was a political rival and that he should score, that he must have an opportunity of presenting a motion, no doubt something of the same character, before the hon. member, who was a former minister of the crown, obtained a chance to present his motion.

Mr. ROY: May I be permitted.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Sit down.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What is my hon. friend saying?

Mr. ROY: Will the Prime Minister permit me to make a statement?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Certainly.

Mr. ROY: The hon. member for Richelieu-Verchères did not rise before me; I rose before he did.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think *Hansard* will show very clearly where the personal and political rivalries came in, and I want to emphasize that fact. Those gentlemen who are forming new parties of their own, who are constituting themselves new leaders with a view to asserting certain views of their own in particular parts of the country, are doing the very same thing that was done by individuals in France in seeking to create parties and groups which would be able to satisfy their own personal ambitions, their own political aims; and the result was that the chamber of deputies in France—

Mr. GAUTHIER: On a point of order, I would call your attention, Mr. Speaker, to standing order 41. Even the Prime Minister is not allowed in this house to impute motives to any member, be he independent or a member of le bloc populaire Canadien, and this is the second time that the Prime Minister has done so this afternoon. I want him to withdraw that remark.

Mr. SPEAKER: With reference to the point of order raised by the hon. member, I did not take it that the Prime Minister imputed motives to anyone.

Mr. LACOMBE: Mr. Speaker, if you will permit me, I will read standing order 41:

> No member shall speak disrespectfully of His Majesty, nor of any of the royal family; nor of the governor or person administering the government of Canada; nor use offensive words against either house, or against any member thereof. No member may reflect upon any vote of the house, except for the purpose of moving that such vote be rescinded.

I think the Prime Minister should withdraw the remark.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have already ruled that I did not take it that the Prime Minister had used offensive remarks regarding any hon. member, or imputed motives to any hon. member.

Possibility of Situation Being Created in Canada Similar to that of France

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I spoke of personal ambitions and political aims, and I said that certain gentlemen had personal ambitions and political aims in this country, seeking to exert their influence beyond this House of Commons among the people of the country. These different parties are beginning to create within Canada itself a situation such as existed in France prior to the beginning of the war. I say it is part of my duty, perceiving that situation, and realizing what it has led to in the old world, to point out that danger to the people of Canada at this time. And I say—and I hope my hon. friends will heed these words—if they will look at the present situation of the French people to-day, in France, in north Africa, and what has helped to make the situation the tragedy that it is, they will see the unwisdom of forming innumerable political parties for personal aims and political ambitions.

Efforts to Preserve National Unity

Now, Mr. Speaker, the session opened last year with an effort to divide this house on a major political issue. I thought I perceived at the time where that issue would lead, if this house ever became divided and the country became divided upon it. I did my utmost to keep this country united through the whole of that crisis, and I am a proud man to-day because I feel that I succeeded in that great aim despite all the belittlement, all the detraction that persons from different parts of this country as well as some inside this house sought to level at me. What I want to make plain is this: I do not intend to go through another storm of that kind this session. If we are going to have this session open with an effort again to divide this country, to destroy the unity that we now have, the sooner the government of this country knows it the better. And I want to say to my hon. friends around me that I look to them to show where they stand in their support of me. If we are going to have a multitude of leaders in this country I want to know whether I have the support that will commend my leadership to the people of all Canada, or whether I am among the number that cannot count upon their own following.

Ottawa: Printed by Edmond Cloutier, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1943.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
96		External Affairs, 1943. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60994 - D 61019	
96		Food Conference. Speeches in Parliament	June 1943	D 61020 - D 61033	
96		Foreign Policy. Speeches in Parliament	July 1943	D 61034 - D 61038	
96		Manion, Hon. R.J. Speeches in Parliament	5 July 1943	D 61039 - D 61051	
96		National Resources Mobilization Act, Calling up of men. Speeches in Parliament	19 Feb. 1943	D 61052 - D 61058	
96		Post-War Food Problems. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 61059	
96		Prince George-Whitehorse Highway. Speeches in Parliament	5 Mar. 1943	D 61060 - D 61061	
96		Roosevelt, President, Visit to Ottawa. Speeches in Parliament	25 Aug. 1943	D 61062 - D 61103	
96		Sicily, Canadian Forces in. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 61104 - D 61122	
96		Social Security. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 61123 - D 61138	

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

D 61059

On Wednesday, March 31st, the Honourable Member for Rosetown-Biggar asked (Hansard page 1743) whether Canada would participate in the conference to be held in the United States on April 27th to consider long range post war food problems and if so how and by whom this country would be represented.

May I say in reply that the Canadian Government warmly welcomes the initiative of the President of the United States in issuing invitations for the discussion of questions connected with the distribution and consumption of food in the post war world, and ~~expects~~ will to be represented at these discussions, by whom will be stated in due course

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96		Social Security. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 61123 - D 61138	

March 5, 1943. D 61060

I have seen the newspaper report to which the Honourable member for Vancouver South has referred. In this report it is stated that the Secretary of the Interior of the United States had written a letter to the Chairman of the House of Representatives Committee on Roads recommending the enactment of a bill authorizing the expenditure of $25,000.000 on the construction of a road from Prince George, British Columbia, to Whitehorse in the Yukon Territory.

I am informed that the Bill to which the report alludes was introduced in the last session of Congress and has been re-introduced in the present session, in January 1943. In each case the Bill was introduced by interested members and there is no indication that it has been looked upon as an administration measure. In each case it was referred to the appropriate Congressional Committees.

The Canadian Government has received no intimation that the United States Government is anxious that the proposed road should be constructed at this time. I assume that the policy of the United States Government in regard to such matters is the same as the policy of the Canadian Government. That policy is to build those roads that are required for the successful prosecution of the war, but not to divert a single man or a single machine to the construction of highways that are not required for this purpose.

There has been no indication either through the Defence Board or through diplomatic channels that the United States Government considers the construction of a road from Prince George to Whitehorse necessary for the prosecution of the war.

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96		Social Security. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 61123 - D 61138	

D 61062

CANADA AND THE WAR

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE CAPITAL OF CANADA

Addresses by

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

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
President of the United States

The Honourable THOMAS VIEN, K.C.,
Speaker of the Senate

The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN, K.C., M.P.,
Speaker of the House of Commons

PARLIAMENT HILL, OTTAWA

AUGUST 25, 1943.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1943

D 61063

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Address of Welcome by

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

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943

Mr. President, Your Excellency, Your Royal Highness, Members of the Parliament of Canada:

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

To-day will be, for all time a memorable day for Canada. I need not remind you, Mr. President, how often I have expressed the desire that you might visit Ottawa during your term of office as President of the United States. We have hoped that on such a visit, you would speak to the members of the Senate and the House of Commons, either within or without the walls of our Houses of Parliament. You know, too, how frequently His Excellency the Governor General and Her Royal Highness the Princess Alice have expressed the wish that they might have the honour of a visit from Mrs. Roosevelt and yourself at some time during His Excellency's term of office as the representative in Canada of His Majesty the King.

Perhaps I may be allowed also to mention how greatly, for personal reasons, I have looked forward to the pleasure of welcoming to the seat of government and to my own home, one whose friendship in ever closer association, I have been privileged to enjoy over many years. To-day all these hopes and wishes, so warmly cherished by the people of Canada, by their representatives in Parliament, by His Excellency and Her Royal Highness and by myself, are being happily realized.

Welcome on Behalf of All Canada

On behalf of all Canada, I extend to you to-day, Mr. President, the warmest of welcomes to the Capital of our country. I thank you for having honoured our Capital city by your presence at a time which is without parallel in the history of human affairs.

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The Canadian people will, I know, wish me to express to you the admiration which they feel for you and for your great career. We recognize in you one who has always had a deep concern for the well-being of his fellow-men. We have long known that your services to the cause of freedom far exceed limits of race and bounds of nationality. We honour you as an undaunted champion of the rights of free men and a mighty leader of the forces of freedom in a world at war. We feel, too, a special affection for a life-long friend of our country.

Special Significance of Visit

This is the first occasion on which a President of the United States has visited Canada's Capital. It is particularly pleasing to us that this visit should have its association with your momentous meeting in the ancient capital of Canada with the Prime Minister of Great Britain. Over the past two years, your meetings with Mr. Churchill have been the signal for great events. The conference at Quebec just concluded will, I am confident, mark a further advance towards final victory.

The City of Quebec is the birth-place of Canada. Beneath its cliffs, in 1608, Champlain founded a settlement, and established a seat of government; upon its height is erected a monument commemorating in a single shaft the chivalry of Wolfe and Montcalm in the decisive battle of 1759. It is the city in which, in 1864, the fathers of the Canadian Confederation assembled in conference to fashion the Canada that was to be. We were indeed delighted when we learned that Quebec had been selected as the place of meeting between Mr. Churchill and yourself.

Allies in Two Hemispheres

We rejoice, Mr. President, that your visit to Ottawa comes at a moment when for the first time in our long history as close neighbours, soldiers of Canada and the United States have fought side by side. Combined British, United States and Canadian forces have just completed the occupation of Sicily as a first step in the liberation of Europe. Combined United States and Canadian forces have just occupied the last Japanese outpost in the Western Hemisphere.

The rapidity with which the American people gathered their strength, and the momentum and magnitude of their war effort have

filled the world with amazement. All Canada joins in admiration for the efficiency and heroism of the men of the fighting forces of the United States. In the South West Pacific, in the Aleutians, in North Africa, in Sicily, in the skies over every battlefront and on all the oceans of the world, their deeds are recording a glorious chapter in the history of freedom.

Victory and Peace

In the combined efforts of the military forces and the peoples of the United States and the British Empire, joined with those of the heroic peoples of Russia and China, and of the other United Nations lies the certainty of complete victory over the forces of tyranny which have sought the domination of the world.

Canada counts it a high privilege to have the opportunity of drawing into relations of closer friendship, understanding, and goodwill, the United States and the nations of the British Commonwealth. We are firmly convinced that in the continued close association of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America lies the surest guarantee of international peace, and of the furtherance of the well-being of mankind throughout the world.

Monsieur le Président: De nouveau et me servant, cette fois, de l'autre langue officielle de notre pays, je désire vous adresser la plus cordiale bienvenue au nom de tout le Canada.

English translation of the previous paragraph: Once more and using, this time, the other official language of our country, I wish to extend to you the most cordial welcome on behalf of all Canada.

D 61066

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Address by

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

President of the United States

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943

Your Excellency, Members of the Parliament, my good friends and neighbours of the Dominion of Canada:

It was exactly five years ago last Wednesday that I came to Canada to receive the high honour of a Degree at Queen's University. On that occasion—one year before the invasion of Poland, three years before Pearl Harbour—I said:

"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 it or not."

We did not choose this war—and that "we" includes each and every one of the United Nations.

War was violently forced upon us by criminal aggressors who measure their standards of morality by the extent of the death and the destruction that they can inflict upon their neighbours.

Comrades in War as in Peace

In this war, Canadians and Americans have fought shoulder to shoulder—as our men and our women and our children have worked together and played together in happier times of peace.

To-day, in devout gratitude, we are celebrating a brilliant victory won by British, Canadian and American fighting men in Sicily.

To-day, we rejoice also in another event for which we need not apologize. A year ago Japan occupied several of the Aleutian

Islands on our side of the ocean and made a great "to-do" about the invasion of the continent of North America. I regret to say that some Americans and some Canadians wished our governments to withdraw from the Atlantic and the Mediterranean campaigns and divert all our vast strength to the removal of the Japs from a few rocky specks in the North Pacific.

To-day, our wiser councils have maintained our efforts in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and the China seas and the South-west Pacific with ever-growing contributions; and in the Northwest Pacific a relatively small campaign has been assisted by the Japs themselves in the elimination of the last Jap from Attu and Kiska. We have been told that Japs never surrender; their headlong retreat satisfies us just as well.

The Quebec Conference

Great councils are being held here on the free and honoured soil of Canada—councils which look to the future conduct of this war and to the years of building a new progress for mankind.

To these councils Canadians and Americans alike again welcome that wise and good and gallant gentleman, the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

Mr. King, my old friend, may I through you thank the people of Canada for their hospitality to all of us. Your course and mine have run so closely and affectionately during these many long years that this meeting adds another link to that chain. I have always felt at home in Canada and you, I think, have always felt at home in the United States.

During the past few days in Quebec, the Combined Staffs have been sitting around a table—which is a good custom—talking things over, discussing ways and means, in the manner of friends, in the manner of partners, and may I even say, in the manner of members of the same family.

We have talked constructively of our common purposes in this war—of our determination to achieve victory in the shortest possible time—of our essential co-operation with our great and brave fighting Allies.

And we have arrived, harmoniously, at certain definite conclusions. Of course, I am not at liberty to disclose just what these conclusions are. But, in due time, we shall communicate the secret

information of the Quebec Conference to Germany, Italy and Japan. We shall communicate this information to our enemies in the only language their twisted minds seem capable of understanding.

Sometimes I wish that that great master of intuition, the Nazi leader, could have been present in spirit at the Quebec Conference —I am thoroughly glad he was not there in person. If he and his Generals had known our plans they would have realized that discretion is still the better part of valour and that surrender would pay them better now than later.

The Struggle for Human Rights

The evil characteristic that makes a Nazi a Nazi is his utter inability to understand and therefore to respect the qualities or the rights of his fellowmen. His only method of dealing with his neighbour is first to delude him with lies, then to attack him treacherously, then beat him down and step on him, and then either kill him or enslave him. And the same thing is true of the fanatical militarists of Japan.

Because their own instincts and impulses are essentially inhuman, our enemies simply cannot comprehend how it is that decent, sensible individual human beings manage to get along together and live together as neighbours.

That is why our enemies are doing their desperate best to misrepresent the purposes and the results of this Quebec Conference. They still seek to divide and conquer Allies who refuse to be divided just as cheerfully as they refuse to be conquered.

We spend our energies and our resources and the very lives of our sons and daughters because a band of gangsters in the community of nations declines to recognize the fundamentals of decent, human conduct.

We have been forced to call out what we in the United States would call the sheriff's posse to break up the gang in order that gangsterism may be eliminated in the community of nations.

We are making sure—absolutely, irrevocably sure—that this time the lesson is driven home to them once and for all. Yes, we are going to be rid of outlaws this time.

Every one of the United Nations believes that only a real and lasting peace can justify the sacrifices we are making, and our unanimity gives us confidence in seeking that goal.

The Post-War World

It is no secret that at Quebec there was much talk of the post-war world. That discussion was doubtless duplicated simultaneously in dozens of nations and hundreds of cities and among millions of people.

There is a longing in the air. It is not a longing to go back to what they call "the good old days". I have distinct reservations as to how good "the good old days" were. I would rather believe that we can achieve new and better days.

Absolute victory in this war will give greater opportunities for the world because the winning of the war in itself is proving, certainly proving to all of us here, that concerted action can accomplish things. Surely we can make strides toward a greater freedom from want than the world has yet enjoyed. Surely by unanimous action in driving out the outlaws and keeping them under heel forever, we can attain a freedom from fear of violence.

I am everlastingly angry only at those who assert vociferously that the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter are nonsense because they are unattainable. If they had lived a century and a half ago they would have sneered and said that the Declaration of Independence was utter piffle. If they had lived nearly a thousand years ago they would have laughed uproariously at the ideals of Magna Carta. And if they had lived several thousand years ago they would have derided Moses when he came from the Mountain with the Ten Commandments.

The Ethics of Humanity

We concede that these great teachings are not perfectly lived up to to-day, and we concede that the good old world cannot arrive at Utopia overnight. But I would rather be a builder than a wrecker, hoping always that the structure of life is growing—not dying.

May the destroyers who still persist in our midst decrease. They, like some of our enemies, have a long road to travel before they accept the ethics of humanity.

Some day, in the distant future perhaps—but some day with certainty—all of them will remember with the Master—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself".

Monsieur le Premier: Ma visite à la ville historique de Québec rappelle vivement à mon esprit que le Canada est une nation fondée

sur l'union de deux grandes races. L'harmonie de leur association dans l'égalité peut servir d'exemple à l'humanité toute entière—un exemple partout dans le monde.

English translation of the previous paragraph: My visit to the old city of Quebec has recalled vividly to my mind that Canada is a nation founded on a union of two great races. The harmony of their equal partnership is an example to all mankind—an example everywhere in the world.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Address by

The Honourable THOMAS VIEN, K.C.
Speaker of the Senate

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943
(TRANSLATION)

Mr. President,—

I have the signal honour and pleasure of tendering you in my mother tongue, one of the two official languages of this country, the warmest thanks of the Senate, of the House of Commons and of the people of Canada for having graciously consented to visit our Capital at the conclusion of the henceforth memorable Quebec Conference.

The sojourn among us of a President of the United States would suffice at any time to fill us with pride and enthusiasm. Yet we salute in you, Mr. President, more than the highest official of our sister nation and very good neighbour. We hail and acclaim in you a worthy successor of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Wilson, to mention but a few of the great men who symbolize the glory of your country.

An Enemy of Tyranny

Faithful exponent of the spirit that moved the founders of the Republic, you see in the Declaration of Independence a guarantee of freedom not only for your people, but for all the peoples of the earth. Liberal, in the widest sense of the term, you are the friend of man, in whom you behold the image and likeness of our Divine Maker. Having exhausted the resources of a wise and patient diplomacy, you unhesitatingly took up arms to free him from the yoke of oppressors who brutally denied him the exercise of his inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Were you not expressing your own philosophy of life when you so highly praised on a former occasion these words of Thomas Jefferson: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

D 61072

The British Empire, Canada and the civilized world owe you an immense debt of gratitude, Mr. President, for having come to their assistance on the morrow of Dunkirk, at an hour when the black clouds of defeat gathered threateningly on the horizon. Even before your entry into the conflict, you found the means of supplying Britain with ships, arms, munitions and the incalculable advantages of "Lend-Lease."

A Champion of Civilization

We Canadians are proud of the fact that we descend from the two greatest races in the world. Our hearts and yours, I am sure, shared the overwhelming grief of France, following the defeat of that unhappy country. We shall never forget that, for the second time in the life of this generation, your country has generously gone to the assistance of a France in mortal danger repeating Pershing's undying words: "La Fayette, we are here!"

When, with the proper perspective that only time can bring, the history of this era shall be written, you will stand in the forefront of that brilliant group of leaders—with Churchill, Mackenzie King, Stalin and Chiang Kai-Shek—who have so nobly served humanity.

May I be allowed, Mr. President, to express the deep satisfaction I feel in reiterating to you the heartfelt thanks of the Canadian Parliament and people for having honoured us with your presence here to-day and having cheered us with your very comforting remarks. We pray God that He may grant you his favours in abundance, that He may bless you and the great Republic whose destinies you guide, until such time as we may all glorify Him together in final victory, on the threshold of a lasting peace.

D 61073

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Address by

The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN, K.C., M.P.,
Speaker of the House of Commons

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943

To-day Canada has been afforded the unique privilege of welcoming to our own Capital the first President of the United States of America while still in office. This gathering is the culmination of a long-standing invitation given by the Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King to one who has been an intimate friend for more years than either of them would care to refer. It is well, Sir, that you should tax the hospitality of your friends occasionally and I can state confidently that everyone, young and old, in this vast assembly before you, together with that great unseen listening audience throughout the whole of Canada, look upon you with that possessive regard which is bestowed when a much-loved guest honours our home. I hope I shall not be misunderstood when I say that many Canadians affectionately call you "our President".

A True Friend in Dark Days

Canada will never forget the dark and dismal years of 1940 and 1941, nor will it ever forget that unparalleled act when you, as President of your great country, gave that generous and sorely needed Lease-Lend help which aided Great Britain to withstand and repel a conquering and then a seemingly invincible foe. National as well as human memories, with passing years and other conditions sometimes fade and become remote, but it would be an indelible blot on our escutcheon if at any future time Canada or the democracies forgot the noble help your country afforded us.

It is therefore with real pleasure we behold in our Capital your unmistakable figure and listen to that bold and confident voice so familiar to our ears. And what makes this day so memorable to us is the knowledge that it is to Canada particularly you speak. We have shared with the world in those intimate so-called fireside chats which you have addressed to your own people but which really en-

D61074

compassed the world and belong to the ages. Those fireside chats, clothed in language simple, expressive and enduring, the product of a gifted mind and balanced judgment, made their striking appeal because they are based on the eternal verities without which, as we believe, nothing is. To-day, Sir, your speech is an outstanding example of those utterances which have endeared you to our people and caused dismaying fear to our foes.

Good Neighbours in Peace and War

The road still may be long and dreary and the end not yet in sight, but the issue is no longer in doubt and upon you, Sir, the tremendous responsibilities of victory will be part of your destiny. You will require the assistance of all who, like you, believe that good is the final goal of ill. We are confident that in Canada you will find that co-operation in peace which we have shared in war. All we desire is the right to exercise the four freedoms upon which an enduring democracy must be based. If I may say so, your own phrase—now a household word—"The good neighbour" definitely embodies these principles. We invoke the blessing of Almighty God upon you. May He strengthen and sustain you until victory is achieved and peace and happiness restored to this war-torn world.

Mr. President, in the name of and for Canada I thank you most cordially and sincerely for your presence with us to-day, and for your noble address.

Mr Acland

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Memorandum for the PRIME MINISTER
(via Mr. Pickersgill)

Attached are three booklets, in page proof form, showing the arrangement of the speeches. This arrangement follows, as closely as possible, your comments on my recent memo to you on this subject.

In final form the first booklet, "Canadian Forces in the North Pacific" will be 8 pages.

The second booklet, "Visit of the President of the United States to the Capital of Canada" will be 16 pages. This was tried first in 12 pages, but it was unsatisfactory as it meant printing on both the inside front cover and the outside back cover. I therefore had it leaded out, which makes it more readable, and run as a 16 page booklet. The actual cost of a 16 page booklet is less than that of a 12 page booklet, since production of the 12 page is a double operation, involving the use of both 8 page and 4 page forms, whereas the 16 page is handled as a single operation. The saving in labour on production of a 16 page booklet more than offsets the extra cost of paper. (President Roosevelt's address was revised in line with final text as approved by the State Department in Washington.)

VWT

The third booklet, "Unconditional Surrender of Italy" and "Four Years of War" will be a 12 page booklet.

Dividing the speeches into three booklets in this manner will be an economy in meeting requests for particular speeches which will offset any slight additional production costs.

If you would telephone your approval or comments to Mr. Pickersgill this evening, I shall arrange to have printing start Tuesday morning.

P. A. N.A.

Pls. make clear VWT's letter on front pol
IC
22-IX-43

P.M. wishes to have a number for distribution among members when they come to Ottawa

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CANADA AND THE WAR

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE CAPITAL OF CANADA

Addresses by

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

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
President of the United States

The Honourable THOMAS VIEN, K.C.,
Speaker of the Senate

The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN, K.C., M.P.,
Speaker of the House of Commons

PARLIAMENT HILL, OTTAWA
AUGUST 25, 1943.

a/Prime Minister
22-IX-43

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1943

30a/43

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Address of Welcome by

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

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943

Mr. President, Your Excellency, Your Royal Highness, Members of the Parliament of Canada:

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

To-day will be, for all time a memorable day for Canada. I need not remind you, Mr. President, how often I have expressed the desire that you might visit Ottawa during your term of office as President of the United States. We have hoped that on such a visit, you would speak to the members of the Senate and the House of Commons, either within or without the walls of our Houses of Parliament. You know, too, how frequently His Excellency the Governor General and Her Royal Highness the Princess Alice have expressed the wish that they might have the honour of a visit from Mrs. Roosevelt and yourself at some time during His Excellency's term of office as the representative in Canada of His Majesty the King.

Perhaps I may be allowed also to mention how greatly, for personal reasons, I have looked forward to the pleasure of welcoming to the seat of government and to my own home, one whose friendship in ever closer association, I have been privileged to enjoy over many years. To-day all these hopes and wishes, so warmly cherished by the people of Canada, by their representatives in Parliament, by His Excellency and Her Royal Highness and by myself, are being happily realized.

Welcome on Behalf of All Canada

On behalf of all Canada, I extend to you to-day, Mr. President, the warmest of welcomes to the Capital of our country. I thank you for having honoured our Capital city by your presence at a time which is without parallel in the history of human affairs.

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The Canadian people will, I know, wish me to express to you the admiration which they feel for you and for your great career. We recognize in you one who has always had a deep concern for the well-being of his fellow-men. We have long known that your services to the cause of freedom far exceed limits of race and bounds of nationality. We honour you as an undaunted champion of the rights of free men and a mighty leader of the forces of freedom in a world at war. We feel, too, a special affection for a life-long friend of our country.

Special Significance of Visit

This is the first occasion on which a President of the United States has visited Canada's Capital. It is particularly pleasing to us that this visit should have its association with your momentous meeting in the ancient capital of Canada with the Prime Minister of Great Britain. Over the past two years, your meetings with Mr. Churchill have been the signal for great events. The conference at Quebec just concluded will, I am confident, mark a further advance towards final victory.

The City of Quebec is the birth-place of Canada. Beneath its cliffs, in 1608, Champlain founded a settlement, and established a seat of government; upon its height is erected a monument commemorating in a single shaft the chivalry of Wolfe and Montcalm in the decisive battle of 1759. It is the city in which, in 1864, the fathers of the Canadian Confederation assembled in conference to fashion the Canada that was to be. We were indeed delighted when we learned that Quebec had been selected as the place of meeting between Mr. Churchill and yourself.

Allies in Two Hemispheres

We rejoice, Mr. President, that your visit to Ottawa comes at a moment when for the first time in our long history as close neighbours, soldiers of Canada and the United States have fought side by side. Combined British, United States and Canadian forces have just completed the occupation of Sicily as a first step in the liberation of Europe. Combined United States and Canadian forces have just occupied the last Japanese outpost in the Western Hemisphere.

The rapidity with which the American people gathered their strength, and the momentum and magnitude of their war effort have

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filled the world with amazement. All Canada joins in admiration for the efficiency and heroism of the men of the fighting forces of the United States. In the South West Pacific, in the Aleutians, in North Africa, in Sicily, in the skies over every battlefront and on all the oceans of the world, their deeds are recording a glorious chapter in the history of freedom.

Victory and Peace

In the combined efforts of the military forces and the peoples of the United States and the British Empire, joined with those of the heroic peoples of Russia and China, and of the other United Nations lies the certainty of complete victory over the forces of tyranny which have sought the domination of the world.

Canada counts it a high privilege to have the opportunity of drawing into relations of closer friendship, understanding, and goodwill, the United States and the nations of the British Commonwealth. We are firmly convinced that in the continued close association of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America lies the surest guarantee of international peace, and of the furtherance of the well-being of mankind throughout the world.

Monsieur le Président: De nouveau et me servant, cette fois, de l'autre langue officielle de notre pays, je désire vous adresser la plus cordiale bienvenue au nom de tout le Canada.

English translation of the previous paragraph: Once more and using, this time, the other official language of our country, I wish to extend to you the most cordial welcome on behalf of all Canada.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Address by

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

President of the United States

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943

Your Excellency, Members of the Parliament, my good friends and neighbours of the Dominion of Canada:

It was exactly five years ago last Wednesday that I came to Canada to receive the high honour of a Degree at Queen's University. On that occasion—one year before the invasion of Poland, three years before Pearl Harbour—I said:

"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 it or not."

We did not choose this war—and that "we" includes each and every one of the United Nations.

War was violently forced upon us by criminal aggressors who measure their standards of morality by the extent of the death and the destruction that they can inflict upon their neighbours.

Comrades in War as in Peace

In this war, Canadians and Americans have fought shoulder to shoulder—as our men and our women and our children have worked together and played together in happier times of peace.

To-day, in devout gratitude, we are celebrating a brilliant victory won by British, Canadian and American fighting men in Sicily.

To-day, we rejoice also in another event for which we need not apologize. A year ago Japan occupied several of the Aleutian

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Islands on our side of the ocean and made a great "to-do" about the invasion of the continent of North America. I regret to say that some Americans and some Canadians wished our governments to withdraw from the Atlantic and the Mediterranean campaigns and divert all our vast strength to the removal of the Japs from a few rocky specks in the North Pacific.

To-day, our wiser councils have maintained our efforts in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and the China seas and the South-west Pacific with ever-growing contributions; and in the Northwest Pacific a relatively small campaign has been assisted by the Japs themselves in the elimination of the last Jap from Attu and Kiska. We have been told that Japs never surrender; their headlong retreat satisfies us just as well.

The Quebec Conference

Great councils are being held here on the free and honoured soil of Canada—councils which look to the future conduct of this war and to the years of building a new progress for mankind.

To these councils Canadians and Americans alike again welcome that wise and good and gallant gentleman, the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

Mr. King, my old friend, may I through you thank the people of Canada for their hospitality to all of us. Your course and mine have run so closely and affectionately during these many long years that this meeting adds another link to that chain. I have always felt at home in Canada and you, I think, have always felt at home in the United States.

During the past few days in Quebec, the Combined Staffs have been sitting around a table—which is a good custom—talking things over, discussing ways and means, in the manner of friends, in the manner of partners, and may I even say, in the manner of members of the same family.

We have talked constructively of our common purposes in this war—of our determination to achieve victory in the shortest possible time—of our essential co-operation with our great and brave fighting Allies.

And we have arrived, harmoniously, at certain definite conclusions. Of course, I am not at liberty to disclose just what these conclusions are. But, in due time, we shall communicate the secret

information of the Quebec Conference to Germany, Italy and Japan. We shall communicate this information to our enemies in the only language their twisted minds seem capable of understanding.

Sometimes I wish that that great master of intuition, the Nazi leader, could have been present in spirit at the Quebec Conference —I am thoroughly glad he was not there in person. If he and his Generals had known our plans they would have realized that discretion is still the better part of valour and that surrender would pay them better now than later.

The Struggle for Human Rights

The evil characteristic that makes a Nazi a Nazi is his utter inability to understand and therefore to respect the qualities or the rights of his fellowmen. His only method of dealing with his neighbour is first to delude him with lies, then to attack him treacherously, then beat him down and step on him, and then either kill him or enslave him. And the same thing is true of the fanatical militarists of Japan.

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The Post-War World

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Some day, in the distant future perhaps—but some day with certainty—all of them will remember with the Master—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself".

Monsieur le Premier: Ma visite à la ville historique de Québec rappelle vivement à mon esprit que le Canada est une nation fondée

D 61084

sur l'union de deux grandes races. L'harmonie de leur association dans l'égalité peut servir d'exemple à l'humanité toute entière—un exemple partout dans le monde.

English translation of the previous paragraph: My visit to the old city of Quebec has recalled vividly to my mind that Canada is a nation founded on a union of two great races. The harmony of their equal partnership is an example to all mankind—an example everywhere in the world.

D 61085

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Address by

The Honourable THOMAS VIEN, K.C.
Speaker of the Senate

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943

(TRANSLATION)

Mr. President,—

I have the signal honour and pleasure of tendering you in my mother tongue, one of the two official languages of this country, the warmest thanks of the Senate, of the House of Commons and of the people of Canada for having graciously consented to visit our Capital at the conclusion of the henceforth memorable Quebec Conference.

The sojourn among us of a President of the United States would suffice at any time to fill us with pride and enthusiasm. Yet we salute in you, Mr. President, more than the highest official of our sister nation and very good neighbour. We hail and acclaim in you a worthy successor of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Wilson, to mention but a few of the great men who symbolize the glory of your country.

An Enemy of Tyranny

Faithful exponent of the spirit that moved the founders of the Republic, you see in the Declaration of Independence a guarantee of freedom not only for your people, but for all the peoples of the earth. Liberal, in the widest sense of the term, you are the friend of man, in whom you behold the image and likeness of our Divine Maker. Having exhausted the resources of a wise and patient diplomacy, you unhesitatingly took up arms to free him from the yoke of oppressors who brutally denied him the exercise of his inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Were you not expressing your own philosophy of life when you so highly praised on a former occasion these words of Thomas Jefferson: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

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The British Empire, Canada and the civilized world owe you an immense debt of gratitude, Mr. President, for having come to their assistance on the morrow of Dunkirk, at an hour when the black clouds of defeat gathered threateningly on the horizon. Even before your entry into the conflict, you found the means of supplying Britain with ships, arms, munitions and the incalculable advantages of "Lend-Lease."

A Champion of Civilization

We Canadians are proud of the fact that we descend from the two greatest races in the world. Our hearts and yours, I am sure, shared the overwhelming grief of France, following the defeat of that unhappy country. We shall never forget that, for the second time in the life of this generation, your country has generously gone to the assistance of a France in mortal danger repeating Pershing's undying words: "La Fayette, we are here!"

When, with the proper perspective that only time can bring, the history of this era shall be written, you will stand in the forefront of that brilliant group of leaders—with Churchill, Mackenzie King, Stalin and Chiang Kai-Shek—who have so nobly served humanity.

May I be allowed, Mr. President, to express the deep satisfaction I feel in reiterating to you the heartfelt thanks of the Canadian Parliament and people for having honoured us with your presence here to-day and having cheered us with your very comforting remarks. We pray God that He may grant you his favours in abundance, that He may bless you and the great Republic whose destinies you guide, until such time as we may all glorify Him together in final victory, on the threshold of a lasting peace.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Address by

The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN, K.C., M.P.,
Speaker of the House of Commons

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943

To-day Canada has been afforded the unique privilege of welcoming to our own Capital the first President of the United States of America while still in office. This gathering is the culmination of a long-standing invitation given by the Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King to one who has been an intimate friend for more years than either of them would care to refer. It is well, Sir, that you should tax the hospitality of your friends occasionally and I can state confidently that everyone, young and old, in this vast assembly before you, together with that great unseen listening audience throughout the whole of Canada, look upon you with that possessive regard which is bestowed when a much-loved guest honours our home. I hope I shall not be misunderstood when I say that many Canadians affectionately call you "our President".

A True Friend in Dark Days

Canada will never forget the dark and dismal years of 1940 and 1941, nor will it ever forget that unparalleled act when you, as President of your great country, gave that generous and sorely needed Lease-Lend help which aided Great Britain to withstand and repel a conquering and then a seemingly invincible foe. National as well as human memories, with passing years and other conditions sometimes fade and become remote, but it would be an indelible blot on our escutcheon if at any future time Canada or the democracies forgot the noble help your country afforded us.

It is therefore with real pleasure we behold in our Capital your unmistakable figure and listen to that bold and confident voice so familiar to our ears. And what makes this day so memorable to us is the knowledge that it is to Canada particularly you speak. We have shared with the world in those intimate so-called fireside chats which you have addressed to your own people but which really en-

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compassed the world and belong to the ages. Those fireside chats, clothed in language simple, expressive and enduring, the product of a gifted mind and balanced judgment, made their striking appeal because they are based on the eternal verities without which, as we believe, nothing is. To-day, Sir, your speech is an outstanding example of those utterances which have endeared you to our people and caused dismaying fear to our foes.

Good Neighbours in Peace and War

The road still may be long and dreary and the end not yet in sight, but the issue is no longer in doubt and upon you, Sir, the tremendous responsibilities of victory will be part of your destiny. You will require the assistance of all who, like you, believe that good is the final goal of ill. We are confident that in Canada you will find that co-operation in peace which we have shared in war. All we desire is the right to exercise the four freedoms upon which an enduring democracy must be based. If I may say so, your own phrase—now a household word—"The good neighbour" definitely embodies these principles. We invoke the blessing of Almighty God upon you. May He strengthen and sustain you until victory is achieved and peace and happiness restored to this war-torn world.

Mr. President, in the name of and for Canada I thank you most cordially and sincerely for your presence with us to-day, and for your noble address.

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LINO ROOM

CANADA AND THE WAR

THE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER OF ITALY

(September 3, 1943)

FOUR YEARS OF WAR
1939 - 1943

BROADCASTS

by

Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.,

Prime Minister of Canada

OTTAWA, SEPTEMBER 8 and 10, 1943

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1943

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CANADA AND THE WAR

THE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER OF ITALY

(September 3, 1943)

Statement Broadcast by

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

Ottawa, September 8, 1943

The world has heard this morning the tremendous news from General Eisenhower's headquarters that Italy has surrendered unconditionally. The first Allied landings on the Italian mainland were made on September 3rd, only five days ago. The news of surrender has followed swiftly.

The Allied Nations have now attained the first of their three main objectives—the unconditional surrender, in turn, of each of the Axis powers. Allied strategy for more than a year past has aimed at driving Italy out of the war, and thus clearing the way for a concentrated attack upon Nazi Germany by the Allied forces in Europe. It was hoped and expected that the defeat of Italy might be accomplished by this autumn. That end has now been achieved, and achieved according to plan. Its accomplishment, more immediately, is the outcome of the campaigns in Africa and in Sicily, and of the bombardment and invasion of the Italian mainland. It is the result of the combined efforts of the United Nations in all theatres of war.

We in Canada may rejoice today that, from the very beginning of the present world conflict, our country took up arms against the forces of aggression and tyranny. We may rejoice that, throughout four years of war, the Canadian people have put forth their utmost effort in the cause of the world's freedom. This is not the moment at which to attempt to assess our contribution. As a nation, we saw the issue clearly from the outset, and our armed forces at sea, on land, and in the air have served wherever their highest service could be rendered. We may rejoice that, in this hour of triumph over one of the Axis powers, it has been given to Canada's forces to play a significant part.

Let there be rejoicing from one end of Canada to the other, but let the rejoicing be accompanied by a resolve, on the part of each, that from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass, in the quickest possible time, the defeat of the remaining Axis powers.

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As Canadians, we may indeed be proud that Canada's armed forces were among those who were at the spearhead of the attack upon Sicily, and among the first to land upon the soil of Italy. It remains for us, by doing all that lies within our power, to ensure to our fighting men a position of honour in the final break-through into Germany, and in the slaying of the dragon of Naziism in its native lair. Once that is accomplished, the fate of Japan will definitely be sealed.

Again, I repeat, let us, one and all, from now on, do all that lies within our power to aid our fighting men.

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FOUR YEARS OF WAR

1939 - 1943

Broadcast by

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

Ottawa, September 10, 1943

To-day, Canada enters the fifth year of war. When I spoke to you, a year ago, the Axis powers had reached the extreme limits of their conquests. For the United Nations, the preceding months had been filled with disappointments and defeats. At El Alemain and at Stalingrad the advancing Nazi hordes threatened the two gateways of the Middle East. In the Far East, and in the Pacific, Japanese power had spread across China and Southeast Asia to the frontiers of India, through all the Indies to the very shores of Australia, and into the Aleutian Islands in our own hemisphere. Everywhere throughout the world the forces of freedom were on the defensive.

Axis Dream Becomes a Nightmare

To-day, the world picture has changed. The Axis dream of world domination has been transformed into a nightmare of defeat and destruction. On every battlefront around the globe, the United Nations have seized and kept the initiative. China has entered undaunted into her seventh year of resistance. The Japanese have been driven from the Western Hemisphere. The forces of the United States, Australia and New Zealand are pressing forward in New Guinea and the Solomons. In Russia, the Nazi summer offensive has been turned into a defeat—a defeat so disastrous its proportions cannot yet be measured. The very heart of Germany has, day and night, been pounded from the air on a scale which, even a year ago, would have seemed incredible. Great cities have been reduced to smouldering ruins. On the sea, for the time at least, the menace of the Nazi U-boat is under control. The Axis forces have been driven out of the whole of Africa. The Mediterranean has again been opened to allied shipping. Sicily has been occupied; the mainland of Europe invaded. Italy has surrendered unconditionally.

Canada's War Effort in the Past Year

Let me now refer very briefly to what Canada has done in the past year to advance the common cause of freedom.

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At sea, the contribution of Canada's navy in the North Atlantic has steadily increased. With the growth of our contribution has come an increase of responsibility for the safety of that life-line of freedom. The Canadian navy has not been confined to the North Atlantic. Last November, Canadian corvettes shared in escorting the great Anglo-American armada to North Africa. Several of our ships and their crews distinguished themselves in the Mediterranean. For many months, Canadian ships operated in the North Pacific against the Japanese in the Aleutians. Specially trained Canadian sailors manned many of the landing craft employed in the invasions of Sicily and the mainland of Italy. In this war, Canada has become a naval power, now third in strength, among the United Nations.

Canada's maritime contribution is not confined to the fighting navy. Our merchant fleet, manned by Canadian seamen, is growing in importance. No praise is too high for the heroism and endurance of the merchant seamen. Allied successes on every battlefront depend upon their exertions and their devotion.

In aerial warfare, Canada's fighting strength has been directed against the enemy all around the globe. The results of planning, organization and training on a gigantic scale have been recorded in successes in all the theatres of war. Canadian airmen have destroyed U-boats on the Atlantic. They have blasted Japanese strongholds, from the fog-bound Aleutians, through the islands of the South Pacific, to the jungles of Burma. The vast air strength forged in Canada has left its mark in Africa, in Sicily, in Italy, and on enemy communications and military strongholds from France to Norway. Its greatest and most devastating weight has fallen upon the industrial cities of Germany.

In fighting on land, Hong-Kong and Dieppe showed the world, what every Canadian knew in his heart, that Canadian soldiers of to-day have all the courage and all the spirit their fathers displayed on the fields of France and Flanders. In the years the Canadian Army overseas has helped to secure Britain against invasion, it has grown from a single army corps, which was what Canada had in the last war, to an army of two complete corps.

The strategy which assigned to the Canadian army in Britain the supreme duty of helping to defend the world's citadel of freedom against the enemy, denied to its divisions, until this fourth year of war, the opportunity to share in major operations in other theatres.

Canadians in Africa and Sicily

During the year now ended, picked officers and non-commissioned officers from the Canadian army in Britain served with the British First Army in the Tunisian campaign. Their service in Africa foreshadowed Canadian participation in military operations to come. July the 10th, 1943, will ever be a memorable date in the history

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of Canada. Early that morning, the First Division of the Canadian army landed in Sicily. Our troops were accorded the honour of forming a part of the British Eighth Army. They were the hinge between the British and American forces throughout most of the fighting in Sicily. All Canada is proud of the achievements of Canada's soldiers in that campaign. Their courage and efficiency won for them, from the Allied commanders, the highest praise.

Before the occupation of Sicily was completed, the Canadian troops were withdrawn from the battlefront to prepare, with other units of the Eighth Army, for the landing on the Italian mainland. On the eve of that landing, I received from General Simonds a most enheartening description of the spirit of the force under his command. His cable was in reply to a message of congratulations I had sent to him and to our troops at the conclusion of the Sicilian campaign. Here are General Simonds' words:

> "On behalf of all ranks of the First Canadian Division, I thank you for your inspiring message. We shall continue in our duty reinforced by your words of encouragement. Would you please assure your colleagues of the Government of Canada and the Canadian people, that their soldiers here are in great heart, that they face the future with full confidence, and that my own responsibilities are lightened by the knowledge that I command troops whose courage, skill and endurance are unsurpassed by any in the world. We have taken the measure of our enemies and though there may be bitter fighting ahead with its inevitable losses, we shall not look back until those enemies are finally defeated."

The Invasion of Italy

That was the spirit in which our troops landed on the mainland of Italy on the morning of September 3rd. It will ever be a source of pride for all Canadians that Canada had a part in establishing the first bridgehead of freedom on the European mainland. Italy has since surrendered unconditionally. We now know that September 3rd—the fourth anniversary of the day on which Britain entered the war—was the day on which the military terms of surrender were signed.

The Landing on Kiska

While Canada's main military effort at sea, on land and in the air has been directed against the European end of the Axis, it is also true that at sea, in the air and on land armed forces of Canada have co-operated closely with United States forces in operations against the Asiatic Axis partner on the other side of the globe. At the moment our forces were joined with those of Britain and the United States in wresting from the enemy the Island of Sicily

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in the waters of the Mediterranean, Canadian forces were associated with those of the United States in recovering from the Japanese the Island of Kiska in the Pacific.

The fighting forces will always merit the place of highest honour. But Canada's contribution to the cause of freedom is not to be measured only in terms of the valiant services of her fighting men. Canada's total contribution is more than the military effort; it is the united effort of all our people. Victories cannot be won without brave and well-trained fighting men. When forces are matched which are equally brave, equally well trained and equally well led, next to the spirit of man it is the weight of armour which turns the scale. Weight of armour means ships, aircraft, tanks, guns, weapons and munitions of all kinds. It means, in the final analysis, superior industrial power mobilized for war.

The People's Contribution to Victory

In the present struggle, the industrial strength of the United Nations—and particularly of this North American continent—is now being applied decisively. Yesterday, the Minister of Munitions and Supply made public an astounding account of Canada's industrial contribution in this war. This record appeared in the press and was broadcast over the air. If you did not see it or hear it, I suggest that you look for it in yesterday's paper. By your work, by your self-denial, by your purchases of bonds and war savings certificates, you have helped to make that record. To the extent of your contribution in any of these particulars, you are entitled to share in the credit for this splendid achievement.

A Great Industrial Nation

You may also be proud that in doing your part to help win the war, you have helped to develop Canada into a great industrial nation. Through your contributions to a total war effort, you have aided in revolutionizing our national economy. The very exertions which Canada has made to do her utmost in the winning of the war have won for our country a place among the leading powers of the world.

Canada's contribution to the weapons of victory has been a large one. Our production has not been restricted to the needs of Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen. We have produced to the limit of our capacity to supply the fighting men of other allied notions. And we have taken steps to make sure that the arms and ammunitions are sent where they are most needed. That is what we mean by mutual aid.

In 1940 and 1941 when the enemy was winning battles on nearly every front, the soldiers, sailors and airmen of the United Nations were just as brave as they are to-day. To-day, the allied

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forces are winning battles, because they have the armour: the guns and tanks and ships and planes. We have kept the fighting away from our own shores, because hundreds of thousands of young Canadians were ready to risk their lives to defeat the enemy on the other side of the seas. They have been able to take the splendid part they have because the people at home were willing to work harder, to practice self-denial, and to contribute of their means in taxes and loans, in order to provide the implements of war.

As the British, American, Canadian and other allied forces come to closer grips with Germany, the struggle will continue to increase in intensity and violence. The speed with which the war will be won will depend on the speed with which the factories and mines and forests of North America furnish the weapons and munitions of war. That is a sobering thought which I should like to bring home to every worker, with hand or brain, everywhere on the production lines of the new world. To the extent of your contribution, you have made the weapons that destroyed the power of Mussolini and his Fascist minions. The lives you have saved, the agony you have helped to spare the world,—these will be the measure of your reward. It is going to take all the weapons you can make, as quickly as you can make them, to destroy the power of Hitler and his Nazi gangsters; and the fanatic militarism of Japan.

Responsibility for Preservation or Loss of Human Lives

The farmers and the fishermen of Canada have helped to sustain the fighting forces everywhere, and the workers on the home front. By their contribution they, too, are saving human lives and sparing the world untold agony. The food produced on this continent not only is helping in the winning of the war; it will have a large part in shaping the peace to follow.

The liberation of European territory will make greater demands than ever upon the food resources of the United Nations. In its early stages, the supply of food will, for the underfed and starving peoples of the world, be the real test of liberation.

As the war goes on, the meaning of total war becomes clearer every day. The issue also becomes unmistakable. This war is nothing less than a life and death struggle between total servitude and total freedom.

There is no hard and fast line between the fighting forces and the working forces. Both are essential to total victory. The men in the fighting forces, we know, will never fail us. They are ready, if need be, to sacrifice their lives, as many already have, that others may remain free. What it is necessary for every one of us to realize is that no individual can escape the consequences of his own contribution or of his own failure. If he does his best, he is helping to rid mankind of the scourges which beset it; if he fails to serve, or impedes the service of others, he is furthering throughout the world

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the ends of carnage and of death. A flagging of effort on the home front or any avoidable interruption of effort, will prolong the struggle and increase its cost in human lives.

Hardest Battles Still in the Future

Whether civilization is to live or die has yet to be decided on the field of battle. All that has gone before, all that is now taking place is leading up to the hour of supreme effort. The strategic objective in driving Italy out of the war was to clear the way for a concentrated attack on Nazi Germany.

The surrender of Italy does not mean that the whole of Italy can be occupied without a bitter struggle. The defeat of the German armies in Italy—the phase of the war on which we have just entered —is but a prelude to the real task. In Europe, Germany has always been the real enemy. Victory over Hitlerite Germany will not be achieved without a tremendous struggle. Our hardest battles are still in the future.

I would not be true to myself, nor to you, did I not say that I believe Canada's fifth year of war will demand more fortitude, greater efforts, heavier sacrifices than any we have yet faced. To be worthy of our fighting men, we must work more intensely, accept heavier burdens, co-operate more fully in a united effort.

As I said when the news was announced, by all means let there be rejoicing and thanksgiving from one end of Canada to the other at the unconditional surrender of Italy, which our efforts, joined to those of others, have helped to bring about. But, as Canada enters upon her fifth year of war, let our rejoicing and our thanskgiving be accompanied by a resolve on the part of each that, from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass, in the quickest possible time, the defeat also of Germany and Japan. On their defeat depends the future well-being of mankind.

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LINO ROOM

CANADA AND THE WAR

CANADIAN FORCES IN THE NORTH PACIFIC

Alaska and The Aleutians

BROADCAST

by

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada

QUEBEC, AUGUST 21, 1943

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1943

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CANADA AND THE WAR

CANADIAN FORCES IN THE NORTH PACIFIC

Alaska and The Aleutians

BROADCAST BY

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

Quebec, August 21, 1943

You have learned today that United States and Canadian troops have occupied the island of Kiska. Kiska, as you are aware, is one of the Aleutian Islands. This group of islands stretches from the coast of Alaska far out into the Pacific Ocean, in the direction of Japan. You will remember that, after Japan's entry into the war, the Japanese occupied Attu, which is at the extreme western end of the Aleutian group. They also occupied the larger island of Kiska, which is a little to the north and east of Attu. In the spring of this year United States forces drove the Japanese out of Attu. Kiska then remained the only outpost of the western hemisphere in Japanese hands. Under Japanese control, Kiska was a menace alike to Canada and the United States.

The landing on Kiska began on August 15. The position of the Japanese troops in Kiska must have become untenable as no Japanese forces were found on the island. No doubt the United States recovery of Attu, the consequent attacks upon Japanese supply lines, and the recent bombardment of Kiska by air and surface craft caused the enemy to evacuate the island. In the heavy aerial bombardment which preceded the occupation of Kiska by United States and Canadian troops, our Canadian airmen had a part.

Under allied strategy the United States Navy has the primary responsibility for the North Pacific area. The operation against Kiska was carried out under United States Navy command. Its occupation is the first operation in the Aleutian Islands in which units of the Canadian army have participated.

Composition of Canadian Army Force

The Canadian army force formed a part of the United States Army Task Force. The Canadian troops were drawn from the

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Pacific Command of the Canadian Army. The units comprising the force are representative of every part of Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A large proportion are soldiers called up for service under the National Resources Mobilization Act. All had been specially trained for operations in the North Pacific area.

The Canadian force is commanded by Brigadier H. W. Foster. Until recently, Brigadier Foster commanded an infantry brigade in the Canadian Army overseas. The force included:

The Canadian Fusiliers of London, Ontario (commanded by Lt.-Col. Russell Hilton Beattie, M.C.).

The Winnipeg Grenadiers (Lt.-Col. J. A. Wilson).

The Rocky Mountain Rangers (Lt.-Col. D. B. Holman, M.C.).

Le Regiment de Hull (Lt.-Col. Dollard Menard, D.S.O.).

A Company of the Saint John Fusiliers (Major G. P. Murphy).

The 24th Field Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery (Lt.-Col. R. P. Drummond).

The 46th Light Anti-Aircraft Battery (Major J. A. Macdonald).

The 24th Field Company, Royal Canadian Engineers (Major D. H. Rochester).

The 25th Field Ambulance, Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps (Lt.-Col. T. M. Brown).

The force also included detachments from the Ordnance, Army Service Corps, Provost, Pay and Postal Corps.

The presence of Canadian forces in Alaska is, of course not a new development. From the outbreak of war with Japan all three Canadian services have shared with United States forces in the defence of Alaska and the Pacific coast.

Canada's Defence Against Japan

Canada's major contribution in this war has, of course, been in the Atlantic and European theatres. Because that has been our main interest, our contribution to the defence of this continent against Japanese aggression is comparatively little known. In the joint effort Canada's share has, nevertheless, been substantial. It is of Canada's part in this joint effort that I wish to speak tonight.

In conformity with the government's policy of preparing for all contingencies, attention has been given throughout the war to the Pacific area. Plans providing for joint action between United States and Canadian forces in defence of northwestern North America were prepared in accordance with recommendations of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence. These plans were put into effect immediately following the attack upon Pearl Harbor.

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Chain of Military Air Fields

Before the outbreak of war in the Pacific, Canada had already commenced construction of a chain of airfields connecting Western Canada with Alaska. These airfields were planned to provide a speedy route, behind the protection of the mountain barrier, for the movement to Alaska of military aircraft from the United States and Canada. This chain of airfields is known as the North-West Staging Route. Over this route, the United States army has flown to Alaska great numbers of fighters, bombers and heavily laden transports. The newly constructed Alaska Highway, providing land communications between these airfields, roughly parallels the North-West Staging Route.

Strengthening of Pacific Coast Defences

When the war against Japan began, the Canadian army and air force already had formations available in British Columbia. Immediately after the Japanese attack, anti-aircraft detachments of the Canadian army and squadrons of the Royal Canadian Air Force, were sent to Alaska to help strengthen its defences. The defences of the Pacific coast of Canada were also materially strengthened. The army was augmented by the establishment of one division in southern British Columbia and by the elements of another division in the northern portion of the Province. As rapidly as equipment became available, the anti-aircraft defences of the Pacific coast were also strengthened.

In providing adequate air defences to meet the Japanese menace, the Royal Canadian Air Force faced two problems. One was the provision of additional operational squadrons. The other was the construction of additional air bases. Complete squadrons were moved to Western operational stations. The aircrews, who now operate daily over the Pacific, fly in the most modern bombers and in large flying boats.

Development of Additional Air Bases

The development of additional aerodromes and bases has proceeded steadily. Their construction has presented great difficulties. The location of the bases is determined by strategic considerations and not by accessibility to roads and railways. Many of them are remote from human habitation. The transport of materials to the sites is, in most cases, both arduous and hazardous. The provision of adequate means of rapid communication has involved the construction of thousands of miles of land-line communications. It has also involved the training of personnel for their operation and maintenance. The Pacific coast is so sparsely settled that Coast Watching Detachments have had to be established at certain uninhabited points along the coast. Radio range stations have been constructed as aids to the navigation of coastal aircraft.

I should also make mention of the valuable work of the vast unpaid volunteer body of citizens known as the Aircraft Detection Corps.

From the outset, co-operation between Canadian and American air forces has been most cordial and effective. The Royal Canadian Air Force has continued to share with the United States Air Force in the increasingly offensive defence of the Alaskan area. The occupation of Kiska marks a successful culmination of these operations.

Canadian Navy Shares in Defence

Although allied strategy has given the primary responsibility for the Northern Pacific to the United States Navy, the Royal Canadian Navy, within the limitations imposed by its heavy commitments in the North Atlantic, has also co-operated in the defence of this area. Canadian naval ships have the responsibility for patrolling a portion of the North Pacific Coast. Our Navy has the responsibility also for the control of merchant shipping in the ports and along the coasts of British Columbia, and for minesweeping in the defended areas.

When the Japanese began their thrust towards Alaska a year ago, ships of the Royal Canadian Navy were operating directly with the United States Navy. For many weeks our ships were engaged in important patrol and escort duties off Alaska and the Aleutians. Canadian naval ships are still co-operating with United States naval forces in those far northern waters.

Offensive Operations Against Kiska

Throughout the past year special attention has been devoted to the training, in offensive operations, of our troops in the Pacific Command. To provide additional training in offensive operations, the number of troops on static defence was decreased. The training has included special exercises and schools for combined operations, mountain and jungle warfare, and battle drill.

When the Kiska operation was decided upon, steps were taken to organize, concentrate and equip a Canadian army force to co-operate with the United States forces. The troops selected for the operation against Kiska were concentrated on Vancouver Island. There the force received intensive training in combined operations prior to its departure for Alaska. Particular care was taken to see that all ranks measured up to the required standards of physical fitness, individual training, and length of service. The Canadian force underwent a further period of intensive training in Alaska.

The expulsion of enemy forces from the Aleutians and the secure control of the Northeast Pacific by forces of the United States and Canada is something much wider than the joint defence of this continent.

Just as the control achieved by United States, Australian and New Zealand forces in New Guinea, the Solomons and elsewhere in the Southwest Pacific is aiding in the defence of Canada, so the control of the Aleutian Islands in the North Pacific by the United States and Canadian forces will aid in the defence of Australia and New Zealand.

Units of the Canadian army are to-day facing the enemy on opposite sides of the world, and at opposite ends of the Axis. Nothing could better bring home to all of us the world-encircling character of the present war.

In the operations in the Aleutians, the army, navy and air force of our country have all had a share. By our co-operation in the occupation of Kiska, we have once more expressed Canada's determination to do her full part, until the military power of Japan, as well as the military power of Germany, is finally destroyed.

Prime Minister of Great Britain and President of the United States, at Quebec

Before I conclude, you will wish me, I am sure, to say just a word about the meeting, on our own Canadian soil, between the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt are here, in the old city of Quebec, residing in its historic Citadel as the guests of the government of Canada.

Canada greatly welcomes the opportunity to serve as a link between Great Britain and the United States. I am speaking, I know, for all the people of Canada when I express our pride that our country should be the scene of this memorable meeting. It will be looked upon, in years to come, as one of the great events in our national history.

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Statement by the Prime Minister J.W.P.

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The Canadian Forces ~~STRENGTH OF THE FORCES NOW IN SICILY~~ D 61104

A week has now passed since the landing of ~~our~~ Canadian troops in Sicily. I should like to make a brief statement on the progress of operations.

During the week, our thoughts have been mainly with the army. No account of the Canadian share in operations would be complete, however, without a reference to the other two services.

The battle for Sicily really began weeks before the landing of the allied troops on Saturday last. Ever since the close of the Tunisian campaign the allied air forces in North Africa and the Middle East have been "softening up" the island of Sicily for the coming invasion. In those operations, Canadian airmen, in R.A.F. and in R.C.A.F. squadrons, have had a large share.

Operating under the immediate command of Major General James Doolittle of the United States Army Air Corps, an R.C.A.F. bomber wing composed of an unstated number of squadrons helped to pave the way for the allied invasion of Sicily by terrific bombardment of the island. During the landings and as the allied forces have continued to strengthen their position in Sicily, Canadians in the air have been blasting enemy troop concentrations, strong points and supply columns.

In addition to the bomber squadrons, a Royal Canadian Air Force Spitfire squadron which distinguished itself in the Tunisian campaign is participating in the Sicilian action. It cannot be revealed whether this squadron is yet based on a Sicilian field, but it is known that many members of the R.C.A.F. are among the aircrews which are now operating from captured aerodromes on the Island.

There are, of course, thousands of Canadian personnel included in the Royal Air Force squadrons operating in the Mediterranean as there are in almost every R.A.F. unit around the world. No reports on their participation are available, but it is safe to assume that there are few, if any, Royal Air Force squadrons operating in the aerial forces being thrown against Sicily in support of our armies which do not include Royal Canadian Air Force personnel. Other Canadians are flying Wellington bombers, harassing and disrupting enemy supply routes from the African mainland.

While operations of our air units and our personnel out of the United Kingdom are not directly linked with the Sicilian campaign, their activities are having the effect of tying a great part of the Luftwaffe to Western Europe. Were these Luftwaffe units released for service in the Mediterranean they could make our operations there far more difficult.

In the Sicilian operations, the Royal Canadian Navy has also been represented. We have been advised that several

hundred Royal Canadian Naval officers and men acting in conjunction with and under the direction of the Royal Navy, took part in the hazardous work of safely effecting landings for the troops engaged.

For many months now, almost two thousand Canadian Naval personnel have been training at a Combined Operations base in England, preparing themselves to take part in landing operations. Their ships are known as "assault landing craft". A number of Canadian sailors took part in the Combined Operations when landings were made in North Africa in November last. This week, they took their craft, under enemy fire, and ferried in troops who were part of the first wave of the invading forces to move on to the beaches.

We shall await with interest a more detailed account of their hazardous work.

Coming now to the army, its operations began at dawn, Sicilian time, on Saturday, July 10th, when the British, United States and Canadian troops commenced landing on the shores of Sicily. The landings on the beaches had been preceded by allied paratroop landings beyond the coastal defences.

According to statements made by prisoners, the landings were a complete surprise and caused much confusion. The element of surprise, combined with the fact that the landing areas were defended only by static or semi-static Italian troops, resulted in very light casualties for the landing forces. The bulk of enemy operational divisions were in the central part of the Island.

The Canadian Division, now identified as the 1st Division, landed at the south east tip of Sicily. Two and one-half hours after landing, they had captured their first objective, and made contact with the British division on their right flank. Mearwhile British and American forces had landed to the east and west of the Canadians.

Canadian troops captured the airfield at Pachino six hours after landing, and a short time later were in Pachino itself.

On Monday, July 12th, General Eisenhower visited the Canadians on Pachino Peninsula. He sought out Canadian headquarters, but headquarters was moving forward so rapidly that he was unable to make contact. That day, the Canadians captured several inland towns. The first enemy counter attack was met and beaten off. At Ragusa, an important inland junction about 25 miles northwest of Pachino, the Canadians made their first contact with the American forces.

Shortly before midnight Augusta, an important naval base, 19 miles north of Syracuse was captured by British and Canadian troops. The port is ~~reported~~ stated to be in perfect working order.

On Tuesday, July 13th, Canadian troops made further advances, repulsed counter-attacks and captured the first Italian general to surrender, ~~in the invasion~~ together with his headquarters staff.

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On Wednesday, July 14th, Canadian armored forces landed at Syracuse and moved north, while other Canadians were making progress over 40 miles northwest of their landing places. It was revealed that day that the Canadians formed part of the Eighth army, under the command of General Montgomery.

On Thursday, July 15th, the Eighth Army including the units of the first Canadian Division continued its advance along the east coast towards the Catania plains repulsing strong counter attacks.

Yesterday, July 16th, the advance continued on all sectors, and by the end of the day which completed the first week of operations, a wide arc enclosing about a quarter of the island had been occupied by the allied forces. Over 20,000 prisoners and a large quantity of arms and material had been taken.

So successful, within the week, had been the combined operations of the armed forces of the United States, Great Britain and Canada that yesterday morning, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt felt justified in addressing to the people of Italy the Proclamation which I read to the House at the opening of the morning sitting. The Proclamation stated that the sole hope for Italy's survival lay in honourable capitulation, and that the time had come for the people of Italy to decide whether Italians would die for Mussolini and Hitler - or live for Italy and for civilization.

It is eminently fitting that the first division of the Canadian army should have been given the honour of taking part in the first major Canadian land operations of the war. The men of the first division were the earliest to volunteer; they have waited longest for action. They are the most seasoned formation of Canada's army overseas.

It will be a satisfaction to General McNaughton, who led this First Division when it sailed for Britain in the autumn of 1939, and who led parts of it to France in the summer of 1940, to have seen these officers and men, after three years of waiting, now carrying the fight into the enemy's camp with such conspicuous success.

Having this in mind, and realizing that the people of Canada would wish that an immediate word of congratulations should reach our troops upon their initial success, I sent the following message to General McNaughton on Monday last:

"I know you must be exceedingly proud of the fine results of your long and arduous tour of duty. I congratulate you most sincerely on the achievement already evident in Sicily. Please arrange to have transmitted the following message to the Canadian Force Commander: Message to Lt.-Gen. Guy Simonds, Commanding Canadian Forces Mediterranean

"All Canada rejoices in the news of the initial successes of Canadian troops in Sicily. Will you please extend to the officers and men under your command every good wish for the complete success of the hazardous operations

in which they are engaged. Here at home, in Canada, the eyes of all are fixed on Sicily. We know that there is heavy fighting ahead. We know, too, that the Canadian forces will do honour to themselves and to our country. Please give to all the assurance that our hearts are with them, that Canada is proud of the patience and courage of her army overseas, and that Canada will not fail her fighting men."

We, ~~in Canada~~, have reason to be thankful that the landing Sicilian operations were completed with very light casualties. Also that the resistance encountered during the first week of operations has been comparatively slight. The successes of Canadian forces in the field should not, however, leave us unprepared for word of much heavier fighting which may follow at any time. There are strong enemy forces on the island and already stiff resistance has been encountered. Provided we guard against undue optimism, the people of Canada have every reason to rejoice at the results so far achieved in the first major operations in which the Canadian army has taken part. It is not too early to say that Canadian soldiers in Sicily are upholding the traditions established by the Canadian Corps of a quarter of a century ago.

Draft

D 61111

Statement on the First Week in Sicily

A week has now passed since the Canadian people were thrilled by the news of the landing of our troops in Sicily. I should like to make a brief statement on the progress of operations in that first week.

During the past week, our thoughts have been mainly with the army. No account of the Canadian share in operations would be complete, however, without a reference to the other two services.

The Battle for Sicily really began weeks before the landing of the allied troops on Saturday last. Ever since the close of the Tunisian campaign the allied air forces in North Africa and the Middle East have been "softening up" the island of Sicily for the coming invasion. In those operations, Canadian airmen, in R.A.F. and R.C.A.F. squadrons, have had a large share.

Operating under the immediate command of Major General James Doolittle of the United States Army Air Corps, an R.C.A.F. bomber wing composed of an unstated number of squadrons helped to pave the way for the allied invasion of Sicily by terrific bombardment of the island. And as the allied forces continued to strengthen their position on the Island, Canadians in the air have been plastering enemy troop

D 61112

concentrations, strong points and supply columns.

In addition to the bomber squadrons, a Royal Canadian Air Force Spitfire squadron which distinguished itself in the Tunisian campaign is participating in the Sicilian action. It cannot be revealed whether this squadron is yet based on a Sicilian field, but it is known that many members of the R.C.A.F. are among the aircrews which are now operating from captured aerodromes on the Island.

There are, of course, thousands of R.C.A.F. personnel included in the R.A.F. squadrons operating in the Mediterranean as there are in almost every R.A.F. unit around the world. No reports on their participation are available, but it is safe to assume that there are few, if any, Royal Air Force squadrons operating in the aerial forces being thrown against Sicily in support of our armies which do not include Royal Canadian Air Force personnel. Other Canadians are flying Wellington bombers in the same job of harassing and disrupting enemy supply routes from the mainland.

While operations of our air units and our personnel out of the United Kingdom are not directly linked with the Sicilian campaign, their activities are having the effect of tying a great part of the Luftwaffe to Western Europe. Were these Luftwaffe units released for service in the Mediterranean

they could make our operations there far more difficult.

The Royal Canadian Navy has also played a proud role in these operations. We have been advised that several hundred Royal Canadian Naval Officers and men acting in conjunction with and under the direction of the Royal Navy, took part in the hazardous work of safely effecting landings for the troops engaged.

For many months now, almost two thousand Canadian Naval personnel have been training at a Combined Operations base in England, preparing themselves for just such an operation as this. Their ships are known as "assault landing craft" and a number of them took part in the Combined Operations when landings were made in North Africa in November last. Then, as again this week, they took their craft, under enemy fire, and ferried in troops who were part of the first wave of the invading forces to move onto the beaches.

We will await with interest a more detailed account of their heroic work.

Turning now to the army operations, these actually began at dawn, Sicilian time, on Saturday, July 10th, when the British, United States and Canadian troops commenced landing on the shores of Sicily. The landings on the beaches were preceded by paratroop landings.

According to statements made by prisoners, the landings were a complete surprise and caused much confusion. The ~~elemtn~~ element of surprise, combined with the fact that the landing areas were defended only by static or semi-static Italian troops, resulted in very light casualties for the landing forces. Observations revealed that the bulk of enemy operational divisions, including the German Goering Panzer Division, were in the central part of the Island.

The Canadian Division (later identified as the 1st) landed on the beach north of Corrienti at the South east tip of Sicily. Two and one-half hours after landing, they had captured their first objective, and made contact with the British division on their flank. Meanwhile British and American forces had landed to the east and west of Canadians.

Canadian troops captured the airfield at Pachino six hours after landing, and a short time later they were in Pachino itself. At one p.m., Canadians captured high ground two miles north of Punta Castellazo.

Next day Syracuse on the east coast fell to the British, while Pozzalo, on the south coast ten miles west of Canadian landing surrendered to British war vessels, and the Canadians took it over the next day.

On Monday, July 12th, General Eisenhower visited the

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Canadians on Pachino Peninsula. He sought out Canadian headquarters, but headquarters was moving forward so rapidly that he was unable to make contact. The Canadians captured Rosilini and Ispica, inland towns north east of Pozzalo. The British captured Palazzolo, an inland city just west of Syracuse. At about the same hour Canadians entered Ragusa, an important junction inland about 25 miles northwest of Pachino, as well as the village of Scicli, between Ragusa and the coast and about five miles inland. The first enemy counter attack was met and beaten off.

Shortly before midnight Augusta, an important naval base, 19 miles north of Syracuse was captured by British and Canadian troops. The port is reported to be in perfect working order.

On Tuesday, July 13th, Canadian troops captured Modica, between Ragusa and Scicli. Among the prisoners taken was the first Italian general to surrender in the invasion. This was the general who gave himself up to Major "Dick" Malone of Winnipeg and Regina.

General counter attacks were repulsed and all troops continued to advance, the Canadians proceeding northwest in the general direction of Enna.

On Wednesday, July 14th, Canadian armored forces

D 61116

landed at Syracuse and moved north, while other Canadians were making progress around Ragusa and and Ciarrantania. They were then over 40 miles northwest of their landing places. It was revealed that the Canadians formed part of the Eighth army.

On Thursday, July 15th, a movement of Canadian and British forces towards the Catania plains in the East of the island north of Augusta reached Brucoli, four miles north of Augusta on the coast, and approached Lentini, about twelve miles inland. Meanwhile in the Ragusa sector Canadian, British and American forces combined in an advance of five to six miles towards the centre of the island, the Canadians occupying Grammichele between Vizzini and Caltagirone. The Eighth Army, including the first Canadian Division units, continued its advance along the east coast, repulsing strong counter attacks.

Yesterday, July 16th, the advance continued on all sectors, and by the end of the day, between ~~two~~ twenty and thirty per cent of the island had been occupied, and over 20,000 prisoners and a large quantity of arms and material had been taken.

We have reason to be thankful that the landing operations, a military enterprise always fraught with the greatest hazard, were completed with very light casualties. The progress

so far made by all the allied forces in the occupation of the southeastern corner of the island has been most gratifying. The resistance encountered during the first week has been comparatively slight. Up to the present, the allied command of the air has been unchallenged. It would be a mistake, however, to consider the battle for Sicily as a military parade. There are strong enemy forces on the island and, sooner or later, stiff resistance is to be expected. So long as we do not permit ourselves to be lulled into a false optimism, the people of Canada have every reason to rejoice at the results so far achieved in the first major operations in which the Canadian army has taken part. .

In conclusion I wish to read to the House a message I sent on Monday last to General McNaughton:

D 61118

DECLARATION DU PREMIER MINISTRE SUR LA PARTICIPATION

DE L'ARMEE CANADIENNE A LA CAMPAGNE DE SICILE

Une semaine s'est déjà écoulée depuis le débarquement des troupes canadiennes en Sicile, et je tiens à faire une brève déclaration sur la poursuite des opérations.

Au cours de la semaine, c'est surtout l'armée qui a été en évidence, mais pour compléter le tableau il faut mentionner la participation de nos deux autres armes.

La bataille de Sicile a réellement débuté plusieurs semaines avant le débarquement des troupes alliées, samedi dernier. Depuis la fin de la campagne de Tunisie, les forces aériennes alliées de l'Afrique du Nord et du Moyen-Orient ont pilonné la Sicile, préparant ainsi l'invasion projetée. Les aviateurs canadiens attachés aux escadrilles de la R.A.F. et du C.A.R.C. ont en grand nombre participé aux opérations.

Sous le commandement direct du major général James A. Doolittle, du United States Army Air Corps, une escadre de bombardiers du C.A.R.C., comprenant un certain nombre d'escadrilles, a frayé la route aux troupes d'invasion en soumettant l'île à un terrible bombardement. Au cours du débarquement, et pendant que les Alliés consolidaient leurs positions en Sicile, les aviateurs canadiens pilonnaient les concentrations de troupes, les points fortifiés et les colonnes de ravitaillement.

Outre les escadrilles de bombardiers, une escadrille du Corps d'aviation royal canadien composée de Spitfires, et qui s'est distinguée dans la campagne de Tunisie, participe à la campagne de Sicile. Il n'est pas possible de révéler si cette escadrille a déjà établi sa base sur un aérodrome de Sicile, mais nous savons que de nombreux membres du C.A.R.C. figurent parmi les équipages qui ont établi leur base sur des aérodromes de l'île, conquis par les Alliés.

Il y a, naturellement, des milliers de Canadiens dans les effectifs des escadrilles de la R.A.F. qui opèrent en Méditerranée, comme dans presque toutes les unités de ce Corps réparties dans le monde. Nous ne disposons pas de rapports sur leur participation, mais on doit présumer qu'il n'y a guère ou point d'escadrilles de la Royal Air Force parmi les forces aériennes lancées contre la Sicile, à l'appui de nos armées, qui ne comprennent des membres du Corps d'aviation royal canadien. D'autres Canadiens pilotent des bombardiers Wellington, qui, partant du continent africain, harassent et bouleversent les routes de ravitaillement de l'ennemi.

Sans être directement reliées à la campagne de Sicile, les opérations de nos aviateurs et de nos unités aériennes stationnées au Royaume-Uni ont pour effet de retenir une grande partie de la Luftwaffe en Europe occidentale. Si

ces unités de la Luftwaffe étaient libres de servir dans la région méditerranéenne, elles pourraient rendre nos opérations beaucoup plus difficiles.

La Marine royale canadienne a également participé aux opérations de Sicile. Nous avons été informés de la participation de plusieurs centaines d'officiers et d'hommes de la Marine royale canadienne, agissant de concert avec la Royal Navy et sous sa direction, à la tâche dangereuse de débarquer les troupes d'invasion avec toutes les précautions requises.

Durant plusieurs mois, près de deux mille hommes de la marine canadienne se sont entraînés, à une base d'opérations combinées, en Angleterre, à la manoeuvre des débarquements. Leurs bâtiments sont dénommés "embarcations d'assaut". Un certain nombre de marins canadiens ont participé aux opérations combinées des débarquements d'Afrique du Nord, en novembre dernier. Cette semaine, ils ont transporté dans leurs embarcations, sous le feu de l'ennemi, les troupes de la première vague d'assaut à atteindre les grèves.

Nous attendons avec intérêt des renseignements plus précis sur leur périlleuse mission.

Quant à l'armée de terre, ses opérations ont commencé à l'aube, heure de Sicile, le samedi 10 juillet, par le débarquement sur les côtes siciliennes des premières troupes britanniques, américaines et canadiennes. Les opérations de débarquement sur les grèves avaient été précédées d'attaques de parachutistes alliés à l'arrière des ouvrages de la défense côtière.

D'après les déclarations des prisonniers, l'invasion fut une complète surprise et provoqua une grande confusion. L'élément surprise, et le fait que les zones attaquées n'étaient garnies que de forces italiennes statiques ou semi-statiques, favorisèrent le débarquement au prix de très légères pertes d'effectifs. Le gros des divisions de choc de l'ennemi se trouvait à l'intérieur de l'île.

D 61120

La Division canadienne, qui porte maintenant le nom de Première Division, a débarqué sur la pointe sud-est de la Sicile. Deux heures et demie après son débarquement, elle avait capturé son premier objectif et pris contact avec la division britannique sur son flanc droit. Pendant ce temps, les forces britanniques et américaines avaient débarqué à l'est et à l'ouest des Canadiens.

Les troupes canadiennes se sont emparées de l'aérodrome à Pachino, six heures après leur débarquement, et sont entrées dans la ville même peu de temps après.

Le lundi 12 juillet, le général Eisenhower a visité les Canadiens dans la péninsule de Pachino. Il s'est dirigé vers le quartier général des Canadiens, mais l'état-major avançait si rapidement qu'il a été incapable de le rejoindre. Ce jour-là, les Canadiens ont capturé plusieurs villes de l'intérieur. Ils ont soutenu et repoussé la première contre-attaque de l'ennemi. A Raguse, qui est un important embranchement de l'intérieur environ 25 milles au nord-ouest de Pachino, les Canadiens ont opéré leur première jonction avec les forces américaines.

Un peu avant minuit, l'importante base navale d'Augusta, située à 19 milles au nord de Syracuse, a été capturée par les troupes britanniques et canadiennes. D'après les renseignements, le port est en excellent état.

Le mardi 13 juillet, les troupes canadiennes ont continué leur avance, repoussé à plusieurs reprises des tentatives de contre-attaque et fait prisonnier le premier général italien qui s'est rendu avec son état-major.

Le mercredi 14 juillet, le corps blindé de l'armée canadienne débarquait à Syracuse et se dirigeait vers le nord, tandis que d'autres Canadiens s'avançaient à plus de 40 milles au nord-ouest de leurs points de débarquement. Un communiqué de la même date faisait savoir que les Canadiens avaient été incorporés à la Huitième armée, sous les ordres du général Montgomery.

Le jeudi 15 juillet, la Huitième armée, y compris les unités de la première division canadienne, poursuivait sa marche sur la côte est vers les plaines de Catane, tout en repoussant de violentes contre-attaques.

D 61121

Hier, 16 juillet, les troupes ont continué d'avancer sur tous les secteurs, et à la fin de la journée, qui était la dernière d'une première semaine d'opérations, un arc considérable, comprenant environ un quart de la surface de l'île, était occupé par les forces alliées. Plus de 20,000 prisonniers et une grande quantité d'armes et de matériel avaient été capturés.

Après de tels succès, remportés au cours de la semaine par les opérations concertées des armées des Etats-Unis, de la Grande-Bretagne et du Canada, M. Churchill et M. Roosevelt se sont crus justifiés d'adresser au peuple d'Italie la Proclamation dont j'ai donné lecture à la Chambre, à l'ouverture de la séance du matin. La Proclamation déclarait que l'Italie n'avait qu'un espoir de survivre, celui d'une capitulation honorable, et que le moment était venu pour le peuple d'Italie de décider si les Italiens devaient mourir pour Mussolini et Hitler - ou vivre pour l'Italie et la civilisation.

Il est tout naturel que la première division de l'armée canadienne ait eu l'honneur de participer au premier engagement terrestre des Canadiens au cours de la présente guerre. Les soldats de la première division furent les premiers à offrir leurs services, et ce sont eux qui, le plus longtemps, ont été tenus en réserve. Ils composent la formation la plus aguerrie de l'armée canadienne outre-mer.

Le Général McNaughton, qui commandait la première division lorsqu'elle quitta le Canada, à l'automne de 1939, à destination de la Grande-Bretagne, et qui était à la tête des détachements qui firent une descente en France à l'été de 1940, a dû se réjouir de voir ces officiers et ces soldats, après trois ans d'attente, porter le combat dans le camp ennemi avec un succès remarquable.

En présence de ces faits, et connaissant le désir du peuple canadien d'exprimer à nos troupes, en l'honneur de leur première victoire, nos félicitations et l'assurance de notre appui inébranlable, j'ai adressé, lundi dernier, le message suivant au Général McNaughton:

"Vous devez, j'en suis sûr, être très fier de ce que vous avez réussi à accomplir. Je vous félicite très sincèrement des victoires déjà remportées en Sicile. Veuillez transmettre au Commandant de l'armée canadienne le message suivant:

D 61122

"Le Canada tout entier se réjouit à la nouvelle des premiers succès obtenus par les troupes canadiennes en Sicile. Je vous prie de communiquer aux officiers et aux soldats sous vos ordres nos meilleurs voeux pour le plein succès des opérations périlleuses auxquelles ils prennent part. Ici, au Canada, tous les regards sont tournés vers la Sicile. Nous savons que de violents combats se préparent. Nous savons aussi que les armées canadiennes se couvriront de gloire et feront honneur à notre pays. Veuillez leur répéter que nos coeurs battent pour eux, que le Canada est fier de la patience et du courage de ses armées d'outre-mer, et qu'il soutiendra ses vaillants soldats jusqu'au bout."

Nous constatons avec satisfaction que les opérations de débarquement en Sicile se sont accomplies avec un minimum de pertes, et que la résistance rencontrée au cours de la première semaine de ces opérations a été plutôt faible. Il ne faudrait pas cependant que le succès des forces canadiennes en campagne nous exalte au point de nous faire oublier la possibilité de plus durs engagements à brève échéance. L'ennemi a dans l'île des armées puissantes qui commencent déjà à opposer une résistance plus énergique. Tout en se gardant d'un optimisme trop facile, le peuple du Canada a toutes les raisons de se réjouir des résultats déjà obtenus au cours des premières opérations d'envergure auxquelles l'Armée canadienne a pris part. On peut donc dire, dès maintenant, que les soldats canadiens en Sicile ont maintenu la tradition établie par le Corps canadien, il y a un quart de siècle.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
96		External Affairs, 1943. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60994 - D 61019	
96		Food Conference. Speeches in Parliament	June 1943	D 61020 - D 61033	
96		Foreign Policy. Speeches in Parliament	July 1943	D 61034 - D 61038	
96		Manion, Hon. R.J. Speeches in Parliament	5 July 1943	D 61039 - D 61051	
96		National Resources Mobilization Act, Calling up of men. Speeches in Parliament	19 Feb. 1943	D 61052 - D 61058	
96		Post-War Food Problems. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 61059	
96		Prince George-Whitehorse Highway. Speeches in Parliament	5 Mar. 1943	D 61060 - D 61061	
96		Roosevelt, President, Visit to Ottawa. Speeches in Parliament	25 Aug. 1943	D 61062 - D 61103	
96		Sicily, Canadian Forces in. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 61104 - D 61122	
96		Social Security. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 61123 - D 61138	

Re Social Security March 2, 1943

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Social Fears

D 61123

Fears occasioned by the organization of industrial society -
(or the unorganized condition)

1. Want (Starvation) sweated trades
inadequate remuneration
e.g. sweating.

2. Unemployment - specialization in industry
financial - due to crisis.
depression
inventions
tariffs
foreign labour imported
crop failures

3. Sickness and invalidity
using up scanty savings

4. Old Age - alternative poverty or dependence
lessened power of earning
Old Age annuities and pensions.

5. Mothers unable to provide for children (death of breadwinner)
Widows' pensions
Mothers' allowances.

D 61124

6. Extra outlays - e.g. birth of children

death and burial

Maturing benefits

D 61125

Industrial Fears

Arise out of conditions as they have developed in modern industry under the stress of unregulated competition.

Inevitable in lives of multitudes of men and women -

no fault of employer or employee

Social fears bred of social conditions

So far as voluntary effort - cannot meet the need - the State must.

Effect of Industrial Order

Everywhere vast inequalities of circumstances and opportunities.

While wealth of world vastly increased its distribution has become increasingly disproportionate.

Community considerations afford opportunities to some, and impose handicaps on others -

economically strong become stronger
" weak " weaker

True basis of industrial policy.

Industrial policy must be founded upon recognition of human personality and " " " community well-being.

D 61126

Industrial policy founded upon
recognition of human, personal,
etc., and community well-being.

Private ownership of land and capital
only one justification -
community service.

Social Insurance

in reality is health insurance
in one form or another

as a means employed to bring about
a wider measure of social
justice without

(a) disturbing the institution of
private property and its
advantages to the community;

(b) imperilling the thrift and
industry of individuals.

Looks upon Industry as in the nature
of social service.

Regards owner of land or capital
as a capitalist,

but also as a public trustee;

regards the worker as a wage earner

but equally as a member of the
community.

Places emphasis on personality
rather than property.

Places emphasis on life rather
than on wealth.

See page 346.

D 61127

enormous increase in our Canadian capacity to produce—an increase greater than any of us had ever before suspected. Let them think of the future in terms of maintaining and still further developing that enlarged capacity, that potential of a greater national income. We can and must make use of that increased capacity after the war. We must develop that potential to the maximum. If we do, we can develop a far higher standard of living for the average Canadian than he has ever known before, and with these higher incomes we can readily carry any debt, any debt to ourselves, that we shall accumulate during the war. Our war expenditures are both a great medium of national achievement and a great investment in our own freedom and future. To suggest that they will bankrupt Canada is to suggest that Canadians lack ability and good sense to make intelligent use of their own future. I am not so lacking in faith in the mental and moral qualities of our own people.

Mr. GRAYDON: Before moving the adjournment of the debate I wonder if I could inquire to what extent the minister is bringing down detailed break-downs of the various departments involved?

Mr. ILSLEY: It is hard to describe; I shall send a copy across to my hon. friend.

Mr. GRAYDON: In the meantime I shall move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to and debate adjourned.

SOCIAL SECURITY

APPOINTMENT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SOCIAL INSURANCE

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister) moved:

That a select committee of this house be appointed to examine and report on a national plan of social insurance which will constitute a charter of social security for the whole of Canada, and, to that end,

To examine and study the existing social insurance legislation of the parliament of Canada and of the several provincial legislatures; social insurance policies of other countries; the most practicable measures of social insurance for Canada, including health insurance, and the steps which will be required to effect their inclusion in a national plan; the constitutional and financial adjustments which will be required for the achievement of a nation-wide plan of social security; and other related matters.

That the said committee have power to appoint, from among its members, such subcommittees as may be deemed advisable or necessary to deal with specific phases of the problems aforesaid, and call for persons, papers, and records, to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the committee for the use of the committee and members of the house; that the said committee report to the house from time to time; and that the said committee shall consist of the following members: Messieurs Adamson, Blanchette, Bourget, Breithaupt, Bruce, Casselman (Mrs.) (Edmonton East), Claxton, Cleaver, Coté, Diefenbaker, Donnelly, Fauteux, Gershaw, Gregory, Hatfield, Howden, Hurtubise, Johnston (Bow River), Kinley, Lalonde, Leclerc, Lockhart, MacInnis, MacKenzie (Neepawa), Mackenzie (Vancouver Centre), MacKinnon (Kootenay East), Macmillan, McCann, McGarry, McGregor, McIlraith, Mayhew, Mitchell, Picard, Shaw, Slaght, Telford, Veniot, Warren, Wood, Wright, and that the provisions of standing order 65, limiting the number of members on special committees, be suspended in relation thereto.

He said: Mr. Speaker, at the beginning of the session my hon. friend the leader of the opposition (Mr. Graydon), expressed the hope that the government would establish the various committees as early in the session as possible. On a subsequent day my hon. friend made particular reference to the committee on social security. He will agree I think that his wishes have been met as far as it was possible for the government to meet them. All standing and special committees of the house have now been established with the exception of this one and two others, notices of which appear on the order paper.

I should like to point out that in respect to the establishment of committees a new custom seems to be growing up in the house—I do not think it existed to any extent in previous parliaments—of having a lengthy debate at the time the resolution is moved. The custom in the past has been, unless strong exception were taken for some reason or other to a committee being appointed, to have the committees appointed practically without discussion. I am not taking exception to the tendency to debate at length resolutions for the appointment of committees but wish to make it clear that it is a departure, and also that it does take up a very considerable amount of the time of the house. The discussion of the subject referred to a committee usually takes place when the committee has made its report. I realize that in some sessions the reports have been late in coming down and probably hon. members have had that in mind in wishing to discuss some of these subjects at an earlier stage.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Many of the reports are never discussed.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: There have been cases where that has happened. However, this year the committees will have been established at an early stage of the session and I hope will be able to report in plenty of time for such discussion as hon. members may wish to have.

D61128

indeed, and if it is able to translate into action the $108 billion budget for which the President has asked, we may have cause for envy rather than for self-complacency.

We are doing our utmost to avoid waste or extravagance and to get as much as we can for each dollar of expenditure. I realize that in an undertaking as vast as our war programme we cannot achieve perfection in this regard, but I feel that within the inevitable human limitations we are getting good value for our money. We have put into effect a great variety of controls over expenditure, and wherever we see, or someone tells us, that one of the human cogs in a huge machine has slipped, we do our best to correct the mistake and safeguard against its recurrence. I try to avail myself of every opportunity for criticism of any expenditure that appears to be unessential or unnecessarily large, and I trust the house will do likewise. It is only by such self-criticism and such constant vigilance that we can secure economy and efficiency in any democratic, cooperative effort.

If, therefore, it be true that we are getting reasonable value for our money, it follows that those who argue that our war expenditures are drawn on too large a scale really mean that we are attempting to devote too much effort to the war. Apparently they want us to go slow, to limit our war effort, to cut down on man-power and materials. They want us to have a war effort under which we can all be comfortable rather than one which would stretch our energies and our resourcefulness to the limit. In this way they would seek to solve problems of shortages of butter and beef, and restaurant seats, and pullman cars. I for one do not believe that to be the wish of the Canadian people. That is not the type of war effort which would enable the Canadian people to hold their heads high in the family of nations. That is not the policy to which the government and this country have committed themselves.

Finally, I turn more specifically to the question: are we bankrupting the country? The hon. member for Beauce (Mr. Lacroix) appeared to build up a bogey of the country somehow running out of money, of our coming to the end of our financial resources. That is a situation which might confront one individual, or a group within the community, or even a nation in regard to its resources of foreign exchange; it is not a situation which confronts a nation in regard to its own production and internal financing. We do not pay for the war out of some hoard of money that we have accumulated in the past. We pay for it out of the taxes and savings that we obtain from the current income of the whole nation. We shall not run short of money. Indeed, our danger is the very reverse of that, namely, that we may pile up too much money in the pockets and bank accounts of Canadians, unless we strive with every effort to promote the sale of victory bonds and war savings certificates.

If we are bankrupting the nation, is it not indeed a strange type of bankruptcy? How can we use such a term to describe the process under which this country has doubled its national income in three years, has wiped out unemployment, has multiplied its production of many things and learned many types of new skills, has expanded and diversified its production equipment, has multiplied its governmental revenues by more than four times, has enabled millions of its citizens to acquire a nest-egg for the future, has mobilized its full strength as a producing machine, and has developed a sense of productive achievement not hitherto known? No country goes bankrupt in this way; no country goes bankrupt by increasing its production and devoting part or all, or more than all of that increase to a supreme cause.

Of course our huge war expenditures do pose difficult financial problems during the war, and as I have often stated they make careful economic and financial management imperative. They involve a very large increase in our national debt, but it is a debt which we owe to ourselves, and it will be well within our capacity to manage if we follow sound policies. They make high taxes necessary if we are to share the financial burdens and the real burdens fairly and effectively. But these taxes are essentially just a reflection in financial terms of the inevitable sacrifices of goods and services which we must make if we are to wage war on the scale that is necessary to defeat the enemy, and defeat him with the least possible loss of life. Given the scale of our national war effort in terms of men and materials, lower taxes would mean only that we would have a less equitable distribution of the burden, more danger of inflation, more danger of a break-down in our economic controls. Willingness to accept high taxes and other controls; willingness to deny ourselves now in order to avoid greater self-denial tomorrow is not really a test of the strength of our war spirit or the size of our war effort, but rather a test of our intelligence and foresight in allocating the burden of the cost of war.

Let those of us who are inclined to fear the economic consequences of our war expenditures remember that these expenditures have developed and brought to light an

I have a second reason for not wishing to discuss this resolution at any length at this stage. It is that hon. members have already devoted a very considerable time to the resolution dealing with reestablishment and reconstruction. I believe all hon. members are interested in matters pertaining to post-war conditions and to a better social order and have felt that they would wish to place on *Hansard* their views with respect to some of the features of the new social order and some of the reforms which they feel should be speedily introduced. That has been done, I believe, by hon. members in the debate on the motion respecting reestablishment and reconstruction. If we start a debate on social security at this stage it will I think lead to a repetition of much that has already been said in debate on the other committee. Reconstruction and reestablishment are of course not identical with social security but all three are part of a larger whole which relates to the social order—to social conditions as they exist at the present time and methods of improving them. Of the three, reconstruction and reestablishment covers a wider range and to that extent there would be the less necessity for discussing social security at any length at the moment.

I have also another reason, which is that I think members of the house generally are agreed upon the necessity of improving upon our measures of social security, increasing, enlarging and coordinating them. I do not think there is any difference of opinion among the members of the different groups in the house as to the objective to be aimed at. I believe we are all of one mind in that particular. There will inevitably be differences with respect to the means to be used to achieve those ends, but the question of the means to be adopted is a matter which is to be referred particularly to the committee and might therefore better be discussed when the committee has made its report. To start a debate at the present time might only serve to prejudice the larger objective by permitting a discussion that might develop into political controversy. I would hope that in this all-important matter of social security this House of Commons might be able to give a lead to other representative institutions by way of being as nearly unanimous as possible with respect to the measures which it is felt should be put into force.

There is, of course, the further point I have mentioned at different times, the importance of not taking up too much of the time of this particular part of the session with a discussion of measures other than those that relate immediately to the all-important war measures which have to be discussed. Were it otherwise, I am sure the impression of the country would be that parliament was devoting too much of its time at this stage to post-war matters rather than to the immediate questions of the war.

The resolution, as hon. members will see, is an implementation of one of the undertakings set forth in the speech from the throne, the undertaking being:

> . . . a comprehensive national scheme of social insurance should be worked out at once which will constitute a charter of social security for the whole of Canada.
>
> The government accordingly proposes to recommend the early appointment of a select committee to examine and report on the most practicable measure of social insurance, and the steps which will be required to ensure their inclusion in a national plan. Among matters which will be referred to this committee for study and consideration will be the establishment of a national system of health insurance.

I might say to hon. members that the speech from the throne in its references to social insurance and to reconstruction and reestablishment seeks to set forth the place and significance of those problems in relation to the larger question of the existing social order and the means by which that particular order may be improved. I should like to refer more particularly to the paragraphs in the speech from the throne which have this objective in view. The speech does seek to put the significance of these measures in their true light, first of all by making clear the magnitude of the question itself, and in the second place its complexity. It seeks to follow a logical sequence in setting forth the matters which have to be considered in relation to any plan of social security. Here may I point out that these social problems are first of all in the nature of world problems and that they are also all in the nature of human problems. I emphasize these two aspects because to lose sight of either is to lose sight of what is involved in trying to reach a solution of the problems themselves or how to improve conditions.

The speech makes reference first of all to what today is the first and immediate objective of any scheme which seeks to free the world from the evils of either fear or want. Obviously the first objective of all is to end the fear of war.

> The immediate object of the united nations—

I am quoting from the speech from the throne:

> —is the defeat of the axis powers. Joint planning of operations on a world scale has accompanied preparations for intensive warfare. The united nations also aim at rendering aggression impossible in the future. Their governments,

in addition to planning jointly for the prosecution of the war, have already entered into consultation regarding post-war problems. Achievement of their aims requires the establishment of conditions under which all peoples may enjoy equality of opportunity and a sense of security.

In other words, no solution of the question of social security can be effectively carried out so long as the axis powers continue to wage war against the free countries of the world. Until the axis powers are defeated all other tasks must necessarily be secondary.

But there is not only the task of defeating the axis powers; there is the further task of seeing that aggression is rendered impossible in the future. Surely we have realized as the result of two world wars in the last quarter-century that all reforms may pretty much be set at naught so long as there remains this danger of aggression on the part of great powers and the actual existence of war itself. If aggression is to be rendered impossible in the future it is necessary that all countries join together in carrying out some policy which will make for more in the way of cooperation between the different nations and more in the way of equality of opportunity between the peoples of the different nations. It is necessary therefore that, as a background of social effort related to national purposes, there should exist a world policy which will have the effect of maintaining good and friendly relations between the many countries of the world.

When the governments of the different countries have done what lies within their power to bring about a larger measure of cooperation between nations as a whole, there will remain the problem within the individual nations themselves. It will then soon be seen that the problem of any one nation is bound up in a very close way with the position of other nations as well. If low standards of living exist in many parts of the world and high standards in a few parts, international competition, unless regulated effectively, will soon bring the high standards down to the level of the lower standards. That is why in any post-war period an effort must be made on the part of all nations that are seeking to improve their own conditions to realize that the countries of the world are members one of another, and that cooperation and mutual aid between nations will have to replace the system whereby relations between them are governed by force.

Obviously, before undertaking new measures of social security in Canada to apply to all our first thought must be particularly of the men who are fighting Canada's battles and the battles of freedom at the front. That is why the committee on reconstruction and reestablishment was set up at an earlier stage in this parliament than the committee on social security which is being set up at this time, and why it is proper that the committee on reconstruction and reestablishment should demand prior interest on the part of hon. members of the house. That is why in the paragraph following the one I have just read, the speech from the throne sets forth this statement:

> Every effort must be made to ensure, after the close of hostilities, the establishment, in useful and remunerative employment, of the men and women in our armed forces and in war industries. My ministers have already begun to explore the international agreements and domestic measures which will help to secure adequate incomes for primary producers and full employment after the war. With your approval, the select committee on reconstruction and reestablishment, appointed at the last session, will be reconstituted.

In the course of the debate on the address some comment was made on the wording of that section. The question was asked, why seek adequate incomes for primary producers and full employment for the period after the war? It is apparent I think that during this war period there is a scale of employment such as has not existed in Canada at any previous time. Also, with respect to the incomes of primary producers, that they are being dealt with in several ways under the war measures of the government. The Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Gardiner) indicated in his speech the other day the different agreements that were being entered into at this time of war which helped to ensure markets abroad for the farmers of the country and demand for their products. But what will be necessary to-morrow above all else is that to-day we should seek to prepare the way for ensuring a continuance of markets abroad and also a continuation of full employment once the special war conditions have passed away.

The next paragraph is as follows:

> It is in the general interest that freedom from fear and from want should be the assured possession of all. A nation-wide plan which would provide insurance against the inevitable consequences of major, economic and social hazards is essential if this objective is to be attained.

I have noticed that that paragraph has been referred to, not so much in this house but in the press of some parts of our country, as being mere platitude, that to speak of freedom from fear and from want being the assured possession of all is just talking generalities so vague as to be of no value whatever. But that is not what the clause in the

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speech from the throne which I have quoted really states. It sets forth what I submit is obviously in the general interest. It is the general interest that freedom from fear and from want should be the assured possession of all. That may be an ideal; it is an ideal, but it is one to be aimed at; and no one, I think, can dispute the point that if we wish to have freedom from war in the future, if we wish to have a social order whereby the men and women of our country are going to have equality of opportunity in larger measure, the assurance of employment, and the like, then all parts of the world that are in competition with each other must also more or less be free from fear and from want.

Coming from the international aspect down to the national aspect, coming from a consideration of world conditions down to particular conditions in individual countries, the one set of hazards that is inevitable through life is, those hazards which arise out of economic and social conditions whereby individuals and families in countless numbers throughout the nation may at any time be reduced to a position, if not of destitution, at least of want, and certainly be held continuously in fear alike of both destitution and want. There are certain hazards which do exist under the industrial organization of society as it has come to be in our time, and which exists not through any fault of employers, not through any fault of employees, but simply from the condition in which organized society finds itself at the present time. There may be in a highly industrial organized state such as ours is, a situation where a financial crisis in another country may bring about industrial depression over a long period in our own. We all know how that fact has been verified by experience between the period of the last war and the present time. It cannot be put down to the fault of employers or of employees that thousands of men and women in our country are thrown out of work in periods of depression, when the depression arises not from conditions as they exist in that particular country but from conditions as they exist in other parts of the world. For many years past it has been recognized that a cotton famine for example in the southern United States can throw large numbers of workers out of work in the cotton textile industries in Britain. That is but an example of what in our day takes place in all parts of the world at all times. The competition of foreign labour, some new invention, high tariffs suddenly imposed, all these and many other things may affect the lives of countless men and women and leave them in a position not only of fear but very soon in a position of want and destitution.

Society having created—I put it in that particular way—conditions which permit of that sort of thing, society has to find some way to remedy it. I use the word "society" instead of "the state" because I want it to be seen that it relates to the social organization of human beings in the different countries of the globe, under an industrial system such as we have to-day. What social insurance seeks to do is to find a means whereby these inevitable hazards will be met in some part at least through the action of the state and through action prescribed by the state.

These hazards are well known. The most common of course is unemployment. Other hazards are those arising out of old age, blindness, sickness and invalidity, the death of the breadwinner, birth and burial, where the funds to meet the obligations that arise out of these cannot be provided for in advance. Unemployment may come at any time, on a small or large scale, through no fault of their own on the part of those affected. May I interject that any system of social security is based on the theory that all industry is, or ought to be, in the nature of social service; that industry is not merely a means whereby capitalists may increase profits, or workers find the means of gaining a livelihood through wages; but that there exists also the right of the community, which makes possible the carrying on of industry, to expect to have the interests and well-being of the community and its members considered in the rewards of industry. In other words, industry exists to serve a social end, as well as to serve the needs of individuals. Under that view men and women are the great asset of the state. The well-being of all the human resources, the men and women, who supply the labour, the thought and skill essential for planning and carrying on industry ought to be the first concern of the state. And where the state makes possible the carrying on of industry, they are entitled to have the state see that they are protected against inevitable hazards.

May I pause to say a word as to the part the state plays in permitting industry to be carried on. Have in mind any of the large manufacturing industries, and ask ourselves the question: could these industries be carried on at all except for what organized society in the state does to make their existence possible? In the first place the state maintains law and order, without which no industry could exist for any length of time. Law and order are maintained at the expense of the taxpayers of the community. The state makes possible trade and the maintenance of foreign markets through its diplomatic and consular

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services, its subsidies to transportation companies, through the permission it gives transportation companies to construct their ways across the territory of the nation. The state controls inventions and patents. One could go on indicating many things to show that the carrying on of industry is made possible through the fact that the state is organized as we know it to be.

But above and beyond all that, the material resources of a country exist within the confines of the country and it is only by the implied expressed permission of the state that the institution of private property can exist. The justification of private property lies in the fact that it has been thought that because of what private property ensures of initiative, self reliance and the like, the good of the greatest number will be best served. But if as a result of the institution of private property, whether it be the ownership of land or of capital, a social condition may develop which is inimical to the community as a whole, that institution has either to be modified in some particulars, controlled in some directions, or make way for some other system.

Social security does not seek necessarily, or, at all, in some cases, to abolish the institution of private property. It seeks rather to ensure that the benefits of private property will be secured to the community at large, and that through an inequitable distribution of wealth the institution of private property shall not be made a means whereby a very few may become increasingly rich and a great many suffer because of the inequalities that exist. Everywhere there are vast inequalities of circumstances and of opportunities. There is no doubt that society as it is organized to-day does enable those who are economically strong to become stronger, and at the same time does have the effect of causing the economically weak in many of the great struggles of life to become weaker the while the wealth of the world has vastly increased, its distribution has become increasingly disproportionate. Community considerations afford opportunities to some, and impose handicaps on others. We see everywhere evidences of the fact that those that have large abundance find it possible to survive all the existing hazards, find it possible to go on increasing their wealth; while those who possess very little of this world's goods are the first to go completely to the wall when a condition arises such as has arisen from time to time through depressions and extensive unemployment.

Mr. MacINNIS: That is because they did not save when they had the opportunity!

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: As my hon. friend is aware, it depends how much chance they have to save. Great care has to be taken in any scheme of social insurance not to discourage saving, and I think social insurance plans will have that carefully in view. But I wish to re-emphasize that in the order of things as they are to-day emphasis is put in very large part upon position rather than human personality; is put upon wealth rather than upon life; and that under any scheme of social security it is life and personality which it is intended should be the first consideration of the state and of those who are exercising authority in the carrying on of its affairs. Industrial policy must be founded upon recognition of human personality and upon recognition of community well-being.

I should like now to say a word as to the procedure set forth in the resolution. It is suggested that a committee should be appointed to consider the whole question of social security and to consider it in different aspects. Some one may repeat, as has already been said I think in the course of the debate on the address, that the government should not have to have a committee to advise, or rather to give it a policy; that the government ought to have a policy of its own. Well, the government has a policy, a very definite policy, which is set forth in the speech from the throne, and which I have already read. The government's policy is to bring into being a comprehensive national scheme of social insurance.

Why has the government deemed a reference of the matter to a select committee the most essential first step in seeking to deal with so large a measure of social security? The reason is that already in Canada we have a large number of social security measures which have grown up in a more or less haphazard manner. They have to be correlated and coordinated in one plan if progress is to be made on a national scale. They have not been introduced one in relation to the other; they have not been introduced in the one assembly. They have been introduced at one time in this parliament, at other times in provincial parliaments, but they have never been coordinated into one scheme. It is obvious that where there are social measures of that character, each having the same objective, unless they are correlated there is bound to be a great deal of overlapping and a great deal of additional cost in administration, and certain to be a great deal of confusion. It would seem, therefore, that the first step in moving further in the direction of social security would be to study carefully the existing measures of our own country and then study carefully the existing measures in

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other countries and the proposals that have been put forth by those who have given special study to the question of social security.

Had it wished to do so the government might have appointed a royal commission to undertake this task of surveying conditions here and presenting a national scheme. It might have called in experts and been advised by them, but it was felt that this, together with reconstruction and reestablishment, is the largest question the country is likely to have before it for our generation, and that it would be in the public interest, and particularly in the interests of members of parliament themselves, that they should have an opportunity of familiarizing themselves with the various factors bearing on this all-important question. And it was felt that this could be best effected by having a select committee of the house to study the whole matter. I should think it would be advisable for this committee to retain experts. Speaking for the government I may say that it will afford whatever in the way of facilities for effective study and research the committee itself may deem necessary and essential.

The resolution suggests that there should be subcommittees as well as the one main committee; that is because of the extent of the study that will have to be made. It will be noticed that special reference is made to health insurance. It was felt there was need to make perfectly clear some aspects of social security which perhaps were deserving of more immediate consideration than some other aspects. It has seemed to the government that the question of health insurance was in that position. That is so for this reason, that already we have on our statute book a plan of unemployment insurance and a system of old age pensions, both established by the federal parliament; we have a system of government annuities, also established by the federal parliament; we have pensions to veterans, pensions to the blind and other forms of pensions, also established by this federal government. Then in the provinces they have a series of different social measures, some of them related to accidents and others to sickness, hospitalization, widows' and mothers' allowances, maternity benefits and so on, all of which are in the nature of social security measures but which differ greatly as between the several provinces. They are not correlated in one great national scheme, and if Canada is to make progress in this field the first step now is to have the whole field surveyed and in some way as far as may be possible, a national scheme outlined.

In stating to the British people what he had found necessary in the way of study for his report Sir William Beveridge said he had been closely following all social legislation for a period of something like thirty years. Happily we have in this connection, the benefit of the thirty years' experience of Sir William Beveridge. I mention that simply because Sir William felt it necessary to draw that fact to the attention of the British people, to indicate the care and study he had given to the question before making his report.

I wish to draw attention to an attitude toward social security measures that has been taken in some quarters since the government's policy was announced in the speech from the throne. When the Atlantic charter was proclaimed it met with universal acceptance in this country. I have yet to find a newspaper in Canada which had not a good word to say for the Atlantic charter. One of the things most prominently proclaimed in connection with the Atlantic charter was the fact that among other things it did aim to bring about an increased measure of social security in the post-war period. I have been looking at the journals of this country, and I find that to-day some are inclined to belittle, at least, the idea of social security, as being something vague and general, something that will involve outlays greater than any country can meet, and the like. As a matter of fact Sir William Beveridge, in his statement in relation to his report, said that he regarded social insurance as the first step to be taken toward meeting the main objectives of the Atlantic charter in so far as it had to do with social conditions, and I think it is from that point of view that we should view the questions that relate to social security.

The committee has been asked not only to give the study which I have suggested, but to report to the house on the most practicable measures of social insurance, the steps which will be required to ensure their inclusion in a national plan. Let it not be said that the committee is simply to make a study and do nothing else. If this resolution carries the committee will have a very definite instruction from this house to do something positive, as set out in these words: to report on the most practicable measures of social insurance and the steps which will be required to ensure their inclusion in a national plan. I need not emphasize the importance of what will be involved in effecting that particular end. There are questions of finance that will have to be very carefully considered. It is not going to help any scheme of social insurance for the government to bring forward a measure that in the end may not prove practicable, so that what may be possible will have to be studied in relation to the

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obligations that already exist in different directions and what it is felt can be carried on in conjunction with other measures.

Questions of jurisdiction will arise, questions between the provinces and the dominion as to whether in a national scheme the dominion should attempt to carry out all social security measures, or whether those measures in part should be under the jurisdiction of the dominion and in part under that of the several provinces. So far as administration is concerned there are some measures which, at least for a time, the provinces will I believe wish to retain. There may be others they will be prepared to hand over to the federal government.

There then will arise immediately the question as to the source from which revenue is to be derived to carry out these different measures. That is something which will require careful consideration. The purpose of the government in this whole matter is, as quickly as may be possible, to reach an immediate improvement in and enlargement of social security measures in our country. But we realize that that cannot be done effectively until the whole position or field receives careful study.

The only other feature I might mention is the size of the committee. It is a large committee, consisting of forty-one members, to be exact. That, again, has been thought advisable for the reasons I have already indicated. So long as those of us in the chamber to-day continue to have any part in public affairs we will find, as a main interest in our lives and in the life of our country, this problem of social security. The more hon. members can familiarize themselves in an intimate way with these questions in all their bearings, the better it will be not only for hon. members themselves in rendering the kind of service they would hope to render to the state, and the better it will be for the state itself. Members of this parliament have an exceptional opportunity to render a great service to their own and future generations.

Mr. GORDON GRAYDON (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, in attempting to speak in connection with the setting up and constitution of this important committee, one which will deal with the whole subject of social insurance and social security, I should like to say that with some parts of the Prime Minister's (Mr. Mackenzie King) address I am in agreement.

The House of Commons must realize that the winning of the war is the first, the major consideration of our deliberations. We must not at any time allow any other issues to interfere with our winning of the war, nor must we permit other considerations to come first. But inextricably woven into our whole war effort is the undeniable fact that there are scores of thousands, yes, hundreds of thousands of men and women who to-day, both overseas and in Canada, are fighting our battle of freedom, and who are anxious to know that while they are fighting and are indicating their willingness to give life and limb we, here, shall be doing something to prepare for that better world for which they fight.

As far as social security and our whole scheme for a better world order are concerned, it seems to me it is not possible entirely to separate our plans for peace from our actual movements in the field of war itself. I believe almost every hon. member who has talked to younger men enlisted in His Majesty's forces must have heard a statement which, on many occasions, I have heard. They must have heard it from our war workers, and the challenge it presents cannot be escaped. During the years of depression through which every nation in the world had the misfortune to pass, during those terrible years of privation and suffering with which, for some reason or another our society and our system were not able to cope successfully; during those years when we were not able to operate with full employment for our people, certain thoughts developed in the minds of our people. The result is that to-day our young men—yes, and young women, too—are considering this thought: When it comes to a war of destruction, we find the money to fight it, but when a few years ago we were faced with a war for better conditions for our people somehow or another we were not able to put our people to work. And that, let us remember, was a condition which was not confined to any one country, but was found in every nation. Perhaps at times this thought is exaggerated, and some may think too great emphasis is placed upon it; but it is a view which parliament must not lightly toss aside.

The House of Commons cannot overlook this challenge. It is a challenge to which we must give every consideration because, linked with our whole problem of social security and post-war conditions, is the thought that somehow, by some system, we must find jobs, work and wages for our people. That is the first objective toward which we must move.

There are different views as to how this can best be accomplished. Perhaps none of us in these changing days can be so dogmatic as to say that our solution—and I believe each individual has one; certainly almost every hon. member seems to have one—without the help of others will solve the problem. But the

Mrs Turnbull

SOCIAL SECURITY

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Criticism to be anticipated:

That government has no policy, but is leaving policy-making to a Committee.

Suggested reply

1. Government has a policy -

enunciated in Speech from the Throne -

"A comprehensive national scheme of social insurance ..... which will constitute a charter of social security for the whole of Canada."

2. Government has no legislative programme to submit - that is true - also inevitable, until whole field explored and obstacles removed.

3. Government's primary duty to prosecute war - problem might have been referred first to experts or a Royal Commission as in England.

4. Government chose to ask Parliament through a Committee to do exploratory work - because all parties favour social security - desire to lift subject outside realm of partisan controversy, if that is possible.

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5. Committee, however, is expected to work within limits or terms of reference, and in the direction outlined in Speech from Throne (which is government policy) to frame "a charter of social security for the whole of Canada".

6. Precise definition of objectives only the first stage - once objectives agreed upon and accepted by government, government will take responsibility for embarking on further steps required to attain objectives.

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Social Security

Graydon (p935)

"There is no room for reactionary ideas in a world that is moving perhaps more quickly than most of us realize."

Is this a death bed repentance of the party he leads?

Has he converted all his followers?

Graydon (p.935):

"This further post - Winnipeg reform"

Surely Leader of Opposition does not think the Winnipeg Convention or the Port Hope pre-convention invented the idea of social security -
it may have been new to most Conservatives, but hardly new to more advanced thinkers

Graydon (p.935)

Congratulated Prime Minister "upon being perhaps a converted reader of the programme and policy laid down by the Progressive Conservative party"

Such a remark suggests that the new converts to "Progressivism" are obsessed with the phenomenon of "Conversion".

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The zeal of the new converts so great that they forget others have long held the "faith" they have so recently embraced.

Genuine Liberals had no need of such conversion.

Perhaps, instead of preaching to converted in the House, missionary zeal more needed among unregenerate members of his own party outside, including some of those most active in management of affairs at Winnipeg.

Country will want pretty clear evidence that the "conversion" is going to last.

People do not forget that most "revivals" are followed by a good deal of backsliding.

<u>But to inject a more serious note</u>

So far as government is concerned, we hope the conversion is permanent.

Nearer we get to unanimity in objectives the sooner we can hope to act effectively to give our people social security.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
96		U.N. Relief and Rehabilitation. Speeches in Parliament	18 June 1943	D 61139 - D 61141	
96		U.N. Leaders. Speeches in Parliament	8 Mar. 1943	D 61142 - D 61143	
96		Vichy. Speeches in Parliament	30 Jan. 1943	D 61144 - D 61153	
96		Wartime Information Board. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 61154 - D 61184	
96		The War, Progress. Speeches in Parliament	24 July 1943	D 61185 - D 61198	
96		Thirtieth National Foreign Trade Convention, New York. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Oct. 1943	D 61199 - D 61235	
96		Fifth Victory Loan Message of Thanks, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Nov. 1943	D 61236 - D 61240	
96		Inflation, The Battle Against, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	4 Dec. 1943	D 61241 - D 61534	
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FOR THE PRESS

D 61139

Ottawa, June 18th, 1943.

STATEMENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER
ON INTERNATIONAL RELIEF

On June 11th in reply to an enquiry from the Leader of the Opposition I stated that I hoped to be able shortly to lay on the table the draft agreement for the establishment of a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. I now table this draft agreement with an introductory note explaining the status of the proposals. The draft agreement has been framed by the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China in consultation together. It was presented on June 10th for the consideration of other United Nations by the Secretary of State of the United States on behalf of these four Powers. It is contemplated that after the other Governments have had an opportunity of examining these proposals they will be submitted for discussion and approval to a conference of representatives of the United Nations and the nations associated with them in this war. The proposals are now under consideration by the Government of Canada and Canada will be glad to send representatives to the projected conference.

The problems of bringing relief and rehabilitation to the war-torn regions of the world as they are liberated from enemy control are so vast as almost to stagger the imagination. Much preparatory work has been done in estimating the requirements in

the occupied territories of our European allies and in planning the means for meeting these requirements as far as possible. An Inter-Allied Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross has been engaged in this task in London for nearly two years. Relief and rehabilitation cover many things in addition to the supply of essential foodstuffs for the restoration and maintenance of health. Clothing and medicines will be urgent needs from the day of liberation. Throughout an essential purpose must be to restore production and commerce in the occupied countries by the provision or repair of means of transport, by the supply of agricultural seeds, machinery and livestock, and by making available essential equipment and raw materials for local industries, especially those engaged in the manufacture of consumers' goods. Relief in the narrow sense is only the first stage of feeding the hungry, tending the sick, and clothing the needy. Relief merges into rehabilitation - the restoration of the productive capacity of the occupied territories so that they may as soon as possible return to normal economic life.

The amounts needed to restore the economies of the occupied countries are very great indeed and the supplies available to the United Nations are far from adequate to meet all urgent demands. It is, therefore, of the first importance that relief and rehabilitation should be conducted under a carefully planned international scheme, so as to ensure that the best use is

made of available supplies and that relief is not denied to those in urgent need because they may lack financial resources or shipping or a stable authority to supervise distribution.

I have already stated that Canada is prepared to play her full part in international relief, and I am sure that this statement is supported in all quarters of this House. Since the draft agreement which I have tabled is tentative and will be revised in the light of the observations received from many Governments, I believe that it is not necessary to discuss its terms at present in any detail. It is a first step in building a United Nations organization for this purpose. It would establish at once a Council on which all countries participating in the Administration would be represented. The Council would be supplemented by a Central Committee, a Committee on Supplies, and regional Committees. A Director General supported by an international staff would be responsible for executive operation. That is the framework which the agreement would set up. After its establishment, the organs of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration would work out detailed arrangements within this framework.

For the convenience of Members, I suggest that the draft Agreement should be printed in Votes and Proceedings.

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96		U.N. Relief and Rehabilitation. Speeches in Parliament	18 June 1943	D 61139 - D 61141	
96		U.N. Leaders. Speeches in Parliament	8 Mar. 1943	D 61142 - D 61143	
96		Vichy. Speeches in Parliament	30 Jan. 1943	D 61144 - D 61153	
96		Wartime Information Board. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 61154 - D 61184	
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Mr. Turnbull

March 8, 1943

File

D 61142

On Thursday, the 4th instant, I read to the House copies of telegrams which I had despatched earlier in the day to the Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and to Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America.

To these messages, I have received the following replies.

From Mr. Churchill, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, a message dated London, March 6, 1943, as follows:

"I am deeply touched by your very generous message and I send to you and to all members of the Parliament of Canada my heartfelt thanks. I recall with gratitude the warmth of the reception which you all gave me when I visited Canada in December, 1941. In the darkest days Canada, under your leadership, remained confident and true. Now the days are brighter, and when victory is won, you will be able to look back with just pride upon a record surpassed by none."

From Mr. Roosevelt, the President of the United States, a message dated Washington, March 8, 1943, as follows:

"The greetings of old friends have always been especially welcome to me and so please accept my warmest thanks for your message on my tenth anniversary as President. My good neighbors, the Canadians, are kind indeed to have remembered me on this occasion;

D 61143

"and I hope you will convey to them, especially to your colleagues in Parliament and the Government, my cordial appreciation.

"The emphasis in your message on the success of our arms and the growing power of our offensive strikes a prophetic note. Our people, like yours and those of all the United Nations, are determined that there shall be no faltering in our march towards victory whatever the obstacles. In this year, above all, we shall support to the limit our troops of land, sea, and air in the grim fighting which lies ahead. All Americans are proud to know of the great sacrifices which their Canadian comrades have made so that Canadian men and materials could contribute so vitally to the struggle.

"With cordial good wishes to you, as always.

Franklin D. Roosevelt."

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K Apeuba

30 January,1943

STATEMENT REGARDING THE POSITION OF THE FORMER FRENCH LEGATION.

D 61144

When, on November 7,1942,forces of the United Kingdom, the United States of America,and others of the United Nations,including certain Canadian naval forces,commenced landing operations in North Africa, the Government at Vichy ordered resistance and took other measures which made it obvious that it could not longer be recognized as an independent government representing the French State. Accordingly,on November 9,1942, a statement was made by me to the effect that,following the resistance by the French in North Africa to the British and United States forces landing there,"there no longer exists in France a government that has any effective independent existence - in other words...there no longer exists in France a legal or constitutional government in any sense representative of the French people,but only a German puppet government," and that,accordingly,diplomatic relations with the Vichy Government were terminated by Canada.

On the same day,November 9,this information was communicated by me to the French Minister personally. The formal note conveying the attitude of the Canadian Government was sent on November 11.

The effect of the above measures was to withdraw any recognition that had been accorded to the Vichy Government and to end all relations with it. This did not mean that France was to be in any way regarded as an enemy.

D 61145

Immediately following the communication of the attitude of the Canadian Government to the French Minister, the position of the Minister as representative of a French Government in Canada ceased.

Following the severance of diplomatic relations, the normal course of action is to place the affairs of the government with whom relations have been broken in the hands of a protecting power. In this case, however, relations had been terminated and a declaration had been made that the Canadian Government did not consider that any government any longer existed which could be considered to represent the French State. Consequently, there was no government which could designate a protecting power. Moreover, the possibility that at some later date a real French Government might be recognized made it seem unwise to place the handling of affairs in the hands of a third power which might cause difficulty at the time that it was desired to hand over matters to whatever new government might arise.

The former French Minister has vacated the legation, ~~but continues, for the time being, to live in Ottawa. Under a temporary arrangement his salary, as well as those of the members of the diplomatic staff, is being paid out of French Government funds which are held by the Custodian.~~

Inasmuch as no protecting power has taken over the control of French interests in this country, it has been necessary to make special provision for the custody and maintenance of the French Legation property. Special provision has been made by which the property has been placed in the custody of the Capital Trust

Corporation Limited,which has accepted custody in accordance with the terms of a letter dated January 22 from the Secretary of State for External Affairs. The custody and administration by the Trust Company is subject to the direction of the Secretary of State for External Affairs and must be handed over at any time to any agency which is designated by him to receive the property. Expenses in connection with the maintenance and administration are to be paid out of French funds held by the Custodian.

In order to ensure that the Legation property will be subject to constant care and attention,it has been arranged that Mr.Anfossy, formerly French Vice-Consul,will reside on the premises,along with his wife, to supervise the day to day maintenance which is to be carried out by a caretaker. Certain offices in the chancery part of the Legation will continue to be used for the administration of war pension payments to persons formerly in receipt of pensions from the French Government. With these exceptions, the French Legation is now empty. These persons are subject to the arrangements made with the Capital Trust Company which may be altered at any time by order of the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

There have been,hitherto,pensions to the amount of approximately $4,000 a month payable by the French Government to veterans of the last war and a few other French citizens in Canada who had been recognized as deserving of assistance by the French Government. It would obviously cause very great hardship and injustice if these pensions ceased to be paid and,therefore,provision has been made for their payment out of French funds in the hands of the Custodian. It

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has been decided that the administration of these payments will be by the Canadian Pension Commission,who will receive assistance in the technical aspects of the work from three subordinate members of the former French Legation staff. By this means it has been ensured that Canadian residents who have hitherto received pensions payments from the French Government will continue to receive them.

It will be recognized that the arrangements which have been made with respect to the various aspects of French interests in Canada are of an interim nature only. As soon as a government appears which is recognized by the Canadian Government as being capable of independent action and as truly representing the French people and the French State, all aspects of French affairs in this country will be turned over to the control and administration of the representatives who may be established here by that government.

In taking this action it will be recognized that a position exists in which there is no government or authority recognized either by the Canadian Government or by others of the United Nations as entitled to speak as the representative of the French State. The enemy occupation of a substantial part of France is not recognized in any way,neither is any puppet government which is in fact subject to enemy domination. At the same time we must all hope that in the not too distant future there will again be a French Government which can be recognized by the governments of the United Nations as entitled to speak for France. It will then be possible to hand over to such a government the property of the French State in Canada. In the meantime,the Canadian Government regards itself

D 61148

in a position analogous to that of the "negotiorum gestor" under the principles of French civil law. The application of such principles to the present position would justify the Canadian Government in taking measures for the preservation of the property of France and for the discharge of clearly established obligations in Canada of the French State out of French property. These principles would require the Government to exercise the utmost good fith in a position closely analogous to that of a trustee under the common law.

I am tabling the following documents which, for the convenience of the members of the House, might be printed in the Votes and Proceedings:

(1) A statement by the Prime Minister of Canada November 9,1942

(2) Letter from the Secretary of State for External Affairs to M.Ristelhueber, November 11,1942

(3) Letter from the Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Capital Trust Corporation Limited, January 22,1943

(4) Letter from the Capital Trust Corporation Limited to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, January 26,1943.

30 January,1943

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STATEMENT REGARDING THE POSITION OF THE FORMER FRENCH LEGATION.

D 61149

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D 61150

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D 61152

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Revise of WIB's newdraft D 61154

THE WARTIME INFORMATION BOARD.

The Purpose of Governmental information:

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Before saying anything about the work of the Wartime Information Board, a word is, I think, desirable about the purpose of governmental information services in wartime.

Information has two sides: one is the provision of information within the country; the other the dissemination in other countries of information about our country and its war effort. I shall first say a word about information within the country.

In modern total war, the whole of the energies and resources of the country, above those needed to maintain the health and efficiency of the people, must be directed into channels which contribute to the prosecution of the war.

This process involves a transformation of the occupations and the habits of life of a large proportion of the people; and some degree of interference with the ordinary peacetime behavior of almost everyone in the country.

In a democracy success in achieving these ends depends on the willing consent and participation of the vast majority. It is not as in dictatorships where despots seek acquiescence by force and delusive propaganda. It is for citizens of a democracy themselves to be convinced of the need for doing what is required of them. To

have that conviction they must have the facts clearly put before them. They must know what is required of them and why. They must be told what are the ends that are sought, and how it is proposed to achieve them. They must know the results of the policies with which they are asked to comply. They must be informed of the progress of the effort of the nation in which they are taking part. They have a right to know everything connected with the war, except where lives would be endangered, or the enemy aided, or where the national interest would be hurt.Indeed if they are to set their minds to the fullest participation in wartime activities they must have the greatest possible knowledge and understanding of these activities.

Of course, all this information does not take the form of government "hand-outs", broadcasts by ministers, or interviews with the press. In this country, I venture to say that Parliament itself is the greatest of all the information services. The Members come here from all parts of the country; they know what is in the minds of their constituents; they reflect the views, the doubts, the questions,sometimes even the confusion in the public mind, in their speeches in the House, in questions to the government, in conversation with Ministers and officials and in many other ways I do not need to recal to honourable Members. The information brought out naturally in Parliament flows back in turn from hon. Members themselves, through the press, the radio, etc., to the public.

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The press and the radio, films, discussion clubs, service clubs and voluntary organizations throughout the country are all invaluable instruments of wartime information. Their contribution to information and understanding is all the more valuable because it is tempered by criticism, and by all the constructive impulses which are born of freedom.

With these free agencies operating as effectively as they do, a free country does not need the elaborate information machine of a dictatorship. Nor does it for the further reason that it is not trying to do the thinking for the people as in a dictatorship, or to supply their attitudes ready made. It has been found necessary, however, in all democratic countries in wartime to set up information services to aid and supplement the work of the regular free agencies.

The magnitude and complexity of national wartime activities are so great that auxiliary facilities are needed. These are provided by information services whose task it is to work inside the government machinery to help collate and bring out the facts, and make them readily available to the voluntary agencies. Thus, by filling a need to help increase the flow of factual material of all kinds to the people information services have a vital part in democracy in wartime.

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<u>Information in other countries:</u>

I turn now to the reasons for disseminating information in other countries about the war effort of our own country. I shall say very little on this point because I believe the need is almost

D 61157

unanimously acknowledged both in the House and the country.

Canada is a partner in the company of United Nations. The success of the combined efforts of the allied powers depends largely upon mutual good-will. Good-will in turn demands accurate, full and constant information. It is the acknowledged aim of the enemy's propaganda to sow discord among the United Nations by spreading lies and half truths in each of the allied nations about its partners. So important do the Nazis consider this warfare of words, or political warfare, that they have spent and continue to spend staggering sums on propaganda. The germs of false propaganda can only do their evil work in the darkness of ignorance. They can be destroyed only with the light of truth. But it is still more satisfactory if accurate information can be supplied before the false propaganda is spread abroad. That is why every free country at war has given so much attention to disseminating information outside its own borders.

Before the present war, Canada had little or no experience of this important side of wartime activity. The government approached it with caution and hesitation. For obvious reasons, it was more important for Canada to see that accurate information was available in the United States than in any other country. Before the United States entered the war it was a matter of extreme delicacy. After the entry of the United States, the technical difficulties were not so great, but the ~~but the interest in Canada's war effort dropped considerably, as the~~ American people became increasingly absorbed in their own war effort, and consequently relatively less interested in the activities of another country.

This situation increases the danger of misunderstandings.

~~Misconceptions and misunderstandings of Canada's actions, become more frequent.~~ These, ~~in turn were reflected in~~ There was a growing concern in Canada to find some means of preventing possible misunderstanding by the provision of accurate information in the United States. Several hon. Members gave expression to that concern. In that connection, I recall particularly that the hon. Member for York-Sunbury and the hon. Member for Rosetown-Biggar expressed a very proper anxiety on this score. The concern was fully shared by the government and it was out of that concern that the Wartime Information Board was established.

new page >

The establishment of the W.I.B.:

~~I have referred to the concern felt by the government regarding misconceptions in other countries, particularly by the United States, as to Canada's part in the war~~. In order to secure the most expert advice as to the appropriate action to meet that problem, the government invited Mr. Charles Vining, one of the leading authorities in the field of public relations, to examine the situation and prepare a report. When Mr. Vining's report was received, no time was lost in considering its recommendations. They were wholeheartedly accepted by the government and as a measure of our readiness to give full effect to them, Mr. Vining was invited to be Chairman of the Wartime Information Board he had recommended. He was given a completely free hand in organizing the work of the Board.

~~It is no secret that~~ One of Mr. Vining's fundamental

recommendations was that external and domestic informational activities should be combined under a single unified administration. Up to that time, domestic wartime information had been administered by the Bureau of Public Information in the Department of National War Services. The Bureau was well organized and had been doing good work under the direction of Mr. Herbert Lash and Mr. Claude Melancon. I should like to record the government's appreciation of their faithful service as pioneers in this difficult field of wartime activity.

It was primarily to meet the need for external activities that the Wartime Information Board was established. Mr. Vining supervised the establishment of offices in New York and Washington, and of a headquarters staff in Ottawa which would keep these offices abroad fully and regularly informed of developments in Canada.

To the great regret of the government, Mr. Vining was obliged by continued ill- health to give up his duties as Chairman of the Board. On his recommendation, an alteration was made in the administrative structure of the Board to provide for a General Manager to act as Chief executive officer. Mr. John Grierson, the Government Film Commissioner, ~~consented to accept~~ accepted this post in addition to ~~that~~ the one he already occupied with the National Film Board. This combination of functions, ~~while imposing a heavy burden on Mr. Grierson,~~ has the advantage of affecting a further co-ordination of wartime informational activities, since the work of the National Film Board in wartime is inevitably largely concerned with the furtherance of the war effort.

It is not my intention ~~to weary the House with a~~ to give a detailed description of the organization of the Wartime Information Board, with which most honourable members are, I am sure, already familiar. I should like, however, to say that the government feels it has been particularly fortunate to have secured the services of President Norman MacKenzie of the University of New Brunswick and the Honourable F. Philippe Brais, as Chairman and Vice-Chairman respectively. Their able and disinterested guidance has been invaluable in the work of the Board.

(new page)

The ~~f~~unction of the ~~B~~oard:

Before attempting to explain the functions of the Board I think it is desirable to explain what it is not. In the first place, the Board is not a "publicity bureau", as some people seem to imagine. It is not engaged in competition with the press, the radio, films or any other medium of news or publicity. Nor is the Board a "news agency". It is not a competitor of the press agencies, the press gallery or any other agencies which gathers and disseminates news. The Board, most emphatically, is not a "censorship bureau" or a central agency of "bottleneck" for the release of governmental announcements. It was not established to supplant the regular channels of communication between government departments and agencies and the press.

The object of the Board is to stimulate and facilitate the flow of information from the various wartime agencies and departments of government to the public through the normal channels of press, radio, films and public speakers. Far from competing with these agencies of

of publicity, the purpose of the Board is to help them.

In the greatly enlarged, very complicated, and very busy machinery of wartime government it can easily come about that information needs of the people in Canada, and of the nation in the outside world, are not always given the fullest consideration. The Board has worked to ensure as far as possible that these are met - that the facts are brought out, and appear in the clearest way. In many subjects, for instance, several departments are concerned, and in these fields the Board seeks to co-ordinate information and see that it is made available in useful forms.

To carry out this task most effectively, the Board is particularly concerned to study the information needs of the public. The controls, restrictions, compulsory orders and appeals for voluntary action necessary in wartime inevitably raise questions and sometimes, I regret to say, even confusion in many mi ds. It is vital to the effective prosecution of the war to bring these questions quickly to the attention of the appropriate government agencies and to see that satisfactory answers are provided. It is even more important to clear up confusion rapidly whonever it aries. The Wartime Information Bœard is constantly watching for signs of the information required by the public and keeping the government informed as to the need for providing fuller and clearer information.

As a result of its labours, there is more news available

to the press, better information available to the public, and a wider knowledge of the action and objectives of the wartime agencies of the government, and a greater understanding of the manifold national war activities which all Canadians, in one way or another, have a part.

New page →

The Success of the Board:

As to the degree of success achieved by the Board I shall not ask honourable members to accept my own opinion. The external activities of the Board were the chief new departure. As the Minister responsible to Parliament for the work of the Board, I was particularly concerned to satisfy myself as to the effectiveness of the Board's activities outside Canada and, particularly, in the United States.

Honourable members will realize that I an not able personally to give more than a very small part of my own time and thought to the work of the Wartime Information Board. I was very anxious therefore to obtain an independent judgment from someone thoroughly competent to assess its activities.

Insert → XX from next page

~~I see no reason why I should not tell the House that when I learned that Mr. Vining's health would necessitate his retirement, my first thought was to invite Mr. W.P. Givens of Kingston to accept the Chairmanship of the Board. Many honourable members will be aware of the exceptional qualifications Mr. Givens would have brought to that position. He~~ has a long and exceptionally distinguished career in journalism. He has a wide knowledge of the United States gained over

many years of close association with American citizens through frequent ~~and somewhat lengthy~~ visits to many parts of that country. Moreover, ~~I realized that the very nature of the activities of the Board made it particularly desirable that every precaution be taken to see that the Board should be completely free from partisanship and should concern itself exclusively with its designated wartime duties.~~ The fact that Mr.Givens had been a life-long supporter of the Conservative party ~~would, I felt, be an added assurance~~ in that respect. ~~It was, therefore, with genuine regret that I learned, as a result of enquiries, that the state of Mr.Given's health precluded the possibility of his accepting the heavy responsibility of the Chairmanship of the Board.~~

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(Read Givens letter)

WOP's new draft
based on revise of original statement from WIB

THE WARTIME INFORMATION BOARD

D 61164

The Purpose of governmental information

Before saying anything about the work of the Wartime Information Board, a word is, I think, desirable about the purpose of governmental information services in wartime.

Information has two sides: one is the provision of information within the country; the other the dissemination in other countries of information about our country and its war effort. I shall first say a word about information within the country.

In modern total war, the whole or the energies and resources of the country, above those needed to maintain the health and efficiency of the people, must be directed into channels which contribute to the prosecution of the war.

This process involves a transformation of the occupations and the habits of life of a large proportion of the people; and some degree of interference with the ordinary peacetime behavior of almost everyone in the country.

Even the Fascist dictatorships have not attempted to build their war machines solely on orders, backed up with the sanction of firing squads. They, too, have found it necessary to give reasons for their policies and to explain the purpose of the orders people are required to carry out.

In a free country, where the firing squad is only used against traitors and spies, and where the willing consent of the vast majority is vital to the success even of wartime policies, the people feel they have a right to know why they are required to do some things and to refrain from doing others. They want to be sure there is no regimentation for the sake of regimentation. They want to know the purpose of orders, regulations, controls, restrictions and compulsions. Except where the safety of the lives of others or the success of military operations is concerned, the people have a right to this knowledge; and if effective cooperation is to be secured; they must be provided with information.

Of course, all this information does not take the form of government "hand-outs", broadcasts by ministers, or interviews with the press. In this country, I venture to say that Parliament itself is the greatest of all the information services. The Members come here from all parts of the country; they know what is in the minds of their constituents; they reflect the views, the doubts, the questions, sometimes even the confusion in the public mind in their speeches in the House, in questions to the government, in conversation with Ministers and officials and in many other ways I do not need to recall to hon. Members. The information

brought out naturally in Parliament flows back in turn from hon. Members themselves, through the press, the radio, etc., to the public.

The press and the radio, films, discussion clubs, service clubs and voluntary organizations throughout the country are all invaluable instruments of wartime information. They are free from the control of the government and their contribution to information and understanding is all the more valuable because it is tempered by criticism, and by all the constructive impulses which are born of freedom.

Although the need of the citizens of a country at war for information is greater in free countries than in dictatorships, there are two reasons why their governments do not need the elaborate information machines required by the dictators. One I have already given. A large part of the task is performed by free Parliaments, by the press and by voluntary agencies. The other reason is that the governments of free countries do not try to think for the people. They confine themselves to the more modest task of letting the people know what their governments are thinking and doing; and of explaining the ways in which the people are being asked to co-operate in furthering the war effort.

D 61167

Information in other countries

I turn now to the reasons for disseminating information in other countries about the war effort of our own country. I shall say very little on this point because I believe the need is almost unanimously acknowledged both in the House and the country.

Canada is a partner in the company of United Nations. The success of the combined efforts of the allied powers depends largely upon mutual good-will. Good-will in turn is largely the product of understanding. Understanding, in turn demands accurate, full and constant information. It is the acknowledged aim of the enemy's propaganda to sow discord among the United Nations by spreading lies and half truths in each of the allied nations about its partners. So important do the Nazis consider this warfare of words, or political warfare, that they have spent and continue to spend staggering sums on propaganda. The germs of false propaganda can only do their evil work in the darkness of ignorance. They can be destroyed only with the light of truth. But it is still more satisfactory if accurate information can be supplied before the false propaganda is spread abroad. That is why every free country at war has given so much attention to disseminating information outside its own borders.

Before the present war, Canada had little or no experience of this important side of wartime activity. The government approached it with caution and hesitation. For obvious reasons, it was more important for Canada to see that accurate information was available in the United States than in any other country. Before the United States entered the war it was a matter of extreme delicacy. After the entry of the United States, the technical difficulties were not so great, but the interest in Canada's war effort dropped considerably, as the American people became increasingly absorbed in their own war effort. Misconceptions and misunderstandings of Canada's action became more frequent. These, in turn, were reflected in a growing concern in Canada to find some means of preventing misunderstanding by the provision of accurate information in the United States. Several hon. Members gave expression to that concern. In that connection, I recall particularly that the hon. Member for York-Sunbury and the hon. Member for Rosetown-Biggar expressed a very proper anxiety on this score. The concern was fully shared by the government and it was out of that concern that the Wartime Information Board was established.

The establishment of the W. I. B.

I have referred to the concern felt by the government regarding misconceptions in other countries, particularly by the United States, as to Canada's part in the war. In order to secure the most expert advice as to the appropriate action to meet that problem, the government invited Mr. Charles Vining, one of the leading authorities in the field of public relations, to examine the situation and prepare a report. When Mr. Vining's report was received, no time was lost in considering its recommendations. They were wholeheartedly accepted by the government and as a measure of our readiness to give full effect to them, Mr. Vining was invited to be Chairman of the Wartime Information Board he had recommended. He was given a completely free hand in organizing the work of the Board.

It is no secret that one of Mr. Vining's fundamental recommendations was that external and domestic informational activities should be combined under a single unified administration. Up to that time, domestic wartime information had been administered by the Bureau of Public Information in the Department of National War Services. The Bureau was well organized and had been doing good work under the direction of Mr. Herbert Lash and Mr. Claude Melancon. I should like to record the government's appreciation of their faithful service as pioneers in this difficult field of wartime activity.

D 61170

Under the new administration, no drastic changes were contemplated in the field of domestic information beyond those required to co-ordinate activities in that field with the new work contemplated outside the country, and particularly in the United States. It was primarily to perform these external activities that the Wartime Information Board was established. It was to their organization that Mr. Vining gave the greater part of his attention. Mr. Vining supervised the establishment of offices in New York and Washington and of a headquarters staff in Ottawa which would keep these offices abroad fully and regularly informed of developments in Canada.

To the great regret of the government, Mr. Vining was obliged by continued ill-health to give up his duties as Chairman of the Board. On his recommendation, an alteration was made in the administrative structure of the Board to provide for a General Manager to act as Chief executive officer. Mr. John Grierson, the Government Film Commissioner consented to accept this post in addition to that he already occupied with the National Film Board. This combination of functions, while imposing a heavy burden on Mr. Grierson, has the advantage of effecting a further co-ordination of wartime informational activities, since the work of the National Film Board in wartime is inevitably largely concerned with the furtherance of the war effort.

D 61171

It is not my intention to weary the House with a description of the organization of the Wartime Information Board, with which most honourable members are, I am sure, already familiar. I should like, however, to say that the government feels it has been particularly fortunate to have secured the services of President Norman MacKenzie of the University of New Brunswick and the Honourable F. Philippe Brais, as Chairman and Vice-Chairman respectively. Their able and disinterested guidance has been invaluable in the work of the Board.

D 61172

The Function of the Board

Before attempting to explain the functions of the Board I think it is desirable to explain what it is not. In the first place, the Board is not a "publicity bureau," as some people seem to imagine. It is not engaged in competition with the press, the radio, films or any other medium of news or publicity. Nor is the Board a "news agency." It is not a competitor of the press agencies, the press gallery or any other agencies which gathers and disseminates news. The Board, most emphatically, is not a "censorship bureau" or a central agency or "bottleneck" for the release of governmental announcements. It was not established to supplant the regular channels of communication between government departments and agencies and the press.

The object of the Board is to stimulate and facilitate the flow of information from the various wartime agencies and departments of government to the public through the normal channels of press, radio, films and public speakers. Far from competing with these agencies of publicity, the purpose of the Board is to help them.

To do this most effectively, the Board is particularly concerned to study the information needs of the public. The machinery of wartime government is, as all honourable members know, extremely complicated. It touches the individual citizen in a thousand ways. The necessary

controls, restrictions, compulsory orders and appeals for voluntary action inevitably raise questions and sometimes, I regret to say, even confusion in many minds. It is vital to the effective prosecution of the war to bring these questions quickly to the attention of the appropriate government agencies and to see that satisfactory answers are provided. It is even more important to clear up confusion rapidly whenever it arises. The Wartime Information Board is constantly watching for signs of the information required by the public and keeping the government informed as to the need for providing fuller and clearer information.

As a result of its labours, there is more news available to the press, better information available to the public, and a wider understanding of the action and the objectives of the wartime agencies of government and of the government itself.

D 61174

The Success of the Board

As to the degree of success achieved by the Board, I shall not ask honourable members to accept my own opinion.

I have already pointed out that the domestic functions of the Board are largely a continuation of the work previously done by the Bureau of Public Information. The External activities of the Board are a new departure. As the Minister responsible to Parliament for the work of the Board, I was particularly concerned to satisly myself as to the effectiveness of the Board's activities outside Canada and, particularly, in the United States.

Honourable members will realize that I am not able personally to give more than a very small part of my own time and thought to the work of the Wartime Information Board. I was very anxious therefore to obtain an independent judgment from someone thoroughly competent to assess its activities.

I see no reason why I should not tell the House that when I learned that Mr. Vining's health would necessitate his retirement, my first thought was to invite Mr. W. R. Givens of Kingston to accept the Chairmanship of the Board. Many honourable members will be aware of the exceptional qualifications Mr. Givens would have brought to that position. He had a long

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During the spring, I learned that Mr. Givens planned to spend a few days in New York at the end of May. I at once asked him if he would find it possible to prolong his stay sufficiently to survey the activities of the New York office of the Board with the object of giving me the benefit of his judgment with respect to its work. Mr. Givens was kind enough to agree to make this survey. I should like, without further ado, to conclude my observations by reading to the House the report Mr. Givens made to me on his observations.

(Read Gwens' letter)

Revised draft of original WIB Statement D 61176

Re: Wartime Information Board

The Wartime Information Board was established only after a persistent demand had developed for greater information facilities, particularly in the United States. The Government asked Mr. Charles Vining to prepare a report on the subject. Mr. Vining's recommendations were accepted and the government undertook an over-all strengthening of the country's information services. The Wartime Information Board was established, with Mr. Vining as Chairman. The government left to him, in agreement with his Board, the task of building up an organization to attack the problems that had been so often pointed out.

During the time he was working on the development of the Board Mr. Vining was not in good health. He reached the conclusion finally that the state of his health obliged him to give up his duties as Chairman of the Board. In January, Mr. John Grierson was made executive head of the organization with the title of General Manager. A short time after Mr. Norman Mackenzie, President of the University of New Brunswick, was appointed as chairman of the governing Board. Apart from the Chairman and Vice-Chairman, Hon. F. P. Brais, the Board is composed of senior officials of the departments of government most closely concerned with wartime information. The active

D 61177

direction of the work is in the hands of Mr. Grierson, who has had wide experience in the field of public information.

Mr. Vining and Mr. Grierson gathered under them men they judged the best qualified who could be made available - not an easy task when newspapers and other organizations connected with similar work find themselves so hard pressed by staff problems.

It has been the policy of the Board to facilitate and stimulate the flow of information through normal channels. It has believed this to be the most economical and effective way of spreading a wider knowledge and understanding of the Canadian nation at war, both inside Canada and in other countires. The Board has concentrated on helping the press, the radio, films, and speakers - not on competing with existing agencies of information. The object of the Board is to start information at its source and help it to reach the public by the usual methods. Therefore, most of the results of its work do not bear the label of the Wartime Information Board. Most of its true effectiveness will be found, not in products that can be named and openly credited to it, but in a general increase and improvement in the stream of true information.

The Board does not exercise direct authority over the information branches of other departments of government. News and publicity continue to flow directly from them. Within

the immensely complicated machinery of wartime government, however, the Board has worked to improve the movement of information to the public. It has studied the information needs of the public and labored to help to meet them effectively through the usual channels of press, radio, etc. The purpose of the Board has been to increase the amount of straight factual news available to the people. The Board does not seek to create opinion, but to provide information on which the people can form their own judgments and increase their understanding of the war itself and Canada's part in the war. The Board has sought to have put before the public the truth, whether favorable or not to the administration. I think the House will agree that there is a better understanding now of Canada's place in the war, both inside and outside the country, than there was six months ago.

The basic policies of the Board have been applied outside Canada as well as inside. Public demands had been particularly strong for Canadian publicity offices in the United States. The Board thought it necessary to try to staff them with men who would have good standing with the American press and radio and its decisions were made accordingly. Those responsible thought it necessary, for instance, to have an American expert as adviser in the New York office. An experienced publicity man, a United States citizen, was accordingly engaged at a salary, admittedly large by Canadian standards, but not at all large

in relation to his sphere of work in the United States. The senior officers of the two American offices receive no salaries, but receive allowances to enable them to live and carry on their work, much of it through personal contact, under American standards and paying their expenses in American dollars.

In most cases salaries paid by the Board are the same or less than individuals were earning before joining the organization. In some cases allowances were made for people who had to leave other positions and incur considerable extra expense to join the staff. In some cases no salaries at all are paid. I think the suggestion that the standard of salaries is extravagantly high is unfair to devoted people who have left other positions and are working hard to the end that the Canadian public and people outside the country be better informed about the manifold activities of the Canadian nation at war.

The financial requirements of the Board are in line with its policies. A large part of the funds at its disposal are in the last six months, nearly half, have been spent on Canadian war films. Much of the rest has been spent on activities to increase the flow of information through ordinary channels.

Canada, in proportion to her size, is spending on information services only a fraction of what is being spent by

D 61180

the United States or Great Britain, and a still far smaller fraction of that being spent by the enemy. It has been said often in this House and repeatedly across the country that the Government should do more to tell the people of this country and other countries what the Canadian nation is doing in the war. The Government obtained the best men it could to direct this work. I believe they have tried to do this very difficult and intricate task economically and effectively. I believe they have had a considerable measure of success, and should have more now that the ground work has been done.

122

Suggestions for a statement on the news of an offensive

WIB draft D 61181

All of us have by now heard the news that has been in the newspapers and on the radio throughout the day. Our Army is in action against the enemy. The first reports are what was expected by every Canadian. Our men are acquitting themselves well. Our emotions have reason to be lifted by the initial success they have achieved. Our pride in the supreme courage of these men of our own flesh and blood has reason to be stirred to its very depths.

You do not need to be told that this is the first stage of the great European land offensive which will be maintained against the enemy until his defences crumble and our Canadian men, along with our Allies, shall have occupied his capital cities and all his lands. We have reached the beginning of the final phase of the war in the European theatre. But let none think that this phase will be easy or brief. It will be neither ~~any~~ easy nor brief. It will be long and very difficult. It will ultimately, after long, hard fighting and heavy losses, be successful.

I should like, as briefly as possible, to summarize the situation as we see it from reports reaching us:

The air forces upon which the enemy once largely depended for quick victory are now inferior to our air forces and will not recover.

The U-boats, upon which the enemy placed his second hope, have, in the past two months, been decisively beaten. The anxiety which they gave us in the late winter and early spring has vanished. Although shipping losses will not be eliminated completely, it is no longer necessary to consider the submarine as an enemy weapon that can seriously impede any of our plans.

The enemy is, however, still very strong on land. There are signs that the German people themselves are beginning to weaken. There are signs that the Italian people are far beyond that stage. The majority of them perhpas would like to be out of the war. A considerable proportion of Italians might possibly like to be on our side. The Italian Army also, while not negligible, no longer appears to be a decisive fighting force. But the German Army is still very strong.

The discipline of the German soldier is still good. His morale has not yet been shaken. The toughened and hardened enemy Army will have to be defeated in many battles before it will see what now seems so obvious to us, namely, that it not only has no chance of victory, but has no alternative before it except complete and utter defeat or unconditional surrender.

Under these circumstances, we should look for no sudden collapse of the enemy, even though the German people are beginning to falter. There will be no collapse until the German Army itself is beaten into submission during many months of fighting. Indeed, so successfully have the present leaders of Germany endoctrinated their Army with a fanatical and ruthless creed that it may continue to fight until its back is against the walls of the buildings of Berlin.

All of us hope that an early collapse of German military morale will occur. Such a collapse would make the later stages in this final phase of the war in Europe easier. But we have no reason to expect it, and we must not permit ourselves to count on it.

We should look for no quick successes, no easy victories. The tide of battle will ebb and flow. We shall have reverses. Successes will be dearly bought. There will be victory in the end, but it will not be gained without great cost in human life, in suffering and privation, and in anguish of mind and heart.

In this initial stage of the land offensive, we already know that Canadian losses have not been light, although no detailed figures have yet been received. We had to expect this. All of us, I think, have realized that it would not be possible, without heavy initial losses, to break into the strongly fortified areas which the enemy has had so long to prepare behind all the European xxxxx.coasts.

The Canadian Army overseas has waited and trained for more than three years for the moment reached today. Going into battle in a spirit of considered willingness to make the ultimate personal sacrifice if such should be necessary, the men of the Army will not count their losses as anxiously as we count them at home. Many Canadian homes in all provinces will be saddened in the coming weeks. To sustain us we shall need the strength that comes from a deep feeling of unity in a supreme and common cause. We shall have that strength, but it will not manifest itself in fine words and resounding phrases.

D 61183

Even the word unity, which is a vital and honest word, will be forgotten in the simple exercise of another word "neighbourliness". As communities and as a nation, we shall be drawn together as never before by the sharing of grief and by the simple neighbourly acts and expressions of sympathy which will be spontaneous with all Canadians.

To those who have experienced a great sorrow in the loss of loved ones, nobody need tell what it means to have the quiet sympathy and understanding of friends and neighbours. To those who have been fortunate enough to be spared such personal sorrow, may I suggest that in these coming weeks, perhaps months, they neither neglect nor delay any of the kind neighbourly offices when they hear that families of their acquaintanceship have been bereaved. Thus intimately drawn together in the sharing of sorrow, as well as in our sharing of pride in the courage and achievements of our fighting men, we shall have more than the strength necessary to see us through.

As we go about our work, let us keep in mind what is in the minds, although unspoken, of our men who are now at grips with the enemy. They perhaps would give you as many reasons for being in the fight as there are individuals in our Army, but actually they are there because they love freedom and cherish free institutions enough to die for them. And those who die do not die for freedom for themselves, but so that those who survive may have it. Our soldiers are fighting against a brutal system of tyranny which the enemy once hoped to impose on all the world, including Canada.

Our men overseas have a true understanding of freedom and are fighting because they have a deep and abiding love of our homeland and its way of life. They are defending and protecting, we hope in perpetuity, the breadth, serenity and aspirations of our nation.

More particularly, I believe, each of them is fighting for his own home, his own family, his own relatives and circle of friends, his own community. It is not a characteristic of the fighting man to tell us of such things, but with deeds and not words he defends those scenes and individuals that inspire in him the deepest love.

Our soldiers confronting the enemy, if they come from the Maritimes, in addition to fighting for Canada as a whole and for the United Nations, are fighting for their memories of the mists that roll in from the Atlantic, of the forests, the fishing villages, the cities and ports

D 61184

of our Eastern Provinces. For Canadians from the Province of Quebec, now fighting on European soil, there are memories of the mighty river, a ~~xxxxxx~~ storied past, the purple shadows of the Laurentians, and the happy life of hearth and home. The men of Ontario are fighting for their lakes and streams, their teeming industrial cities and mellow countryside. Those from the Prairies have not forgotten the vast grain fields and the wide range lands, and British Columbia men perhaps hear above the din of battle the billows that roll in from the Pacific and see the majesty of their mountains rise clear above the battle smoke.

We, who are safely at home in Canada, making the machines and munitions of war, producing food or supplies, building or manning ships, engaged in transport, or working at tasks which must be done to maintain the life of the community, may at this time feel some small satisfaction in the fact that we have not failed to do those things which are needed to give ~~an invading~~ support to our Army, ~~support~~. Indeed, during the long period of waiting, we have been proud of the huge extent of that material support and of the similar support which we have been able to provide to ~~give~~ many of our Allies among the United Nations. But it is no longer a time for such small pride. Material support for our men who offer their lives is the very least we can provide. I feel sure we shall turn to our daily tasks tomorrow with a new zeal and a renewed determination. Whether we are fighting or working, the Canadian people are all striving together to destroy the forces of aggression, to restore freedom to mankind, and to extend the rule of law throughout the world. We are striving for these ends because we have learned that our own country can survive free, secure and happy only in a world from which aggression and enslavement have been banished and in which men everywhere are free to work together in harmony for their common well-being.

Before victory is achieved, thousands of the finest of our young men will give their lives for that ideal. Let us all resolve that this time we will not rest until, with the help of God, we have made certain that their sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

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96		U.N. Leaders. Speeches in Parliament	8 Mar. 1943	D 61142 - D 61143	
96		Vichy. Speeches in Parliament	30 Jan. 1943	D 61144 - D 61153	
96		Wartime Information Board. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 61154 - D 61184	
96		The War, Progress. Speeches in Parliament	24 July 1943	D 61185 - D 61198	
96		Thirtieth National Foreign Trade Convention, New York. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Oct. 1943	D 61199 - D 61235	
96		Fifth Victory Loan Message of Thanks, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Nov. 1943	D 61236 - D 61240	
96		Inflation, The Battle Against, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	4 Dec. 1943	D 61241 - D 61534	
96		Christmas Message to Armed Forces in the Mediterranean. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Dec. 1943	D 61535 - D 61549	

PM's Statement

Progress of the War
Participation of Canadian Forces

July 24, 1943

D 61185

Since the statement I made a week ago on the military operations in Sicily, the offensive of the United Nations has been intensified on a number of fronts. Our main interest at the moment naturally centres inSicily, where Canadian forces are engaged. Before touching upon the progress that has since been made in Sicily, a word about the other theatres, in which there has been significant developments, may not be out of place.

In Russia, after sharp fighting and heavy German losses, the Nazi summer offensive was quickly halted. In its stead, the Soviet army and air force have developed a powerful offensive against Orel. This strategic centre has been under German control for nearly two years. It is one of the most strongly fortified positions of the central front. The battle for Orel is a dramatic reminder of Russia's share in the total military effort of the United Nations.

At the other side of the world, in the Southwest Pacific, the present month has seen a sustained attack by Australian and United States forces against Japanese strongholds in New Guinea. In the Solomon Islands, the United States forces have advanced northward, and are in fact besieging the main Japanese air base in that area. As more stepping stones are wrested from the Japanese, the offensive willbe intensified against all the outlying areas north of Australia now under Japanese control.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 61186

In the northern Pacific, the Aleutian area has also seen heavier bombings of Japanese targets by United States and Canadian squadrons. Kiska, the last remaining Japanese outpost, an immediate menace to both Canada and the United States, is being attacked whenever weather conditions are favourable. Until the Japanese are driven out of Kiska, we may expect continued fighting in this area.

In the battle of the Atlantic, the arrangement for increased escorts by sea, and continuous cover by air, which have been in effect for some three months, have more than justified expectations.

Coming to the Mediterranean area, two weeks have now passed since the Allied forces landed in Sicily. The second week of the invasion witnessed a continuation of the steady advance of the previous week. Town after town surrendered. Within the week, the number of Axis prisoners taken increased to well over 50,000. The Allied invasion forces extended their occupation from one-third to more than two-thirds of the island. Canada's troops took a foremost part in the fighting throughout. Their skill and determination have called forth the commendation of both General Montgomery and General Alexander.

At the beginning of the week, after joining forces at Enna, which is the hub of communications in central Sicily, Canadian and American formations continued to press north.

Yesterday an American armoured division captured Palermo, the historic capital and largest city of Sicily. By the capture of Palermo, and the advances of American and Canadian units, large numbers of Axis forces have been trapped in the western half of the Island. Northeast of Enna, Canadian units encountered strong German resistance. Other of our forces have been taking part in the Eighth Army's tightening encirclement of Catania. The fall of Catania, which may be expected at any time, will compel the retreat of the Axis forces towards Messina and the mainland of Italy. That retreat will lead inevitably to the occupation of the whole of Sicily.

The allied land advances on the island were supported throughout the week by intense allied air activity over the island and the Italian mainland. In these aerial operations, the Royal Canadian Air Force continued to play an important part. A Royal Canadian Air Force fighter squadron -- a self-contained Canadian unit of the Middle East forces -- is now based on Sicily, and for some days has been operating in support of the forward elements of the Allied Armies. The hon. member for Vancouver North, Mr. James Sinclair, is adjutant of this Squadron. There are, as well, in Sicily, many R.C.A.F. personnel not included in this squadron, but attached to R.A.F. units. During the week our bomber units, operating with General Doolittle's force in North Africa, participated in raids on Sicily and on the Italian mainland.

D 61188

A week ago, I referred to the officers and men of the Royal Canadian navy who took part in the landing operations in Sicily. Quite a number of these men are veterans of Dieppe and North Africa. They are still continuing to assist in landing supplies and reinforcements at different ports.

General McNaughton, who has just returned to England from the Mediterranean area, has described the assault upon Sicily as the most perfect example of combined operations in history. This statement is, in part, a merited tribute to the rigorous training and patient waiting of the Canadian forces which have served the longest under General McNaughton's command.

A significant development of the past week in Sicily was the establishment of an Allied Military Government of the occupied territory. General Sir Harold Alexander was appointed Military Governor. In his first proclamation, General Alexander declared that the purpose of the Allies was to deliver the people from the Fascist regime and restore Italy as a land of free people. He ordered the dissolution of all Fascist organizations. In this proclamation will be found the basis upon which the Allied Nations aim to effect the liberation of Europe from Axis aggression and from fascist domination.

D 61189

A year ago, when Parliament adjourned, the United Nations had experienced nearly eight months of reverses and setbacks. This continent was immediately threatened from the west. On the east, enemy U-boats ranged destructively along our coast and into the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. As we leave today for our homes, we will carry with us very different impressions. The tide has definitely turned. Everywhere, the forces of freedom have the initiative. While our fears about its outcome have lessened, the war, in a more immediate way, has been brought closer than ever to us. All arms of our fighting services are now in the thick of the conflict. Our fighting men are certain to continue in action on many fronts until the enemy has surrendered. No one can say for how long that may be. They face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, they, ~~above all else,~~ must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds and the utmost that our country can give in their support.

D 61190

M E M O R A N D U M

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE.

TO: Mr. Pickersgill

OTTAWA .....19 ....

1. Herewith weekly synopsis to today.

2. If you desire can give you brief epitome this afternoon — about 1 para. — summarizing in a few words the week's progress

F X Jennyt
Lt-Col
DPR(A)

23/7/43

D 61191

July 23, 1943.

SYNOPSIS OF OPERATIONS IN SICILY, 17/JULY TO DATE

The second week of the invasion of Sicily saw a continuation of the steady advance by Allied Forces ~~comparable with~~ Even more successful than that achieved during the first week. Town after town fell to our troops and the toll of prisoners and war materiel continued to mount. Day by the day, the story in brief since I gave you the last summary of the operation on Saturday last is as follows:

Saturday
July 17th — The Canadian drive on the west flank of the British Army brought them about 28 miles west of General Montgomery's forces at LENTINI and more than 50 miles from their landing-place at the south west tip of the island. Meanwhile the 8th Army was battling on the Plains of CATANIA, Sicily's second largest port. During the day the 8th Army captured LENTINI and SCORDIA, key towns to the entrance to the CATANIA plains. One-third of the island was now reported to be in Allied hands. Continuing evidence was seen of poor Italian leadership and equipment, the chief resistance on the CATANIA plains coming from the Germans who were better led and possessed better equipment. Late in the day the Canadians over-ran the Town of PIAZZA [redacted] ARMERINA and started (This is one Town) their drive towards ENNA, joining with United States' forces in spite of stiff opposition.

D 61192

Saturday
July 17th (Cont'd) The bag of prisoners by Saturday night was estimated at 30,000. During the night some 500 Allied bombers hit at Naples inflicting damage on the royal arsenal, a torpedo factory and railway communications.

Sunday
July 18 During the week-end the Allied line advanced everywhere and a third Italian Divisional Commander and his staff were among the 35,000 prisoners in our hands including between 5,000 and 7,000 taken by the Canadian troops. The 8th Army advanced to within 3 miles of CATANIA which was reported burning from the effect of air and sea bombardment.

Monday
July 10 An Allied communique on Monday said the Canadians were fighting steadily northward with "skill and determination in difficult country". A joint drive towards ENNA was being staged by Canadian and United States' troops. ENNA is the hub of all railway and road communications in the central part of Sicily. It has a population of 27,000 and is situated on the top of a 3,000 ft. mountain.

Tuesday
July 20 The Canadian-United States drive towards ENNA was meeting very strong opposition including a part of the re-formed 15th German Panzer Division. The Italians, however, were surrendering in organized groups and another Italian general, the fourth in the campaign, had been captured. There were reports of mutinies among the Italian troops. It was on this date that it was first announced that General McNaughton had been with the Canadian troops on the Sicilian front.

Wednesday
July 21 By mid-week it was estimated that half of the island of Sicily was in Allied hands with the Axis forces retreating towards MESSINA. The stiffest fighting was developing in the front of the strategic CATANIA seaport which was being beseiged by the Anglo-Canadian 8th Army. The Germans were gradually being pushed back to the suburbs of the town. ~~Its fall was seen as another "Cap Bon" rout.~~ British war ships were still shelling the city. Meanwhile Canadian and United States troops had captured ENNA and had driven to within 28 miles of the northern coast, the Canadians breaking through from the south east and the United States 7th Army coming in from the south west, the general effect being that Sicily was practically cut in two.

Thursday
July 22

At noon it was reported that Canadian and U.S. forces were only 15 miles from PALERMO the capital of Sicily on the north west coast and were pushing toward the coastal road connecting PALERMO with MESSINA, across the strait from the toe of the Italian boot. On the southern side of the island the Canadian U.S. forces had entered SCIACCA and CASTELVETRANO. The 8th Army was still having a stiff fight in front of CATANIA beating back German counter-attacks but one column had pushed 22 miles inland to take RAMACCA west and slightly south of CATANIA. The bag of prisoners had now reached more than 40,000.

Shortly before noon, an American armoured column which had moved north west from ENNA entered and captured the ancient capital of PALERMO on the northern coast, cutting off all the western end of the Island.

Friday
July 23

The Canadians, operating somewhere north of ENNA, the key road junction in the centre of the island, were continuing to push north in the face of stiffening resistance. The battle for CATANIA was nearing its end, Berlin radio admitting that 8th Army troops had broken through on the western fringe of the Catania Plain. Announcement was made that an Italian admiral, who had been commandant of the Augusta naval base, had been captured.

OUR FILE.....

REF. YOUR.....

DATED .....

61195

ROYAL CANADIAN AIR FORCE D

The Prime Minister

Att'n Mr. Pickersgill.

1. Herewith a brief summary of RCAF operations overseas during the past week for possible inclusion in the Prime Minister's statement to the House of Commons.

2. Much of this material has, of course, been referred to in the press.

L.M. McKechnie

(L.M. McKechnie)
Assistant Director of Public Relations

R.C.A.F. G. 32H.—1,000M—3-42 (1811)—H.Q. 1062-9-56

B

D 61196

~~DRAFT NOTES FOR THE PRIME MINISTER~~ 22/7/43

A Royal Canadian Air Force Spitfire squadron - a self-contained Canadian unit of the Middle East Forces - is now based on Sicily and for some days has been operating in support of the forward elements of the Allied Armies.

This squadron is unofficially known as the "City of Windsor" squadron since it has been adopted by the citizens of that border city.

There are few details available ~~with respect~~ as to ~~the~~ its operations, ~~of the squadron~~ but we have full information regarding the amazing speed and efficiency with which the squadron moved from its base on Malta to an aerodrome on Sicily captured from the enemy only ~~a matter of~~ a few hours before~~hand.~~ ×

During the night, ground personnel and the administrative staff with complete equipment and vehicles slipped across from Malta by modern landing craft. They moved rapidly to the captured aerodrome, worked all the next day and following night, and on the second morning the pilots flew from Malta to set their Spitfires down on a field almost as good as the one they had left.

I cannot commend too highly to this House the gallant spirit of those ground crews who worked within the sound of artillery fire and braved German bomb bursts, while they toiled in the midst of tins of high test gasoline.

I am confident that this squadron which gained distinction as a front-line fighting force during the last days of the Tunisian campaign, is acquitting itself as well in Sicily.

There are, of course, many R.C.A.F. personnel in Sicily not included in this squadron, but attached to R.A.F. units ~~in Sicily~~. The frequency with which their names appear in news despatches from that theatre indicates the quality of their contribution.

During the week our bomber units operating with General Doolittle's force in North Africa participated in raids on Sicily and on the Italian mainland.

In my statement a week ago, I stressed the importance to the success of operations in Sicily of the continued aerial operations from Britain. ~~On the Western air front our~~ Canadian fighter squadrons have been particularly active, during the past week, ~~Nill~~ more Canadian bombers participated in ~~the~~ raids on Montbéliard in France × It should also be borne in mind that RCAF personnel are almost inevitably included in all activities of the R.A.F.

Our Spitfire units have escorted United States Army Air Force Bostons and Marauders in attacks on aerodromes and railway yards in Occupied France and other R.C.A.F. Spitfires in a supporting sweep over France destroyed two enemy fighters. R.C.A.F. Mustangs have attacked railway targets near Cherbourg.

Last Sunday night Spitfires escorting R.A.F. Beaufighters in attacks on enemy shipping off the Dutch coast, destroyed an enemy fighter and another enemy fighter was destroyed the following day by our lads on a sweep of Northern France.

R.C.A.F. Halifaxes participated in a raid on the Peugeot motor works at Montbeliard in France.

Again may I emphasize that I have referred specifically to self-contained R.C.A.F. units and it should be borne in mind that R.C.A.F. personnel are almost inevitably included in all activities of the R.A.F.

July 23--43.

D 61198

Mr. Pickesgill,
Room 209 East Block,
Parliament Buildings.

Dear Mr. Pickesgill,

Herewith the proposed statement re the Royal Canadian Navy.

C

~~"Regarding the part played by the officers and men of the Royal Canadian Navy in the landing operations at Sicily,~~ I might mention that quite a number of these men were veterans of Dieppe and North Africa, and that in the intervening months the programme of rigorous training which they had undergone was continued and perfected in the light of the experience gained in those two hazardous operations. These men are still continuing to assist in landing reinforcements and supplies to ensure the complete success of this historic undertaking.

As to operations in the North Atlantic it would appear that there is a temporary lull in enemy activities, and there is no need for me to assure this House that full advantage of this lull is being taken, ~~by the~~ ships of the Royal Canadian Navy, and aircraft of the Royal Canadian Air Force ~~in order to~~ are doing their accustomed share of the escort-duty for these vital convoys.

~~If I can be of any further assistance, please call me at local 2733.~~

to have proper title inserted in manuscript

~~Yours truly~~

H C Hoffard

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
96		U.N. Relief and Rehabilitation. Speeches in Parliament	18 June 1943	D 61139 - D 61141	
96		U.N. Leaders. Speeches in Parliament	8 Mar. 1943	D 61142 - D 61143	
96		Vichy. Speeches in Parliament	30 Jan. 1943	D 61144 - D 61153	
96		Wartime Information Board. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 61154 - D 61184	
96		The War, Progress. Speeches in Parliament	24 July 1943	D 61185 - D 61198	
96		Thirtieth National Foreign Trade Convention, New York. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Oct. 1943	D 61199 - D 61235	
96		Fifth Victory Loan Message of Thanks, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Nov. 1943	D 61236 - D 61240	
96		Inflation, The Battle Against, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	4 Dec. 1943	D 61241 - D 61534	
96		Christmas Message to Armed Forces in the Mediterranean. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Dec. 1943	D 61535 - D 61549	

Mr. Backgrill Mr. Abbott For release 9.00 P.M. Tuesday, October 26.

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D 61199

THIRTIETH NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE CONVENTION

Message of the Right Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, to the World Trade Dinner at Hotel Pennsylvania on October 26, 1943, delivered through Brooke Claxton, M.P.

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I am pleased to extend to the National Foreign Trade Convention the most cordial greetings from one good neighbour to another. I hope that your deliberations may bear fruit in the promotion of post-war trade. An increased volume of trade means increased production, employment and general welfare for both the United States and Canada. The greater the exchange of goods among nations the greater will be the prosperity of all nations.

No country is more willing to take action to promote trade than Canada. Before the war, Canada derived 35% of her national income from her trade with other countries. Despite her small population, the volume of Canada's external trade was the fifth or sixth largest in the world, and today, owing to the war, is said to be third. Few Americans may realize that the total trade between the United States and Canada was greater than the total trade between any other two countries on the face of the earth. The trade between Canada and the United States was based on a community of interests which made

D 61200

North America two nations but, in trade, one community. It is significant that this trade developed between two nations which had similar standards of living and between which there was no thought of war.

Before the war, Canada and the United States had seen their common interest in increasing their trade and in maintaining the security of this continent. In 1935 and 1938 our countries entered into trade agreements which reduced the barriers between us almost to the full limit permitted under United States legislation. In 1938 our common interest in our common defence was recognized in a statement made by President Roosevelt at Kingston and in my reply at Woodbridge, Ontario. In August, 1940, from a railway car at Ogdensburg we announced an agreement to set up the Permanent Joint Board on Defence. At Hyde Park in 1941 we issued a joint declaration on the mobilization of our economic resources in which "it was agreed as a general principle that in mobilizing the resources of this continent, each country should provide the other with the defence articles which it is best able to produce and, above all, produce quickly, and that production programmes should be coordinated to this end."

No time was lost in creating the instruments to give effect to our agreements. It is not too much to say that

D 61201

Canadian-American cooperation as established at Ogdensburg and since developed is a pattern for cooperation of the United Nations. Between the United States and Canada we have added to the ties of friendship and family stretching across the border, the feeling of comradeship which comes from fighting shoulder to shoulder for the defence of our continent, of our way of life, and of civilization itself.

These wartime developments have brought our nations closer together than ever before. Our trade is greater than it has ever been. The Canadian people do not think it desirable, and do not believe it is necessary, that we should return to the low levels of the 1930's. There cannot be too much trade between nations. All the available evidence of the state of public opinion in Canada points to the desire of our people to see even better trade relations with the United States, and better trade relations with the whole world. Canadians of all parties and all classes are coming to see that in the long run we have to import if we are going to export. Our people realize that two-way trade can raise the level of consumption and the standard of living in our country. We recognize that accepting the exports of other lands is the only way to find secure markets for our own surplus

productive power. Such a policy is in our own national interest. We believe it is no less in the interest of every other nation.

Four conditions are needed to develop world trade, and to bring prosperity and employment.

(1) Nations must not be driven by fear of attack to cut themselves off from trade. We in Canada would like to see extended throughout the world the kind of relationship that exists between Canada and the United States and between the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Security is a form of insurance which depends on the pooling of risks. International security can be attained only by nations working together.

(2) We need commercial stability and the progressive removal of barriers to trade. We need stability to enable business to look ahead and plan with confidence. We need a ceiling on tariffs and trade restrictions. A further step of advantage to all would be an agreement among nations for the progressive annual reduction of tariffs until agreed levels were reached.

(3) We need functional machinery to carry on the necessary arrangements between nations, including the

D 61203

maintaining of international monetary stability, and the provision of credit. To accept representation on an international agency authorized to make decisions which would ensure their security and prosperity is not to be regarded as a surrender of sovereignty. If that is a surrender of sovereignty, the common people of the world are looking for more surrenders of sovereignty.

(4) We need domestic policies to provide maximum employment and production, and to prevent inflation. People are more ready to accept far-sighted policies of cooperation if their own immediate needs are met.

These four conditions can be realized. What a boon it would be to mankind if they were. The government of Canada is prepared to work to these ends with other nations.

If the last twenty-five years have taught us anything, they have taught us the need of working together. The world has become too small for wars to be isolated. Nations must work together or the world will be wasted by war in every generation. Canada's interest in foreign trade, Canada's stake in world peace, Canada's geographical position and racial composition give to its people as great an interest as any other in international cooperation to provide for the security and prosperity of nations. Canadians are no

D 61204

less concerned than Americans about the successful co-operation of the United States and Britain and Russia and China. Without that cooperation we can have neither lasting peace nor increasing prosperity. To a genuine world order, the smaller powers also have much to contribute. It is my conviction that the cooperation of the ~~great~~ greater powers will be easier as the ~~small~~ third powers are considered and consulted. I think of France and Czechoslovakia and Rland and all the others. I think, too, of the other nations of the western hemisphere. The security and prosperity even of the greatest powers will depend upon all nations working together.

During your discussions no doubt there will be talk about bilateral and multilateral trade agreements. There will be little or no discussion about difficulties of production. The world can produce goods in greater abundance than any of us dreamed was possible even four years ago. The people of the world everywhere are ready and eager to consume those goods.

I believe the time has come when we should raise our sights and shoot not for the stars and the sky, but for the conditions which will permit trade in the good things we know we can produce. Our aim should be that every man will

D 61205

have security because he is more prosperous than he has ever been before, and every man will have prosperity because he is more secure than he has ever been. Security and prosperity are indivisible. The security of nations will make trade among nations flourish. As trade flourishes, we shall add to the prosperity of our own and all other peoples.

D 61206

THIRTIETH NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE CONVENTION

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Prime Minister of Canada,
to the World Trade Dinner at Hotel Pennsylvania
on October 26, 1943, delivered through Brooke
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which made North America two nations but, in trade, one community. It is significant that this trade developed between two nations which had similar standards of living and between which there was no thought of war.

Before the war, Canada and the United States had seen their common interest in increasing their trade and in maintaining the security of this continent. In 1935 and 1938 our countries entered into trade agreements which reduced the barriers between us almost to the full limit permitted under United States legislation. In 1938 our common interest in our common defence was recognized in a statement made by President Roosevelt at Kingston and in my reply at Woodbridge, Ontario. In August, 1940, from a railway car at Ogdensburg we announced an agreement to set up the Permanent Joint Board on Defence. At Hyde Park in 1941 we issued a joint declaration on the mobilization of our economic resources in which "it was agreed as a general principle that in mobilizing the resources of this continent, each country should provide the other with the defence articles which it is best able to produce and, above all, produce quickly, and that production programmes should be co-ordinated to this end."

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D 61208

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These wartime developments have brought our nations closer together than ever before. Our trade is greater than it has ever been. The Canadian people do not think it desirable, and do not believe it is necessary, that we should return to the low levels of the 1930's. There cannot be too much trade between nations. All the available evidence of the state of public opinion in Canada points to the desire of our people to see even better trade relations with the United States, and better trade relations with the whole world. Canadians of all parties and all classes are coming to see that in the long run we have to import if we are going to export. Our people realize that two-way trade can raise the level of consumption and the standard of living in our country. We recognize that accepting the exports of other lands is the only way to find secure markets for our own surplus productive power. Such a policy is in our own national interest.

We believe it is no less in the interest of every other nation.

Four conditions are needed to develop world trade, and to bring prosperity and employment.

(1) Nations must not be driven by fear of attack to cut themselves off from trade. We in Canada would like to see extended throughout the world the kind of relationship that exists between Canada and the United States and between the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Security is a form of insurance which depends on the pooling of risks. International security can be attained only by nations working together.

(2) We need commercial stability and the progressive removal of barriers to trade. We need stability to enable business to look ahead and plan with confidence. We need a ceiling on tariffs and trade restrictions. A further step of advantage to all would be an agreement among nations for the progressive annual reduction of tariffs until agreed levels were reached.

(3) We need functional machinery to carry on the necessary arrangements between nations, including the maintaining of international monetary stability, and the provi-

D 61210

sion of credit. To accept representation on an international agency authorized to make decisions which would ensure their security and prosperity is not to be regarded as a surrender of sovereignty. If that is a surrender of sovereignty, the common people of the world are looking for more surrenders of sovereignty.

(4) We need domestic policies to provide maximum employment and production, and to prevent inflation. People are more ready to accept far-sighted policies of cooperation if their own immediate needs are met.

These four conditions can be realized. What a boon it would be to mankind if they were. The government of Canada is prepared to work to these ends with other nations.

If the last twenty-five years have taught us anything, they have taught us the need of working together. The world has become too small for wars to be isolated. Nations must work together or the world will be wasted by war in every generation. Canada's interest in foreign trade, Canada's stake in world peace, Canada's geographical position and racial composition give to its people as great an interest as any other in international cooperation to provide for the security and prosperity of nations. Canadians are no less concerned than Americans about the successful cooperation of the United States and Britain and Russia and China. Without that co-

operation we can have neither lasting peace nor increasing prosperity. To a genuine world order, the smaller powers also have much to contribute. It is my conviction that the cooperation of the greater powers will be easier as the other powers are considered and consulted. I think of France and Czechoslovakia and Poland and all the others. I think, too, of the other nations of the western hemisphere. The security and prosperity even of the greatest powers will depend upon all nations working together.

During your discussions no doubt there will be talk about bilateral and multilateral trade agreements. There will be little or no discussion about difficulties of production. The world can produce goods in greater abundance than any of us dreamed was possible even four years ago. The people of the world everywhere are ready and eager to consume those goods.

I believe the time has come when we should raise our sights and shoot not for the stars and the sky, but for the conditions which will permit trade in the good things we know we can produce. Our aim should be that every man will have security because he is more prosperous than he has ever been before, and every man will have prosperity because he is

more secure than he has ever been. Security and prosperity are indivisible. The security of nations will make trade among nations flourish. As trade flourishes, we shall add to the prosperity of our own and all other peoples.

D 61212

For release 9.00 P.M. Tuesday, October 26.

THIRTIETH NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE CONVENTION

Message of the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada, to the World Trade Dinner at
Hotel Pennsylvania on October 26,1943, delivered through
Brooke Claxton, M. P.

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D 61213

produce and, above all, produce quickly, and that production programmes should be co-ordinated to this end."

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D 61215

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- 30 -

D 61216

For release 9.00 P.M. Tuesday, October 26.

THIRTIETH NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE CONVENTION

Message of the Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, to the World Trade Dinner at Hotel Pennsylvania on October 26, 1943, delivered through Brooke Claxton, M. P.

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I am pleased to extend to the National Foreign Trade Convention the most cordial greetings from one good neighbour to another. I hope that your deliberations may bear fruit in the promotion of post-war trade. An increased volume of trade means increased production, employment and general welfare for both the United States and Canada. The greater the exchange of goods among nations the greater will be the prosperity of all nations.

No country is more willing to take action to promote trade than Canada. Before the war, Canada derived 35% of her national income from her trade with other countries. Despite her small population, the volume of Canada's external trade was the fifth or sixth largest in the world, and to-day, owing to the war, is said to be third. Few Americans may realize that the total trade between the United States and Canada was greater than the total trade between any other two countries on the face of the earth. The trade between Canada and the United States was based on a community of interests which made North America two nations but, in trade, one community. It is significant that this trade developed between two nations which had similar standards of living and between which there was no thought of war.

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These wartime developments have brought our nations closer together than ever before. Our trade is greater than it has ever been. The Canadian people do not think it desirable, and do not believe it is necessary, that we should return to the low levels of the 1930's. There cannot be too much trade between nations. All the available evidence of the state of public opinion in Canada points to the desire of our people to see even better trade relations with the United States, and better trade relations with the whole world. Canadians of all parties and all classes are coming to see that in the long run we have to import if we are going to export. Our people realize that two-way trade can raise the level of consumption and the standard of living in our country. We recognize that accepting the exports of other lands is the only way to find secure markets for our own surplus productive power. Such a policy is in our own national interest. We believe it is no less in the interest of every other nation.

Four conditions are needed to develop world trade, and to bring prosperity and employment.

(1) Nations must not be driven by fear of attack to cut themselves off from trade. We in Canada would like to see extended throughout the world the kind of relationship that exists between Canada and the United States and between the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Security is a form of insurance which depends on the pooling of risks. International security can be attained only by nations working together.

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(2) We need commercial stability and the progressive removal of barriers to trade. We need stability to enable business to look ahead and plan with confidence. We need a ceiling on tariffs and trade restrictions. A further step of advantage to all would be an agreement among nations for the progressive annual reduction of tariffs until agreed ~~minimums~~ levels were reached.

(3) We need functional machinery to carry on the necessary arrangements between nations, including the maintaining of international monetary stability, and the provision of credit. To accept representation on an international agency authorized to make decisions which would ensure their security and prosperity is not to be regarded as a surrender of sovereignty. If that is a surrender of sovereignty, the common people of the world are looking for more surrenders of sovereignty.

(4) We need domestic policies to provide maximum employment and production, and to prevent inflation. People are more ready to accept far-sighted policies of cooperation if their own immediate needs are met.

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If the last twenty-five years have taught us anything, they have taught us the need of working together. The world has become too small for wars to be isolated. Nations must work together or the world will be wasted by war in every generation. Canada's interest in foreign trade, Canada's stake in world peace, Canada's geographical position and racial composition give to its people as great an interest as any other in international co-operation to provide for the security and prosperity of nations. Canadians are no less concerned than Americans about the successful cooperation of the United States and Britain and Russia and China. Without that cooperation we can have neither lasting peace nor increasing prosperity. To a genuine world order, the smaller powers also have much to contribute. It is my conviction that the cooperation of the ~~great~~ greater powers will be easier as the ~~other~~ others powers are considered and consulted. I think of France and Czechoslovakia and Poland and all the others. I think, too, of the other nations of the western hemisphere.

D 61219

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I believe the time has come when we should raise our sights and shoot not for the stars and the sky, but for the conditions which will permit trade in the good things we know we can produce. Our aim should be that every man will have security because he is more prosperous than he has ever been before, and every man will have prosperity because he is more secure than he has ever been. Security and prosperity are indivisible. The security of nations will make trade among nations flourish. As trade flourishes, we shall add to the prosperity of our own and all other peoples.

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For release 9.00 P.M.Tuesday, October 26.

THIRTIETH NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE CONVENTION

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D 61222

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Pour publication le
mardi 26 octobre,
à 9 heures du soir

TRENTIEME CONVENTION NATIONALE DU COMMERCE EXTERIEUR

Message du très honorable W.L. Mackenzie King, premier ministre du Canada, prononcé au banquet du commerce mondial, à l'hôtel Pennsylvania, le 26 octobre 1943, par M. Brooke Claxton, député.

Il me fait plaisir de souhaiter à la Convention nationale du commerce extérieur la cordiale bienvenue qu'autorisent nos relations de bon voisinage. J'espère que vos délibérations seront fructueuses pour le commerce d'après-guerre. L'augmentation des échanges commerciaux entraînera l'accroissement de la production et du travail de même que l'amélioration du bien-être général, tant aux Etats-Unis qu'au Canada. Plus les nations échangeront de produits, plus elles seront prospères.

Nul pays n'est plus disposé que le Canada à favoriser le commerce. Avant la guerre, son commerce avec les autres pays produisait plus de 35 p. 100 de son revenu national. Malgré sa faible population, le commerce extérieur du Canada lui valait la cinquième ou sixième place parmi les pays exportateurs, et aujourd'hui, à cause de la guerre, notre pays a gagné la troisième place, dit-on. Peu d'Américains se rendent compte que le total des échanges commerciaux entre les Etats-Unis et le Canada excédait le total des mêmes échanges entre deux pays au monde, quels qu'ils soient. Les relations commerciales canado-américaines étaient basées sur une communauté d'intérêts qui, du point de vue commerce, a réuni les deux nations nord-américaines en une seule. Il est significatif de constater l'expansion du commerce entre deux pays chez qui règnent les mêmes conditions d'existence et qui vivent en paix l'un avec l'autre.

Avant la guerre, le Canada et les Etats -Unis avaient constaté qu'il était de leur intérêt commun d'augmenter leur commerce et de veiller à la sécurité du continent. En 1935 et en 1938, nos deux pays ont conclu des traités commerciaux qui abaissaient les barrières tarifaires presque jusqu'à l'extrême limite permise par la législation américaine. En 1938, l'intérêt que nos deux pays portaient à la défense commune se manifestait dans une déclaration prononcée par le président Roosevelt, à Kingston, et dans la réponse que je

faisais, à Woodbridge, Ontario. Au mois d'août 1940, parlant d'un wagon de chemin de fer, à Ogdensburg, nous annoncions la conclusion d'une entente prévoyant l'institution de la Commission permanente canado-américaine de défense. A Hyde Park, en 1941, nous prononcions, relativement à la mobilisation des ressources économiques, une déclaration collective énonçant, entre autres choses, "qu'en principe, il était convenu, à l'égard de la mobilisation des ressources du continent, que chaque pays fournirait à l'autre le matériel de défense qu'il était le mieux en mesure de produire, et surtout de produire avec célérité, et que les programmes de production seraient coordonnés dans ce but.

Nous avons entrepris sans tarder de créer les rouages nécessaires à la mise en vigueur de nos accords. Il n'est pas exagéré de dire que la collaboration canado-américaine établie à Ogdensburg et portée à un si haut degré depuis, peut servir d'exemple aux Nations Unies. Aux liens d'amitié et de parenté qui unissent les Etats-Unis et le Canada, nous ajoutons ce sentiment de camaraderie que produit la fraternité d'armes entre deux nations qui combattent pour la défense de notre continent, de notre mode d'existence et de la civilisation même.

La guerre a lié nos deux pays plus intimement que jamais. Nos échanges commerciaux sont plus grands que jamais. Le peuple canadien estime qu'il n'est ni avantageux ni nécessaire de revenir aux bas niveaux des années trente. Il n'y aura jamais trop de commerce entre les nations. L'opinion publique au Canada, selon toutes indications, démontre que notre peuple aspire à de meilleures relations commerciales avec les Etats-Unis, voire même avec le monde entier. Les Canadiens, sans distinction de parti ou de classe, se rendent compte qu'en définitive ils ne pourront exporter leurs denrées que s'ils importent des denrées étrangères. Notre peuple comprend que le commerce extérieur peut augmenter le niveau de la consommation et les conditions de vie normales du pays. Nous reconnaissons que le seul moyen de trouver des débouchés à notre surplus de production est d'accepter les produits d'exportation des autres pays. Notre intérêt national bénéficiera d'un tel programme. Nous sommes convaincus que les autres pays y trouveront aussi leur profit.

Quatre conditions sont nécessaires au développement du commerce international, au maintien de la prospérité et du travail.

(1) Les nations ne doivent pas vivre dans la crainte d'une attaque qui mette fin à leur commerce extérieur. Nous, Canadiens, nous aimerions voir s'étendre au monde entier les relations cordiales qui existent entre le Canada et les Etats-Unis, et entre les membres du Commonwealth des nations britanniques. La sécurité est une forme d'assurance qui se base sur la mise en commun des risques. La sécurité internationale ne peut s'obtenir que par la collaboration entre nations.

(2) La stabilité commerciale et l'élimination graduelle des barrières tarifaires sont indispensables. Le commerce a besoin de stabilité pour envisager l'avenir et faire des projets avec confiance. Il nous faut un plafond aux tarifs et aux restrictions commerciales. Une autre mesure avantageuse à tous les intéressés serait une entente internationale visant à la réduction graduée et annuelle des tarifs jusqu'à un minimum convenu.

(3) Un rouage administratif doit être formé pour mettre à exécution les accords nécessaires entre nations, y compris le maintien de la stabilité monétaire internationale et la disponibilité de crédit. Quand un pays accepte de faire partie d'un organisme international autorisé à prendre des décisions assurant la sécurité et la prospérité générales, ce n'est pas, pour lui, faire abandon de sa souveraineté. Si c'est là un abandon de souveraineté, les gens du peuple espèrent qu'il y aura beaucoup d'autres abandons de souveraineté dans le monde.

(4) Nous avons besoin de programmes internes pour assurer le maximum d'embauchage et de production, et pour combattre l'inflation. Le public est plus disposé à accepter des programmes de collaboration à longue portée quand ses besoins immédiats sont satisfaits.

Ces quatre conditions peuvent être remplies. Quel bonheur pour l'humanité si elles l'étaient. Le gouvernement du Canada est prêt à travailler dans ce but avec les autres nations.

Si les vingt-cinq dernières années nous ont enseigné quelque chose c'est bien le besoin de collaboration internationale. Le monde est devenu

trop petit pour que les guerres puissent être isolées. Les nations doivent collaborer ou bien le monde sera ravagé par la guerre au cours de chaque génération. L'intérêt du Canada dans le commerce international, l'enjeu du Canada dans la paix mondiale, sa position géographique et les différentes origines de sa population lui donnent un aussi grand intérêt que n'importe quel pays dans la collaboration internationale destinée à assurer la sécurité et la prospérité des nations. Les Canadiens ne sont pas moins intéressés que les Américains au succès de la collaboration entre les Etats-Unis, la Grande-Bretagne, la Russie et la Chine. Sans cette collaboration nous n'aurons ni paix durable ni prospérité croissante. Les petits pays peuvent également beaucoup contribuer à l'établissement d'un ordre réellement mondial. Je suis persuadé que les grandes puissances trouveront la collaboration plus facile s'ils tiennent compte des petites et si elles les admettent dans leur conseil. Je pense à la France, la Tchécoslovaquie, la Pologne et toutes les autres. Je pense également aux nations de l'hémisphère occidental. La sécurité et la prospérité des plus grandes puissances elles-mêmes dépendra de la collaboration de toutes les nations.

Au cours de vos discussions vous parlerez sans doute des traités de commerce bilatéraux et multilatéraux. La discussion ne portera guère ou pas du tout sur les difficultés de production. Le monde est capable de produire des marchandises en plus grande quantité que nous n'osions l'espérer il y a quatre ans. Les peuples de la terre sont partout prêts à consommer ces marchandises et impatients de le faire.

Je crois que le moment est arrivé de viser plus haut et de chercher à faire naître une situation qui permettra de faire le commerce des bonnes choses que nous sommes conscients de pouvoir produire. Nous devrions chercher à assurer la sécurité de chacun parce que chacun sera plus prospère que jamais, et chacun sera prospère parce qu'il jouira d'une plus grande sécurité que jamais. La sécurité et la prospérité sont inséparables. La sécurité des nations fera fleurir le commerce international. Et un bon commerce international accroîtra notre prospérité et celle de tous les autres pays.

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Cabinet du premier ministre

Mr Blissett D 61236

Ne pas publier avant 8.45 p.m. Heure
avancée de l'Est, le 14 novembre 1943.

Discours de remerciemts du premier ministre pour l'accueil fait au Cinquieme emprunt de la Victoire, radiodiffusé le 14 novembre 1943

Nous venons de célébrer un autre jour du Souvenir. Durant le temps qui s'est écoule depuis le même jour l'an dernier, la guerre a pris un aspect entièrement nouveau. Les deceptions et les defaites ont fait place à une série de succès. De nouveaux espoirs ont surgi à la suite de plusieurs victoires.

Aujourd'hui nous éprouvous une grande satisfaction devant le succès du cinquième emprunt de guerre du Canada. Ayant à atteindre l'objectif le plus élevé dans toute l'histoire de notre finance de guerre, notre peuple a montré la détermination triumphante qu'il a de hâter la victoire.

Je veux exprimer ce soir l'appréciation du gouvernement pour le splendide accueil fait à la campagne.

Le ministre des Finances, M.Ilsley, et le président du Comité national des Finances de Guerre, M. Towers, vous parleront dans un moment. Ils vous transmettront les chiffres obtenus jusqu' à ce jour, et vous feront l'histoire intéressante de certains des plus remarquables accomplissements. Auparavant, je veux exprimer la reconnaissance du gouvernement à l'endroit de M.Towers, ainsi qu à ceux qui se sont dévoués avec tant de coeur à la tâche patriotique de vendre des bons de la Victoire. Je désire aussi remercier ceux qui ont aidé à la campagne en exposant les buts de l'emprunt; de même que tous ceux qui ont apporté leur concours pour que cette œuvre de guerre soit accomplie.

La tâche du ministre des Finances n'était pas facile. Je suis sûr que vous voudrez vous joindre à moi pour lui adresser les plus sincères félicitations pour le succès de l'emprunt. La confiance qu'il a placée dans le patriotisme des hommes et femmes du Canada s'est trouvé

de plus en plus justifiée puisque les nouvelles demandes de plus grandes sommes d'argent ont été accueillies avec un succès grandissant.

Les récents événements diplomatiques, de même que les avances des fronts de bataille, ont donné lieu à des hypothèses au sujet d'une fin de guerre prochaine. Dans ces sortes de speculations, les désirs sont susceptibles de prendre le pas sur les idées. C'est un lieu commun assurément que de dire que tout peut arriver à tout moment. Mais cela est bien loin de constituer une façon réaliste d'envisager la marche des guerres, et surtout de juger comment les guerres une fois commencés, doivent se terminer. Toutes les leçons de guerre montrent clairement que la montée vers la victoire finale est beaucoup plus lente qu'on peut le croire à certains moments.

Au début de la présente année, plusieurs croyaient que nous verrions, dans le cours de l'année, l'effort suprême qui eût été le prélude de la reddition sans condition des forces allemandes sur le sol allemand. Il est vrai que nous avons fait des progrès dans le sens de la victoire. L'effort suprême cependant reste à venir.

Pour ma part je crois que la seule prétention sur laquelle on doive se baser est celle que nous a récemment révélée M.Churchill; à savoir que la campagne de 1944 en Europe sera la plus dure, et pour les Alliés la plus coûteuse en vies humaines que l'on ait connue.

Personne ne peut dire combien de temps cette campagne durera; elle se terminera peut-être avant le prochain jour du Souvenir, peut-être après. Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que tout effort réel fait par nous en ce moment hâtera la victoire et sauvera bien des vies. Voila pourquoi le succès du cinquiéme emprunt de guerre canadian continuera d'avoir une si grande signification pour nos combattants.

Office of the Prime Minister

D 61238

Press Release Not to be released before 8.45 ~~p.m.~~
E.D.S.T. November 14th, 1943.

Expression of Thanks by the Prime Minister for the response to Fifth Victory Loan, broadcast on November 14, 1943.

We have just observed another day of Remembrance. In the time that has elapsed since Remembrance Day a year ago, the whole outlook of the present war has changed. Where there were defeats and disappointments, there have lately been a series of successes. We have all been gaining new hope because of many victories.

Today, we are experiencing great satisfaction in the success of Canada's Fifth Victory Loan. With the largest objective in the history of our war financing, the people have demonstrated their overwhelming determination to speed the victory.

I wish tonight to express the Government's appreciation of the splendid response to the campaign.

The Minister of Finance, Mr. Ilsley, and the Chairman of the National War Finance Committee, Mr. Towers, will speak to you in a moment. They will tell you of the totals thus far reported, and the interesting story of how some of the outstanding results were attained. Before they speak, I should like to express the thanks of the Government to Mr. Towers, and to those who devoted themselves so wholeheartedly to the patriotic task of selling

Victory Bonds. I wish also to thank those who assisted in the campaign by explaining the purposes of the loan; and to thank all who, by their contributions, have made possible this latest wartime achievement.

The Minister of Finance's task has not been an easy one. I am sure you will wish to join me in extending heartiest congratulations to Mr. Ilsley on the success of the loan. His confidence in the patriotism of the men and women of Canada has been increasingly justified as new calls for larger sums of money have been met with ever greater response.

Recent achievements on the diplomatic front, as well as advances made in different battle fronts, have led to much speculation as to a possible early termination of the war. In making estimates of the kind, the wish is apt to be father to the thought. It is, of course, a commonplace to say that, at any time, anything may happen. That, however, is far from being a realistic way of viewing the progress of wars, and more particularly of calculating how, once begun, wars are brought to a close. The whole experience of war makes clear that progress toward final victory is much slower than at times it appears to be.

At the beginning of this year, many believed that the course of its days would witness the supreme effort which would constitute a prelude to the unconditional surrender of German forces on German soil. Progress towards ultimate victory has indeed been achieved. The supreme effort, however, has still to be made.

For my part, I believe that the only assumption on which it is right to proceed is that which Mr. Churchill recently expressed as the one on which he, himself, was proceeding; namely, that the campaign of 1944 in Europe will be the most severe, and, to the Western Allies, the most costly in lives of any we have yet fought.

How long that campaign may last, no one can tell. It may be before, it may be beyond, another Remembrance Day. All that we know of a certainty is that every effective contribution we now make will speed the victory, and will save many lives. That is why the success of Canada's Fifth Victory Loan will continue to mean so much to our fighting men.

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Floor under farm prices

CANADA AND THE WAR

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THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

BROADCAST

by

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

OTTAWA, DECEMBER 4, 1943

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1943

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CANADA AND THE WAR

THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

Broadcast by

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

Ottawa, December 4, 1943

The world's attention, during the present week, has been centred upon the conferences of the leaders of the four great powers in the Middle East. The conferences remind us anew of the world-wide scale on which the present war is being waged. They reveal more clearly the immensity of the task still to be accomplished before the enemy is defeated. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion.

Our eyes have been focussed upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes. These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close. This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort.

Many have come to believe that we should now be mostly concerned with post-war problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we can now foresee. However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won. The sooner victory is achieved, the easier the solution of post-war problems will be.

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The Need to Continue an Utmost Effort

It may well be—and we fervently pray it will be so—that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily. We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold on longer. Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war.

What we most need to remember today is that we are still in the thick of a fight against ruthless aggression and monstrous crime waged by terrifically powerful foes. From now on, we must, above all else, maintain and, so far as we can, increase the great war effort we have built up over the past four years. We dare not risk any of the gains that have already been won at so great a sacrifice of human life.

Of one thing we may be sure. If the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, American and Canadian forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought. Upon this the Combined Chiefs of Staff are all agreed. Here surely is a call to every one of us to do everything in our power to shorten the war. It is equally a call to every one to avoid anything which might bring comfort to the enemy, thereby prolonging the war and adding to the loss of human lives.

Battles on the Home Front

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say tonight about another battle, the battle against inflation. On the home front, this is now the most critical battle of all. From now until the end of the war the loss of this battle at any stage would greatly injure the whole of our war effort. The winning of this battle will

contribute much toward victory. After the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of post-war problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy. The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fiight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of the warrior.

The workers are not only wage earners: they are all who, directly or indirectly, are labouring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives; workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

Production and Inflation

On the home front there have been two battles to fight: the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the war began, and half of all we produce is now being used to wage war. Our ships, our planes, our tanks, our guns, our munitions, our food, are all powerful weapons in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

By doubling our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using half our production for war, we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy with their larger incomes.

If we were now spending twice as much money as we had to spend in 1939, prices would be up, and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost fifty cents in 1939 would cost a dollar today. We would be experiencing what the economists call "inflation."

The Evil Consequences of Inflation

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and the experience has always been bad.

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The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this: First, prices go up. Then wages and salaries may go up. But wages and salaries never go up quite as fast. The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

During the last war, and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When prices fell, wages also began to fall. Worse still, the fall in prices was soon followed by unemployment. We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible, we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war, and in the post-war period. What I wish to impress upon you to-night is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that, in a time of war, inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation. To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national treasury by such measures as the 100 per cent excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowings through victory loan and war savings campaigns. As all of us know, taxes and borrowings have greatly reduced the amount of money left in our pockets to be spent. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they at least help to keep up the buying power of every dollar each of us has left to spend.

The Establishment of the Price Ceiling

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon. We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices. We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy, unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage

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in increasing his income, whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells, or a higher salary or wages for his work. It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less. The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

The Importance of Price Control

The battle of production began four years ago. For two years, it was an up-hill struggle. But Canada's success in that battle has been the marvel of all our Allies. We also began to prepare for the battle against inflation four years ago; but the battle itself was not actually joined until two years ago, when the price ceiling was adopted. In that battle, too, Canada has done well. Since the outbreak of war, the cost of living in Canada has risen only a little over 18 per cent as compared with 53 per cent in the corresponding period of the last war. From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the increase was 15 per cent. So successfully has the price ceiling been maintained that the cost of living has since risen little more than 3 per cent. In the corresponding two years of the last war, it rose 33 per cent, which is just ten times as much.

The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in co-operation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war. We would be lessening the purchasing power of money in our possession, and penalizing all whose incomes are fixed. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary. We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of soldiers' dependents, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves. Worst of all, by jeopardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run, all stand to lose.

The Necessity of Controlling Costs

When the government undertook to control the cost of living in 1941, it was made perfectly clear that the price ceiling could be maintained only by controlling the cost of producing goods. That meant controlling farm prices and controlling wages. We knew that farm prices could not be controlled without the support of the

farmers, and we knew that wages could not be controlled without the support of Labour. In other words, the Farmers and Labour were asked to go into and hold the front line in the battle against inflation, just as they have held the front line in the battle of production.

But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them. We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes have been taxed heavily, and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage earners. Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes to-day are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly, most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

Defending a Basic Standard of Living

Now that we have reached the stage where half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

That does not mean that gross inequalities or injustices should not be remedied; but it does mean that if we are to hold the line on the home front until victory is actually achieved, all must be prepared to play their full part in the battle against inflation.

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain a basic standard of living. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation.

A Floor Under Farm Prices

When the price ceiling was adopted, the government knew that some farm prices were out of line. Farmers know that much has since been done to bring farm incomes into better balance with the incomes of other groups. I wish to-night to thank the farmers of Canada for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish, as well, to appeal to them to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On its side, the government recognizes that farmers are anxious about their post-war prospects. They do not want to face a disastrous

fall in farm prices within a year or two after the war. If, to help win the war, the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war. As an essential part of its post-war policy, the government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities.

Wage Stabilization

In order to hold the price ceiling, it was necessary to control wages. But while almost all prices were "frozen", the government did not "freeze" all wages. We knew there were inequalities and injustices in the wage structure which needed to be remedied. When wages were stabilized two years ago, a National War Labour Board and Regional War Labour Boards were established. To these Boards was given the power to adjust wages which were found to be low by comparison with wages paid for similar work under comparable conditions. In the past two years, the War Labour Boards have dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting two and a half million workers. Adjustments to remove inequalities were made in 90 per cent of the cases. The result of these adjustments, now in force, has meant a total increase in payment to Canadian wage earners of more than $150,000,000. This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen.

If, however, wages generally were allowed to rise, it would be quite impossible to hold the price ceiling. Wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. That is why if prices were to be controlled it was necessary to control wages.

When the price ceiling was established two years ago, no one could be sure how far it would be possible to hold down the cost of living. To safeguard wage earners against increases in the cost of living, there was established at the same time, a compulsory cost of living bonus. The purpose of the bonus was to offset a part of any increase in the cost of living.

Recommendations of National War Labour Board

Generally speaking, Labour has recognized that wage control is essential to protect the basic standard of living and has loyally supported the policy. Canada's record in industrial relations during the war has been highly creditable. Within the present year, however, there have been signs of strain and of a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony. As a first step the National War Labour Board was reconstituted to give it a more judicial character. The

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Board has since conducted an enquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

Some weeks ago the Board produced its findings in the form of a Majority and a Minority Report. These reports have been carefully studied by the government in considering modifications of its labour policy.

I am now in a position to say that the government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labour policy, the main proposals on which the Majority and Minority Reports agree.

Basic Living Standards—Basic Wage Rates

In the battle against inflation, as I have said, the price ceiling is the front line. That line the government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would, as I have already shown, make it impossible to hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will therefore be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.

The War Labour Boards, in dealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The other change has to do with the cost of living bonus. The payment of cost of living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction. The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost of living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost of living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level, that will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of Labour than was provided by the cost of living bonus. If the cost of living rises more than 3%, and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole programme of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

The revised Wage Control Order will be made public at the beginning of next week.

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A Labour Relations Code

I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the National War Labour Board which the government is prepared to carry out. The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labour relations to apply to war industries. A code of labour relations is already in the final stages of preparation. The labour code will define and prohibit unfair labour practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The Code will be enforced by a National Wartime Labour Relations Board, distinct and separate from the National War Labour Board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

In peace time, the authority to make laws to enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs to the provinces. As a result of recent conferences with the provincial authorities, agreement has been reached in principle on a basis of co-operation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

The Code of Labour Relations will be enacted in the near future. When the Code is published, the Majority and Minority Reports of the National War Labour Board will also be made public.

In concluding, I wish to thank Labour, as I have thanked the Farmers, for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish also to appeal to Labour, as I have appealed to the Farmers, to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

Post War Objectives

On another occasion, I hope to speak about the plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as *a national minimum of social security and human welfare;* not for Labour only, but for all the people. That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the bread-winner, from ill health, and from old age. Those are our post-war objectives.

I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

Not to be released until after delivery 8 p.m. E.D.T. December 4, 1943

D 61251

THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

Broadcast by the Prime Minister
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
Ottawa, December 4, 1943

The world's attention, during the present week, has been centred upon the conferences of the leaders of the four great powers in the Middle East. The conferences remind us anew of the world-wide scale on which the present war is being waged. They reveal more clearly the immensity of the task still to be accomplished before the enemy is defeated. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion.

Our eyes have been focussed upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes. These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close. This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort.

Many have come to believe that we should now be mostly concerned with post-war problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

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I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we can now foresee. However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won. The sooner victory is achieved, the easier the solution of post-war problems will be.

The need to continue an utmost effort

It may well be - and we fervently pray it will be so - that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily. We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold on longer.

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Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war.

What we most need to remember today is that we are still in the thick of a fight against ruthless aggression and monstrous crime waged by terrifically powerful foes. From now on, we must, above all else, maintain and, so far as we can, increase the great war effort we have built up over the past four years. We dare not risk any of the gains that have already been won at so great a sacrifice of human life.

Of one thing we may be sure. If the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, American and Canadian forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought. Upon this the Combined Chiefs of Staff are all agreed. Here surely is a call to every one of us to do everything in our

<u>power to shorten the war</u>.

power to shorten the war. It is equally a call to every one to avoid anything which might bring comfort to the enemy, thereby prolonging the war and adding to the loss of human lives.

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Battles on the home front

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say tonight about another battle, the battle against inflation. On the home front, this is now the most critical battle of all. From now until the end of the war the loss of this battle at any stage would greatly injure the whole of our war effort. The winning of this battle will contribute much toward victory. After the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of post-war problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy. The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of

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the warrior.

The workers are not only wage earners; they are all who, directly or indirectly, are labouring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives, workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

Production and Inflation

On the home front there have been two battles to fight: the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the beginning of the war, and half of all we produce is now being used to wage war. Our ships, our planes, our tanks, our guns, our munitions, our food: are all powerful weapons in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

By doubling our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using half our production for war, we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy with their larger incomes.

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with their larger incomes.

If we were now spending twice as much money as we had to spend in 1939, prices would be up and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost fifty cents in 1939 would cost a dollar today. We would be experiencing what the economists call "inflation".

The Evil Consequences of Inflation

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and the experience has always been bad. The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this:- First, prices go up. Then wages and salaries may go up, but they never go up quite as fast. The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

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During the last war, and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When prices fell, wages also began to fall. Worse still, this fall in prices was soon followed by unemployment. We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible, we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war and in the post-war period. What I wish to impress upon you tonight is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that, in a time of war, inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation. To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national treasury by such measures as the 100% excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowings through victory loan and war savings campaigns. As all of us know, taxes and borrowings have greatly reduced the amount of money left in our pockets to be spent. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they at least help to keep up the buying power of every dollar each of us has left to spend.

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The Establishment of the Price Ceiling

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon. We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices, [illegible] We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage in increasing his income, whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells, or a higher salary or wages for his work. It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less. The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

The Importance of Price Control D 61259

The battle of production began four years ago. For two years it was an uphill struggle. But Canada's success in that battle has been the marvel of all our Allies. We also began to prepare for the battle against inflation four years ago; but the battle itself was not actually joined until two years ago when the price ceiling was adopted. In that battle, too, Canada has done well. Since the outbreak of war, the cost of living in Canada has risen only a little over 18% as compared with 53% in the corresponding period of the last war. From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the increase was 15%. So successfully has the price ceiling been maintained that the cost of living has since risen little more than 3%. In the corresponding two years of the last war, it rose 33%, which is just 10 times as much.

The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in cooperation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war and of food-stuffs. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary.

We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of soldiers' dependents, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves. Worst of all, by jeopardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run all stand to lose.

The Necessity of Controlling Costs

When the government undertook to control the cost of living in 1941, it was made perfectly clear that the price ceiling could be maintained only by controlling the cost of producing goods. That meant controlling farm prices and controlling wages. We knew that farm prices could not be controlled without the support of the farmers, and we knew that wages could not be controlled without the support of Labour. In other words, the Farmers and Labour were asked to go into and hold the front line in the battle against inflation, just as they have held the front line in the battle of production.

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But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them. We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes have been taxed heavily and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage earners. Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes today are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly, most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

Defending a Basic Standard of Living.

Now that we have reached the stage where half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

That does not mean that gross inequalities or injustices should not be remedied; but it does mean that if we are to hold the line on the home front until victory is actually achieved, all must be prepared to play their full part in the battle against inflation.

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain a basic standard of living. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation.

A Floor Under Farm Prices

When the price ceiling was adopted, the government knew that some farm prices were out of line. Farmers know that much has since been done to bring farm incomes into better balance with the incomes of other groups. I wish tonight to thank the farmers of Canada for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish, as well, to appeal to them to continue to help hold the front line against inflation by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On its side, the government recognizes that farmers are anxious about their post-war prospects. They do not want to face a disastrous fall in farm prices within a year or two after the war. If, to help win the war, the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war. As an essential part of its post-war policy, the government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities.

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Wage Stabilization

In order to hold the price ceiling, it was necessary to control wages. But while almost all prices were frozen, the government did not "freeze" all wages. We know there were inequalities and injustices in the wage structure which needed to be remodied. When wages were stabilized two years ago, a National War Labour Board and regional War Labour Boards were established. To these Boards was given the power to adjust wages which were found to be low by comparison with wages paid for similar work under comparable conditions. In the past two years, the War Labour Boards have dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting two and a half million workers. Adjustments to remove inequalities were made in 90% of the cases. The result of these adjustments, now in force, has meant a total increase in payment to Canadian wage earners of more than $150,000,000. This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen.

If, however, wages generally were allowed to rise, it would be quite impossible to hold the price ceiling. Wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. That is why, if prices were to be controlled, it was necessary to control wages.

When the price ceiling was established two years ago, none could be sure how far it would be possible to hold down the cost of living. To safeguard wage earners against increases in the cost of living, there was established at the same time, a compulsory cost of living bonus. The purpose of the bonus was to offset a part of any increase in the cost of living.

Generally speaking, Labour has recognized that wage control is essential to protect the basic standard of living and has loyally supported the policy.

Canada's record in industrial relations during the war has been highly creditable. Within the present year, however, there have been signs of strain and of a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony. As a first step the National War Labour Board was reconstituted to give it a more judicial character. The Board has since conducted an enquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

Some weeks ago the Board produced its findings in the form of a Majority and a Minority Report. These reports have been carefully studied by the government in considering modifications of its labour policy.

I am now in a position to say that the government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labour policy, the main proposals on which the Majority and Minority Reports agree.

Modifications of Wage Control.

In the battle against inflation, as I have said, the price ceiling is the front line. That line the government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would, as I have already shown, make it impossible to hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will therefore be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.

The War Labour Boards, in dealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The other change has to do with the cost of living bonus. The payment of cost of living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction. The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost of living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost of living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level, it will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of Labour than was provided by the cost of living bonus. If the cost of living rises more than 3%, and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole programme of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

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The revised wage Control Order will be made public at the beginning of next week.

A Code of Labour Relations

I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the National War Labour Board which the government is prepared to carry out. The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labour relations to apply to war industries. A code of labour relations is already in the final stages of preparation. The labour code will define and prohibit unfair labour practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The Code will be enforced by a National Wartime Labour Relations Board, distinct and separate from the National War labour Board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

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In peace time, the authority to make laws to enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs to the provinces. As a result of recent conferences with the provincial authorities, agreement has been reached in principle on a basis of cooperation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

The Code of Labour Relations will be enacted in the near future. When the Code is published, the Majority and Minority Reports of the National War Labour Board will also be made public.

In concluding, I wish to thank Labour, as I have thanked the Farmers, for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish also to appeal to Labour, as I have appealed to the Farmers, to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On another occasion I hope to speak about the plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as a national minimum of social security and human welfare; not for Labour only, but for all the people. That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against

privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill health, and from old age. Those are our post-war objectives.

I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

BROADCAST

by

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

OTTAWA, DECEMBER 4, 1943

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1943

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CANADA AND THE WAR

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Broadcast by

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Prime Minister of Canada

Ottawa, December 4, 1943

The world's attention, during the present week, has been centred upon the conferences of the leaders of the four great powers in the Middle East. The conferences remind us anew of the world-wide scale on which the present war is being waged. They reveal more clearly the immensity of the task still to be accomplished before the enemy is defeated. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion.

Our eyes have been focussed upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes. These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close. This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort.

Many have come to believe that we should now be mostly concerned with post-war problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we can now foresee. However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won. The sooner victory is achieved, the easier the solution of post-war problems will be.

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The Need to Continue an Utmost Effort

It may well be—and we fervently pray it will be so—that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily. We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold on longer. Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war.

What we most need to remember today is that we are still in the thick of a fight against ruthless aggression and monstrous crime waged by terrifically powerful foes. From now on, we must, above all else, maintain and, so far as we can, increase the great war effort we have built up over the past four years. We dare not risk any of the gains that have already been won at so great a sacrifice of human life.

Of one thing we may be sure. If the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, American and Canadian forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought. Upon this the Combined Chiefs of Staff are all agreed. Here surely is a call to every one of us to do everything in our power to shorten the war. It is equally a call to every one to avoid anything which might bring comfort to the enemy, thereby prolonging the war and adding to the loss of human lives.

Battles on the Home Front

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say tonight about another battle, the battle against inflation. On the home front, this is now the most critical battle of all. From now until the end of the war the loss of this battle at any stage would greatly injure the whole of our war effort. The winning of this battle will

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contribute much toward victory. After the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of post-war problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy. The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of the warrior.

The workers are not only wage-earners: they are all who, directly or indirectly, are labouring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives; workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

Production and Inflation

On the home front there have been two battles to fight: the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the war began, and half of all we produce is now being used to wage war. Our ships, our planes, our tanks, our guns, our munitions, our food, are all powerful weapons in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

By doubling our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using half our production for war, we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy with their larger incomes.

If we were now spending twice as much money as we had to spend in 1939, prices would be up, and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost fifty cents in 1939 would cost a dollar today. We would be experiencing what the economists call "inflation."

The Evil Consequences of Inflation

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and the experience has always been bad.

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The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this: First, prices go up. Then wages and salaries may go up. But wages and salaries never go up quite as fast. The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

During the last war, and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When prices fell, wages also began to fall. Worse still, the fall in prices was soon followed by unemployment. We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible, we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war, and in the post-war period. What I wish to impress upon you to-night is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that, in a time of war, inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation. To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national treasury by such measures as the 100 per cent excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowings through victory loan and war savings campaigns. As all of us know, taxes and borrowings have greatly reduced the amount of money left in our pockets to be spent. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they at least help to keep up the buying power of every dollar each of us has left to spend.

The Establishment of the Price Ceiling

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon. We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices. We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy, unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage

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in increasing his income, whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells, or a higher salary or wages for his work. It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less. The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

The Importance of Price Control

The battle of production began four years ago. For two years, it was an up-hill struggle. But Canada's success in that battle has been the marvel of all our Allies. We also began to prepare for the battle against inflation four years ago; but the battle itself was not actually joined until two years ago, when the price ceiling was adopted. In that battle, too, Canada has done well. Since the outbreak of war, the cost of living in Canada has risen only a little over 18 per cent as compared with 53 per cent in the corresponding period of the last war. From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the increase was 15 per cent. So successfully has the price ceiling been maintained that the cost of living has since risen little more than 3 per cent. In the corresponding two years of the last war, it rose 33 per cent, which is just ten times as much.

The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in co-operation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war. We would be lessening the purchasing power of money in our possession, and penalizing all whose incomes are fixed. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary. We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of soldiers' dependents, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves. Worst of all, by jeopardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run, all stand to lose.

The Necessity of Controlling Costs

When the government undertook to control the cost of living in 1941, it was made perfectly clear that the price ceiling could be maintained only by controlling the cost of producing goods. That meant controlling farm prices and controlling wages. We knew that farm prices could not be controlled without the support of the

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farmers, and we knew that wages could not be controlled without the support of Labour. In other words, the Farmers and Labour were asked to go into and hold the front line in the battle against inflation, just as they have held the front line in the battle of production.

But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them. We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes have been taxed heavily, and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage-earners. Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes to-day are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly, most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

Defending a Basic Standard of Living

Now that we have reached the stage where half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

That does not mean that gross inequalities or injustices should not be remedied; but it does mean that if we are to hold the line on the home front until victory is actually achieved, all must be prepared to play their full part in the battle against inflation.

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain a basic standard of living. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation.

A Floor Under Farm Prices

When the price ceiling was adopted, the government knew that some farm prices were out of line. Farmers know that much has since been done to bring farm incomes into better balance with the incomes of other groups. I wish to-night to thank the farmers of Canada for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish, as well, to appeal to them to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On its side, the government recognizes that farmers are anxious about their post-war prospects. They do not want to face a disastrous

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fall in farm prices within a year or two after the war. If, to help win the war, the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war. As an essential part of its post-war policy, the government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities.

Wage Stabilization

In order to hold the price ceiling, it was necessary to control wages. But while almost all prices were "frozen", the government did not "freeze" all wages. We knew there were inequalities and injustices in the wage structure which needed to be remedied. When wages were stabilized two years ago, a National War Labour Board and Regional War Labour Boards were established. To these Boards was given the power to adjust wages which were found to be low by comparison with wages paid for similar work under comparable conditions. In the past two years, the War Labour Boards have dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting two and a half million workers. Adjustments to remove inequalities were made in 90 per cent of the cases. The result of these adjustments, now in force, has meant a total increase in payment to Canadian wage earners of more than $150,000,000. This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen.

If, however, wages generally were allowed to rise, it would be quite impossible to hold the price ceiling. Wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. That is why if prices were to be controlled it was necessary to control wages.

When the price ceiling was established two years ago, no one could be sure how far it would be possible to hold down the cost of living. To safeguard wage earners against increases in the cost of living, there was established at the same time, a compulsory cost of living bonus. The purpose of the bonus was to offset a part of any increase in the cost of living.

Recommendations of National War Labour Board

Generally speaking, Labour has recognized that wage control is essential to protect the basic standard of living and has loyally supported the policy. Canada's record in industrial relations during the war has been highly creditable. Within the present year, however, there have been signs of strain and of a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony. As a first step the National War Labour Board was reconstituted to give it a more judicial character. The

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Board has since conducted an enquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

Some weeks ago the Board produced its findings in the form of a Majority and a Minority Report. These reports have been carefully studied by the government in considering modifications of its labour policy.

I am now in a position to say that the government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labour policy, the main proposals on which the Majority and Minority Reports agree.

Basic Living Standards—Basic Wage Rates

In the battle against inflation, as I have said, the price ceiling is the front line. That line the government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would, as I have already shown, make it impossible to hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will therefore be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.

The War Labour Boards, in dealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The other change has to do with the cost of living bonus. The payment of cost of living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction. The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost of living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost of living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level, that will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of Labour than was provided by the cost of living bonus. If the cost of living rises more than 3%, and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole programme of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

The revised Wage Control Order will be made public at the beginning of next week.

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A Labour Relations Code

I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the National War Labour Board which the government is prepared to carry out. The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labour relations to apply to war industries. A code of labour relations is already in the final stages of preparation. The labour code will define and prohibit unfair labour practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The Code will be enforced by a National Wartime Labour Relations Board, distinct and separate from the National War Labour Board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

In peace time, the authority to make laws to enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs to the provinces. As a result of recent conferences with the provincial authorities, agreement has been reached in principle on a basis of co-operation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

The Code of Labour Relations will be enacted in the near future. When the Code is published, the Majority and Minority Reports of the National War Labour Board will also be made public.

In concluding, I wish to thank Labour, as I have thanked the Farmers, for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish also to appeal to Labour, as I have appealed to the Farmers, to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

Post War Objectives

On another occasion, I hope to speak about the plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as *a national minimum of social security and human welfare;* not for Labour only, but for all the people. That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the bread-winner, from ill health, and from old age. Those are our post-war objectives.

I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

CANADA AND THE WAR

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THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

BROADCAST

by

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

OTTAWA, DECEMBER 4, 1943

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1943

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CANADA AND THE WAR

THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

Broadcast by

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
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Ottawa, December 4, 1943

The world's attention, during the present week, has been centred upon the conferences of the leaders of the four great powers in the Middle East. The conferences remind us anew of the world-wide scale on which the present war is being waged. They reveal more clearly the immensity of the task still to be accomplished before the enemy is defeated. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion.

Our eyes have been focussed upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes. These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close. This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort.

Many have come to believe that we should now be mostly concerned with post-war problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we can now foresee. However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won. The sooner victory is achieved, the easier the solution of post-war problems will be.

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The Need to Continue an Utmost Effort

It may well be—and we fervently pray it will be so—that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily. We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold on longer. Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war.

What we most need to remember today is that we are still in the thick of a fight against ruthless aggression and monstrous crime waged by terrifically powerful foes. From now on, we must, above all else, maintain and, so far as we can, increase the great war effort we have built up over the past four years. We dare not risk any of the gains that have already been won at so great a sacrifice of human life.

Of one thing we may be sure. If the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, American and Canadian forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought. Upon this the Combined Chiefs of Staff are all agreed. Here surely is a call to every one of us to do everything in our power to shorten the war. It is equally a call to every one to avoid anything which might bring comfort to the enemy, thereby prolonging the war and adding to the loss of human lives.

Battles on the Home Front

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say tonight about another battle, the battle against inflation. On the home front, this is now the most critical battle of all. From now until the end of the war the loss of this battle at any stage would greatly injure the whole of our war effort. The winning of this battle will

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contribute much toward victory. After the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of post-war problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy. The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of the warrior.

The workers are not only wage-earners: they are all who, directly or indirectly, are labouring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives; workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

Production and Inflation

On the home front there have been two battles to fight: the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the war began, and half of all we produce is now being used to wage war. Our ships, our planes, our tanks, our guns, our munitions, our food, are all powerful weapons in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

By doubling our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using half our production for war, we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy with their larger incomes.

If we were now spending twice as much money as we had to spend in 1939, prices would be up, and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost fifty cents in 1939 would cost a dollar today. We would be experiencing what the economists call "inflation."

The Evil Consequences of Inflation

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and the experience has always been bad.

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The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this: First, prices go up. Then wages and salaries may go up. But wages and salaries never go up quite as fast. The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

During the last war, and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When prices fell, wages also began to fall. Worse still, the fall in prices was soon followed by unemployment. We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible, we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war, and in the post-war period. What I wish to impress upon you to-night is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that, in a time of war, inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation. To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national treasury by such measures as the 100 per cent excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowings through victory loan and war savings campaigns. As all of us know, taxes and borrowings have greatly reduced the amount of money left in our pockets to be spent. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they at least help to keep up the buying power of every dollar each of us has left to spend.

The Establishment of the Price Ceiling

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon. We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices. We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy, unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage

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in increasing his income, whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells, or a higher salary or wages for his work. It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less. The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

The Importance of Price Control

The battle of production began four years ago. For two years, it was an up-hill struggle. But Canada's success in that battle has been the marvel of all our Allies. We also began to prepare for the battle against inflation four years ago; but the battle itself was not actually joined until two years ago, when the price ceiling was adopted. In that battle, too, Canada has done well. Since the outbreak of war, the cost of living in Canada has risen only a little over 18 per cent as compared with 53 per cent in the corresponding period of the last war. From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the increase was 15 per cent. So successfully has the price ceiling been maintained that the cost of living has since risen little more than 3 per cent. In the corresponding two years of the last war, it rose 33 per cent, which is just ten times as much.

The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in co-operation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war. We would be lessening the purchasing power of money in our possession, and penalizing all whose incomes are fixed. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary. We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of soldiers' dependents, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves. Worst of all, by jeopardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run, all stand to lose.

The Necessity of Controlling Costs

When the government undertook to control the cost of living in 1941, it was made perfectly clear that the price ceiling could be maintained only by controlling the cost of producing goods. That meant controlling farm prices and controlling wages. We knew that farm prices could not be controlled without the support of the

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farmers, and we knew that wages could not be controlled without the support of Labour. In other words, the Farmers and Labour were asked to go into and hold the front line in the battle against inflation, just as they have held the front line in the battle of production.

But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them. We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes have been taxed heavily, and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage-earners. Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes to-day are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly, most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

Defending a Basic Standard of Living

Now that we have reached the stage where half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

That does not mean that gross inequalities or injustices should not be remedied; but it does mean that if we are to hold the line on the home front until victory is actually achieved, all must be prepared to play their full part in the battle against inflation.

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain a basic standard of living. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation.

A Floor Under Farm Prices

When the price ceiling was adopted, the government knew that some farm prices were out of line. Farmers know that much has since been done to bring farm incomes into better balance with the incomes of other groups. I wish to-night to thank the farmers of Canada for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish, as well, to appeal to them to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On its side, the government recognizes that farmers are anxious about their post-war prospects. They do not want to face a disastrous

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fall in farm prices within a year or two after the war. If, to help win the war, the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war. As an essential part of its post-war policy, the government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities.

Wage Stabilization

In order to hold the price ceiling, it was necessary to control wages. But while almost all prices were "frozen", the government did not "freeze" all wages. We knew there were inequalities and injustices in the wage structure which needed to be remedied. When wages were stabilized two years ago, a National War Labour Board and Regional War Labour Boards were established. To these Boards was given the power to adjust wages which were found to be low by comparison with wages paid for similar work under comparable conditions. In the past two years, the War Labour Boards have dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting two and a half million workers. Adjustments to remove inequalities were made in 90 per cent of the cases. The result of these adjustments, now in force, has meant a total increase in payment to Canadian wage earners of more than $150,000,000. This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen.

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When the price ceiling was established two years ago, no one could be sure how far it would be possible to hold down the cost of living. To safeguard wage earners against increases in the cost of living, there was established at the same time, a compulsory cost of living bonus. The purpose of the bonus was to offset a part of any increase in the cost of living.

Recommendations of National War Labour Board

Generally speaking, Labour has recognized that wage control is essential to protect the basic standard of living and has loyally supported the policy. Canada's record in industrial relations during the war has been highly creditable. Within the present year, however, there have been signs of strain and of a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony. As a first step the National War Labour Board was reconstituted to give it a more judicial character. The

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Board has since conducted an enquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

Some weeks ago the Board produced its findings in the form of a Majority and a Minority Report. These reports have been carefully studied by the government in considering modifications of its labour policy.

I am now in a position to say that the government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labour policy, the main proposals on which the Majority and Minority Reports agree.

Basic Living Standards—Basic Wage Rates

In the battle against inflation, as I have said, the price ceiling is the front line. That line the government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would, as I have already shown, make it impossible to hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will therefore be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.

The War Labour Boards, in dealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The other change has to do with the cost of living bonus. The payment of cost of living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction. The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost of living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost of living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level, that will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of Labour than was provided by the cost of living bonus. If the cost of living rises more than 3%, and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole programme of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

The revised Wage Control Order will be made public at the beginning of next week.

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A Labour Relations Code

I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the National War Labour Board which the government is prepared to carry out. The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labour relations to apply to war industries. A code of labour relations is already in the final stages of preparation. The labour code will define and prohibit unfair labour practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The Code will be enforced by a National Wartime Labour Relations Board, distinct and separate from the National War Labour Board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

In peace time, the authority to make laws to enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs to the provinces. As a result of recent conferences with the provincial authorities, agreement has been reached in principle on a basis of co-operation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

The Code of Labour Relations will be enacted in the near future. When the Code is published, the Majority and Minority Reports of the National War Labour Board will also be made public.

In concluding, I wish to thank Labour, as I have thanked the Farmers, for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish also to appeal to Labour, as I have appealed to the Farmers, to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

Post War Objectives

On another occasion, I hope to speak about the plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as *a national minimum of social security and human welfare;* not for Labour only, but for all the people. That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill health, and from old age. Those are our post-war objectives.

I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

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LE CANADA ET LA GUERRE

LA LUTTE CONTRE L'INFLATION

DISCOURS

du

Très Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Premier ministre du Canada

RADIODIFFUSÉ
D'OTTAWA LE 4 DÉCEMBRE 1943

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
IMPRIMEUR DE SA TRÈS EXCELLENTE MAJESTÉ LE ROI
1943

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LE CANADA ET LA GUERRE

LA LUTTE CONTRE L'INFLATION

Discours du

Très Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Premier ministre du Canada

Radiodiffusé d'Ottawa, le 4 décembre 1943

Au cours de la semaine, l'attention du monde s'est concentrée sur la conférence que les chefs des quatre grandes puissances ont tenue dans le moyen Orient. Ces conférences nous rappellent l'envergure mondiale du présent conflit. Elles révèlent plus clairement l'immensité de la tâche à accomplir avant la défaite de l'ennemi. Il nous fallait ce coup d'œil plus large pour recouvrer le sens des proportions.

Nos yeux étaient tournés vers les régions où les Alliés ont remporté d'éclatants succès. Ces succès ont fait croire à nombre de gens que la guerre tire peut-être à sa fin. Cet état d'esprit s'est trop généralisé. Il est si répandu qu'il menace de diminuer l'élan de tout l'effort de guerre. Nombre de gens en sont venus à s'imaginer que nous devrions nous occuper surtout des problèmes d'après-guerre. Ils oublient que le principal problème, c'est encore celui de gagner la guerre. Il faut vaincre l'ennemi et remporter la victoire, avant qu'on puisse détourner l'énergie des individus et des nations de l'œuvre de destruction massive pour l'affecter à l'œuvre de restauration.

Je serais le premier à souligner la nécessité de prévoir l'existence et de préparer la solution des problèmes qui surgiront probablement à la fin des hostilités. A l'instar d'autres nations unies, le Canada a consacré une étude sérieuse aux problèmes de ce genre que nous pouvons maintenant prévoir. Malgré tous les plans que nous puissions élaborer, ces problèmes ne sauraient être résolus avant que nous ayons remporté la victoire. Plus vite nous atteindrons ce but, plus la solution des problèmes d'après-guerre deviendra facile.

Le besoin de continuer l'effort maximum

Il se peut fort bien—et nous le souhaitons ardemment—que nous soyons témoins en 1944 de la capitulation de l'Allemagne nazie. Il est possible qu'une fois l'Allemagne vaincue le Japon se rende compte que son destin est

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pareillement décidé. Il est peu probable que la clarification qui a été faite de l'expression "capitulation sans condition" puisse porter le Japon ou l'Allemagne à céder plus facilement. Nous pouvons être sûrs que les dirigeants nazis en Allemagne et les chefs militaristes au Japon, se rendant compte de ce que sera certainement leur propre sort, chercheront à contraindre leurs peuples à faire une lutte de plus en plus violente.

Le seul espoir de l'ennemi, c'est de tenir jusqu'à ce que les Nations Unies donnent des signes de fléchissement sous le poids de la guerre. Tout indice de faiblesse ou d'indifférence chez l'un quelconque des pays libres encouragera l'ennemi à tenir plus longtemps. C'est l'endurance qui compte le plus dans une longue lutte. Le présent conflit est devenu une épreuve d'endurance et c'est la dernière reprise qui assurera la victoire ou la défaite.

La guerre ne prendra fin que lorsque l'une ou l'autre des forces en présence aura la certitude absolue de sa défaite. Tout ce qui pourra laisser croire à l'ennemi que la défaite n'est pas certaine prolongera le conflit.

Ce que nous devons le plus nous rappeler à l'heure actuelle c'est que nous sommes encore au plus fort de la lutte, dans toutes les régions du globe, contre l'aggression sans merci et le crime monstrueux auxquels se livrent des ennemis terriblement puissants. Nous devrons surtout maintenir et même, dans la mesure où nous le pourrons, accroître notre immense effort de guerre des quatre dernières années. Nous ne saurions risquer de perdre aucun des gains que nous avons déjà réalisés au prix de tant de vies humaines.

Il est une chose dont nous pouvons être sûrs. Si la guerre ne se termine pas d'ici la fin de l'hiver en Europe, les forces canadiennes, britanniques et américaines seront, le printemps et l'été prochain, engagées dans une bataille qui sera plus violente et plus coûteuse en vies humaines que toutes celles qu'elles ont livrées jusqu'ici. Les chefs des états-majors combinés sont tous d'accord sur ce point. Cela devrait assurément engager chacun de nous à faire tout son possible pour abréger la guerre. Nous devrions aussi y voir un motif d'éviter tout ce qui pourrait être de nature à encourager l'ennemi et, partant, à prolonger le conflit et à causer un plus grand nombre de pertes de vie.

Le front domestique

Et j'en arrive aux remarques que je tiens à formuler ce soir au sujet d'une autre lutte, la lutte contre l'inflation. Sur le front civil, cette bataille est maintenant la plus critique de toutes. D'ici la fin du conflit, la perte de cette bataille à un moment quelconque nuirait énormément à notre effort de guerre général. Si nous la gagnons, nous contribuerons beaucoup à la victoire. Après le conflit, les succès que nous aurons remportés dans cette bataille contre l'inflation aideront plus que tout autre facteur à la solution des problèmes de l'après-guerre.

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L'effort national essentiel qu'exige la guerre moderne est de deux espèces. D'une part l'armée, la marine et l'aviation doivent combattre effectivement l'ennemi. D'autre part, toute la nation a le devoir d'appuyer les forces armées jusqu'à l'extrême limite de sa capacité. Un côté est symbolisé par le combattant; l'autre, par l'ouvrier. La clef de la victoire se trouve dans l'association stable et durable du combattant et de l'ouvrier. Le combattant ne saurait se battre sans les armes que fabrique l'ouvrier. La liberté de l'ouvrier dépend des succès que remporte le combattant sur le champ de bataille.

Les ouvriers ne sont pas seulement les salariés; ce sont tous ceux qui, directement ou indirectement, travaillent pour que le Canada puisse déployer un effort de guerre vigoureux. Ils comprennent les mères de famille, les ouvriers des mines et des forêts, ceux qui travaillent dans les usines, dans les ateliers et les bureaux; les cultivateurs et les pêcheurs; les hommes et les femmes d'affaires et les membres des professions libérales.

Production et inflation

Sur le front intérieur, nous avons eu deux batailles à livrer: la bataille de la production et la lutte contre l'inflation. Dans la bataille de la production, le Canada a remporté des succès magnifiques. Depuis le début des hostilités, il a doublé sa production, dont la moitié sert maintenant à des fins de guerre. Ses navires, ses avions, ses chars d'assaut, ses canons, ses munitions, ses vivres sont autant d'armes puissantes qui aideront à assurer la défaite de l'ennemi.

Cependant, si étrange que cela paraisse, les succès que nous avons connus dans la bataille de la production ont augmenté les difficultés que nous rencontrons dans la lutte contre l'inflation.

En doublant notre production, nous avons doublé les revenus de la population canadienne. Toutefois, comme nous employons plus de la moitié de notre production à des œuvres de guerre, nous n'avons pas pu accroître les biens de consommation que la population pourrait se procurer avec ses revenus plus considérables.

Si maintenant nous dépensions deux fois plus qu'en 1939, les prix monteraient, et la valeur de chaque dollar tomberait. Le produit qui coûtait 50 cents en 1939, coûterait plus d'un dollar aujourd'hui. Nous passerions par ce que les économistes appellent l'"inflation".

Conséquences néfastes de l'inflation

L'inflation n'est pas chose nouvelle dans le monde. Plusieurs pays en ont fait l'essai, et toujours à leur détriment. Les mauvais effets de l'inflation se font sentir le plus souvent et le plus fortement aux époques de guerres. Voici à peu près comment le phénomène se produit: D'abord, les prix montent. Les salaires peuvent ensuite monter, mais ils ne montent jamais aussi vite que les prix. L'argent additionnel payé en

salaires tend à provoquer de nouvelles hausses dans les prix. Quelques personnes rusées et peu scrupuleuses peuvent, par spéculation et mercantilisme, tirer avantage de l'inflation, mais tôt ou tard c'est la grande majorité qui en souffre.

Au cours de la dernière guerre et des années qui la suivirent immédiatement, les salaires se sont élevés rapidement, mais ce n'est que dans quelques cas que cette hausse a plus que compensé l'augmentation enregistrée dans le coût de la vie, qui avait doublé. Lorsque les prix ont baissé, les salaires ont aussi commencé à fléchir. Pis encore, la chute des prix fut suivie de chômage. Cette fois-ci, nous avons cherché à éviter la même difficulté. Nous l'avons évitée jusqu'ici. Si la chose est humainement possible, nous sommes déterminés à l'éviter jusqu'à la fin de la guerre et durant la période de l'après-guerre. L'idée que je désire faire pénétrer ce soir dans vos esprits est la suivante: Si nous voulons gagner la bataille contre le chômage durant les années de l'après-guerre, il nous faut tout d'abord gagner la bataille contre l'inflation.

Je tiens, en attendant, à souligner, avec autant de force, qu'en temps de guerre l'inflation est l'un des moyens les plus efficaces et les plus sûrs d'affaiblir le front intérieur. C'est pourquoi, dès le début même de la guerre, nous avons, au Canada, pris la résolution de prévenir l'inflation. Afin d'aider à défrayer les dépenses de guerre, le trésor national a prélevé une portion considérable du revenu additionnel provenant de l'accroissement de la production, au moyen de mesures comme l'impôt de 100 p. 100 sur les surplus de bénéfices; l'impôt sur le revenu, qui pèse d'une façon particulièrement lourde sur les revenus moyens et les revenus supérieurs; les emprunts de la victoire et l'épargne en temps de guerre. Les impôts et les emprunts, nous le savons tous, ont considérablement réduit le montant d'argent que nous gardons dans nos goussets. En dépit de la répugnance qu'ils peuvent nous inspirer, les impôts de guerre ont contribué à conserver leur pouvoir d'achat à tous les dollars qui restent à chacun de nous.

L'établissement du plafond des prix

Nous avons constaté cependant, il y a deux ans, que les impôts et les emprunts seuls ne pourraient nous faire gagner la bataille engagée contre l'inflation. Les prix montaient trop rapidement. La valeur d'achat du dollar fléchissait sans cesse. Le montant était venu de recourir à une mesure plus énergique. Nous avons alors décidé de combattre l'inflation par la réglementation directe des prix. Sur tous les prix, nous avons virtuellement établi un "plafond". Chacun a fait bon accueil au "plafond" des prix pour les articles qu'il devait acheter. Mais pour chaque acheteur il faut un vendeur, et l'on ne saurait réglementer le prix d'achat sans réglementer aussi le prix de vente.

C'est là que la lutte contre l'inflation demande de l'abnégation et de la force de caractère. Chacun voit l'avantage immédiat d'une augmentation de revenus, qu'il s'agisse d'obtenir des prix plus élevés pour ce que

l'on vend, ou un meilleur salaire pour son travail. Il n'est pas aussi facile de comprendre qu'un plus fort revenu monétaire ne sera d'aucun avantage si, à cause de la hausse des prix, l'argent achète de moins en moins de marchandises. Il faut féliciter la grande majorité des Canadiens d'avoir compris que l'inflation leur ferait du mal; leur patriotisme leur fait aussi comprendre que l'effort de guerre souffrirait de l'inflation.

Importance du contrôle des prix

La lutte dans le domaine de la production a commencé il y a quatre ans. Elle a été particulièrement ardue pendant les deux premières années. Cependant, le succès qui a couronné les efforts du Canada a émerveillé tous nos alliés. Nous avons aussi commencé à organiser la lutte contre l'inflation il y a quatre ans, mais nous n'avons effectivement engagé la bataille qu'il y a deux ans, lorsque nous avons établi le plafond des prix. Dans ce domaine, également, le Canada a obtenu de beaux résultats. Depuis la déclaration de la guerre, le coût de la vie au Canada n'a augmenté qu'un peu plus de 18 p. 100 comparativement à 53 p. 100 au cours de la période correspondante de l'autre guerre. De 1939 jusqu'à l'établissement du plafond des prix, il y a eu une hausse de 15 p. 100. Nous avons si bien réussi à maintenir le plafond des prix que, depuis l'inauguration de ce régime, la progression ascendante n'a guère dépassé 3 p. 100. Au cours des deux années correspondantes de la dernière guerre, les prix avaient monté de 33 p. 100, ce qui est exactement dix fois plus.

Le peuple canadien lutte contre l'inflation avec l'aide du gouvernement du Canada. Le plafond des prix est à la première ligne de ce front de bataille. Si nous ne réussissions pas à tenir cette ligne, toute la structure de notre effort de guerre en serait ébranlée. Nous compromettrions la production soutenue et ininterrompue des munitions de guerre. Nous diminuerions le pouvoir d'achat de notre monnaie et ferions tort aux gens qui comptent sur un revenu fixe pour vivre. Nous amoindririons la valeur des épargnes de guerre et, de fait, de toutes les épargnes, tant obligatoires que facultatives. Nous réduirions la valeur des allocations aux familles des soldats et des pensions d'invalidité des soldats eux-mêmes. Ce qu'il y a de plus grave, c'est qu'en diminuant la production nous exposerions à de plus grands risques la vie de nos combattants. Si le front de bataille commence à s'effondrer, si le plafond des prix s'écroule, tout le monde, à la longue, y sera perdant.

La nécessité de limiter la hausse des prix

Quand le Gouvernement a entrepris de limiter la hausse du coût de la vie en 1941, il a clairement expliqué que le plafond des prix ne saurait être maintenu que par la limitation du coût de production des denrées. Cela impliquait le contrôle du prix des produits agricoles et des salaires. Nous savons que le prix des produits de la ferme ne saurait être contrôlé sans le concours du cultivateur, de même que les salaires ne peuvent l'être

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sans l'appui de la classe ouvrière. En d'autres termes, nous avons demandé aux cultivateurs et aux ouvriers de se ranger en ligne de bataille et de tenir tête à l'inflation, tout comme ils avaient été sur la première ligne dans la lutte pour la production.

Mais le fardeau de la lutte contre l'inflation n'a pas été placé sur les seules épaules de l'agriculteur ou du salarié. La charge a été répartie entre ceux qui étaient le mieux en mesure de la supporter. Pendant le conflit actuel, le Canada a entrepris et dirigé, sur une échelle inconnue jusqu'ici dans les pays démocratiques, un nivellement par le haut et par le bas des revenus dépensables. Le nivellement par le haut a atteint les personnes qui jouissent de revenus moyens ou élevés. Leurs bénéfices et leurs revenus sont frappés de lourds impôts et leurs salaires sont assujettis à des règles rigides. Le nivellement par le bas favorise surtout l'agriculteur et l'ouvrier. Sauf dans quelques cas exceptionnels, les cultivateurs admettront que leurs recettes agricoles sont aussi élevées maintenant qu'elles ne l'ont jamais été. De même, je suis certain que la plupart des ouvriers conviendront que leur salaire annuel est meilleur qu'en 1939.

Maintien du niveau normal d'existence

Maintenant que nous en sommes rendus au point où la moitié de notre production globale sert à combattre l'Allemagne et le Japon, aucune classe de la société ne doit s'attendre à améliorer sans cesse ses conditions d'existence d'ici la fin de la guerre.

Ce n'est pas dire qu'il n'y a pas lieu de remédier aux injustices et aux écarts les plus criants; cependant, si nous voulons tenir ferme sur le front intérieur jusqu'à la victoire finale, chacun doit être résolu à faire toute sa part dans la lutte contre l'inflation.

L'objet de la réglementation des prix n'est pas de relever le niveau de l'existence, mais plutôt d'assurer et de maintenir un niveau normal, qu'il faut défendre contre tous les assauts de l'ennemi, l'inflation.

Prix minimums pour les produits agricoles

Lorsque fut institué le régime du plafond des prix, le Gouvernement admettait l'insuffisance de certains cours agricoles. Les cultivateurs savent que beaucoup a été accompli dans le but d'établir un plus juste équilibre entre leurs revenus et ceux des autres classes de la société. Ce soir, je veux les remercier de leur magnifique contribution à la guerre dans le domaine de la production. Par ailleurs, je les invite instamment à tenir ferme aux avants-postes dans la lutte contre l'inflation en maintenant leur appui au régime du plafond des prix.

De son côté, le Gouvernement comprend que les cultivateurs songent à l'après-guerre. Ils ne veulent pas se voir acculés à une chute désastreuse des cours moins d'un an ou deux après la fin du conflit. Puisque, pour assurer la victoire, nous leur demandons d'accepter une fixation du

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maximum des prix, nous estimons qu'en retour ils ont droit à une fixation du minimum, les garantissant contre une crise agricole après la guerre. Comme partie essentielle de son programme d'après-guerre, le Gouvernement entend inviter le Parlement, au cours de la prochaine session, à fixer un prix minimum pour les principaux produit de la ferme.

Stabilisation des salaires

Le contrôle des salaires s'imposa pour le maintien du plafond des prix. Mais s'il stabilisa presque tous les prix, le Gouvernement ne stabilisa pas tous les salaires. Nous savons que le régime des salaires comportait des inégalités et injustices auxquelles il fallait remédier. Lors de la stabilisation des salaires, il y a deux ans, nous avons institué un Conseil national du travail en temps de guerre ainsi que des conseils régionaux. Nous avons conféré à ces organismes le pouvoir de relever les salaires jugés trop bas par comparaison avec la rémunération d'un travail analogue dans des conditions comparables. Depuis deux ans, les conseils du travail en temps de guerre ont statué sur 40,000 demandes de relèvement de salaire intéressant deux millions et demi de travailleurs. Ils ont remédié aux inégalités dans 90 p. 100 des cas. Ces remaniements, maintenant en vigueur, ont valu aux salariés canadiens un supplément de salaire de plus de 150 millions de dollars. C'est là une preuve concluante que les salaires n'ont pas été gelés.

Mais si on tolérait une hausse générale des salaires, il serait tout à fait impossible de maintenir le plafond des prix. Les salaires constituent un élément considérable, sinon le plus considérable, du prix de tout ce que nous achetons. C'est pourquoi, s'il y avait lieu de réglementer les prix, la réglementation des salaires était également nécessaire.

Lors de l'institution du plafond des prix, il y a deux ans, nul ne pouvait prévoir jusqu'à quel point il serait possible d'empêcher la hausse du coût de la vie. En vue de protéger le salarié contre cette hausse on a en même temps rendu obligatoire le versement d'une indemnité de vie chère. Le but de cette indemnité était de contrebalancer en partie tout accroissement du coût de la vie.

Recommandations du Conseil National du Travail en temps de guerre

La classe ouvrière a généralement reconnu que le contrôle des salaires doit nécessairement s'exercer en vue de protéger la norme fondamentale d'existence et elle a loyalement appuyé ce principe.

L'histoire des relations industrielles au Canada pendant la guerre mérite les plus grands éloges. Depuis un an toutefois, la situation donne des signes de tension et d'un besoin de mesures nouvelles susceptibles de promouvoir l'harmonie industrielle. La première mesure prise a consisté

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à reconstituer le Conseil national du travail en temps de guerre pour lui donner un caractère plus judiciaire. Le Conseil a depuis mené une enquête dans tout le domaine des relations industrielles.

Il y a quelques semaines, le Conseil présentait ses conclusions sous la forme d'un rapport majoritaire et d'un rapport minoritaire. Le Gouvernement a étudié soigneusement ces rapports lorsqu'il s'est agi pour lui de modifier sa politique ouvrière.

Je suis maintenant en mesure de dire que le Gouvernement est prêt à accepter, comme fondement d'une revision de la politique du travail, les propositions principales sur lesquelles le rapport majoritaire et le rapport minoritaire sont d'accord.

Coût de la vie—Salaires de base

Dans la bataille contre l'inflation, encore une fois, le plafond des prix constitue la ligne de front. Cette ligne, le Gouvernement est résolu de la tenir. En abandonnant la réglementation des salaires,—je l'ai déjà démontré,—il deviendrait impossible de tenir cette ligne. La politique de stabilisation des salaires ne subira donc pas de changement fondamental. Toutefois, deux modifications importantes seront apportées dans le mode de réglementation des salaires.

Dans l'examen des demandes d'ajustement de salaires, les Conseils du travail en temps de guerre ne seront plus liés par le système de comparaisons entre les salaires payés dans une industrie ou un établissement donné avec ceux d'autres établissements ou industries. Les ajustements apportés aux salaires devront plutôt faire disparaître les inégalités et injustices flagrantes.

Le second changement a trait à l'indemnité de vie chère. L'octroi d'indemnités de vie chère à des taux divers a donné au Canada une structure complexe de salaires et d'indemnités. Cette complexité a été une source constante de malentendus et de conflits. Le gouvernement entend prendre toutes les mesures possibles pour maintenir le coût de la vie à son niveau actuel. S'il obtient ce résultat, il n'y aura pas lieu d'accorder d'autres indemnités de vie chère. On ne paiera plus d'indemnités de ce genre. Les indemnités actuelles de vie chère seront ajoutées aux salaires de base dont elles feront dorénavant partie.

Le Gouvernement croit qu'en maintenant le coût de la vie au niveau actuel, les normes d'existence fondamentales des travailleurs se trouveront mieux protégées qu'elles ne l'étaient par le système des indemnités de vie chère. Si le coût de la vie augmente de plus de 3 p. 100 et reste à ce niveau pendant deux mois consécutifs, le Gouvernement revisera le programme intégral du contrôle des prix et des salaires et prendra les mesures voulues.

La nouvelle ordonnance relative à la réglementation des salaires sera rendue publique au début de la semaine prochaine.

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Un code des relations ouvrières

J'ai fait allusion aux vœux que renfermaient les deux rapports soumis par le Conseil national du travail en temps de guerre et auxquels le Gouvernement est prêt à donner suite. Le plus important de ces vœux vise l'adoption d'un code des relations ouvrières pour les industries de guerre. On est déjà à mettre la dernière main à sa rédaction. Le code ouvrier définira et interdira les pratiques injustes et, en conformité du programme de la stabilisation des salaires, il établira une régime obligatoire de conventions collectives. L'application du code sera confiée à un Conseil national des relations ouvrières en temps de guerre, organisme qui sera distinct et indépendant du Conseil national du travail en temps de guerre, lequel continuera à exercer son autorité sur les salaires.

Le pouvoir d'édicter des lois tendant à rendre obligatoires les conventions collectives appartient, en temps de paix, aux provinces. Des conférences récentes tenues avec les autorités provinciales ont donné lieu à une entente sur le principe de coopération dans l'institution et l'exécution d'un régime obligatoire de conventions collectives.

Le code des relations ouvrières sera promulgué dans un avenir rapproché. Lorsque le code aura paru, le rapport majoritaire et le rapport minoritaire du Conseil national du travail en temps de guerre seront également publiés.

Je désire, en terminant, remercier la classe ouvrière, comme je l'ai fait pour la classe agricole, de son apport magnifique à la bataille de la production. Je veux aussi faire aux ouvriers le même appel que j'ai lancé aux agriculteurs, celui de continuer d'aider à tenir la ligne de front contre l'inflation, en maintenant leur appui au régime du plafond des prix.

Projets d'après-guerre

J'exposerai une autre fois, je l'espère, les projets du Gouvernement en vue de la réalisation, après la victoire, d'un programme dont j'ai déjà parlé comme d'un minimum national de sécurité sociale et de bien-être humain, non seulement pour la classe ouvrière mais pour toute la population. Ce minimum national doit comporter du travail utile pour tous ceux qui veulent travailler; les normes d'alimentation et de logement propres à assurer la santé de toute la population; et l'assurance sociale contre les privations découlant du chômage, des accidents, du décès du chef de famille, de la maladie et de la vieillesse. Telles sont nos visées d'après-guerre.

Ce soir, j'ai borné mes remarques à la bataille contre l'inflation. Il faut gagner cette bataille pour assurer la victoire; il faut aussi la gagner pour établir les assises solides sur lesquelles on pourra, après la guerre, édifier un Canada plus grand et plus heureux.

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THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

Broadcast by the Prime Minister
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
Ottawa, December 4, 1943

The world's attention, during the present week, has been centred upon the conferences of the leaders of the four great powers in the Middle East. The conferences remind us anew of the world-wide scale on which the present war is being waged. They reveal more clearly the immensity of the tasks still to be accomplished before the enemy is defeated. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion.

Our eyes have been focussed upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes. These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close. This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort.

Many have come to believe that we should now be mostly concerned with post-war problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we can now foresee. However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won. The sooner victory is achieved, the easier the solution of post-war problems will be.

The need to continue an utmost effort

It may well be - and we fervently pray it will be so - that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily. We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold on longer. Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war.

What we most need to remember today is that we are still in the thick of a fight against ruthless aggression and monstrous crime waged by terrifically powerful foes. From now on, we must, above all else, maintain and, so far as we can, increase the great war effort we have built up over the past four years. We dare not risk any of the gains that have already been won at so great a sacrifice of human life.

Of one thing we may be sure. If the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, American and Canadian forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought. Upon this the Combined Chiefs of Staff are all agreed. Here surely is a call to every one of us to do everything in our power to shorten the war. It is equally a call to every one to avoid anything which might bring comfort to the enemy, thereby prolonging the war and adding to the loss of human lives.

Battles on the home front

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say tonight about another battle, the battle against inflation. On the home front, this is now the most critical battle of all. From now until the end of the war the loss of this battle at any stage would greatly injure the whole of our war effort. The winning of this battle will contribute much toward victory. Afer the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of post-war problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy.

The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of the warrior.

The workers are not only wage earners; they are all who, directly or indirectly, are labouring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives, workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

Production and Inflation

On the home front there have been two battles to fight: the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the beginning of the war, and half of all we produce is now being used to wage war. Our ships, our planes, our tanks, our guns, our munitions, our food: are all powerful weapons in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

By doubling our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using half our production for war, we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy with their larger incomes.

If we were now spending twice as much money as we had to spend in 1939, prices would be up and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost fifty cents in 1939 would cost a dollar today. We would be experiencing what the economists call "inflation".

The Evil Consequences of Inflation

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and the experience has always been bad. The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this:- First, prices go up. Then wages and salaries may go up, but they never go up quite as fast. The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

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During the last war, and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When prices fell, wages also began to fall. Worse still, this fall in prices was soon followed by unemployment. We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible, we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war and in the post-war period. What I wish to impress upon you tonight is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that, in a time of war, inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation. To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national treasury by such measures as the 100% excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowings through victory loan and war savings campaigns. As all of us know, taxes and borrowings have greatly reduced the amount of money left in our pockets to be spent. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they at least help to keep up the buying power of every dollar each of us has left to spend.

The Establishment of the Price Ceiling

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon. We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices. We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage in increasing his income, whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells, or a higher salary or wages for his work. It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less. The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

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The Importance of Price Control

The battle of production began four years ago. For two years it was an uphill struggle. But Canada's success in that battle has been the marvel of all our Allies. We also began to prepare for the battle against inflation four years ago; but the battle itself was not actually joined until two years ago when the price ceiling was adopted. In that battle, too, Canada has done well. Since the outbreak of war, the cost of living in Canada has risen only a little over 18% as compared with 53% in the corresponding period of the last war. From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the increase was 15%. So successfully has the price ceiling been maintained that the cost of living has since risen little more than 3%. In the corresponding two years of the last war, it rose 33%, which is just 10 times as much.

The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in cooperation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war and of foodstuffs. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary. We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of soldiers' dependents, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves. Worst of all, by jeapardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run all stand to lose.

The Necessity of Controlling Costs

When the government undertook to control the cost of living in 1941, it was made perfectly clear that the price ceiling could be maintained only by controlling the cost of producing goods. That meant controlling farm prices and controlling wages. We knew that farm prices could not be controlled without the support of the farmers, and we knew that wages could not be controlled without the support of Labour. In other words, the Farmers and Labour were asked to go into and hold the front line in the battle against inflation, just as they have held the front line in the battle of production.

But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them. We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes

have been taxed heavily and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage earners. Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes today are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly, most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

Defending a Basic Standard of Living

Now that we have reached the stage where half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

That does not mean that gross inequalities or injustices should not be remedied; but it does mean that if we are to hold the line on the home front until victory is actually achieved, all must be prepared to play their full part in the battle against inflation.

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain a basic standard of living. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation.

A Floor Under Farm Prices

When the price ceiling was adopted, the government knew that some farm prices were out of line. Farmers know that much has since been done to bring farm incomes into better balance with the incomes of other groups. I wish tonight to thank the farmers of Canada for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish, as well, to appeal to them to continue to help hold the front line against inflation by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On its side, the government recognizes that farmers are anxious about their post-war prospects. They do not want to race a disastrous fall in farm prices within a year or two after the war. If, to help win the war, the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war. As an essential part of its post-war policy, the government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities.

Wage Stabilization

In order to hold the price ceiling, it was necessary to control wages. But while almost all prices were frozen, the government did not "freeze" all wages. We know there were inequalities and injustices in the wage structure which needed to be remedied. When wages were stabilized two years ago, a National War Labour Board and regional War Labour Boards were established. To these Boards was given the power to adjust wages which

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were found to be low by comparison with wages paid for similar work under comparable conditions. In the past two years, the War Labour Boards have dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting two and a half million workers. Adjustments to remove inequalities were made in 90% of the cases. The result of these adjustments, now in force, has meant a total increase in payment to Canadian wage earners of more than $150,000,000. This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen.

If, however, wages generally were allowed to rise, it would be quite impossible to hold the price ceiling. Wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. That is why, if prices were to be controlled, it was necessary to control wages.

When the price ceiling was established two years ago, none could be sure how far it would be possible to hold down the cost of living. To safeguard wage earners against increases in the cost of living, there was established at the same time, a compulsory cost of living bonus. The purpose of the bonus was to offset a part of any increase in the cost of living.

Generally speaking, Labour has recognized that wage control is essential to protect the basic standard of living and has loyally supported the policy.

Canada's record in industrial relations during the war has been highly creditable. Within the present year, however, there have been signs of strain and of a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony. As a first step the National War Labour Board was reconstituted to give it a more judicial character. The Board has since conducted an enquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

Some weeks ago the Board produced its findings in the form of a Majority and a Minority Report. These reports have been carefully studied by the government in considering modifications of its labour policy.

I am now in a position to say that the government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labour policy, the main proposals on which the Majority and Minority Reports agree.

Modifications of Wage Control

In the battle against inflation, as I have said, the price ceiling is the front line. That line the government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would, as I have already shown, make it impossible to hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will therefore be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.

The War Labour Boards, indealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages

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in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The other change has to do with the cost-of-living bonus. The payment of cost-of-living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction. The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost-of-living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost-of-living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level, it will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of Labour than was provided by the cost-of-living bonus. If the cost of living rises more than 3%, and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole programme of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

The revised Wage Control Order will be made public at the beginning of next week.

A Code of Labour Relations

I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the National War Labour Board which the government is prepared to carry out. The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labour relations to apply to war industries. A code of labour relations is already in the final stages of preparation. The labour code will define and prohibit unfair labour practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The Code will be enforced by a National Wartime Labour Relations Board, distinct and separate from the National War Labour Board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

In peace time, the authority to make laws to enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs to the provinces. As a result of recent conferences with the provincial authorities, agreement has been reached in principle on a basis of cooperation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

The Code of Labour Relations will be enacted in the near future. When the Code is published, the Majority and Minority Reports of the National War Labour Board will also be made public.

In concluding, I wish to thank Labour, as I have thanked the Farmers, for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish also to appeal to Labour, as I have appealed to the Farmers, to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On another occasion I hope to speak about the plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as a national minimum of social security and human welfare; not for Labour only, but for all the people. That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill health, and from old age. Those are our post-war objectives.

I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

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FOR RELEASE
After 8 p.m. E.D.T.,
December 4, 1943.

THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

Broadcast by the Prime Minister
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
Ottawa, December 4, 1943

The world's attention, during the present week, has been centred upon the conferences of the leaders of the four great powers in the Middle East. The conferences remind us anew of the world-wide scale on which the present war is being waged. They reveal more clearly the immensity of the tasks still to be accomplished before the enemy is defeated. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion.

Our eyes have been focussed upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes. These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close. This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort.

Many have come to believe that we should now be mostly concerned with post-war problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we can now foresee. However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won. The sooner victory is achieved, the easier the solution of post-war problems will be.

The need to continue an utmost effort

It may well be - and we fervently pray it will be so - that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily. We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold on longer. Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war.

What we most need to remember today is that we are still in the thick of a fight against ruthless aggression and monstrous crime waged by terrifically powerful foes. From now on, we must, above all else, maintain and, so far as we can, increase the great war effort we have built up over the past four years. We dare not risk any of the gains that have already been won at so great a sacrifice of human life.

Of one thing we may be sure. If the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, American and Canadian forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought. Upon this the Combined Chiefs of Staff are all agreed. Here surely is a call to every one of us to do everything in our power to shorten the war. It is equally a call to every one to avoid anything which might bring comfort to the enemy, thereby prolonging the war and adding to the loss of human lives.

Battles on the home front

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say tonight about another battle, the battle against inflation. On the home front, this is now the most critical battle of all. From now until the end of the war the loss of this battle at any stage would greatly injure the whole of our war effort. The winning of this battle will contribute much toward victory. Afer the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of post-war problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy.

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The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of the warrior.

The workers are not only wage earners; they are all who, directly or indirectly, are labouring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives, workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

Production and Inflation

On the home front there have been two battles to fight: the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the beginning of the war, and half of all we produce is now being used to wage war. Our ships, our planes, our tanks, our guns, our munitions, our food: are all powerful weapons in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

By doubling our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using half our production for war, we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy with their larger incomes.

If we were now spending twice as much money as we had to spend in 1939, prices would be up and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost fifty cents in 1939 would cost a dollar today. We would be experiencing what the economists call "inflation".

The Evil Consequences of Inflation

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and the experience has always been bad. The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this:- First, prices go up. Then wages and salaries may go up, but they never go up quite as fast. The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

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During the last war, and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When prices fell, wages also began to fall. Worse still, this fall in prices was soon followed by unemployment. We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible, we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war and in the post-war period. What I wish to impress upon you tonight is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that, in a time of war, inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation. To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national treasury by such measures as the 100% excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowings through victory loan and war savings campaigns. As all of us know, taxes and borrowings have greatly reduced the amount of money left in our pockets to be spent. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they at least help to keep up the buying power of every dollar each of us has left to spend.

<u>The Establishment of the Price Ceiling</u>

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon. We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices. We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage in increasing his income, whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells, or a higher salary or wages for his work. It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less. The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

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The Importance of Price Control

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The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in cooperation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war and of foodstuffs. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary. We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of soldiers' dependents, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves. Worst of all, by jeapardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run all stand to lose.

The Necessity of Controlling Costs

When the government undertook to control the cost of living in 1941, it was made perfectly clear that the price ceiling could be maintained only by controlling the cost of producing goods. That meant controlling farm prices and controlling wages. We knew that farm prices could not be controlled without the support of the farmers, and we knew that wages could not be controlled without the support of Labour. In other words, the Farmers and Labour were asked to go into and hold the front line in the battle against inflation, just as they have held the front line in the battle of production.

But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them. We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes

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have been taxed heavily and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage earners. Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes today are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly, most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

Defending a Basic Standard of Living

Now that we have reached the stage where half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

That does not mean that gross inequalities or injustices should not be remedied; but it does mean that if we are to hold the line on the home front until victory is actually achieved, all must be prepared to play their full part in the battle against inflation.

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain a basic standard of living. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation.

A Floor Under Farm Prices

When the price ceiling was adopted, the government knew that some farm prices were out of line. Farmers know that much has since been done to bring farm incomes into better balance with the incomes of other groups. I wish tonight to thank the farmers of Canada for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish, as well, to appeal to them to continue to help hold the front line against inflation by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On its side, the government recognizes that farmers are anxious about their post-war prospects. They do not want to race a disastrous fall in farm prices within a year or two after the war. If, to help win the war, the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war. As an essential part of its post-war policy, the government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities.

Wage Stabilization

In order to hold the price ceiling, it was necessary to control wages. But while almost all prices were frozen, the government did not "freeze" all wages. We know there were inequalities and injustices in the wage structure which needed to be remedied. When wages were stabilized two years ago, a National War Labour Board and regional War Labour Boards were established. To these Boards was given the power to adjust wages which

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were found to be low by comparison with wages paid for similar work under comparable conditions. In the past two years, the War Labour Boards have dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting two and a half million workers. Adjustments to remove inequalities were made in 90% of the cases. The result of these adjustments, now in force, has meant a total increase in payment to Canadian wage earners of more than $150,000,000. This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen.

If, however, wages generally were allowed to rise, it would be quite impossible to hold the price ceiling. Wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. That is why, if prices were to be controlled, it was necessary to control wages.

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Canada's record in industrial relations during the war has been highly creditable. Within the present year, however, there have been signs of strain and of a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony. As a first step the National War Labour Board was reconstituted to give it a more judicial character. The Board has since conducted an enquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

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In the battle against inflation, as I have said, the price ceiling is the front line. That line the government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would, as I have already shown, make it impossible to hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will therefore be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.

The War Labour Boards, indealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages

in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The other change has to do with the cost-of-living bonus. The payment of cost-of-living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction. The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost-of-living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost-of-living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

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A Code of Labour Relations

I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the National War Labour Board which the government is prepared to carry out. The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labour relations to apply to war industries. A code of labour relations is already in the final stages of preparation. The labour code will define and prohibit unfair labour practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The Code will be enforced by a National Wartime Labour Relations Board, distinct and separate from the National War Labour Board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

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In concluding, I wish to thank Labour, as I have thanked the Farmers, for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish also to appeal to Labour, as I have appealed to the Farmers, to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On another occasion I hope to speak about the plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as a national minimum of social security and human welfare; not for Labour only, but for all the people. That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill health, and from old age. Those are our post-war objectives.

I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

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FOR RELEASE
After 8 p.m. E.D.T.,
December 4, 1943.

THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

Broadcast by the Prime Minister
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
Ottawa, December 4, 1943

The world's attention, during the present week, has been centred upon the conferences of the leaders of the four great powers in the Middle East. The conferences remind us anew of the world-wide scale on which the present war is being waged. They reveal more clearly the immensity of the tasks still to be accomplished before the enemy is defeated. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion.

Our eyes have been focussed upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes. These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close. This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort.

Many have come to believe that we should now be mostly concerned with post-war problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we can now foresee. However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won. The sooner victory is achieved, the easier the solution of post-war problems will be.

The need to continue an utmost effort

It may well be - and we fervently pray it will be so - that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily. We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

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The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war.

What we most need to remember today is that we are still in the thick of a fight against ruthless aggression and monstrous crime waged by terrifically powerful foes. From now on, we must, above all else, maintain and, so far as we can, increase the great war effort we have built up over the past four years. We dare not risk any of the gains that have already been won at so great a sacrifice of human life.

Of one thing we may be sure. If the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, American and Canadian forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought. Upon this the Combined Chiefs of Staff are all agreed. Here surely is a call to every one of us to do everything in our power to shorten the war. It is equally a call to every one to avoid anything which might bring comfort to the enemy, thereby prolonging the war and adding to the loss of human lives.

Battles on the home front

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say tonight about another battle, the battle against inflation. On the home front, this is now the most critical battle of all. From now until the end of the war the loss of this battle at any stage would greatly injure the whole of our war effort. The winning of this battle will contribute much toward victory. Afer the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of post-war problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy.

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The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of the warrior.

The workers are not only wage earners; they are all who, directly or indirectly, are labouring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives, workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

Production and Inflation

On the home front there have been two battles to fight: the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the beginning of the war, and half of all we produce is now being used to wage war. Our ships, our planes, our tanks, our guns, our munitions, our food: are all powerful weapons in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

By doubling our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using half our production for war, we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy with their larger incomes.

If we were now spending twice as much money as we had to spend in 1939, prices would be up and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost fifty cents in 1939 would cost a dollar today. We would be experiencing what the economists call "inflation".

The Evil Consequences of Inflation

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and the experience has always been bad. The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this:- First, prices go up. Then wages and salaries may go up, but they never go up quite as fast. The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

During the last war, and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When prices fell, wages also began to fall. Worse still, this fall in prices was soon followed by unemployment. We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible, we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war and in the post-war period. What I wish to impress upon you tonight is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that, in a time of war, inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation. To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national treasury by such measures as the 100% excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowings through victory loan and war savings campaigns. As all of us know, taxes and borrowings have greatly reduced the amount of money left in our pockets to be spent. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they at least help to keep up the buying power of every dollar each of us has left to spend.

<u>The Establishment of the Price Ceiling</u>

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon. We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices. We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage in increasing his income, whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells, or a higher salary or wages for his work. It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less. The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

The Importance of Price Control

The battle of production began four years ago. For two years it was an uphill struggle. But Canada's success in that battle has been the marvel of all our Allies. We also began to prepare for the battle against inflation four years ago; but the battle itself was not actually joined until two years ago when the price ceiling was adopted. In that battle, too, Canada has done well. Since the outbreak of war, the cost of living in Canada has risen only a little over 18% as compared with 53% in the corresponding period of the last war. From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the increase was 15%. So successfully has the price ceiling been maintained that the cost of living has since risen little more than 3%. In the corresponding two years of the last war, it rose 33%, which is just 10 times as much.

The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in cooperation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war and of foodstuffs. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary. We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of soldiers' dependents, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves. Worst of all, by jeapardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run all stand to lose.

The Necessity of Controlling Costs

When the government undertook to control the cost of living in 1941, it was made perfectly clear that the price ceiling could be maintained only by controlling the cost of producing goods. That meant controlling farm prices and controlling wages. We knew that farm prices could not be controlled without the support of the farmers, and we knew that wages could not be controlled without the support of Labour. In other words, the Farmers and Labour were asked to go into and hold the front line in the battle against inflation, just as they have held the front line in the battle of production.

But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them. We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes

have been taxed heavily and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage earners. Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes today are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly, most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

Defending a Basic Standard of Living

Now that we have reached the stage where half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

That does not mean that gross inequalities or injustices should not be remedied; but it does mean that if we are to hold the line on the home front until victory is actually achieved, all must be prepared to play their full part in the battle against inflation.

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain a basic standard of living. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation.

A Floor Under Farm Prices

When the price ceiling was adopted, the government knew that some farm prices were out of line. Farmers know that much has since been done to bring farm incomes into better balance with the incomes of other groups. I wish tonight to thank the farmers of Canada for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish, as well, to appeal to them to continue to help hold the front line against inflation by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On its side, the government recognizes that farmers are anxious about their post-war prospects. They do not want to race a disastrous fall in farm prices within a year or two after the war. If, to help win the war, the farmers are asked to accept a ceiling on prices, we believe they are entitled to a floor under prices to insure them against an agricultural depression after the war. As an essential part of its post-war policy, the government intends to ask Parliament, at the next session, to place a floor under the prices of the main farm commodities.

Wage Stabilization

In order to hold the price ceiling, it was necessary to control wages. But while almost all prices were frozen, the government did not "freeze" all wages. We know there were inequalities and injustices in the wage structure which needed to be remedied. When wages were stabilized two years ago, a National War Labour Board and regional War Labour Boards were established. To these Boards was given the power to adjust wages which

were found to be low by comparison with wages paid for similar work under comparable conditions. In the past two years, the War Labour Boards have dealt with 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting two and a half million workers. Adjustments to remove inequalities were made in 90% of the cases. The result of these adjustments, now in force, has meant a total increase in payment to Canadian wage earners of more than $150,000,000. This is conclusive evidence that wages were not frozen.

If, however, wages generally were allowed to rise, it would be quite impossible to hold the price ceiling. Wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. That is why, if prices were to be controlled, it was necessary to control wages.

When the price ceiling was established two years ago, none could be sure how far it would be possible to hold down the cost of living. To safeguard wage earners against increases in the cost of living, there was established at the same time, a compulsory cost of living bonus. The purpose of the bonus was to offset a part of any increase in the cost of living.

Generally speaking, Labour has recognized that wage control is essential to protect the basic standard of living and has loyally supported the policy.

Canada's record in industrial relations during the war has been highly creditable. Within the present year, however, there have been signs of strain and of a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony. As a first step the National War Labour Board was reconstituted to give it a more judicial character. The Board has since conducted an enquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

Some weeks ago the Board produced its findings in the form of a Majority and a Minority Report. These reports have been carefully studied by the government in considering modifications of its labour policy.

I am now in a position to say that the government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labour policy, the main proposals on which the Majority and Minority Reports agree.

Modifications of Wage Control

In the battle against inflation, as I have said, the price ceiling is the front line. That line the government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would, as I have already shown, make it impossible to hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will therefore be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.

The War Labour Boards, indealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages

in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The other change has to do with the cost-of-living bonus. The payment of cost-of-living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction. The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost-of-living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost-of-living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level, it will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of Labour than was provided by the cost-of-living bonus. If the cost of living rises more than 3%, and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole programme of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

The revised Wage Control Order will be made public at the beginning of next week.

A Code of Labour Relations

I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the National War Labour Board which the government is prepared to carry out. The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labour relations to apply to war industries. A code of labour relations is already in the final stages of preparation. The labour code will define and prohibit unfair labour practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The Code will be enforced by a National Wartime Labour Relations Board, distinct and separate from the National War Labour Board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

In peace time, the authority to make laws to enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs to the provinces. As a result of recent conferences with the provincial authorities, agreement has been reached in principle on a basis of cooperation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

The Code of Labour Relations will be enacted in the near future. When the Code is published, the Majority and Minority Reports of the National War Labour Board will also be made public.

In concluding, I wish to thank Labour, as I have thanked the Farmers, for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish also to appeal to Labour, as I have appealed to the Farmers, to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On another occasion I hope to speak about the plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as a national minimum of social security and human welfare; not for Labour only, but for all the people. That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill health, and from old age. Those are our post-war objectives.

I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

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FOR RELEASE
After 8 p.m. E.D.T.,
December 4, 1943.

THE BATTLE AGAINST INFLATION

Broadcast by the Prime Minister
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
Ottawa, December 4, 1943

The world's attention, during the present week, has been centred upon the conferences of the leaders of the four great powers in the Middle East. The conferences remind us anew of the world-wide scale on which the present war is being waged. They reveal more clearly the immensity of the tasks still to be accomplished before the enemy is defeated. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion.

Our eyes have been focussed upon areas in which the Allies have had spectacular successes. These successes have caused many people to feel that the war might be drawing to a close. This state of mind has become far too general; so general, in fact, that it threatens to reduce the momentum of the entire war effort.

Many have come to believe that we should now be mostly concerned with post-war problems, forgetting that the winning of the war is still the major problem. Before the energies of men and of nations can be diverted from wholesale destruction to the work of reconstruction, the enemy must be defeated, and the war must be won.

I would be the first to emphasize the necessity of anticipating and preparing to meet the problems likely to arise once hostilities cease. Canada, like other of the United Nations, has been giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we can now foresee. However much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won. The sooner victory is achieved, the easier the solution of post-war problems will be.

The need to continue an utmost effort

It may well be - and we fervently pray it will be so - that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany. It may be that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. It is hardly probable that the meaning of unconditional surrender, now made so clear, will cause either Japan or Germany to yield any more readily. We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany, and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their peoples into ever more violent conflict.

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The one hope of the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of weariness under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness or indifference in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold on longer. Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war.

What we most need to remember today is that we are still in the thick of a fight against ruthless aggression and monstrous crime waged by terrifically powerful foes. From now on, we must, above all else, maintain and, so far as we can, increase the great war effort we have built up over the past four years. We dare not risk any of the gains that have already been won at so great a sacrifice of human life.

Of one thing we may be sure. If the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for British, American and Canadian forces campaigns more severe and costly in human lives than any they have yet fought. Upon this the Combined Chiefs of Staff are all agreed. Here surely is a call to every one of us to do everything in our power to shorten the war, It is equally a call to every one to avoid anything which might bring comfort to the enemy, thereby prolonging the war and adding to the loss of human lives.

<u>Battles on the home front</u>

And this brings me to what I am most anxious to say tonight about another battle, the battle against inflation. On the home front, this is now the most critical battle of all. From now until the end of the war the loss of this battle at any stage would greatly injure the whole of our war effort. The winning of this battle will contribute much toward victory. Afer the war, success in the battle against inflation will contribute more than all else towards the solution of post-war problems.

There are two kinds of national effort essential to the waging of modern war. One is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy.

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The other, with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other, by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership unbroken and unbreakable of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of the warrior.

The workers are not only wage earners; they are all who, directly or indirectly, are labouring to keep Canada strong in war. They include housewives, workers in mine and forest, in factory, shop and office; farmers and fishermen; business and professional men and women.

Production and Inflation

On the home front there have been two battles to fight: the battle of production and the battle against inflation. In the battle of production, Canada has done magnificently. We have doubled our production since the beginning of the war, and half of all we produce is now being used to wage war. Our ships, our planes, our tanks, our guns, our munitions, our food: are all powerful weapons in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy.

But, strange as it may sound, our success in the battle of production has increased our difficulties in the battle against inflation.

By doubling our production, we have doubled the income of the Canadian people. But because we are using half our production for war, we have been unable to increase the quantity of goods for the people to buy with their larger incomes.

If we were now spending twice as much money as we had to spend in 1939, prices would be up and the value of every dollar would be down. What cost fifty cents in 1939 would cost a dollar today. We would be experiencing what the economists call "inflation".

The Evil Consequences of Inflation

Inflation is not something new in the world. Many countries have experienced inflation, and the experience has always been bad. The evils of inflation have been experienced most frequently and at their worst at times of war. The process is something like this:- First, prices go up. Then wages and salaries may go up, but they never go up quite as fast. The extra money paid in wages and salaries tends to send prices up again. A few sharp, unscrupulous people may make a good thing of inflation by speculation and profiteering. But, sooner or later, the great mass of the people suffer.

During the last war, and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in few cases did they more than keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, which doubled. When prices fell, wages also began to fall. Worse still, this fall in prices was soon followed by unemployment. We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We have avoided it thus far. If humanly possible, we are determined to avoid it to the end of the war and in the post-war period. What I wish to impress upon you tonight is that, if we are to win the battle against unemployment in the post-war period, we must first of all win the battle against inflation.

Meanwhile, I wish to say with equal emphasis that, in a time of war, inflation is one of the quickest and surest ways of weakening the home front. That is why, from the very start of the war, we in Canada set out to prevent inflation. To help pay for the war, a large part of the extra income caused by increased production has been gathered into the national treasury by such measures as the 100% excess profits tax, the income tax, which is particularly heavy on medium and large incomes, and borrowings through victory loan and war savings campaigns. As all of us know, taxes and borrowings have greatly reduced the amount of money left in our pockets to be spent. Much as we may dislike the war taxes, they at least help to keep up the buying power of every dollar each of us has left to spend.

<u>The Establishment of the Price Ceiling</u>

But we found, two years ago, that we could not win the battle against inflation with taxes and borrowing alone. Prices began going up too rapidly. Each dollar was buying less and less. The time had come for a more drastic weapon. We then decided to fight inflation with direct control of prices. A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices. We all welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things we had to buy. But, someone has to sell everything we buy. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy unless the price of what is sold is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage in increasing his income, whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells, or a higher salary or wages for his work. It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be of any advantage if, because prices are going up, all our money buys less and less. The fact that the vast majority of Canadians realize that inflation will hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence. The fact they also realize that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism.

The Importance of Price Control

The battle of production began four years ago. For two years it was an uphill struggle. But Canada's success in that battle has been the marvel of all our Allies. We also began to prepare for the battle against inflation four years ago; but the battle itself was not actually joined until two years ago when the price ceiling was adopted. In that battle, too, Canada has done well. Since the outbreak of war, the cost of living in Canada has risen only a little over 18% as compared with 53% in the corresponding period of the last war. From 1939 until the price ceiling was imposed, the increase was 15%. So successfully has the price ceiling been maintained that the cost of living has since risen little more than 3%. In the corresponding two years of the last war, it rose 33%, which is just 10 times as much.

The battle against inflation is being waged by the people of Canada in cooperation with their government. The price ceiling is the front line in that battle. If we fail to hold that line, the whole structure of our war effort will be impaired. We would endanger the continued and uninterrupted production of munitions of war and of foodstuffs. We would be lessening the value of war savings, and indeed of all savings, both compulsory and voluntary. We would be cutting down the value of the allowances of soldiers' dependents, and of the pensions of disabled soldiers themselves. Worst of all, by jeapardizing production through industrial strife, we would be adding further risks to the lives of our fighting men. If the battle line begins to crumble, if the price ceiling breaks down, in the long run all stand to lose.

The Necessity of Controlling Costs

When the government undertook to control the cost of living in 1941, it was made perfectly clear that the price ceiling could be maintained only by controlling the cost of producing goods. That meant controlling farm prices and controlling wages. We knew that farm prices could not be controlled without the support of the farmers, and we knew that wages could not be controlled without the support of Labour. In other words, the Farmers and Labour were asked to go into and hold the front line in the battle against inflation, just as they have held the front line in the battle of production.

But, in the fight against inflation, the farmers or the wage-earners were not asked to bear all the burden. The burdens have been placed on those best able to bear them. We have had in Canada, during this war, a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The levelling down has been borne by those with moderate and large incomes. Their profits and incomes

have been taxed heavily and their salaries have been rigidly controlled. The levelling up has been of particular benefit to farmers and wage earners. Farmers will agree that, apart from exceptional cases, farm incomes today are equal to the best they have ever enjoyed. Similarly, most workers will, I am sure, agree that their yearly earnings are greater than they were in 1939.

Defending a Basic Standard of Living

Now that we have reached the stage where half our total production is used to fight Germany and Japan, no section of the community can expect, while the war lasts, to continue to improve its standard of living.

That does not mean that gross inequalities or injustices should not be remedied; but it does mean that if we are to hold the line on the home front until victory is actually achieved, all must be prepared to play their full part in the battle against inflation.

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain a basic standard of living. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation.

A Floor Under Farm Prices

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Wage Stabilization

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Generally speaking, Labour has recognized that wage control is essential to protect the basic standard of living and has loyally supported the policy.

Canada's record in industrial relations during the war has been highly creditable. Within the present year, however, there have been signs of strain and of a need for new measures to promote industrial harmony. As a first step the National War Labour Board was reconstituted to give it a more judicial character. The Board has since conducted an enquiry into the whole field of industrial relations.

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I am now in a position to say that the government is prepared to accept, as a basis for a revised labour policy, the main proposals on which the Majority and Minority Reports agree.

<u>Modifications of Wage Control</u>

In the battle against inflation, as I have said, the price ceiling is the front line. That line the government is resolved to hold. To abandon wage control would, as I have already shown, make it impossible to hold that line. In the policy of wage stabilization there will therefore be no fundamental change. Two important changes, however, will be made in the method of controlling wages.

The War Labour Boards, indealing with applications for wage adjustments, will no longer be bound to apply a standard of comparing wages in one plant or industry with wages

in other plants or industries. Instead, the standard in adjusting wages will be the removal of gross inequalities and injustices.

The other change has to do with the cost-of-living bonus. The payment of cost-of-living bonuses at varying scales has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses. These complications have proven a constant source of misunderstanding and friction. The policy of the government is that all practicable measures shall be taken to keep the cost of living at present levels. If that is achieved, there will be no occasion for additional cost-of-living bonuses. No further bonuses are to be paid. The existing cost-of-living bonuses are to be added to and to become part of basic wage rates.

The government believes that by holding the cost of living at the present level, it will afford a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standard of Labour than was provided by the cost-of-living bonus. If the cost of living rises more than 3%, and remains at that level for two consecutive months, the government will review the whole programme of price control and wage control and take appropriate action.

The revised Wage Control Order will be made public at the beginning of next week.

A Code of Labour Relations

I have referred to the recommendations of the two reports of the National War Labour Board which the government is prepared to carry out. The most important of these recommendations is that there should be a code of labour relations to apply to war industries. A code of labour relations is already in the final stages of preparation. The labour code will define and prohibit unfair labour practices and, subject to the wage stabilization policy, will provide for compulsory collective bargaining. The Code will be enforced by a National Wartime Labour Relations Board, distinct and separate from the National War Labour Board, which will continue to have jurisdiction over wages.

In peace time, the authority to make laws to enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs to the provinces. As a result of recent conferences with the provincial authorities, agreement has been reached in principle on a basis of cooperation in instituting and administering compulsory collective bargaining.

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In concluding, I wish to thank Labour, as I have thanked the Farmers, for their magnificent contribution to the battle of production. I wish also to appeal to Labour, as I have appealed to the Farmers, to continue to help hold the front line against inflation, by continuing to support the price ceiling.

On another occasion I hope to speak about the plans of the government to achieve, once the war is won, what I have previously defined as a national minimum of social security and human welfare; not for Labour only, but for all the people. That national minimum should embrace useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the breadwinner, from ill health, and from old age. Those are our post-war objectives.

I have confined my address tonight to the battle against inflation. That battle we must win to assure victory in war; that battle we must also win to provide a solid foundation on which, after the war, to build a greater and a better Canada.

Material for P.M's speech on
Battle ~~Against~~ Inflation
by Mr Gibson of WPTB

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NOTES ON PRICE CONTROL AND RATIONING IN EIRE

Ireland

Economic necessity is no respecter of neutrality, and although ~~Eire~~ has succeeded in keeping out of the war, she has not been able to escape its economic consequences. Faced with an acute shortage of supplies the Irish government has been forced, like all the belligerents, to grapple with the problem of price control and the distribution of scarce commodities.

The shortage of supplies has had a considerable effect on the standard of living of the Irish consumer. His position is indicated by the Cost-of-Living Index:*

Cost of Living in Eire (August 1939 = 100)

Mid-August	1939	100.0%
" "	1940	119.1
" "	1941	131.8
" "	1942	144.5
" May	1943	159.0

Between August 1939 and May 1943 the prices of the various elements in the cost-of-living index rose as follows:

Food	50%
Fuel and light	86
Clothing	87
Other Items	61
TOTAL	59%

In view of these figures it is interesting to examine the steps taken by the Irish government to control the prices and the distribution of scarce goods. Eire has not experienced that inflationary pressure arising from increased money incomes, which the expansion of employment in war production has produced in the belligerent countries. Eire's price problems have arisen from the scarcity of imported goods, aggravated by attempts to stimulate agricultural and industrial production through price incentives, and by the considerable sums of money sent home by workers from abroad.

In order to protect the consumer the government has resorted to price control, wage control, rationing, subsidies, etc., though its methods have been very different from those used in Canada. Control has been effected, not by means of the price ceiling, but rather by dealing with each individual problem as it arose, and frequently not until it had become too grave to be ignored. The government's difficulties arose from the fact that it was caught in an unorthodox and uncomfortable position, between the devil of high prices and the deep blue sea of unemployment. Because of this discrepancy between the level of incomes and of prices, fiscal policy has not been used as an anti-inflation weapon.

In an effort to prevent an inflationary spiral of wages and prices, wages in certain industries were controlled, and all applications for wage increases were reviewed by tribunals. A system of standard rates for each occupation was introduced, plus a flat rate Cost-of-Living Bonus which was not granted automatically, but only on the recommendation of the tribunals. Since price control was incomplete, since the price rises were due to the scarcity of imported raw materials rather than high labour costs, and since the prevailing unemployment was not a favourable background for demands for higher wages, the net result was that wages lagged badly behind prices. It was reported that in the period from August 1939 to February 1942 wages rose by 10% while the cost-of-living index rose by 37%.

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* Although certain essential commodities have been brought under price contro a much wider range of commodities, not used in compiling cost-of-living index figures, have risen twice or three times in price since the outbreak of war.

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The government's policy is best seen by reference to particular commodities.

Tea has always been an importamt item in the diet of the Irish worker, and the normal consumption was, on the average, 2½ ozs. per head per week. With the severe curtailment of supplies rationing became essential, and went through several stages, as one method after another proved to be insufficiently watertight. By an order of January 1941 all wholesalers were required to register, and retailers were rationed to 1/16 of the amount they had handled in the year ending June 30th, 1939. (Emergency powers (tea) Order, 1941). This still left consumers to fight for the supplies available at the retail stores, and in April 1941 consumer rationing was introduced, the ration being fixed at ½ oz. per person per week, irrespective of age or taste. The system used was not the coupon system familiar here, but the "registered customer" system, under which every household registered with a certain retailer, no coupons being used. This system proved to be unsatisfactory, and evasion of the regulations seems to have been relatively easy. An unscrupulous retailer could "pad" the list of his customers, and thus get extra rations, which he could sell to his less scrupulous customers, in excess of their own rations. Similarly he could dispose of any rations that were not taken up by those who were entitled to them. The system proved inadequate, and in October 1942 the coupon system was introduced.

When consumer rationing started, prices were not fixed, and rationing alone could not keep prices down. If the customer did not want to pay the price for his ration, he could go without it, since the dealer was always sure of a market, if not within the ration, then outside it. Consequently, by October 1941, it was reported that tea was selling for as much as 6/- and 10/- per pound. Hence it became necessary in October 1941, to peg the price of tea, and the maximum price was fixed at 3/4d retail and 2/10d wholesale. The prevalence of profiteering is shown by the fact that this great price reduction could be decreed without necessitating the payment of a subsidy. In June 1943 the ration was reported to be ¼ oz. per person per week, while the maximum price is 4/- per lb. (In England the price is kept down to 2/10d by means of a subsidy.) It is interesting that in Eire, as in England, coffee is not rationed and the method of alternative rations, used here, is not used. This however does not impose so much hardship as it would here, since tea is much more widely used, while coffee is only used by very few.

Sugar In the case of sugar the government has been faced with the need to control the retail price on the one hand, and the desire to attain self-sufficiency by encouraging sugar beet production on the other hand. The import of sugar was prohibited, and in August 1941 rationing was introduced, in the expectation that this would keep the consumption of sugar down to the yield of the home-grown beet crop. The ration was fixed at 1 lb. per person per week and it was expected that the total amount consumed would be about 70,000 tons per year, while the yield was expected to be 100,000 tons. These expectations were not, apparently, entirely fulfilled, for in the course of the year it became necessary to reduce the ration to ¾ lb.

A few days after the beginning of the rationing system, the prevalence of profiteering made it necessary to control the price of sugar, and it was fixed at the price charged by retailers in the week ending January 4, 1941. In August 1942 it became necessary to tighten up the rationing system by introducing coupon rationing. At the end of August the ration was reduced from ¾ lb. to ½ lb. In June 1943 it was reported that the ration had been raised to ¾ lb. again and that the price was fixed at 5d per lb.

Clothing A point rationing system for clothing was introduced in June 1942. The number of points available at the outset was 52, with an additional 26 to become available after October. Some of the things that

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could be bought with one year's coupons were:

Pyjamas	20	points	Suit - 2 piece	37	points
Combinations	5	"	Shirt	12	"
Gloves	1	"	Socks - 2 prs.	3	"
	26	"		52	"

The introduction of rationing caused considerable protests from traders and manufacturers, and after three days of operation the system was modified by making the additional 26 coupons available immediately. This did not satisfy the interests concerned, for on the 15th of June clothiers, drapers and shirt manufacturers closed down for one day in protest against the rationing order. Spokesmen for the trade alleged that the order had been made without consultation of the trade and imposed unnecessary hardship, and demanded drastic revision of the system in close consultation with the trade. On the same day the Minister for supplies announced that an advisory committee would be established to consider possible modifications. It is clear from the list of points given above that the ration was very inadequate compared to customary requirements, and there appeared to be considerable difference of opinion as to whether such a drastic restriction was really necessary. In September the schedule of points was revised, and the points required for the major items were reduced. The number of points required for 2 piece suits was reduced from 37 to 32, overcoats from 29 and 36 to 25 and 32, shirts from 12 to 9.

Footwear was not included in the original rationing order, but had to be included in the scheme in July, 1942. Two points were required.

As with tea, the rationing of clothing was introduced without price control, and a great deal of profiteering took place, accompanied by the development of an extensive black market. Widespread protests caused the government, in May 1943 to issue an order fixing prices and profit margins.

In the new rationing year that began in June 1943 the total number of points remained at 78, but the increased scarcity of materials resulted in an increase in the points charged for various articles. In particular the number of points needed for men's shoes was raised to 8, and for women's shoes to 6, while suits required 45 points. Sheets and blankets and second hand clothing above a certain price were included in the rationing scheme.

Bread The price of bread fixed by the government is again the result of the desire to protect the consumer on the one hand, and the need to attain self-sufficiency on the other hand. In August 1941 a subsidy of £2,000,000 was announced in an attempt to achieve both these ends. The use of subsidies in this way has been very rare in Eire. The guaranteed price of wheat was 40/- a barrel of 20 stones for the 1941 harvest. For the 1942 harvest it was first fixed at 41/- raised to 45/- in December 1941 and to 50/- in January 1942.

Similarly the price of flour was raised from 47/- per sack of 280 lb. to 51/- in April 1940, and to 52/6 in September 1940. Before the war the price was 40/6. The price of bread rose to 1/- per 4 lb. loaf in August 1941 and was pegged at that level.

Early in 1942 it was found that the harvest and imports had not come up to expectations, and a serious shortage of flour and bread had developed. The government was reluctant to introduce rationing, because, as the Minister for Supplies stated in February 1942, this would be unjust to the poorer classes, whose consumption of bread was greater than that of the rich. "Voluntary" rationing was introduced, and consumers were asked to restrict their purchases of bread and flour to 4/5 of their previous consumption, the rich were asked to eat bread only at breakfast, and flour and bread dealers were licensed. This system proved to be a complete failure. Consumers hastened from store to store in an effort to obtain more than their share. With prices fixed, supplies disappeared from the stores, and long queues developed outside the stores, while in some places rioting occurred. The "poorer classes" did not share the government's view that rationing would be unjust to them, for the trade unions demanded

D 61340

the introduction of a strict rationing system. The crisis did not last long, for increased supplies were obtained, but it illustrated very well the danger of leaving a basic commodity in scarce supply unrationed.

Fuel The greatest problem of urban areas is the shortage of fuel. The curtailment of imports of coal, oil and gasoline have made it necessary to restrict the consumption of coal to industrial users and the railways, and private motoring has almost completely disappeared. The production of turf in rural areas is plentiful, but, largely owing to the shortage of coal and gasoline, there is not sufficient transport capacity to distribute it in accordance with the greatest needs. The coal shortage has affected the supply of electricity, since almost one-half of Eire's supply is provided by steam stations at Cork and Dublin.

The shortage of fuel has led to difficult problems of pricing and distribution. Gasoline was the first commodity to be rationed, but owing to the absence of adequate price control, the price in July 1941 was reported to have risen by 70% since the outbreak of war. In June 1943 it was reported that the price was controlled at 3/2d per gallon. Owing to the shortage of imported coal its use by domestic consumers was prohibited in 1941, and turf became increasingly important as a substitute. In spite of a subsidy of 23/6d per ton, the price of turf rose steeply to 87/6d per ton in May 1943 (Economist, 8/5/43), though in June 1943 it was reported that the price of turf briquettes was controlled at 5d per stone, that is, 66/8d per ton. Kerosene rationing was introduced in August of 1941, but no coupons were used. The price of candles was reported in August 1941 to have risen from 6/-, 7/- and 9/- per lb. Since the kerosene ration was small many households, not using electricity, depended on candles for lighting.

An electricity rationing scheme was introduced in May 1942 and continued for several months. As a result of the gas and electricity restrictions many shops and industries were forced to adjust their hours of working, even to the extent of early closings.

Butter rationing was introduced for certain districts in 1942, and became universal in June 1943, the ration being ½ lb. per person per week. The coupon system is used.

Many other household commodities are unrationed though in short supply and although the prices of many are now controlled, controls were usually not introduced until the price had risen considerably.

The lack of success of the government's controls is clearly shown in the cost of living figures quoted above. The failure to control the cost of living was due, on the one hand to the inadequacy of the controls, and on the other to widespread evasion of the regulations, and inadequate enforcement. According to government spokesmen, enforcement of price regulations was difficult because it was hard to secure enough evidence for a conviction. This seems to point to a considerable lack of co-operation on the part of the public. Some indication of the extent of evasion is given by the following examples:

> In October, 1942 a merchant was fined £100 for buying 18 lb. of tea at 16/6 a pound. He also sold 30 lb. at 17/6 a lb.
>
> In the same month evidence was given in court that a queue lined up to purchase tea at 1/3 d per ounce. "That works out at £1 per pound ... I have evidence that there is an absolute ramp" said the prosecuting counsel.

D 61341

X. Potatoes

The 1942 season was a bad one for potatoes, and consequently, in 1943 the old potatoes ran out just before the new potatoes were ready to come on the market. Severe shortage was experienced for a few weeks. No system of rationing was in force and great hardship was experienced by the poorer sections of the community in whose diet the potato is an indispensible item.

XI. Bacon

This was one of the staple items in the diet of this country, but has now become almost a luxury. The bacon industry depended largely on imported feeding stuffs and farmers have had to cut down their pig population very severely.

XII. PRICE INCREASES IN CERTAIN FOOD ITEMS

	% Increase May'39 - Sept.'43
Fresh pork - shoulder	85
- sausage	115
Fish - cod steak	131
Eggs	200
Fresh milk	79
Bread	30
Potatoes	29
Tea	20
Sugar	33-1/3
Jam	36

With the exception of fresh pork shoulder, cod steak and eggs, all of the above foods are subject to price control.

Economics Branch
Research Div. W.P.T.B.
30/11/43

WARTIME PRICES AND TRADE BOARD

INTER-OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE

D 61342

DATE: November 20, 1943.

TO: Mr. J. Pickersgill,
213 East Block,
Ottawa.

FROM: R. E. Moffat,
Statistics Branch,
Research Division,
#7 Temporary Bldg.

The prices shown on the attached table are taken from official D.B.S. records and from B.L.S. publications for the U.S. In each case they are national averages.

The U.S. milk price is quoted as 15.5 cents per U.S. quart which becomes 19.4 cents per Canadian quart. Similarly the U.S. price for canned tomatoes is given as 12.5 cents per 20 oz. can and this has been converted to 17.5 cents per 28 oz. can to compare with the Canadian price. Otherwise the prices are taken directly from official publications.

The situation is even more striking when it is realized that although American food prices have always been above comparable Canadian prices the margin has been increasing quite noticeably in the recent past.

Two charts are being enclosed which we have recently prepared to illustrate the differing movements in the two countries.

R. E. Moffat

Encl.

Statistics Branch, Research Division.
November 20, 1943.

RETAIL FOOD PRICES IN CANADA AND U.S.
SEPTEMBER 1943

D 61343

Cents Per Unit.

Item	Unit	U. S. Price U. S. Funds	Can. Price Can. Funds
Milk	qt.	19.4	10.3
Butter	lb.	50.5	37.0
Eggs	doz.	62.7	52.3
Bread	lb.	8.9	6.4
Beef (Round Steak)	lb.	41.5	38.4
Bacon (Sliced)	lb.	42.0	46.2
Lard	lb.	18.9	18.6
Oranges	doz.	51.8	41.5
Onions	lb.	7.3	7.1
Potatoes	peck	60.6	43.1
Tomatoes No. $2\frac{1}{2}$	cans	17.5	13.3
Sugar	lb.	6.8	8.4

PERCENTAGE INCREASE AUG. /39 to SEPT. /43

	U. S.	Canada
Clothing	32.1	20.5
Rent	3.5	7.4
Fuel	10.5	14.5
Food	47.0	34.4
Total Cost of Living	25.7	18.5

REM

Statistics Branch, Research Division
November 20, 1943.

D 61344

PERCENTAGE INCREASES IN FOODS AND TOTAL COST-OF-LIVING
BETWEEN AUG. /39 and SEPT./43

	Minneapolis	Winnipeg
Foods	37.3	30.3
Total Cost-of-Living	21.4	15.4

	Buffalo	Toronto
Foods	45.3	31.4
Total Cost-of-Living	27.4	17.5

	Seattle	Vancouver
Foods	50.7	36.0
Total Cost-of-Living	27.4	17.6

REM

D 61345

CANADA

THE WARTIME PRICES AND TRADE BOARD

Statistics Branch, Research Division.

RETAIL PRICES IN CANADA AND UNITED STATES

The attached charts compare retail price movements in Canada and the United States since the beginning of the war. They cover the component groups of the cost of living indexes of the two countries as well as 17 of the more important food items. Monthly average prices, calculated by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for Canada, and by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the United States, have been expressed on the base August 1939 = 100.

Chart No. A-20 clearly shows the different trends of price movements in the two countries, and it should be stated that the calculation methods and weights are so similar that the differences cannot be explained in terms of differing statistical techniques.

Chart No. A-84 deals with food items. The total food index for September 1943 in United States was 47.0 percent above August 1939 while in Canada it was up 34.4 percent. Of the 17 individual items shown the United States increase is greater for nine, i.e., lamb, milk, prunes, butter, flour, oranges, potatoes, eggs and lard. The importance of Canadian subsidies is clearly apparent in this list. Four items show a greater increase in Canada. These are beef, pork, bacon and cheese. Pork and bacon were not on this list until the recent rollback of American meat prices. Bread, sugar, tea and coffee have increased by almost identical amounts in the two countries.

It is clear that the decline in the United States food index between May and August is associated with the seasonal movement in potatoes together with the rollback on meats and butter. Fresh vegetables not included in this chart were also important in the decline.

These charts are all based on percentage increase in price since August 1939. It does not follow therefore that Canadian beef prices are higher than American beef prices because Canadian beef is shown at 156 and American beef at 114. This simply indicates that the increase in Canadian beef prices has been 56 percent while the increase in American beef prices has been 14 percent. American beef prices were so much higher in August 1939 that even after this unequal rise they still remain above Canadian levels.

Nov. 15, 1943.

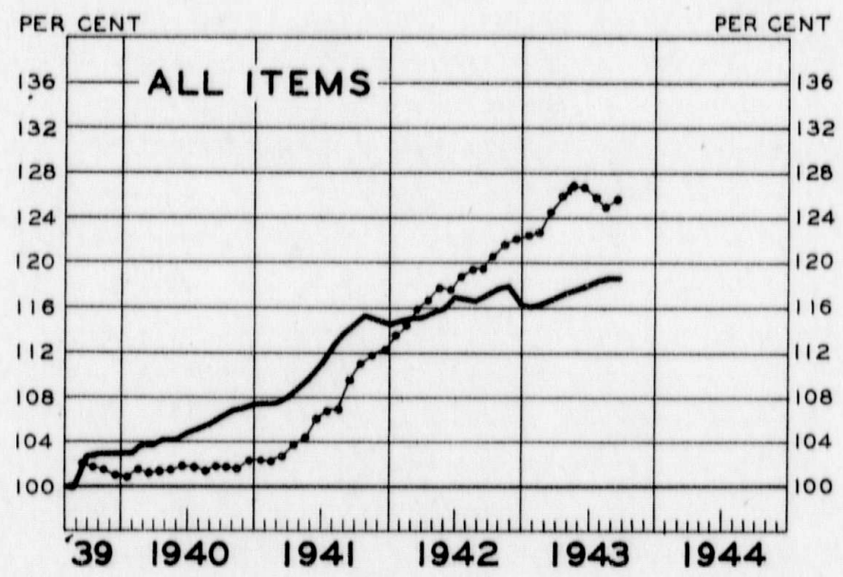
R.E.M.

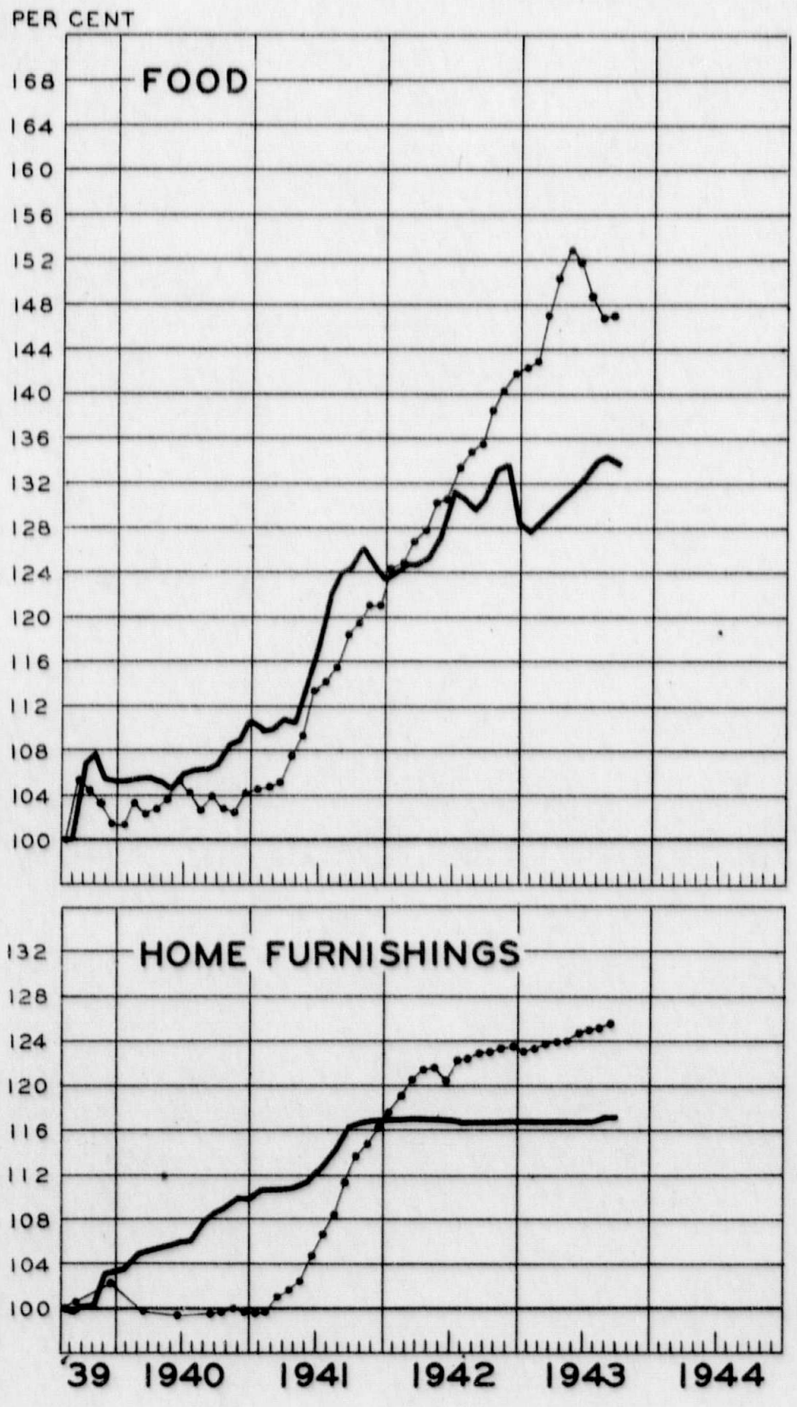
D 61346

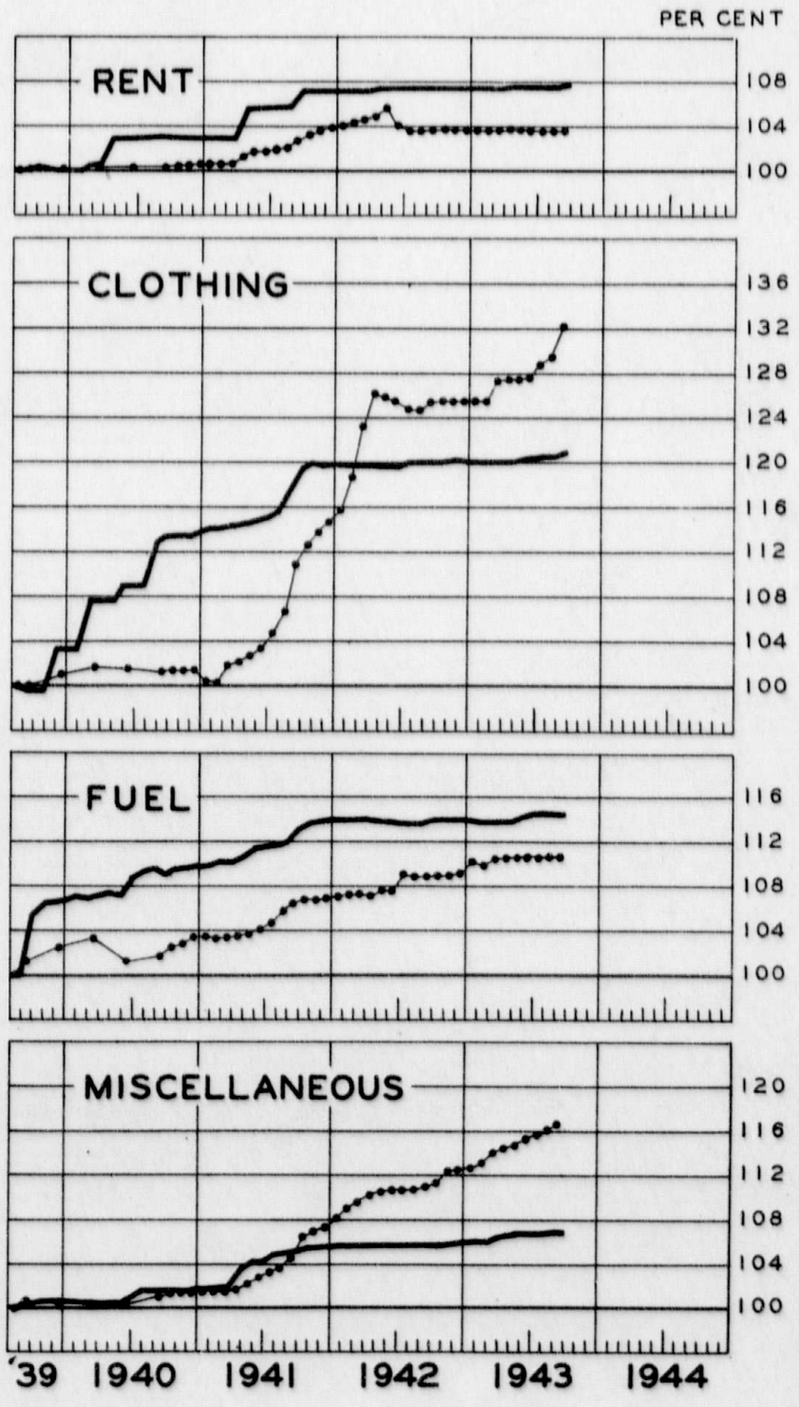
COMPONENTS OF THE COST OF LIVING INDEX

AUG. 1939 = 100

CANADA ——— COMPARED WITH UNITED STATES ·····







DATA: D.B.S. AND B.L.S.

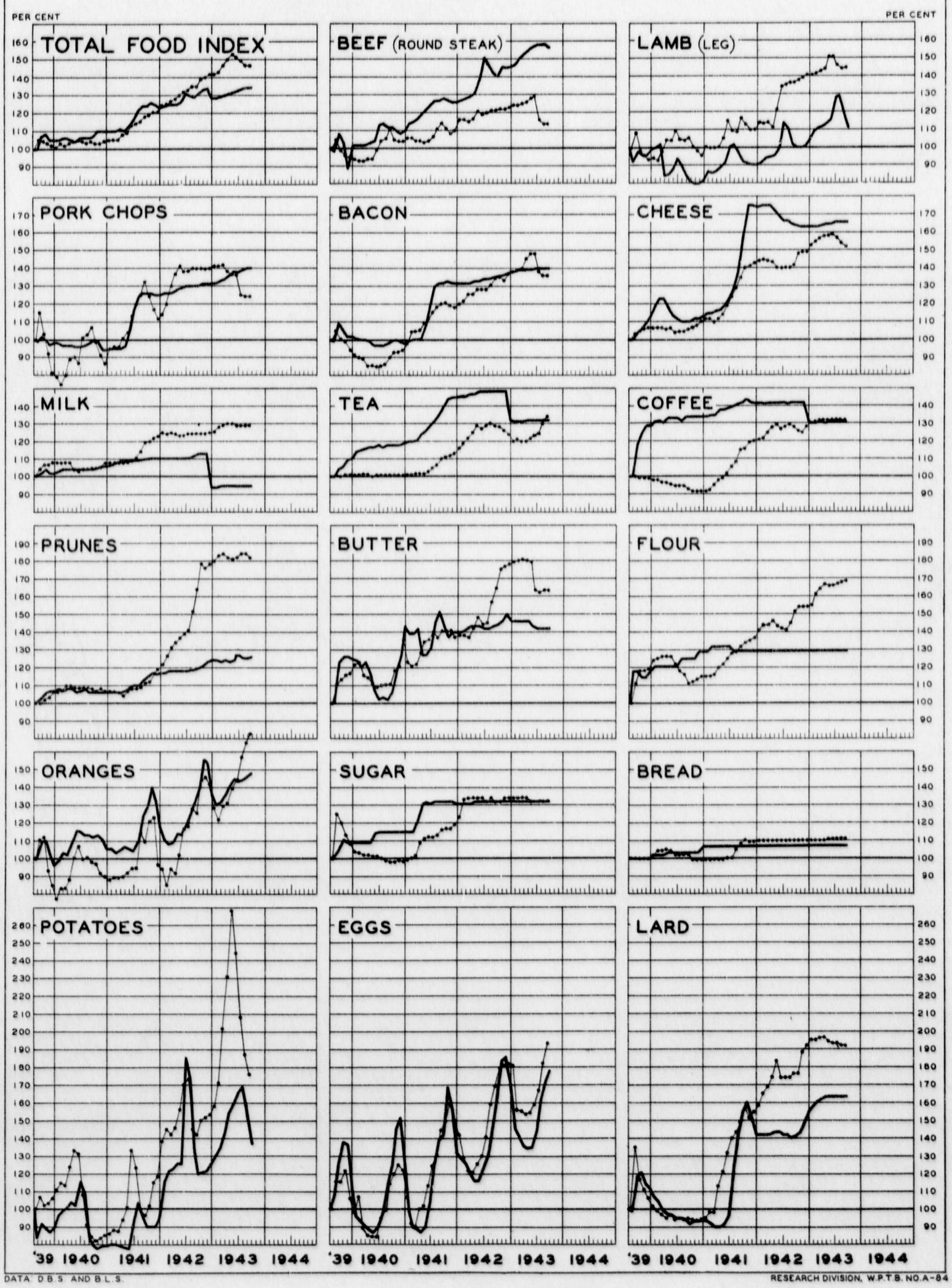
RESEARCH DIVISION, W.P.T.B. NO. A-20

D 61347

RETAIL PRICE INDEXES OF FOOD ITEMS

AUG. 1939 = 100

CANADA —— COMPARED WITH UNITED STATES ·····



DATA D.B.S. AND B.L.S.

RESEARCH DIVISION, W.P.T.B. NO. A-84

D 61348

The German Inflation (1922-23)

For those who have never experienced inflation its dangers may seem unreal or, at least, exaggerated. No country in modern times has experienced a more disastrous inflation than Germany after the close of the last war.

I have therefore collected a few examples to illustrate what happened in Germany when the inflation was at its height in 1922 and 1923.

The wages of coal miners by April of 1922 were already about 30 times as high as they were in 1914; by August they were 60 times as high; and by December about 600 times as high.

The cost of living in April of 1922 was not much higher proportionately than the wages of coal miners. It was about 34 times the cost in 1914. By August it was 77 times as high and by December 685 times as high. By January, 1923, the cost of living was already 112 times what it was in 1914. From January 1923, prices went up sky-high. By September they were over a million times what they had been in 1914 and by the end of the year prices were being measured in billions. Money literally came to be worth less than the paper it was printed on. Of course, wages went up, too, in 1923, until they reached fantastic figures. But wages could not keep pace with prices,

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particularly when the value of money was changing so rapidly that a whole week's wages often became quite worthless the day after the wages were paid. Even in 1922, as the figures show, the wages of coal miners could not keep up with prices. Coal miners were organized in unions with a strong bargaining position - in 1922, there were still labour unions in Germany. The situation was far worse for unorganized labour, and worse still for those living on war pensions, old age pensions or small savings. The German inflation completely wiped out the internal national debt of the country. Those who had lent their savings to help pay for the war watched them melt away. The savings of a life-time often vanished in a single day. At the same time, colossal profits were being made by successful speculators in property of all kinds. Out of the social disintegration which resulted from the inflation, Hitlerism was born and devedoped. Inflation born of one war thus became a prime cause of another war.

D 61350

Inflation in Europe

In the present war, Germany has taken drastic measures to prevent inflation within Germany. In the occupied countries, the Nazis have followed the opposite policy. The currencies of these unhappy countries have been deliberately inflated so that supplies of all kinds could be bought up cheaply by the Germans.

I have collected a few examples of actual prices known to have been paid for a variety of articles in different occupied countries.

In France, for example, where the franc before the war was worth about 4 cents, 4000 francs has been paid for a pair of shoes, 2000 for a ham, 500 for a chicken and 50 francs for a cup of tea. Sour milk costs 34 francs a litre, while before the war fresh milk was less than 2½ francs a litre.

In Belgium a loaf of black bread may cost 55 francs and an egg 10½ francs, if they can be bought at all.

In Greece, where the drachma before the war was worth about a little less than one cent, a loaf of bread costs 5000 drachmas, a pound of fish 8000-10,000 drachmas, a pound of meat 12,000 and a pair of shoes 200,000.

D 61351

In Holland, salaries and wages are fixed. Wages vary between 30 and 130 guilders a week. On the black market butter is 20 to 25 guilders a pound, meat 15 guilders, a man's suit 4000 guilders, a pair of shoes 80 guilders.

In Denmark, the wages of a farm labourer are 2000 to 2,200 crowns a year. Some typical prices are - shoes 40 crowns; overalls 30 crowns; men's suits 350 crowns.

Of course, these examples are from countries where the inflation has been deliberately used by the enemy. Spain, however, is not occupied. In Spain, a worker earns 12, 15 or 20 pesetas a day. He must spend 20 to 25 pesetas to eat moderately well. A pair of shoes costs from 120 to 150 pesetas; a loaf of brown bread 8 to 10 pesetas.

D 61352

Inflation in Ireland

The dangers of inflation are not confined only to those countries actually at war. Ireland is not at war, but that country has not escaped some of the consequences of world-wide war. The cost of living index in Ireland had already risen 60% between the outbreak of war in 1939 and the summer of this year. The cost of living index does not give an adequate measure of the rise in prices in Ireland, since price control is confined largely to necessaries which are included in the index. Other commodities, not included in the index, have, in some cases, risen twice or three times in price since the outbreak of war.

The rise in Irish prices is largely caused by the scarcity of imported foodstuffs and raw materials. The index of food prices has risen over 50%, although Ireland is still largely an agricultural country. Tea has gone up 20% and is severely rationed; bread and potatoes about 30%; sugar 33%; milk 80%; and uncontrolled foodstuffs have gone much higher. The price of fresh pork, for example, has increased from 80 to 120%; cod fish steaks, 130%; and eggs, 200%. The controlled foodstuffs are, in many cases, scarce. If one may judge from the record of prosecutions, a considerable proportion of the supplies find their way to

the black market. According to evidence given in the courts, tea, for example, has been sold for 17/6 to £1. a pound, prices which are the equivalent of $3 to $4 a pound in our money.

The rise in Irish prices has been felt particularly by pensioners, those receiving small salaries, and wage-earners. Wages have risen very slowly in Ireland where there is considerable unemployment. In other words, the inflation of prices has created acute hardship for labour and for those with small fixed incomes.

Material for P. M.'s speech on
Battle Against Inflation

by Vincent C McDonald
Department of Labour

D 61354

V. C. M.

16/11/43.

WAGES STABILIZATION POLICY

(Vincent McDonald
Department of Labour)

D 61355

Note The following assumes previous discussions of the general economics of Inflation, and of the other elements of the general Control Policy such as those relating to prices, profits, taxation, compulsory savings, induced savings through bond purchases, subsidies, etc.

D 61356

1. General Purposes of Wage Stabilization Policy

When announcing the Government's policy in October of 1941, I pointed out that the Government clearly realized that the cost-of-living could not be controlled unless wages were also stabilized. I stated the obvious fact that the price of finished goods depended largely on their cost of production and that, as wages were a vital element in that cost, wages must be stabilized as part of the effort to control prices and the resultant cost of living.

Even at the risk of repeating what I said on that occasion, or have said previously this evening, I think it wise to recur briefly to the subject of the relation between Prices and Wages and their mutual relation to wartime inflation.

War inevitably causes a diversion of much of the nation's productive capacity from the production of consumers' goods to that of instruments of war; it causes vastly increased employment at increased rates of wages, resulting in more people having more money to expend upon civilian goods at a time when the supply of those goods is greatly restricted. More money to spend on fewer goods invariably causes the prices of the available goods to rise. This process quickly gets out of hand and prices rise to heights inconceivable in time of peace.

It is true that the wage rates and wage incomes of the workers in terms of dollars also rise to ever higher levels, so that there is a temptation for the worker to assume that his economic lot

has been improved. Indeed it does improve in terms of dollars earned, but this improvement is illusory. Every war has proved -- and this one is no exception -- that Prices and Wages never rise with equal speed or to equal levels; for wage incomes lag always behind the march of uncontrolled prices. Thus it has been that we have learned the bitter lesson that money-income and real-income are not the same, either in economic theory or in fact. It is easy to lose oneself in the mysteries of inflation; but of this everyone can be sure: that it avails the wage-earner little to have more money in his pocket if he can buy less with it, and that this is always the case when spiralling prices are uncontrolled.

In this war the relation between Prices and Wages is perhaps more important that it was in the last war. A much greater proportion of our productive effort is being devoted to producing agencies of war owing to the greater degree of mechanization in this war. Consequently, though there is more employment, it results in relatively fewer civilian goods upon which the earnings of that employment can be expended, and so, as the Government realized in 1941, the peril of uncontrolled prices is greater in this war than in the Great War.

One of the things which weighed with the Government in embarking upon the related policies of price and wage control was that inflation is unjust in its incidence, as it bears most harshly

on groups least able to increase their incomes.

And so it was that in 1941 the Government determined that as one phase of a vitally necessary campaign against the evil of inflation, it must endeavour to stabilize wages.

D 61359

2. The Mechanism of Wage Stabilization

The principles and machinery of the policy decided upon were set forth in the "Wartime Wages and Cost of Living Bonus Order" of October 24, 1941, which provided for the stabilization of wage rates at the level in effect on November 15, 1941, and for the payment of a cost-of-living bonus.

Shortly after his -- on November 27, 1941 - - "The Wartime Salaries Order" was made for the purpose of stabilizing the rates of managerial and executive salaries in the same general way as the previous Order, and likewise providing for a cost-of-living bonus.

The present policy of wage stabilization is to be found in the "Wartime Wages Control Order" of July 10, 1942 as amended.

I am sure that most of my listeners are familiar with this Order; but it may be helpful to remind you of its main provisions so far as they are relevant to my talk tonight.

First, it provides for a National War Labour Board of three members which deals directly with industries of national significance, and also exercises an appellate jurisdiction over nine Regional Boards, which deal with industries of a more local or provincial character.

Secondly, it applies, with minor exceptions, to all employees paid at a rate of less than $175 per month or who are not above the rank of foreman.

Thirdly, it prohibits employers from increasing or decreasing basis wage rates in effect on November 15, 1941 without the authorization of the National or a Regional Board.

This provision has often been described as a "wage-freezing measure. This is quite inaccurate; for employers may freely raise or lower the wage rate of an employee within the limits of the range of rates in effect on November 15, 1941 upon his promotion or demotion. Moreover, if it be shown that the existing rates are low compared with wages generally prevailing for similar work in the same or a comparable locality, they may be increased by a War Labour Board. That this provision is a stabilization and not a freezing measure is demonstrated by the extent to which its application has resulted in actual increases in rates -- a matter of which I shall speak in a moment.

Fourthly, the Order provides for the payment of a cost-of-living bonus, increased or decreased pursuant to a General Order of the National Board whenever any quarterly revision of the Cost-of-Living Index shows an increase or decrease of one point above or below that for the last month of the preceding quarter. An illustration of the operation of this provision is to be found in the General Order of the Board of November 3rd. As the Cost-of-Living Index number for October had risen by 1.4 points over that for July 1943 (when it was 117.9), the Board ordered that the bonus payable to adult male employees

D 61361

and to others employed at weekly rates of $25.00 or more must be increased by 35 cents per week, and that the weekly rates of other classes of employees be increased by 1.4 per cent.

The maximum bonuses payable under the Wage Control Order now stands at $4.60 per week, or 18.4 per cent for these two classes of workers respectively.

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3. Effectiveness of Wage Policy

Before I attempt to appraise the effectiveness of the Wage Control Order, I should like to remind you that the provision as to the payment of an increased or decreased cost of living bonus itself indicates how closely this measure of wage control is tied-in with the control of prices, for the bonus varies with the cost-of-living Index.

Viewing this measure as a component of the price stabilization plan inaugurated in 1941, we find six items on the credit side of the ledger:-

1. It has retarded the rate of increase of the cost of living; for whereas it increased by 14.6 per cent up to October 1941, it has increased by only 3.8 per cent since that date.

2. The cost of living in Canada has increased far less than in the corresponding period of the last war, namely, 18.4 per cent as against over 50 per cent.

3. The cost of living in Canada has increased far less than in other countries, including Great Britain, the United States and Newfoundland.

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4. Our method of control has been admired in many other countries, including the United States, and its technique has been widely imitated.

5. It has allowed for increases of wage rates in many meritorious cases yet has kept the cost of living from increasing beyond the relatively modest figure of 18.4 per cent since the outbreak of war.

6. It has served to bring the real income of the worker to a level never before attained in time of war.

All in all, we have great reason to be satisfied with the success of our national effort to equalize the burdens of war so far as they affect the consumer and the worker.

Our gratification, however, must not blind us to the other side of the ledger, a glance at which will point to dangers which must be faced.

On the <u>debit</u> side of the ledger we find:-

1. That there is a steady increase in the national income;

2. That notwithstanding the Wage Control Order, wage rates and total earnings are rising;

3. That the cost-of-living index has risen each month since February and by a total mount of 2.4 per cent.

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4. That the recent General Order of the National Labour Board in respect of the cost-of-living bonus will increase the national payrolls by over $40,000,000 per year.

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4. Continuing Pressures on Wage Control

It may be useful to confine ourselves for a moment to a consideration of some of the pressures on the price ceiling arising from wage rates and the cost-of-living bonus.

In the exercise of their powers the National and Regional War Labour Boards have:-

1. Dealt with 4,000 applications for payment, and increased payment, of the cost-of-living bonus involving 600,000 employees, and have authorized payments approximating $53,000,000 per year;

2. Dealt with 27,000 applications for wage increases involving 850,000 employees, and have authorized increases at the estimated rate of $96,000,000 per year.

3. In the two General Orders of August 4, 1942 and November 3, 1943, have directed payment of the bonus to an extent which will increase wage earnings by the estimated amount of $120,000,000 per year.

Now these somewhat startling figures must not be taken to mean that the Board has been too generous -- indeed the contrary has been widely said. I am prepared to assume that they have done these things in strict conformity with their duty under the law.

What do these figures suggest?

They suggest a constant pressure on the part of Labour for increased wage rates. They suggest that every successful application has served as a precedent and an incentive to other groups to make similar applications, and has begotten consequential applications for increases to maintain customary wage differentials as between classifications of workers. They suggest that whilst Labour, like other elements in the community, applauds the price ceiling, it is not averse to seeing it put in peril by continual assualts on one of its main pillars. They confirm the view that Trade Unions, in their zeal for membership, use the inducement that they can and will secure increased wages. They confirm in part the testimony of Mr. Donald Gordon before the National War Labour Board that "the two major cost factors which can make or break the price ceiling and the whole stabilization programme are wage rates and farm prices."

At all events, we must accept these facts as demonstrating that the present method of stabilizing wages -- which is a part of the whole control policy -- falls very far short of preventing a constant upward pressure on the cost of living. At the very least, they suggest that we should re-scrutinize our present method of wage control if we really desire to control prices.

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5. Re-affirmation of Wage Stabilization Policy.

I have already expressed the firm intention of the Government to maintain and strengthen its policy of stabilization of the cost of living. This applies equally to the wage stabilization policy which is an important and integral part of the over-all policy. This does not mean that we intend simply to maintain the existing principles and procedures of wage control; rather it means that we shall retain so much of them as have proved their functional worth wish such renovation of them, and such departures from them, as experience shows to be desirable.

It goes without saying that the Government has kept an anxious eye upon every aspect of its general control policy. This has been true particularly of the wage aspect, which has forced itself upon our attention because of the numerous applications for increases relating to wage and bonus matters, and because of recurring disputes arising out of such matters.

In its determination of what is required in the nature of improved or new rules and mechanisms of wage stabilization so as best to combine effectiveness and justice, the Government has been helped immeasurably by the public enquiry recently held into wage control and other matters by the National War Labour Board. The Government has studied not only the findings and recommendations made by the members of the Board, but also the evidence presented to it by industrial and labour organizations and by individuals. To

all who took any part in these proceedings and reports, the Government and the people of Canada owe a great debt.

In the result, the Government has decided upon certain measures in the field of wage control which will be embodied in a new Order in Council to be known as the "Wartime Wages Control Order, 1943."

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6. Summary of Innovations in Proposed Wage Control Order

Before I begin a brief epitome of the significant departures from the previous wage policy to be set forth in the new Order, may I express the willingness of the Government again, and yet again, to modify the method and apparatus of wage control whenever it seems necessary so to do.

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7. Plea for Support of Labour

The Government realizes that Labour has been disposed to chafe at the restriction imposed upon the normal processes of collective bargaining whereby in time of war Labour has always been able to make great headway in increasing its rates and earnings. Indeed, the Government is prepared, as soon as it is possible to do so, to enact a measure which will give legal recognition to that process and provide an improved method of preventing or of composing industrial disputes.

On this occasion, however, I wish to direct a few words to Labour upon the immediate topic of the new wage control Order and its relation to the ultimate objective of a stabilized cost of living.

I venture to hope that my words will be heeded as coming from one whose life-long interest in, and sympathy for, the legitimate aspirations of Labour is well known.

I wish to remind Organized Labour that the restrictions inherent in wage stabilization have not prevented it from attaining to an unprecedented level of rates, or earnings, and of living comfort; that it has not retarded the Trade Union movement, which indeed has increased by 200,000 members since 1939.

Secondly, I wish to remind you that the wage policy has played a notable part in preventing the horrors of runaway prices which inevitably hit hardest at low-income groups -- particularly those with dependents -- who have least in the way of savings to

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cushion the blows of inflation.

It is natural for Labour to want more money and it natural for rival unions to seek more members by promising more money in the form of increased rates. Nevertheless, the worker should realize that prosperity depends not just on having more money but on what that money will buy in the way of living needs and comforts. Similarly Union officials should realize that to purchase larger membership by the continuing pressure of strikes and wage applications may in the long run work to the detriment of all their members and of the Union movement itself.

The vast majority of our people -- even of those who work with their hands -- are bearing with uncomplaining fortitude the daily sacrifices which total war imposes, and they cannot be expected to sympathize with efforts of any class to exploit the present shortages of labour to its own advantage and to the peril of all others. Moreover, this war will end some day and it is to the interest of Labour that that day should find us with a balanced price and wage structure upon which we may stand against the forces which will make for post-war unemployment and depression.

And so I would say to Labour with the sincerity of a friend that it should confine its assaults on the wage structure to the correction of obvious and glaring inequalities and injustices -- with which all will sympathize -- and concentrate rather on securing

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gains for their members in respect of other terms of employment upon which their well-being depends no less than upon money rates.

For Labour, as well as for all other classes, there is no middle ground between Control and Inflation, nor is it possible for Labour to increase its rates without producing an almost equivalent increase in the level of prices for all classes. Accordingly I feel confident that Labour will support the wage control policy as directly involving the continued success of our unending battle against inflation, even though, on a short-sighted view, it may seem to their interest to assail that policy.

Equal tolerance and restraint must of course be shown by all other classes who may feel their free activities circumscribed by one or other of the controls which make up our over-all defence against inflation as a menace to the nation in this war and in the peace which will follow.

Draft of speech for P.M. on
Battle Against Inflation
by W.C. Clark of
Department of Finance.

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W. C Clark
Department of Finance

November 8, 1943.

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It is just over two years since I announced on behalf of the Government, the adoption by Canada of a vigorous price and wage stabilization program. That announcement, you will remember, was made necessary by increasing evidence during the summer of 1941 that the forces making for inflation, always present in a country geared for total war, were beginning to get out of control. During the previous six months, the cost of living had risen by over 6%, and it was apparent that unless drastic action were taken immediately, prices of the necessaries of life were likely to soar as they had done in the last war. During the same period, the competition amongst employers for labour and amongst rival trade unions for members was causing a rapid and chaotic increase in wage rates in essential industries, creating new inequalities and an ever-increasing pressure on costs of production.

This price and wage stabilization program was not an isolated policy. It fitted into a broad framework of economic and fiscal policy which the Government had been building up from the beginning of the war and which reached substantial completion in the Budget of 1942. It included six elements:

First, taxation of business profits at rates which would reduce the profits of all business corporations

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remaining after tax to 70% of their pre-war level, subject to the proviso that 20% of the taxes paid at the 100% rate shall be refunded after the war. Business other than corporations may retain not more than 70 per cent of their pre-war level of net profits. before taxes. This is the most rigorous and drastic of all the limitations on income.

Second, stabilization of salaries at the level of October, 1941, with allowances only for genuine promotion and increase of responsibilities but without cost of living bonus except in the lowest salary groups.

Third, stabilization of wages at the level of October, 1941, a level much higher than the pre-war level, and equal to or higher than any level of wages in this country since the last war, plus the payment of a cost of living bonus to compensate for any increase in the cost of living over the level of October 1, 1941. In addition, the right was given to apply to the War Labour Boards to have relatively low rates brought into line with those for similar jobs in comparable localities.

Fourthly, stabilization of prices at as nearly as possible the level of October, 1941, with the specific understanding that an increase in the price of wheat was desirable as soon as circumstances would permit and with the knowledge that, by price increase or subsidy the returns from certain other farm products would require to be augmented.

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Fifthly, personal income taxes on incomes above $660 for single persons and $1,200 for married persons (exemptions which are more generous than those allowed in the United Kingdom or in the United States) steeply graduated with the effect of reducing sharply the incomes available after taxation for spending and of placing a definite though slightly sloping roof on personal incomes. Amounts up to one-half the tax in the case of lower incomes are refundable after the war.

Finally, a positive policy of procuring, allocating and, where necessary, rationing essential supplies for the civilian population.

The broad policy was based on the sure knowledge that the requirements of war would cut more and more severely into the civilian scale of living and on the determination that the burdens thus imposed should be apportioned with at least rough fairness. It was only by including <u>all</u> the above elements in a unified policy that such fairness could be achieved.

The whole policy was a new and courageous experiment amongst democratic nations and there were many who scoffed at its boldness and doubted its possibilities of success. Now, what have been the results? They have, in

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fact, been better than could have been anticipated. As a result of the control of prices, the cost of living index has risen by only slightly more than 3% since December, 1941. In the corresponding period of the last war, it rose by nearly 27%. In contrast with an increase of a bit more than 3% in Canada, the rise for the same period in the United States has been more than 11%. Not only in the United States, but in Great Britain, Australia, South Africa, Newfoundland, and even in the South American Republics, the increase in the cost of living has been substantially greater than in Canada.

But there have been much broader results in which the effective control of prices has played an essential part. Our national income has about doubled since the outbreak of war, but the whole of that increase and more has been swallowed up in the cost of war. What is left in goods and services for you and me and the other civilians is, if anything, less than we had in 1939. And yet we do not need to appeal to the experts to know that farm incomes and farm living are on a vastly better level than in 1939. We know equally well that the wage earners, greatly increased in number, have with few exceptions better incomes and better living than in 1939. How can this be so? Only because those living on salaries, on property

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incomes and on the profits of business have, after they have paid their taxes, very much less. There has been in this country such a leveling of spendable incomes, such a planned fairness in distributing burdens as had not heretofore been conceived in practical terms. This has not happened by accident; it was the direct result of the broad policies which I have enumerated. It would have been impossible of achievement without the price ceiling and without each of the other elements of our economic and fiscal policy. The conception of that policy and the results which flow from it are such that I am proud to head a government which designed it and has so far carried it out effectively.

This program and its results have aroused the liveliest admiration abroad. Visitors from other countries are loud in their praise not merely of the program as a paper plan but of the observed results in prices, supplies, orderly purchasing, revenues and Victory Loan subscriptions.

And yet in this country, among ourselves, it is quite apparent that there is a widespread discontent. No one fails to pay lip service to the price-ceiling program, but few groups hesitate to undermine it at its foundations. This is a matter that is of profound concern to all of us. I freely confess that I am troubled by it. It is so serious

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that every loyal citizen and the leaders of every political party should be troubled by it. No responsible person can discuss it otherwise than with great frankness. Just at the time when our armed forces by land and sea and air as part of the forces of the United Nations are making the first inroads into Axis Europe, and when the real test of great events is upon us, division and distrust at home are matters of the gravest moment.

In carrying out the programme, there have, of course, been faults and imperfections in administration. It is easy to point out that, in building up large new administrations in wartime, it is not possible to select only first-class administrators and assistants. There are not enough to fill all the posts they are needed for. It is obvious that in dealing with a multitude of problems some wrong decisions will be taken. There have, undoubtedly, been cases where lack of adequate explanation has created serious misunderstandings. The Government has already taken steps to re-examine particular orders and to strengthen and improve administration, particularly in local offices. But the irritations caused by administrative imperfections should not blind us to the fact that the policy as a whole has been a striking success. Had it not been adopted and vigorously executed, the rise in prices and the cost of living would inevitably have been such as to produce untold injustice and misery for many sections of our population, constant strife and unsettlement, a serious impairment of our

war effort, and a whole series of difficult problems for the post-war period.

Let me say at once, therefore, that my colleagues and I are firmly of the opinion that the abandonment of the present economic and fiscal program of the government would not be in accord with the wishes of the Canadian people. On behalf of the Government, I wish to re-affirm our profound conviction that the whole stabilization program is essential to the maintenance of justice and equity in the distribution of the burden of war costs amongst the Canadian people, to the unhindered prosecution of the war and to the assurance of a stable and prosperous economy after the war. This Government intends to maintain and strengthen that program.

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As I indicated at the outset, we recognized at the time the ceilings were established that there were undue inequalities both in certain types of farm prices and in certain types of wages, and we made provision in our program for the gradual correction of these inequalities. I would like first to review the application of the price ceiling to agriculture to see the progress which has been made in this field. In October 1941 agricultural prices with a few conspicuous exceptions, notably wheat, were higher than they had been at any time during the preceding ten years. Pending an adjustment in the abnormally low prices, the Government immediately adopted certain emergency measures. Supplementary payments were made on an acreage basis to grain farmers in Western Canada and the Government assumed freight charges from Fort William on grain required by Eastern Canadian farmers for the feeding of livestock, a policy which is still in effect. The last two years have brought a remarkable transformation in the price of wheat which represented the most serious problem to be solved. In 1941 wheat supplies were such a heavy burden on the market that the Canadian Wheat Board was required to support prices at 70¢ a bushel. Some months later the guaranteed price was raised to 90¢, applying to the 1942 crop. Finally,

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a few weeks ago, after a sharp rise in the market price and the development of conditions that interfered with normal trad[illegible], the Government as a war measure took complete control of wheat marketing in Canada, fixing a minimum price to the farmer of $1.25 per bushel for #1 Northern Wheat at Fort William, a guarantee which will remain in effect until July 1945.

The other class of farm products exempt from the ceiling at the inception of the policy consisted of fresh fruits and vegetables. These are perishable and subject to wide seasonal fluctuations in prices and therefore extremely difficult to regulate. One by one, However, as conditions permit, they have been brought under the general ceiling, although of course at price levels substantially above those prevailing in the basic period.

Except for wheat and fresh fruits and vegetables, price ceilings have been applied to farm products from the outset of the program. The reasons are self-evident; for instance, food, most of which is produced on Canadian farms, forms more than 30% of the living expenditures of the average Canadian family. I think it will be evident that an over-all stabilization policy cannot be effectively administered unless it is applied on the same general principles

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and with equal fairness to everyone, including the producers of food. But I wish to make it clear that the farm price controls were by no means rigid. Where an illogical price structure or an abnormally low level of prices threatened the supply of some foodstuff or other agricultural product, necessary adjustments were made. The list of increases in the prices of agricultural products since the establishment of the ceiling speaks for itself. Cattle prices have risen nearly 20% since October 1941. Hog prices have been raised in successive British contracts and ceiling prices on pork contracts adjusted accordingly. The price of cheese is 5¢ per pound higher than it was at the end of 1941. Eggs are being sold at the best prices in years. Reflecting the effect of these price increases, the wholesale index of farm prices has risen some 30% during the past two years and no less than 65% since the outbreak of war.

Thes increases in agricultural prices were the chief reason for thelimited increase in the cost of living index that has taken place since the establishment of the price ceiling. The actual rise in the case of foodstuffs to the consumer would have been greater if all the increases in farm returns had been passed on to the consumer. However,

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instead of allowing that, the Government required processors and distributors to absorb a share of the higher cost and paid a substantial portion of the remainder in the form of subsidies. Among the more important of the agricultural subsidies now being paid are the 10¢ per pound bonus on butter fat and the subsidies on milk entering into fluid milk consumption and into the manufacture of cheese and concentrated milk. Price ceilings on flour and bread are also protected ~~by setting a higher price on wheat~~ in spite of much higher wheat prices, by the payment of a substantial drawback to flour millers, which is returned by the millers to the government to the extent that it results in the earning of excess profits.

Also in keeping with my original announcement, the Government has endeavoured to give to the farmer greater confidence in expanding his output by the establishment of a "floor price" wherever this was deemed necessary and feasible. I have ~~also~~ already mentioned the guaranteed price of $1.25 for wheat, which covers a period of two years. Similar "floors" have been established for peas, flour, flaxseed and soya beans. The Food Board stands ready to buy cattle at stated minimum prices throughout the year. Support prices are provided for butter through the Dairy Products Board. By

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making contracts with the British Government for large quantities of such products as bacon, cheese and eggs, the Government has given substantial assurance of farm prices over considerable periods. I may add that the Government is giving careful consideration to the extension of this principle of "floor prices" as a stabilizing measure both now and in time of peace.

This review of agricultural products has been given to show that the stabilization policy has not resulted in a "freezing" of farm prices at indefensible levels. Obvious inequities and injustices have been removed or permitted to disappear, thus facilitating the attainment of maximum production and assisting in the restoration of a vigorous and thriving farm population. The result of the policy is nowhere better reflected than in the terms of gross cash farm income which has now reached levels considerably in excess of the previous best years, including the years 1926-29. The total for 1943 is estimated at about $1,300 million as contrasted with $664 million in 1938. Equally important is it to note that as a result of preventing an equivalent rise in production costs, net cash income for Canadian agriculture has increased to an even greater degree than gross income.

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Pressure still continues, however, for further increases in farm produce prices. To the interested groups of producers who may have what they consider a perfectly sound case, it is sometimes difficult to say "No". But if we have learned anything during these first two years of the price ceiling it is that concessions solve nothing. They lead inevitably to demands for further concessions, and the individual or group which strives to better its position soon finds that its temporary gains disappear. The correction of gross injustices and inequities can sometimes be isolated but now that substantial equity has been achieved as between various agricultural prices and for agriculture in relation to other groups, further price concessions must be resisted, if we are not to risk the collapse of the entire structure. We have reached and established a favourable line of defence. With your support, but only with your support, we can hold it.

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The stabilization of wage levels has been and must remain an essential part of the price ceiling policy. Within this stabilization policy, adjustments of specific wage rates have been made by the National and Regional War Labour Boards in the endeavour to bring relatively low rates into line with those for the same or similar jobs in comparable areas. Many thousands of adjustments have been authorized, involving on the whole a substantial increase in total earnings and in the costs of production. This is one of several factors which have resulted in an increase of 22½% in the average weekly earnings of some 2,000,000 employees of some 15,000 firms reporting to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. This process of adjustment, however, has perhaps inevitably met with criticism from those who did not get what they wanted or get it as quickly as they wanted it, or who felt that others no more deserving had been granted more than they had received. These discontents, added to others of different origin and longer standing, gave rise to considerable anxiety in labour circles, and particularly amongst trade union leaders and members. It was this situation which led the Government to authorize the National War Labour Board early this year to conduct an inquiry into the causes of labour unrest and to make recommendation as to the steps the Government might take to bring about better labour relations.

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After a prolonged investigation, the Board presented a Majority and a Minority report to the Government, making a large number of recommendations. These have received very careful study by my colleagues and myself. I am now in a position to announce that we have decided upon a course of action which involves general acceptance of the principles of the Majority Report. The two reports are being made public tonight, in order that everyone may be in a position to appraise the Government's decisions in the light of these documents.

"The most serious question involved", as the Majority Report states, "is that of the right of collective bargaining." For that right, labour has fought for many years through thick and thin. To it, labour looks for a large measure of security, responsibility and dignity in the years to come. Even yet the recognition of that right, in Canada, is far from universal. Until recently, a great many employers had resisted trade unionism with all the power at their command. Our present difficulties stem in large part from the industrial immaturity that has resulted

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from this attitude. Early in the war the Government stated emphatically by order in council that it wished to see collective bargaining adopted under war conditions. Some progress has been made in this respect but not nearly enough. Many employers have continued to resist the right of labour to organize and bargain through unions of its own choosing. In part -- but only in part -- their attitude can be explained by the fear of irresponsible and unrepresentative labour leadership which has appeared in some quarters as a consequence, in part at least, of the long delay in the natural process of organization. A normal, gradual growth of trade union organization would permit the development of strong leadership and internal discipline. However, we can no longer brook delay. We can no longer tolerate, under war conditions, interference by employers with the right of their employees to bargain through agents of their own choosing, or tolerate the stoppages of work which result from disputes in regard to such matters.

The Government therefore has decided -- and here it follows in general the recommendations of both the Majority and Minority Reports -- to establish a Dominion Code of Labour Relations which will provide for compulsory collective bargaining in war industries. I cannot give you

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the details of this Code tonight but they will be made public as soon as practicable. They have been worked out with great care and after conference with the provincial governments, which but for war conditions would be responsible under our constitution in this field of labour relations. The new Code will make provision for establishing the appropriate bargaining units, for ensuring a fair and democratic choice of bargaining agencies, for defining the responsibilities of each party to the collective bargain, for prohibiting unfair influence and discriminatory practices by either party, and for the imposition of appropriate penalties for infractions of the Code. We shall also establish a Labour Relations Board to administer the Code fairly and to see that it is effectively applied. Compulsory arbitration will be limited to so-called "grievance disputes", that is, those arising out of the interpretation of an existing agreement. While the Majority Report recommended compulsory arbitration of disputes, even in the absence of collective agreements, (and the outlawing of strikes and lockouts), the Government has decided not to accept this recommendation until and unless labour and management show they cannot use the machinery now provided without recurrent strikes and lockouts.

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In announcing these important measures I wish to appeal for the whole-hearted support of labour, of employers and of the general public in making this policy work, and work smoothly and effectively. Canada has become an industrial nation. We have grown up to a large extent during this war. We must quickly learn the behaviour and responsibility of a mature industrial nation. Employers must be prepared to sit down around a table and deal fairly with the agents and representatives of their employees -- even if these are men they do not know ~~and whose leadership is largely untried~~. Employees must realize their new responsibility in exercising the power that will be in their collective strength. To labour leaders and labour organizers in particular it is necessary to look for good judgment, for restraint and for self-discipline if compulsory collective bargaining is to bring order and progress in industrial relations.

In the related matters of labour-management co-operation and labour representation on government boards and committees, both the Majority and Minority Reports of the National War Labour Board recommended, in effect, that labour be given more responsibility. This is wholly in accord with the government's policy and we shall endeavour to see that the policy is applied with utmost vigour. Hundreds of labour-management committees have already been

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established and they have done much useful work. They should be extended throughout the whole field of industry, and that will be the objective which the Government will seek to achieve. As regards labour representation on government boards, the government's policy is clear,-- it is to have such representation wherever it is practicable.

Many so-called wartime boards or committees are essentially just groups of government officials, meeting together to apply or administer government policy: in essence they are merely interdepartmental committees of civil servants or departmental staff meetings. Representation of any interested group on such boards or committees would be out of place. On the other hand, we are examining all government boards or agencies where the principle of representation is applicable and will use representative labour men wherever practicable. In particular, I have asked my colleagues to arrange to have labour representation on the boards of directors of all Crown corporations having to do with war production and on all boards directly ~~affecting labour as such~~ concerned with the problems of labour.

In considering possible revisions of its wage stabilization policy, the Government has thoroughly explored the suggestions which have been put forward by labour groups and others, and particularly the various recommendations of

the Majority and Minority Reports based upon the recent inquiry. The recommendation of the Majority Report in regard to the cost-of-living bonus is being adopted, in order to avoid a widespread misunderstanding which is believed to exist. When wage control was established, employers were compelled to pay a cost-of-living bonus to their employees in order to offset in part increases in the cost of living. At the time many workers were already receiving some cost-of-living bonus, but others were not -- frequently because they had received wartime increases in wage rates instead of bonuses. As a consequence, there are differences in the size of the bonuses being paid by different employers, although these bonuses all go up now by the same amount when the cost-of-living index rises. Every worker could not, and even now cannot, be given the same rate of bonus because this would be unfair to many workers who deliberately accepted a bonus instead of a wage increase before wage control commenced, as the Government had recommended. Unfortunately the reasons for the variations in bonuses are not yet understood, despite many explanations, and the existence of varying rates of bonus is said by all members of the Board to be a continuing source of irritation to many workers. The Government therefore has decided to accept the suggestion made in the Majority Report and convert all

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existing cost-of-living bonuses into equivalent increases in basic wage rates. These basic wage rates will be adjusted to the latest level of the cost-of-living index, that for October 1st, and the revised Wage Control Order will lay down the methods for doing so under the varying sets of conditions.

Many labour groups have suggested that wage rates of less than fifty cents an hour should be exempt from control and determined by collective bargaining or by the War Labour Board unrestricted by any limitation. The Minority Report endorsed that suggestion and the Majority Report recommended it as one of two alternative courses of action, provided that in the Government's opinion its adoption would not place too great a burden on the price ceiling. The Government has carefully considered the merits of this course of action and its probable effects. It has a specious attraction. It would seem to give the low-wage worker a larger chance to raise his standard and it would provide greater scope for trade union organization and collective bargaining. Both these objectives we wholeheartedly support. We are convinced, however, that the policy in practice would be fatal to the interests of the low-wage worker as also of the rest of the community. It would lead to a very widespread and substantial increase in wage rates in industries and trades producing and handling civilian goods. These increases could not be

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confined to the low rates and would extend throughout the whole range of wage rates, unless organized labour is willing to accept, and the War Labour Boards to exercise, a ruthless disregard of normal job differentials. Inevitably the policy would lead to a very substantial increase in the costs of production and of distribution of many items entering into the cost of living. In a great many cases, these increased costs could not be met out of profits. Yet the number of firms involved would be so numerous and the conditions so complicated that it would be impossible to offset them by any practicable program of subsidies. We should be forced to let the prices of many commodities and services increase, and these increased prices would lead to further increases in production costs as well as in the cost of living. The tragic race between wages and prices would be under way. Unfortunately as a result of this process of progressive disintegration of the whole stabilization program, it would be the workers who have the weakest bargaining power and receive the lowest wages who would suffer most, but all wage earners and all classes of the population would suffer grievously. In the words of the Majority Report, "we can conceive no greater disaster that could befall the workers of this country than the

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collapse of the price ceiling, particularly if it were to take place shortly before or shortly after the peace is won".

Apart from the increase in wage rates resulting from the incorporation into them of cost-of-living bonuses, we have reached the conclusion that if the price ceiling is to be maintained, control must be continued over the whole field of wages and that increases can only be permitted to correct, in the language of the Majority Report, "gross inequalities and injustices." Some adjustments in exceptional cases must continue to be made but they must be limited to what is necessary in correcting inequalities or injustices too great to be tolerated even under wartime conditions. Furthermore, I think we will all agree that wages in the lower brackets must have priority in adjustment over those in the higher brackets. We cannot expect perfect equity in wartime wages or salaries any more than we can expect perfect equality of sacrifice on the battlefield. We cannot correct every minor inequality without so increasing the costs of production and prices as to bring down upon our heads the greatest of all inequalities, namely, inflation itself.

D 61397

The provisions of the present Order making possible adjustments of rates to rates for similar work in the same or comparable localities will be dropped, as they have given rise in their application not only to much disagreement but also to a continuing upward revision of normal standards of comparison. In the words of the Majority Report, "the general result has been a continuing upward revision of wage rates. As adjustments are made new norms of comparison are set up. Regional Boards are human and prone to generosity. This Board is open to the same accusation. It is by no means perfect. ..... Employers in the excess profits tax bracket have not entirely forgotten that fact in erring on the side of generosity. Moreover, various boards are inclined to be casual where authorization only is asked or where the parties are in agreement. ..... It seems to us that the present process cannot be allowed to continue indefinitely if price control and wage control are to survive."

The Government therefore has revised, and at the same time simplified, the present Wage Control Order. Because of our firm belief that no group in the community has more to lose than labour from a failure of these policies, the revised order will make clear that its purposes are:

D 61398

(a) To provide for the establishment of wage rates incorporating therein cost-of-living bonuses payable in respect of the rise in the cost of living;

(b) To stabilize the wage structure of Canada established in this manner in order to maintain stability in prices and prevent increases in the general cost of living; and

(c) To provide machinery for an orderly rectification of any gross inequalities or injustices in wage rates so established, in so far as this is possible, consistently with the maintenance of stability in prices.

The National War Labour Board and the Regional Boards will be authorized to administer and enforce the Order to give effect to these purposes. We intend that control shall be effective and we have accepted the implications of the Majority Report that the winning of wage increases should definitely be biassed in favour of the lower rates. To ensure that adjustments are limited more narrowly for higher rates than for lower ones, the Order provides that in no case shall the increase allowed in any one year exceed one-tenth of the amount by which the wage rate is less than one dollar per hour. Only by incentive wage systems, which should increase the earnings of labour without affecting the cost of production, is it possible to promote increases in the wage earnings of all workers, including those now paid at high rates without leading

D 61399

to a rise in the cost of living. The National War Labour Board will therefore be given a mandate to promote actively the introduction or extension of incentive wage systems.

If we can secure the co-operation of employers and employees, of farmers and the general public, on the basis which I have outlined, the Government believes that it can succeed in holding down the cost of living and preventing the evils of inflation. Confident that that co-operation will be forthcoming, we are prepared to make the definite commitment that the cost of living will be prevented from rising by any appreciable amount above the level which it has now reached. We shall take every practicable step to maintain the cost-of-living index within a range of, say, 118 to 121 -- and we shall constantly endeavour to keep it at the lower end of that range. It will be no easy task to attain that objective but it is so obviously in the interests of all classes of our population -- except only the would-be profiteers and the speculators --that the Government believes that the public will support whatever steps are necessary, including the payment of subsidies where these cannot be avoided. If we fail, it will be as the result of pressure from selfish groups who are so irresponsible as to insist on sacrificing the general

D 61400

public interest to their own selfish ends. Such a development I cannot really contemplate. It may, of course, be that the index might rise a point or two for a short period before it could be corrected, but I give this definite undertaking -- that if it should exceed the present level by as much as 3 points every two consecutive months, then we shall immediately review and revise the whole program of prices and wage stabilization.

This new and rigorous policy of "holding the line" at a given point will make it unnecessary to replace the present cost-of-living bonus -- now to be converted into basic wage rates -- by a new bonus on some new basis. Wage earners will not need this additional protection if our policy succeeds -- as it should and must succeed. If, perchance, it should fail, it will be because forces have been deliberately set at work against which cost-of-living bonuses would not be adequate protection. The whole policy in any case would then have to be re-examined.

DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR

CANADA

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Dec. 1, 1943

Forwarded from the office of the Minister.
To Mr. J. W. Pickersgill
Please note changes made in first copy sent you have not been made in attached.

61401

George G. Greene
Private Secretary.

D 61402

File re:

The Battle Against Inflation

DRAFT FOR LABOUR POLICY ANNOUNCEMENT

D 61403

DRAFT FOR LABOUR POLICY ANNOUNCEMENT

Part 1 - Introductory

The importance of good industrial relations in any modern economy at all times is so fully recognized that it need hardly be stated. Even under the most prosperous conditions any dispute which produces an interruption of employment inflicts a direct loss on worker and employer alike and subtracts from the well-being of the community as a whole. No matter what advantages may be gained by one side or the other they must be offset by the fact that everyone suffers directly in some degree.

But if this is true in normal times it is vastly more significant in time of war. When a nation is struggling for its very survival, pitting every resource in a life and death conflict, any interference with total production saps the fighting strength of the nation as a whole and becomes a matter of direct public concern.

With manpower shortages constantly threatening to limit our output of weapons and to curtail essential work at home, the common welfare demands that men should not stand idle for a moment except through unavoidable cause.

For any government at war, maintenance of harmonious industrial relations becomes a matter of war policy, ranking high in the list of wartime necessities. The fact is that in Canada industrial relations have been a subject of continual and careful study by the government ever since this country took its place in the battleline more than four years ago.

Let me say at this point that in Canada the record both of industry itself and of the great civilian army which mans industry, has on the whole been excellent. There have been difficulties from time to time as in all human affairs, but I do not

think that any of the democracies have found a better spirit among its war workers.

I still recall with a thrill of pride the response of Canada's workers to the emergency of 1940. With Britain stripped of almost every weapon, save that last and greatest of all weapons - the courage of her people, I appealed for maximum speed and maximum effort on every Canadian war contract then in operation. Some of the groups of organized labour in reply volunteered working hours that seemed beyond the wise limits of human endurance and were modified at the government's request. The whole working population made it clear from that moment where they stood with regard to the issues and the perils of this war, and have never faltered since.

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But zeal and good morale are not the whole of any question. They must be given a setting in which to operate and it is the responsibility of government - sometimes quite a delicate responsibility - to provide that setting. In a situation like this it becomes necessary to organize the whole resources of the nation in orderly fashion, to maintain justice under the strain of war, to reconcile divergent views, to avoid or at least minimize the clash of conflicting interests - and all this while retaining the widest possible freedom for individuals whose spirit is one of the greatest fighting assets we have.

The control of labour matters is in normal times almost exclusively the affair of the provinces. It has become increasingly a federal responsibility as the war effort absorbed more and more of the nation's energies and became increasingly a total effort.

It has, from the outset, involved a triple obligation.

It was imperative that the country's manpower resources be mobilized and trained for their respective tasks with the utmost expedition.

As a matter of justice, it was important that in the midst of a disturbed and rapidly changing atmosphere the traditional rights of labour should be preserved as completely as possible.

Simultaneously it has been necessary to study closely the relationship of all labour policy to the whole economic and financial programme.

In dealing with this problem from the outset to the present day, the government has been guided continually by the belief that while war demands a great many arbitrary measures, arbitrary action is better avoided, even in war, except where it is really required.

It has been necessary, as I say, to marshal the resources of this country as completely as possible but equally necessary that this should be done by means that were in harmony with the spirit of the people themselves and would receive their loyal support. For even in a state of mobilization, Canada is still a democracy, deeply imbued with the spirit of individual free will, ready to accept the discipline of war, but conscious of its right to examine the demands made upon it.

From an economic standpoint we have worked on the principle that labour was entitled to adequate monetary rewards for its effort and that these rewards should not be watered down and rendered fictitious by inflation.

During the last war and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in hardly any case did they keep pace with the cost of living which doubled. When living costs fell, wages fell faster and for many individuals of course disappeared.

We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We mean to avoid it if it is humanly possible to do so.

Part 2

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The first important step taken with respect to labour matters was in November 1939 when the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, which had previously applied chiefly to public utilities, were extended to cover all war industries. This made the concilitation services of the Federal Department of Labour immediatel available to assist in the adjustment of any disagreement affecting war production. The usefulness of this measure was very soon demonstrated by the large number of applications received for Boards from war industries and the good measure of results achieved by them.

In June, 1940, after consultation with labour organizations, the government felt it desirable to lay down certain general principles for the regulation of labour conditions and the avoidance of industrial unrest during the war. An order in council issued at that time declared, among other things: that fair and reasonable standards and other conditions should be established: that the right of employees to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively should be recognized and that disputes should be settled by negotiation or with the assistance of the government conciliation service or through the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act.

This declaration was intended to carry moral force, and it did serve a useful purpose in that it laid down guiding principles for the adjustment of disagrrements between employers and employees who were willing in the war emergency to abide by the expressed wishes of the government. Actually, a large number of collective labour agreements were concluded in Canadian industry, under the principles of this declaration.

As early as December, 1940 order in council P.C. 7440 was passed as the first in the series of stabilization measures.

In brief this order was an instruction to Boards of Conciliation, setting as a standard for wage adjustment the levels reached during the period of relatively high wages in the late twenties. In seeking to stabilize wages at that level it also provided for a flat-rate cost of living bonus to compensate for any increase in living costs subsequent to December, 1940. At one and the same time this measure was designed to assist in obtaining price stabilization, and yet compensate wage-earners for actual living cost increases.

While this measure proposed a definite standard for wages in general, it provided for adjustment in special cases where wage rates were out of line or inequitable.

During the Summer of 1941 it became evident that the safeguards we had raised against an inflationary rise in the cost of living were not holding. Despite a "pay as you go" policy and an unprecedented scale of taxation and borrowing, public spending-power had overtaken the diminishing supply of goods available to civilians, and prices were steadily mounting.

The threat of inflation was upon us, and firm action was necessary if it were to be averted. As you will recall the decision taken was to fix a ceiling over virtually all prices paid by the consumer and adjust costs and price-spreads at all stages of distribution to bring them into line with this ceiling. Nothing less positive would have met the situation. The rise in retail prices simply must be stopped short and that meant adjusting costs to prices - not prices to costs.

In thus fixing prices the government was bound to recognize the fact that wages and salaries account for 60% of all direct production and distribution costs in Canada and it would be manifestly impossible to place a ceiling over the prices a producer

might charge without imposing a similar control over the wages and salaries he might be required to pay.

Accordingly the order in council fixing prices was accompanied by measures generally prohibiting the increase of wage rates, salaries, or fees for services, without special sanction. Provision was again made, however, for the adjustment of abnormal wage situations; and the task of dealing with these was referred to the National and Regional War Labour Boards set up at that time to administer the new policy.

Under the administration of the existing War Labour Boards, 40,000 applications affecting the remuneration of some two and a half million employees have been dealt with up to the present and more than 90% of them were approved in whole or in part.

The result of these adjustments, now in force, has been an aggregate increase in payments to Canadian wage-earners in excess of $150,000,000 per year.

Part 3

While the need for sweeping stabilization measures was manifest to all of us in the Autumn of 1941, there was no one who would have dared to prophesy whether they would succeed or fail. There were no precedents to guide us.

At this distance I am able to say that these measures under the able administration of Mr. DONald Gordon, Chairman of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, have thus far been highly successful.

Since the outbreak of war the cost of living in Canada as measured by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics index has risen only eighteen points as compared with fifty-six points in the corresponding period of the last war.

During the two years since price regulation and wage control were introduced in October 1941, the rise in the cost of living index has been less than 4 points. It rose more than ten times as much - more than 40 points - during the corresponding two years, from 1916 to 1918.

And while it is difficult to draw exact comparisons, there is no room for doubt that Canada has up to the present had far greater success in combatting inflation and holding living costs in check than any other nation with a comparable problem.

The degree of stability, of economic security, that this has meant to our citizens can only be measured in terms of what might have happened without these successful controls, and that is largely a matter for the imagination.

The conditions of this war are much more stringent than those of the last war, the economic forces with which we are contending immeasurably stronger.

Consequently while one recalls that in the First World War the cost of living in Canada had doubled by 1920, even that can not be taken as the full measure of what might be happening in Canada now without the existing controls - might yet happen if they cease to be

effective.

E | Against these possibilities we can at present set the fact that the combination of wartime wage adjustment, coupled with price stabilization, has given to the workers of Canada to-day a greater measure of well-being, a higher standard of real wages, than they have ever enjoyed before. The burden of war taxes weighs heavily upon them, it is true, but that burden is fully shared by the industries that employ them - we have seen to that - and by all of their fellow citizens in Canada. It is part of the common price that we are all paying, and trying to pay cheerfully, for the preservation of our freedom and our democratic traditions.

D |

E | It cannot be denied that there are still inequalities within the present wage structure. There are discrepancies as between different occupations and also between different regions of Canada. There always have been. We have had to carry the past along with us to some extent, for it would have been an insuperable task in the midst of war to overhaul and reconstitute the entire wage structure of the country.

A very large measure of re-adjustment has, however, been accomplished through the medium of the War Labour Boards and I feel justified in believing that their work has gone a long way toward the removal of obvious inequalities.

Part 4

I stated a few minutes ago that Canada's record of industrial relations in this war had been highly creditable. Actually last year less than half a million working days were lost through labour disputes - about 40% of the figure for 1917 and half of that for 1937. As a percentage of man-hours worked this loss through disputes is considerably less than the average for the last ten peace years. During the present year, however, there were some signs of deterioration in this good situation, and growing evidence of the necessity for new measures and new machinery. In the light of this and of repeated representations from labour itself, it was decided to re-examine the whole situation.

As a first step, the National War Labour Board was re-constituted last February with the idea of giving it a more judicial function. At the same time it was authorized to conduct an inquiry into the whole field of industrial relations and present its findings. This inquiry was opened last Spring and heard representations on every phase of the problem from representatives of organized labour, of industry, business, and many other interested organizations and individuals.

The Board produced its findings in the form of two reports. A majority report signed by the Chairman, Mr. Justice McTague and Mr. Leon Lalande, and a minority report by Mr. J. L. Cohen, K. C., then the third member of the Board. Both of these documents and also a great mass of evidence taken at the hearings were carefully studied by the government in considering what changes, if any, were required in the administration of its labour policy.

It appeared at once that while a division of opinion existed between the Board reports on various matters, particularly with regard to questions of administration, there was unanimity on a number of fundamental proposals. Representations presented to the Board at its hearings had tended to focus on a limited number of suggestions.

D 61412

such as a labour relations code, compulsory collective bargaining, compulsory arbirtation of disputes and the modification of certain existing Labour measures.

The majority and minority reports were agreed in recommending:-

(1) The introduction, as a war measure, of a Labour Relations Code.

(2) Provision for compulsory collective bargaining and for compulsory arbitration of disputes, with adequate machinery for enforcement.

(3) Administration of the code by a National Labour Relations Board.

(4) Its application to all war industries in Canada.

(5) The abrogration or suspension of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act with related orders-in-council.

The Board's unanimity on these fundamental points provided a natural basis for the formulation of a revised labour policy. The matters on which the two reports disagreed were also examined with regard to their relative merits and feasibility.

The conclusions suggested by this study, however, represented such a broad departure from previous practices that it was felt the government should consult with the provinces at this point.

Under the British North America Act, the Governments of the Provinces have the authority and responsibility to operate in large portions of the field of industrial relations. In fact, in normal times the area which remains to the Government of the Dominion in this regard is quite restricted. Moreover, it has always been our policy to promote co-operation between the several Governments in Canada in the more important fields of administration. Consequently, while the Dominion Government possesses jurisdiction in the war emergency under the War Measures Act to regulate matters which are of interest to industries classed as war industries -- and this jurisdiction in

these cases relates also to employer-employee relations--it was the feeling of the Government that important changes should not be made in the basic legislation under the heading of industrial relations, without consultation between the Governments of the Dominion and of the provinces.

In speaking on this point I should like also to record the appreciation of the Dominion at the considerable assistance given by the Provincial Departments of Labour in conducting conciliation where industrial disputes have arisen. The conciliation services of the provinces have been virtually placed at our disposal on many occasions, and that our industrial relations have been largely of a harmonious nature is in no small part due to the aid we have received from the provinces.

In order to obtain the opinions of the Governments of the provinces in respect of the proposed legislation arising out of the recommendations of the National War Labour Board, an invitation was extended for a Conference to be held in Ottawa commencing on November 8. It was open to the provinces to send as representatives the Minister of Labour or any other Members of the Provincial Cabinets and Officers of the Department of Labour of the provinces. All provinces responded, with the result that a most representative gathering of provincial people held a three-day Conference with the Federal Minister of Labour and Officers of his Department.

The discussions were most fruitful, and a considerable area of common ground was discovered, not only amongst the provinces themselves, but also in relation to Dominion jurisdiction. Above all, it is heartening to find at this time so much genuine desire on the part of the provinces to give the utmost in the way of assistance to the Dominion in these difficult matters of labour administration.

It was conceded by the provinces that the Dominion should be free to legislate in regard to war industries, that is to say, in regard to labour relations in those industries essential to the war effort.

Also, the Provinces offered practical cooperation in administering whatever legislation the Dominion might deem necessary at this time, to promote improved relations between employer and employee in the interests of our common war effort. It is not too much to hope that at least a co-ordination of conciliation effort between the Dominion and the provinces may be worked out, covering the entire field, if one judges by the atmosphere of the Conference.

The Government has thus been in a position to draw its final proposals on the basis of souns experience, broad inquiry and friendly representations from practically every group who had an interest in labour policy or a view to express regarding it. On this basis it has drafted as war measures two new orders-in-council which have been (signed, announced, promulgated) to-day.

Part 5

The first Order is essentially restricted in its scope to war industries, or to other industries over which the Dominion has jurisdiction in regard to labour relations, although the Minister of Labour is authorized to confer with the government of each province, to the end that where the province wishes the scope of the Dominion Order to apply to industries which are not classed as "war industries" extension of the provisions may be made to these other industries with the concurrence of the Province.

Briefly, the Order provides:

For compulsory collective bargaining in respect of any customary term or condition of employment.

For the compulsory arbitration and settlement of disputes arising out of a negotiated agreement.

For the establishment of a labour code and the definition and prohibition of unfair labour practices.

For the appointment of a National Wartime Labour Relations Board, to make regulations and provide for the administration of the Order in such manner as is best suited to the conditions in each province on the general principle that the machinery of the provincial government will be used for the administrative provisions of the Order in the province save as to "National Industries", so far as it is possible to do so, and that the enforcement thereof should be undertaken by the Federal authority.

The National Labour Relations Board will consist of seven members, three of whom will be selected as representative of the interest of the general public and two each for representative organizations of employers and labour respectively after consultation with such groups. Provision is also made for the appointment of regional boards in the provinces, one of whose members in each case may be nominated by the provincial government concerned. With respect to collective bargaining, the order provides that:-

Employees shall have the right to form and join labour organizations and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing with employers as to all terms and conditions of employment.

The representatives selected for the purpose of collective bargaining by the majority of the employees in a unit appropriate for such purposes shall be the exclusive representatives of all the employees in such unit for that purpose.

Employers must negotiate in good faith with the representatives of any labour organization or organizations certified by the Board as the appropriate bargaining agency in respect of the employees concerned as to any term or condition of employment customarily included in collective agreements, subject to the provisions ofthe Wartime Wage Control Order.

Machinery will be established through which the Board may ascertain in any particular case what is the appropriate unit for collective bargaining and who are the proper bargaining representatives.

In the event of unsuccessful negotiations, the Board will have power to direct that the negotiations shall continue with the aid of Conciliation Services, and if agreement is still not achieved, the Board will issue a report recommending the terms and conditions it believes to be just. If these are not accepted and a substantial interference with the war effort is threatened, the Board may then, subject to the approval of the Governor General in Council, provide by order, terms and conditions of employment which will be binding upon the parties until the Board orders otherwise.

Employers shall be prohibited from "unfair labour practices" such as: interfering with workers in the exercise of their right to organize or bargain collectively; dominating or interfering with the formation or administration of any labour organisation, or contributing financial aid thereto; by discrimination as to conditions of employment to encourage or discourage membership in any labour organization; discriminating against or discharging a worker for participating in the activities of any labour organization; refusing to bargain collectively with the proper representatives of the employees.

Employees in exercising their right to form and join labour organizations under the order shall be prohibited from the use of coercion or intimidation of any kind to influence any person to join their organizations.

The section dealing with compulsory settlement of disputes prohibits lockouts and strikes in connection with any dispute arising out of an existing collective agreement. The parties are required to notify the Board wherever such dispute exists or is apprehended.

Where the ordinary means of settlement, have not proved successful, such disputes will be referred to arbitration for its final settlement. The arbitration award in any such case will be final and binding upon the parties.

Any strike or lockout arising out of the failure of any party to abide by the terms of such an award will be punishable as an offence against the order.

D 61418

Part 6.

The second of these orders-in-council has to do with economic stabilization and the relation to it of wage control.

It is the declared policy of our government that all practicable measures shall be taken to stabilize the cost of living at present levels, and that in the event of any appreciable continued change in living costs, the whole stabilization policy shall be reviewed and further appropriate action considered. In other words, it is the intention of the government that the cost of living shall not increase in Canada appreciably from now on. In view of this, the provision for bonuses with respect to any such rise in price levels no longer appears necessary.

It has therefore been decided that all cost of living bonuses shall henceforth be included as part of basic wage rates. Wage rates, in other words, will be revised upward to the level of the present authorized wage and bonus combined, and payment of the bonus as such will be discontinued.

Two years have elapsed since provision was first made for the adjustment of wages that were out of line with the general standard, and a great measure of such adjustment has been accomplished. The machinery for such adjustments is still retained, but it is specified that they may only be made where necessary to rectify a gross inequality of injustice and where they are also consistent with the ability of the employer to pay out of his own resources the resultant increase in costs. However, to insure that this modification should not prejudice applications now pending, it is expressly provided that these shall be dealt with in terms of the old order.

The new wages order will be administered by an enlarged National War Labour Board consisting of six members representative of the interests concerned, with a regional board in each of the provinces, the provincial Ministers of Labour being continued as chairmen of their regional boards if they so desire to be.

The National Board will be authorized as before to inquire

D 61419

from time to time into conditions affecting labour and industrial relations. It will have power to review the activities of the regional boards and to hear appeals from their decisions.

Part 7

I I have recalled to your minds and emphasized the underlying importance of maintaining peaceful industrial relations--the importance to labour, to management, to the public, and especially at this time the importance to the other members of the United Nations.

Legislation to be helpful in the desired direction must appeal to the partners in industry as sound and beneficial: otherwise it cannot be hoped that it will succeed. Moreover, legislation bearing on industrial relations, wherever it has been successful, has been of an evolutionary character, has consisted largely of formulas arrived at through the method of trial and discovery of error.

The measures which I have just announced appear to the Government, after mature consideration, to be necessary and desirable in the light of existing trends and circumstances. Representing in large part, as they do, the views of the partners in industry, made known through the general enquiry, as well as the views of those skilled in the administration of such legislation, we do hope that they will commend themselves as a genuine contribution to industrial stability and to the economic strength of this country at a time when its whole fabric is under great stress.

I would remind you that the considerations involved touch many interests and have a wide bearing upon the Government's domestic policy as a whole. In some instances the interests concerned are by their very nature of a divergent character so that the only course open is to endeavour always to effect what seems fair and wise, and to make that the basis of the Government's decision.

In every case, in the preparation of these measures, it naturally is our duty to place the national interest above everything else, and this we have sought to do.

I would appeal to the public of Canada, to employers and employees, to lend their support and co-operation in the task of putting the new measures into effect, for as cannot be stated too

often, in no field of human endeavour is a co-operative approach quite so necessary for success as in the promotion of industrial peace. With these measures operating, we predict that we shall have moved a considerable distance nearer to the goal desired--nearer to uninterrupted harmony in employer-employee relations, and nearer also to economic stability and justice through the anti-inflation measures we find it necessary to impose in the interests of the people of Canada.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

file re broadcast on Battle against Inflation

For the Prime Minister.

Both Pickersgill and I think the attached draft material for Labour policy announcement is good. It moves at a rather slow pace but this defect could be remedied.

W.J.T.

D 61422

W.J.T.

December 1, 1943.

MINISTER OF LABOUR
CANADA

D 61423

Ottawa, November 27, 1943.

My dear Prime Minister,-

Our officials, with the help of some of the men from the Wartime Information Board, have been working on an outline of what might be said by you in connection with the announcement of the revision of the Wage Stabilization Order and Labour Relations Order.

Copy of the material prepared is attached which it is hoped might be useful to you.

Yours sincerely,

Humphrey Mitchell

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C.M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
O t t a w a

D 61424

Introduction

The conferences of the leaders of the great powers have given us a clearer vision of the world wide scale of the war. The winning of victory is an immense task which must be completed before the energies of men and nations can be diverted from destruction to the task of reconstruction. We needed this wider perspective to restore our sense of proportion. Spectacular successes in the battle of Europe have led many people to feel that the war was drawing to a close. This feeling has shifted the attention of many to post-war problems before we had met the major problem of defeating the enemy and achieving victory.

I do not say that we should not try to anticipate and prepare for the problems which will arise when hostilities cease, demobilization begins, and our economy must be transformed for a wartime to a peacetime basis. Canada, like other of the United Nations, is giving earnest attention to such of these problems as we can now foresee. But we should not forget that, however much we plan, these problems cannot be met and solved until victory is won.

D 61424-1

The sooner victory is won, the easier it will be to solve the problems of the post-war. But until victory is won, no risk should be taken by any easing up of our efforts, lest we jeopardize what has already been achieved at so great a sacrifice of human life.

It may well be--and we fervently pray it will be so--that 1944 will witness the surrender of Nazi Germany; and that once Germany surrenders, Japan will realize that her fate is likewise sealed. Germany and Japan can no longer doubt that there is no alternative to unconditional surrender. That fate will not likely cause either of their peoples to yield more readily. We may be sure the Nazi leaders in Germany and the militarist leaders in Japan, realizing what their own fate is certain to be, will seek to force their own peoples into ever more violent conflict.

The one hope left to the enemy is to hold out until the United Nations show signs of cracking under the strain of war. Any sign of weakness in any of the free countries will encourage the enemy to hold on longer. Endurance is what counts for most in a long struggle. This war has become a war of endurance, and it is the last round that will spell victory or defeat.

The United Nations have military superiority which will assure victory on the fighting fronts if ~~- and this is the one remaining danger of defeat - if the peoples of the United Nations do~~ their full part to back up their fighting men.

The end of the war will come only when one or other of the opposing forces is convinced of the absolute certainty of defeat. Anything which tends to make the enemy believe that defeat is not certain will prolong the war. ~~Every sign of division, every industrial dispute, every stoppage of work, every decrease of essential production will be marked down by the enemy as a sign of weakness.~~

Of one thing we may be sure. If the war is not ended before the snows of winter disappear from Europe, the spring and summer of the coming year will witness for ~~the British, Canadian and American~~ forces ~~the bloodiest fighting they have known.~~ Now, as ~~never before, this awful~~ prospect is a call ~~to each and~~ every one of us, to do everything in our power ~~not only~~ to shorten the war, ~~and thereby to reduce its sacrifices, but,~~ above all, ~~not to~~ to prolong the war ~~by any word or deed which will give fresh hope to the enemy.~~

~~the last lap, which spells victory or defeat. If we are~~ [illegible] victory or defeat;

~~not nearing the end, then it is obvious that we must~~ D 61426

~~make greater efforts than ever to shorten the war and to~~

~~lessen the burdens and sacrifices which become heavier~~

as war continues. If, on the other hand, we are nearing

the end, remembering it is the last round and the last

lap that counts for most, we ~~must strive accordingly.~~

~~We must seek to see that our efforts are not~~ thwarted

by ~~any adverse circumstance we can possibly~~ avoid.

~~Rather, we must seek to redouble our efforts to attain,~~

in ~~as brief a time as possible,~~ the goal toward which

we ~~have striven so valiantly over so long a period of time.~~

When the end does come, it will be through a

conviction by one or other of the opposing forces of

inability to win or of certainty of defeat. Whatever tends

to lessen or delay this conviction in the minds of the

enemy means a prolongation of the war and further colossal

circulation vastly larger sums of money in the form of wages and salaries - in other words, much in the way of increased purchasing power, and on the other hand, lessening the supply of goods and services required for peace-time purposes through diverting production of commodities required for purposes of war, it is certain, unless tendencies are controlled by the State, to create a demand . . .

(take in what causes inflation).

This is what is meant by the dangers of inflation. (Describe the vicious spiral). The danger on the one side is that prices become so high that it becomes infinitely more difficult to produce the supplies required forwar and the cost of living becomes so great that the standard of living for any given amount becomes less and less.

(Bring in this part): No nation can use half of its total production for war and/improve the standard of living at the same time of its people. By a miracle of production, we, in Canada, produce now almost twice as much as we did before the war. What is left over for the people to consume is nearly as great as was our total production in 1939. That is why we, in Canada, have experienced so little in the way of privation. Some things are scarce; others, notably food, are more abundant.

(Take in page 2 of revised section entitled "Ddanger of Inflation".

W.L.M.K. - 3.XII.43

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The Battle against Inflation

Suggested line of development - statement explaining inflation.

1. Chapter on the beginning of the battle.

Action taken by the government.

National organization for battle,
steps taken to keep down inflation,
e.g. taxation, profits, compulsory saving, etc.

ceiling on prices, and freezing of wages.

Methods of enforcing same.

Describe principle of control or how matters operate by controls.

Cost of living bonus and subsidies.

The purpose here would be to make clear the different factors and the elements in the country which have been brought together:

(1) to increase production of war materials;

(2) to prevent large quantities of spending.

Limitation on consumption of alcohol might be included.

Items should be so arranged as to be able to say, at the end, that all of the factors have continued and are certain to continue to play their part except the last two, e.g. keeping prices down and keeping wages down.

2. A section on the success of the battle todate;

what has been accomplished;

comparison with across the line, etc.

The problem of the present - the threat to the price ceiling.

Possibilities of defeat.

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The present emergency:

the necessity to hold the front line,
the front line being the wage stabilization.

Mention of labour demands.

Strikes.

Example: Alberta - rise in coal.

Statement last night by McTague re rise in wages of miners in Saskatchewan;

increased prices - result.

The appearance of placing burden on labour - the answer to this.

The present position of labour in the matter of wages; also the present position of the farmer.
Both better off than at any time.

3. Section on: if part of ceiling goes, the whole business goes.

The government's present action to maintain wage levels.
Imbedding bonus in wage.

Freezing wages anew.

Recognition of labour's rights

re grossly unfair discrimination, etc.

The right of collective bargaining.

Labour relations code.

Determination to see this is done.

Re: farmers -
advantages through keeping down costs;
also fixing floor for key commodities.

A word to labour about part played up to date.

The army and the worker -

soldier, airman and sailor on front line of battle abroad.

Worker on front line at home -

include both farmer and others in working classes.

An appeal to labour to join in with others in holding fast the front line, in preserving the price ceiling.

What this all means:

(1) hastening the war to a close;

(2) solution of post-war problems.

4. Conclude with this being basis of government's post-war policies.

Indicate what will be done in the way of social security;
fixing the minimum wage,
arranging for minimum family incomes;
insurance of employment - policies regarding, etc.

Health - social security, etc.

But making all dependent on avoidance of inflation -

winning the battle against inflation.

5. Conclude with reference to sense of security and confidence at home and abroad.

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Speaking in Toronto on October 9, 1942, I spoke of certain objectives of the Government in giving definite content to measures for social security and human welfare. Of these objectives, I mentioned as a national minimum: useful employment for all who are willing to work; standards of nutrition and housing, adequate to ensure the health of the whole population; social insurance against privation resulting from unemployment, from accident, from the death of the bread-winner, from ill health, and from old age.

Of these important public measures, I hope to speak at another time. Tonight I make no apology for confining my remarks to the all-out battle against inflation. It is upon the outcome of this battle that all our post-war plans must in some measure depend. Only if we can control the cost of living under war conditions can we expect to avoid disastrous unsettlement of business conditions when the stress of war conditions is removed. Only if we can keep down costs of production for war needs, can we grapple effectively with the post-war problem of full employment.

If this battle against inflation, the forces of our home front have been able to maintain the initiative for two years. If we can maintain this initiative until

the hour of victory, we shall have achieved also many positive social gains at home. The forces of the United Nations, since they were able to take the initiative on world battlefronts, have had many and mounting successes. If on our home front, we can maintain our initiative, we shall have gone a long way towards creating the assurance of security, confidence and contentment for the Canada of the future.

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mental proposals of the Majority and Minority Reports on which there is unanimity, namely, the establishment of the principle of compulsory collective bargaining in respect of any customary term or condition of employment; (Note re wages being settled by order of stabilization); the sompulsory arbitration and settlement of disputes arising out of a negotiated agreement; the establishment of a Labour Code, and the definition and prohibition of unfair labour practices; the appointment of a National Wartime Labour Relations Board to make regulations and to provide for the administration of the Order, (study this part very carefully), in such manner as is best suited to the condition in each province on the general principle that the machinery of the provincial government will be used for the administrative provisions of the Order in the province, save as to national industries so far as it is possible to do so, and that the enforcement thereof should be undertaken by the federal authorities. In addition to the National Labour Relations Board, provision will also be made for the appointment of Regional Boards in the provinces.

Employees shall have the right to form and join Labour organizations and to bargain collectively, through

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representatives of their own choosing, with employers as to all terms and conditions of employment. Employers shall be prohibited from unfair labour practices such as interfering with workers and the exercise of their right to organize and bargain collectively, dominating or interfering with the formation or administration of any labour organization or contributing financial aid thereto, by discrimination as to conditions of employment, to encourage or discourage membership in any labour organization, discriminating against or discharging a worker for participating in the activity of any labour organization, refusing to bargain collectively with the proper representatives of the employees. Employees shall be prohibited from the use of coercion or intimidation of any kind to influence any person to join their organizations. ~~Lock~~ outs and strikes will be prohibited in connection with any dispute arising out of any existing collective agreement. When the ordinary means of settlement have not proved successful, such a dispute will be referred to arbitration for final settlement.

With respect to economic stabilization and the relation of economicx stabilization to wage control, it is the policy of the government that all practicable measures shall be taken to stabilize the cost of living at present

levels. In the event of any appreciable continued change in living costs, the whole stabilization policy will be reviewed and further appropriate action continued. In other words, it is the intention of the government that the cost of living shall not increase in Canada appreciably from now on. In view of this, the provision of bonus with respect to any such rise in price levels no longer appears necessary. It has been decided that all costs of living bonuses shall henceforth be included as part of basic wage rates. Wage rates, in other words, will be revised upward to the level of the present authorized wage and bonus combined, and payment of the bonus as such will be discontinued.

Two years have elapsed since provision was first made for the adjustment of wages that are out of line with the general standard and a great measure of such adjustment has been accomplished. The machinery for such adjustments is still retained but it is specified that they may only be made where necessary to rectify a great inequality or injustice or where they are also consistent with the ability of the employer to pay out of his own resources the resultant increase in cost. However, to insure that this modification shall not prejudice applications now pending, it is expressly

provided that these shall be dealt with in terms of the old order. The new wages order will be administered by an enlarged National War Labour Board consisting of six members with a regional board in each of the provinces. The National Board will be authorized to enquire from time to time into conditions affecting labour and of industrial relations. It will have power to review the activities of the regional boards and to hear appeals from their decisions.

The measures I have just announced appear to the government, after mature consideration, to be necessary and desirable in the light of existing trends and circumstances. We hope they will commend themselves as a genuine contribution to industrial stability and to the economic strength of this country at a time when its whole fabric is under great stress. In the preparation of these measures, as is its duty, the government has sought to place the national interest above everything else. I would appeal to the public of Canada to employers and employees to lend their support and co-operation in the task of putting the new measures into effect. In no field of human endeavour is a co-operative approach quite so necessary for success as in the promotion of industrial peace.

The Battle against Inflation

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Part 7: The Labour Code.

Apart from the removal of gross inequalities and injustices, wages must, as I have said, be controlled in the interests of labour itself no less than in the interests of the rest of the community. But Labour has other aspirations which can be satisfied in wartime without weakening the war effort. The government recognizes that a very large part of the credit for Canada's magnificent war effort belongs to the workers, and that Labour is entitled to a satisfaction of its hopes and aspirations, where they can be met without harm to the national interest or injustice to other groups.

Of all the aspirations of Labour, the desire for recognition of the right of collective bargaining is, I believe, the strongest. Labour looks to collective bargaining for a large measure of security, responsibility and dignity in the years to come. Labour is entitled to a recognition of the right of collective bargaining and to the enforcement of this right by law. In normal times, the right to make such a law belongs to the provinces.

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It is true that, in time of war, the federal government has whatever jurisdiction is necessary to carry on the war effectively. But the existence of that wartime jurisdiction should not be used as an excuse for unnecessary interference with the ordinary rights of the provinces.

That view is held strongly by the present government. We have no desire to invade the provincial field. At the same time, we made it clear as early as June, 1940, that we wished to see collective bargaining generally adopted in wartime. We felt that collective bargaining would promote better relations between management and labour and would help to maintain the industrial peace essential to maximum war production. Labour has made some progress during the war in securing recognition of the right of collective bargaining. But that progress has not been nearly great enough. Many employers continue to resist the right of labour to organize and to bargain collectively through unions of its own choosing. Under war conditions, the government feels that such resistance of its declared policy should no longer be tolerated.

The government has, therefore, decided to establish a Code of Labour Relations which will provide for compulsory collective bargaining in war industries. We have consulted with the provinces with the object of securing their full co-operation. The Code is to be administered by a

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National Labour Relations Board in co-operation with the provincial authorities. The Code requires employers, in the industries it covers, to bargain collectively with employees through representatives of their own choosing. It provides means for ensuring a fair and democratic choice of bargaining agencies. Unfair labour practices are carefully defined and forbidden by the Code. The Code makes provision for machinery for mediation and conciliation of disputes as speedily as possible, and for the arbitration of differences arising out of the interpretation of collective agreements during the period for which they are concluded. I shall not attempt to give all the details of the new Labour Code.

In announcing this important measure I wish to appeal for the whole-hearted support of labour, of employers and of the general public in making compulsory collective bargaining work, and work smoothly and effectively. Canada has become an industrial nation. We have grown up to a large extent during this war. We must quickly learn the behaviour and responsibility of a mature industrial nation. Employers must be prepared to sit down around a table and deal fairly with the agents and representatives of their employees - even if these are men they do not know. Employees must realize their new responsibility in exercising the power that will be in their

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collective strength. To labour leaders and labour organizers in particular it is necessary to look for good judgment, for restraint and for self-discipline if compulsory collective bargaining is to bring order and progress in industrial relations.

In the related matters of labour-management co-operation and labour representation on government boards and committees, both the Majority and Minority Reports of the National War Labour Board recommended, in effect, that labour be given more responsibility. This is wholly in accord with the government's policy and we shall endeavour to see that the policy is applied with utmost vigour. Hundreds of labour-management committees have already been established and they have done much useful work. They should be extended throughout the whole field of industry, and that will be the objective which the Government will seek to achieve. As regards labour representation on government boards, the government's policy is clear - it is to have such representation wherever it is practicable.

Many so-called wartime boards or committees are essentially just groups of government officials, meeting together to apply or administer government policy: in essence they are merely interdepartmental committees of civil servants or departmental staff meetings. Representation of any

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interested group whether it was Labour or Employers or Agriculture, on such boards or committees would change their whole character. On the other hand, we are examining all government boards or agencies where the principle of representation is applicable and will use representative labour men wherever practicable. In particular, I have asked my colleagues to arrange to have labour representation on the boards of directors of all Crown companies having to do with war production, and on all boards directly concerned with the problems of Labour.

The Labour Code.

If the very natural desire of Labour for higher wages cannot be satisfied without danger to our war effort, the government recognizes that Labour has other aspirations which can and should be met.

Labour generally wants the right to bargain collectively with employers, through unions of its own choice. Labour is entitled to a recognition of the right of collective bargaining and to the enforcement of that right by law.

One difficulty the government has faced in meeting this demand of Labour is that, in normal times, the authority to make a law which would enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs not to the Dominion but to the provinces. It is true that, in time of war, the federal government has whatever jurisdiction is necessary to carry on the war effectively. But that wartime jurisdiction should not be used as an excuse for unnecessary interference with the ordinary rights of the provinces.

That view is held strongly by the present government. We have no desire to invade the provincial field. At the same time, we made it clear as early as June, 1940, that we wished to see collective bargaining generally adopted in wartime. We felt that collective bargaining

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would promote better relations between management and labour and would help to maintain the industrial peace essential to maximum war production. Labour has made some progress during the war in securing recognition of the right of collective bargaining. But that progress has not been nearly great enough. Many employers continue toresist the right of labour to organize and to bargain collectively through unions of its own choosing. Under war conditions, the government feels that suchresistance of its declared policy should no longer be tolerated.

The government has, therefore, decided to establish a Code of Labour Relations which will provide for compulsory collective bargaining in war industries. We have consulted with the provinces with the object of securing their full co-operation. The Code will be administered by a National Labour Relations Board in co-operation with the provincial authorities. Employers, in the industries it covers, will be required to bargain collectively with employees through representatives of their own choosing. Unfair labour practices will be carefully defined and forbidden by the Code.

I shall not attempt to give all the details of the new Labour Code. It is in the final stages of preparation and it will be enacted and brought into force in the

very near future. It will, I am confident, result in a marked extension of collective bargaining, and by doing so will give to Labour a larger measure of security, responsibility and dignity in the years to come.

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The Revised Labour Policy

The policy of maintaining stable wages by government control was new and strange to Labour. Generally speaking, Labour has recognized that wage control was essential to protect the basic standard of living. But, in any experience teaches us how improvements can be made. In order to profit by experience, authority was given to the National War Labour Board to advise the Minister of Labour and the government in all matters of policy, not merely in connection with wage control but with all sides of labour and industrial relations.

Under that authority, the National War Labour Board conducted a general public inquiry last summer into wartime labour relations. Majority and minority reports were subsequently submitted to the government. The reports cover a very wide field. Full consideration of their recommendations has demanded a great deal of the time and attention of the government. It has also called for consultation with the provincial governments who have a large share of the constitutional responsibility for labour relations.

As a result of these deliberations, the government has decided to carry out substantially the recommendations of the majority report to the full extent this is possible without endangering the price ceiling. The majority report

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was emphatic in urging the necessity - in the interests of Labour - of carrying on the battle against inflation.

There are two sides to the changes now being made in labour policy. One is concerned with industrial relations, that is with the relations generally between workers and management in industry; the other with improvements in wage control which we hope will help to hold the line in the battle against inflation.

The majority report of the War Labour Board found that the most serious question involved in labour relations was that of the right of collective bargaining. By that is meant the right of the employees in a plant or an industry to join together in their own organizations for the purpose of dealing with their employers. Labour generally wants legal recognition of the right to bargain collectively with employers through unions of its own choice. Moreover Labour wants that right to be enforced by law.

One difficulty the federal government has faced in meeting this demand of Labour is that, in normal times, the authority to make a law which would enforce the right of collective bargaining belongs not to the Dominion but to the provinces. It is true that, in time of war, the federal government has whatever jurisdiction is necessary to carry on

the war effectively. But we do not believe our wartime jurisdiction should be used as an excuse for unnecessary interference with the ordinary rights of the provinces. We have no desire to invade the provincial field.

However, we made it clear as early as June, 1940, that we wished to see collective bargaining generally adopted in wartime. We felt that collective bargaining would promote better relations between management and labour and would help to maintain the industrial peace essential to maximum war production. During the war, Labour has made great progress in securing recognition of the right of collective bargaining. There are, however, some employers who continue to resist the right of labour to organize and to bargain collectively through unions of its own choosing. Under war conditions, the government feels that such resistance of its declared policy should no longer be allowed.

The government has, therefore, decided to establish a Code of Labour Relations for the war period which will provide for compulsory collective bargaining in war industries. We have consulted with the provinces with the object of securing their full co-operation. The Labour Relations Code will be administered by a Wartime Labour Relations Board in co-operation with the provincial authorities. Employers, in the industries

it covers, will be required to bargain collectively with employees through representatives of their own choosing. Unfair labour practices by either party in industry will be carefully defined and forbidden by the Code, and responsibilities will be imposed on each of them.

I shall not attempt to give all the details of the new Labour Code. It is in the final stages of preparation and it will be enacted and brought into force in the very near future. It will, I am confident, result in a marked extension of collective bargaining, and by doing so will give to Labour a larger measure of security, responsibility and dignity in the years to come. If the new Code is loyally supported by labour, by employers and by the public, it should contribute greatly to the industrial peace so necessary if we are to hold the line at home for the duration of the war.

The Post-war D 61449 5

The fight against inflation is important to the winning of the war; it is equally important to the winning of the peace. What all Canadians want after the war is full employment and full production devoted to raising the standard of life of the mass of the people. But a peacetime economy of full employment and full production cannot be built on shaky foundations. If we do not prevent inflation, we can look forward after the war to conflicts of class with class and group with group, to social unrest and to something approaching economic anarchy. If we win the battle against inflation, we should have a solid foundation on which to build a greater and a better Canada. We should never forget that we are laying the foundations for the future by what we are doing today. What we have done during the war, what we may still do before the war ends, will inevitably determine the pattern of post-war Canada.

The people of Canada, I know, are anxious to hear of the plans the government is making to assure full production, full employment and social security after the war. We recognize that full employment is of the greatest concern to Labour. We have achieved full employment in wartime. The first aim of post war policy is the maintenance of full productive employment in peacetime. Full and productive

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employment is essential to national prosperity and the well-being of the people. Moreover, national prosperity and social security are indivisible. Markets and reasonable prices are a basic condition of social security for primary producers; work and reasonable wages are a basic condition of social security for wage-earners. Social insurance, however complete in scope, cannot give us social security without the production of the wealth which is its essential foundation.

The government recognizes that the public has a right to know about our plans for the post-war period as rapidly as they can be formulated and it is our intention to make them public, as far as we can, in the next few weeks and months. At the same time, I should like to appeal for two things from the people. My colleagues and I are only human; there are only 24 hours in our day as in yours; our main task is to help win the war; if we do not seem to move as fast as you would like in our post-war planning, I ask you to remember that most of our time, thought and energy is still required for the direction of Canada's war effort. Even more earnestly do I ask you to remember that the success of our planning for a better Canada after the war depends upon holding the

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foundations firm until victory is won. Most of us cannot take part in the battles against the Germans and the Japanese, but we can all help to win the battle at home against inflation and all its evils. Let us all work together, with forbearance and co-operation to win the war on the home front, so that Canada will emerge strong and free to win the peace.

The battle against inflation
and how to win it

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

re. Anti-Inflation Statement

The attached draft (see table of contents) lacks the opening part and the part (7) on the Labour Code.

I assume the section on the labour code will be acceptable to labour. The whole statement is not, I am afraid, going to arouse much satisfaction in the ranks of labour.

What it appears to need to round it out is something on employment not merely after the war, but as rapidly as the "lay-offs" come in munitions production. Just as the pressure for higher farm prices can be eased by the assurance of post-war minimum prices, so can the pressure for higher wages be eased by the assurance of continuing employment.

W. P.

November 19, 1943.

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The Battle against Inflation

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6: The revision of wage control.

7: The labour code. — (to be prepared?)

8: An appeal to Labour.

reconstruction - what we can do if we
have shown ingenuity
what never happen if we
fail to do so
effect
so can't secure
it.

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The Battle against Inflation

Part two: The dangers of inflation

Two years have passed since the government undertook to control the cost of living by means of a ceiling on prices and the stabilization of salaries and wages. At the time, the policy was greeted with universal approval. The government believes that the vast majority of Canadians still want the cost of living to be controlled. We are certain that the control of the cost of living remains essential to a successful Canadian war effort.

In the past two years, many of us, I believe, have lost sight of the reasons why the control of the cost of living is so important to the winning of the war. What is equally serious, some have begun to question the price which has to be paid for a stable cost of living in wartime. Policies are being advocated which would undermine price control. The advocates of such policies, at the same time, usually insist that the cost of living must be rigidly controlled. Of course, there are always some people who believe, often sincerely, that they can eat their cake and have it, too.

We have heard much about the dangers of inflation, but happily we have not experienced those dangers in Canada. Price control in the past two years has been so successful

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that many of us have come to take it for granted. We think it has been easy to keep down the cost of living. We have seen little of the hard up-hill battle that has been fought behind the scenes to keep down prices. Far too little credit has been given to the men who have fought the battle against inflation for us, day and night, for two long years. The public knows little of the constant pressure there has been on the government to yield a little here and to adjust a little there. There have even been those who have said that the dangers of inflation have been greatly exaggerated and that a little "controlled" inflation would be a good thing.

What do we mean by inflation and its dangers? By inflation, we mean a rise in prices and costs brought about by abnormal conditions. By inflation, we mean a steady and increasingly rapid fall in the quantity of goods our money will buy.

Let me remind you of a few of the dangers of an inflation of prices. Rising prices would make it more costly and more difficult to pay for the war effort. Rising prices would increase the cost of living more rapidly than wages and salaries could increase. Rising prices would reduce the value of savings, Rising prices would bring hardship to nearly everyone, and much greater hardship to some than to others.

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It is a commonplace that inflation is one of the greatest dangers of wartime. Why is it that prices tend to rise in wartime? The answer is, of course, that the same men and materials cannot be employed to make war ~~or~~ and to produce goods for home consumption. As the war goes on, more and more men and materials are needed for war and fewer people and fewer materials are left over to meet the needs and demands of the people for goods and services. A maximum war effort, in other words, means inevitable scarcity of goods for consumers.

We have all noticed shortages of goods; we know, too, how much more difficult it is to buy services of all kinds. In other words, everyone is experiencing the scarcities of war. If inflation had been allowed, if prices had been permitted to rise, the competition for the scarce goods and services would have sent prices sky-high. Only those with large and expanding incomes would be able to buy what was available.

Everyone agrees that it would be unjust to give an advantage of this kind to the well-to-do. The unavoidable scarcity of war calls for planned distribution of goods and services on the fairest basis we can achieve. Merely to let prices go up, would ensure not the fairest but the most unfair distribution of goods and services.

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The Battle against Inflation

Part 3: The Anti-Inflation Policy

The control of prices is not alone sufficient to ensure a fair distribution of goods and services in wartime. It is, however, the foundation of such a policy. Without control of prices fair distribution is impossible.

There are two causes for rising prices. One is an increased demand for goods caused by increased purchasing power. The other is an increase in the cost of producing or distributing goods. Both of these causes of rising prices or inflation are present in wartime.

The demand for goods can be reduced by reducing purchasing power. In Canada purchasing power has been reduced and, in the case of the well-to-do, reduced very drastically. No country limits profits more rigidly. No country has a heavier tax on high incomes, although both the United States and Great Britain tax low incomes more heavily than we do in Canada.

Purchasing power has also been reduced voluntarily by the Canadian people through their investments in Victory bonds and war savings.

Prices cannot be kept down merely by reducing purchasing power. Retail prices, as I have pointed out, can only be kept down if costs are also kept down. That is why, if the cost of living is to be controlled, it is essential to control the cost of raw materials and all other costs of production and distribution. In other words, effective control of the cost of living is impossible without control of the costs of raw materials and without [redacted] the stabilization of wages and salaries. What I am saying is that we cannot have a stable cost of living without accepting other controls required to keep the cost of living down.

Everyone is a consumer. As consumers, we all benefit from the price ceiling. But there may be those who question whether the benefit they derive from price control as consumers is as great as the disadvantages which the whole stabilization policy seems to impose upon them as producers or workers.

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Part 4: The Position of Agriculture

Most of us are particularly sensitive to rises in the price of food. Indeed, it is generally food we think of, when we think of the cost of living. You will remember the storm of protest which arose from consumers last summer over the high prices of certain fruits and vegetables. But it must be remembered that the producers of food, the farmers, do not complain about high prices for the food they produce: what they object to is low prices. It has been argued that the farmers would gain if the controls were removed and inflation permitted. This view is based on the theory that farm prices would go up faster and higher than other prices. In other words, it is said the farmers would gain more as producers than they would lose as consumers. That might, in fact, be true for a short time. It is important to recognize this, since it is one of the dangers to the anti-inflation policy. A few skillful farmers might even be able to become war profiteers if any of them entertained such an ambition. But no one can be certain that farm prices in this war would rise as rapidly as other prices. And every farmer who remembers the last war, remembers that the great inflationary boom broke in 1920 and that it was followed by a long and severe depression

for primary producers. In other words, there was no long-run advantage to the farmers from inflation in the last war.

No one, of course, wants to keep farm prices abnormally low. It is true that farm prices were low at the beginning of the war, but by October, 1941, when the price ceiling was established, most farm prices had risen considerably. Other adjustments have been made since 1941 to bring about a better balance in prices. Indeed, almost the whole of the increase in the cost of living since October 1941 has been due to increases in farm prices. When the ceiling was established, the special position of wheat growers was recognized by the government, and progressive steps have since been taken to bring the wheat grower's economic position into line with that of other farmers.

No one would pretend that the farmers are today as prosperous as we should like to see them in a peaceful and orderly world in which trade flourished and all the energies of the people could be employed in production to meet human needs and demands. But the war is still on and, in this present year, at least half of Canada's national production is being used, not to meet human needs, but to make war. In spite of that, we do not need an expert to tell

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us that farm income and farm living are on a much better level than they were in 1939. In other words, the task of preventing inflation, which all must share if we are to succeed, is not bearing unduly upon the farmers.

It should not be forgotten that, if we are preventing a boom in farm prices by controlling the cost of living, steps are also being taken to prevent a disastrous fall in farm prices by placing a "floor" under prices. This has already been done in many cases. The extension of the floor to other farm products is now under consideration. The government believes that reasonable security against depressed prices after the war will appeal to most farmers far more than a rise now in all prices and a disastrous collapse within a few years.

Part 5: Wage Stabilization: a necessary element

Everyone can see that, if farm prices go up, the cost of living will increase. There is not quite the same obvious connection between salary or wage increases and rising prices. Salaries or wages paid in war industries do not enter directly into the cost of living. It might therefore be argued that they could be increased without affecting the price ceiling. But it must be clear to everyone that if we attempt to control only those salaries and wages which enter into the cost of the things we buy, an impossible situation would be created. Everyone can see how unjust it would be to control wages in an industry making goods which are essential to the life of the community and to permit wages to rise freely in a war industry. The only just method of stabilizing wages which enter into the cost of living is to stabilize all wages on the same basis.

No one will deny that wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. If wages generally rise, prices must therefore rise, too, or the businesses concerned will eventually be bankrupt. A general ceiling cannot be maintained, unless wages are stabilized in the industries and trades whose products

are under the ceiling. I think I have made it clear that wages cannot be controlled in some branches of the economy and not in others. What I want to emphasize is that the government did not undertake to control wages out of a mere love of control. If the cost of living could be controlled without controlling wages, my colleagues and I would be very happy. Nor is the motive to reduce purchasing power, although to the extent to which stabilization does reduce purchasing power, the price ceiling is strengthened. Wages are controlled in order to control costs. Otherwise the cost of living cannot be kept from increasing. The stabilization of wages is an essential step in protecting the basic standard of living of wage-earners.

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The Battle against Inflation

Part 6: The revision of wage control

It is sometimes said that wages have been frozen: that is not correct. The government, with a few exceptions, has tried to freeze all retail prices. But we have recognized that there were certain inequities and inequalities in the wage structure which it would be intolerable to maintain throughout the war. Machinery was accordingly provided by means of a National and of Regional War Labour Boards to remove serious inequalities and injustices within the framework of the general stabilization of wages. I shall not weary you with the details of the operation of the wage control as it has worked in the past two years. The National War Labour Board, in carrying out the duties entrusted to it, learned that there was a considerable measure of unrest in the ranks of labour, some of which was the result of the operations of wage stabilization, much of it, however, arising from other causes. The Board, therefore, undertook an enquiry into the whole field of labour relations. As a result of the enquiry, a majority and a minority report were submitted to the government. These reports have received long and careful consideration. Out of

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that consideration, the government has decided upon a revision of the methods of wage control and upon the adoption of far-reaching reforms in the field of wartime labour relations. I wish to speak to you briefly about both of these measures.

When the general stabilization of wages was undertaken two years ago, provision was made for a compulsory cost of living bonus to offset in part such increases as there might be in the cost of living. In some industries these bonuses were already being paid; in others, wage increases had recently been granted. The result has been a complicated structure of wages and bonuses often the source of misunderstanding and friction.

The revision now made in the wage control policy provides that the existing cost of living bonuses are to be added to and to become a part of existing wage rates, and that no further bonuses will be awarded. All wages are to be stabilized at existing levels, although the National and Regional War Labour Boards are to have power to correct gross inequalities and injustices. The government believes that, if the necessary co-operation is forthcoming from employers and employees, farmers and the general public, the cost of living can be kept

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down approximately at the present level. Every practicable step will be taken to maintain the cost of living index within a range of, say, 118 to 121 - and we shall constantly endeavour to keep it at the lower end of that range. The index may occasionally rise a point or two for a short period before it can be corrected. I wish, on behalf of my colleagues, to give a definite undertaking that, should the index exceed the present level by as much as three points in two consecutive months, the whole programme of price and wage control will be reviewed and revised. What we intend to do is to reinforce the policy of price control by this new and rigorous policy of "holding the line". Such a policy, we believe, will provide a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standards of labour than is provided by the cost of living bonus.

I will admit readily that it is often difficult for labour to forego an immediate opportunity to take advantage of favourable circumstances to secure somewhat higher wages, just as it is difficult for farmers and other primary producers to deny themselves the immediate advantage of an increased price for their products. Most of us are not accustomed to think of these matters

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in general terms and the immediate gain seems often more attractive than a more distant advantage. ~~The whole anti-inflation programme is, however, based on the view that each of us must seek his individual advantage in promoting the common well-being.~~ For labour, wage stabilization is the price which must be paid for a stable cost of living.

D 61468

The Battle against Inflation

Part 8: An Appeal to Labour

If Canada is to win the battle against inflation, the constant and active support of labour is necessary. I have tried to show why it is necessary to control and stabilize wages if we are to keep down prices. I have, I hope, made it clear that no group in the community has a greater interest in preventing inflation than wage-earners. I should like now to remind you of what has been accomplished in keeping down the cost of living in Canada in the past two years. Here are a few facts. In the six months before the ceiling policy was announced the cost of living rose by 6%; in the past two years it has only risen a little more than 3%. In the comparable two-year period of the last war the cost of living increased nearly 27%. In the United States, in the last two years, the cost of living has gone up more than 11%. Money wages are generally higher in the United States than in Canada. That fact is well-known to labour. But the real value of wages is what the money will buy.

(Here bring in comparison with U.S.A. Examples are being furnished by the Wartime Prices and Trade Board.)

Whether the comparison be made with the United States, or with Great Britain or Australia or Newfoundland or the republics of South America, it will be found, in every case, that Canada has been more successful in keeping down the cost of living.

The object of stabilizing wages, as I have said, has been to keep down the cost of living. The Canadian people have every reason to feel satisfied with the way in which the cost of living has been controlled.

Not only has the cost of living been controlled, but there has been something approaching a revolution in the distribution of income in Canada during the war. We are producing about twice as much as we did before the war. Although we are producing twice as much, the whole of our increase in production and more is being used to wage the war. The civilian population have, therefore, somewhat less available for consumption than they had in 1939. But the great difference is that what we have is much more evenly distributed than it was before the war. During the war, we have had in Canada a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country.

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We should not forget that the purpose of price control is to protect our basic standard of living, not to improve the standard of living. There is only one way we can increase the general standard of living during the war. That is by relaxing our war effort, and using more manpower and resources to satisfy civilian desires. I do not believe any considerable section or group of the Canadian people want the government to ease up on waging war in order to improve their living standards.

So long as we continue to put forth our utmost effort in war, civilian goods and services will continue to be scarce. One group will only be able to improve its position at the expense of another group. If all groups: Labour, Farmers, Business men, Pensioners and Dependents of the Men in the Armed Forces, try to get some advantage for their own group the result will be internal strife and widespread discontent. No one will be better off and, in the end, almost everyone will be worse off. That does not mean that gross injustices should continue to exist; but it does mean that ~~it is not possible~~ we should [illegible] complete fairness and justice.

The anti-inflation policy of the government, which includes the rigid control of profits, steeply graded income taxes, constant war savings, control of prices and

D 61471

stabilization of salaries and wages, must stand or fall as a whole. Each element is essential to the success of the battle against inflation. Let me emphasize one point. By preventing inflation we are not removing the cost and burden of war. By preventing inflation we are going a long way to prevent the cost and burden of war from bearing too heavily on those least able to bear it.

Speaking particularly to labour, I would say that wage stabilization is essential to our success in preventing inflation. We must prevent inflation if Canada is to do her full part to win the war and if we are to lay the foundations for a better life in the years of peace. I appeal, tonight, particularly to labour to give warm and firm support to policies which are in the interests of labour, in the interests of Canada, and in the interests of a free world.

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JWP Part 8
JAG Part 4

An Appeal to Labour

I realize that in carrying out this program of control, some restrictions have been made both upon the workers (in terms of wages) and upon the farmers (in terms of prices for farm products). I would say at once that the loyal acceptance of these restrictions by the workers and the farmers has placed two special obligations upon the Government. The first, which concerns the workers, is that remedies should be found for any injustice which exists. The second, which relates to the farmers, is that they should be safeguarded against any sharp or sudden decrease in the prices paid for farm products. They have been selling in a market over which a price "ceiling" has been placed; they should now have the further assurance and protection of a "floor" below which prices will not fall.

In addressing an appeal to all the people of Canada this evening, I should like to include a special word of appeal to wage earners. Every group in every community has a constant interest in seeing that the cost of living is controlled. No group has a greater interest in this battle, perhaps, than the people who are wage-earners. The real value of any wages is what the money will buy. In Canada we have been both fortunate and successful in keeping up the buying power of Canadian

Revised version.

JWP/JMC
Dec. 1st, 1943.

D 61473

The Danger of Inflation.

There are two sides to waging a modern war. One side is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy; the other with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership-unbroken and unbreakable - of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of the warrior.

More than half of all Canada produces now goes into making war - in the form of ships and planes and guns and machines and munitions of war, of equipment, clothing and foodstuffs. No nation can use half of its total production for war and improve the standard of living of its people at the same time. By a miracle of production, the Canadian people now produce almost twice as much as we did before the war. What is left over for the people to consume is nearly as great as our total production in 1939. Some things are

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scarce; others, notably food, are more abundant. What is even more remarkable is that, in the midst of the greatest war in history, we have achieved in Canada a more just and fair distribution of goods among all the people than we ever had before in our history.

The main reason why that great measure of social justice has been achieved is that the government set out in 1939 to distribute the cost and the burdens of war as fairly as possible in accordance with the ability of the people to bear them. We turned our backs resolutely on the easy and fatal road of inflation.

The battle against inflation has been fought on many fronts. The most drastic of the weapons used to fight inflation has been the ceiling on practically all prices. The price ceiling was imposed two years ago. In the past two years, price control has been so effective in Canada that too many of us have come to take it for granted. When prices do not go up, we think it is quite natural and easy to keep them down. Indeed, the very success of the ceiling has become a danger because its success has caused us to lose sight of the difficulties of maintaining it.

One question we might all ask ourselves is this: Why have other countries not kept prices down as effectively as we have in Canada, if prices are so easily controlled as many seem to imagine?

D 61475

The truth is that no other country has been so successful as Canada in keeping down the cost of living, although every country at war has recognized that the inflation of prices is one of the greatest dangers within the country to its war effort.

Our principal enemy, Germany, has made the most rigourous efforts to prevent inflation within its own borders. The Germans, of course, have more reasons than most countries to know the dangers of inflation. It is only twenty years since Germany experienced one of the worst inflations in history. It is worth remembering that the social unrest and the terrible injustices caused by the German inflation were one of the direct causes of the rise of Hitlerism and indirectly of the present war.

(Here if desired might be brought in examples of German inflation after the last war.)

While the Nazis have done their utmost to avoid inflation in Germany, they have equally deliberately used inflation as a weapon in the occupied countries to complete the defeat, demoralization and enslavement of the people of Europe.

(Here insert examples from occupied Europe)

D 61476

Inflation has not been confined to countries at war.

(Refer here to Spain and Ireland)

Inflation has been recognized as an internal enemy in all the United Nations, and most of them have tried with greater or less success to combat its ravages.

(Refer here to Britain, U.S.A. O
and to New Zealand and Australia copying Canada).

D 61477

The Position or Agriculture

Most of us are particularly sensitive to rises in the price of food. Indeed, it is generally food we think of, when we think of the cost of living. A storm of protest arose from consumers last summer over the high prices of certain fruits and vegetables. Perhaps I should remind you that the prices of fruit and vegetables were not controlled. Imagine what the outcry would have been if all prices had gone up like fashion.

It should be remembered that the producers of food, the farmers, do not complain about high prices for the food they produce: what they object to is low prices. Some people even say the farmers would gain if the controls were removed and inflation permitted. They believe farm prices would go up faster and higher than other prices, and farmers would gain more as producers than they would lose as consumers. That might happen for a short time. No one can be sure which prices would go up most, if all were allowed to increase. But abnormally high prices would certainly not last. Every farmer who remembers the last war, remembers that the great price boom broke in 1920 and that it was followed by a long and severe depression in agriculture.

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No one, of course, wants to keep farm prices abnormally low. Farm prices were low at the beginning of the war, but by October, 1941, when the price ceiling was established, most farm prices had risen considerably. Adjustments made since 1941 have brought about a better balance in prices. Indeed, almost the whole of the increase in the cost of living in Canada since October 1941 has been due to increases in farm prices.

Although more than half our national income is being used to wage war, we do not need an expert to tell us that farm income and farm living are on a much better level than they were in 1939. In other words, the task of preventing inflation, which all must share if we are to succeed, is not bearing unduly upon the farmers.

It should not be forgotten that, if we are preventing a boom in farm prices by controlling the cost of living, steps are also being taken to prevent a disastrous fall in farm prices by placing a "floor" under prices. This has already been done in many cases. The extension of the floor to other farm products is now under consideration. The government believes that reasonable security against depressed prices after the war will appeal to most farmers far more than a rise now in all prices and a disastrous collapse within a few years.

D 61479

The Battle against Inflation

Part one: The Present Stage of the War

A year of almost unbroken military successes against the enemy has been crowned by the political success of the Moscow conference. At Moscow, Hitler's hope of dividing the United Nations was dealt a crushing blow. The free world is more united than ever in its determination to defeat the enemy. We are coming to see that without an international order to maintain the peace, there can be no real victory in this war. We have all been cheered by the signs that the foundations of a genuine world order are being laid. One danger we face. The fighting has not yet ended. No one can yet tell when it will end. By all means let us hope for an early victory; but by no means let us count on victory coming by itself. Despite the countless rumours of recent weeks, there is only one safe course. We should continue to expect that the price of victory will be fierce fighting and heavy losses. The greatest hope left to the enemy is the hope that the United Nations will lose their determination to fight the war in their concern over planning the peace.

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Of course, it is of the utmost importance that we should be ready for the end of the fighting. We shall then face problems which can be met only if the planning and preparation has been done. Our people, I believe, are eager to know that the planning and preparation are progressing. I hope before very long to give you a progress report. But the first duty of the government is not to plan for the peace, but to make as sure as we can that victory will come, and that it will come as speedily as possible. That is our first aim as it is yours.

For more than four years, the people of Canada have given increasingly of their energies and of their resources to save our own country and the world from domination by the forces of evil. Today the danger has receded, but it has not vanished. The task must be completed and the evil forces of aggression and domination crushed for the sake not only of our own, but of the next generation. We do not want to leave for our children a legacy of war in every generation.

To win the war, to ensure a durable peace, we must hold firm now and resolve to carry on to the end, however long it may take. No one doubts that our fighting men are prepared to do their part. Those at home are, I believe, equally ready to do theirs. It is, of the part of those at home that I wish to speak tonight.

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"Holding the Home Front"

There are two sides to waging a modern war. One side is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy; the other with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster. One side is symbolized by the warrior; the other by the worker. The key to victory is a partnership - unbroken and unbreakable - of the warrior and the worker. The warrior cannot fight without the weapons forged by the worker. The freedom of the worker depends upon the success in battle of the warrior.

I wish to speak this evening of the side of Canada's war effort which is symbolized by the worker. It is what is usually called the "home front." It is the concern of all workers - not only wage-earners, but farmers, fishermen and other primary producers, businessmen and office and shopworkers and housewives - all directly or indirectly who labour on the home front are warworkers in a total war.

On the home front there are two large tasks. One is the task of producing the machines and munitions and food.

D 61482

That task the Canadian people have done well. More than half of all Canada produces now goes into making war - in the form of machines, weapons and munitions of war, equipment, clothing and foodstuffs.

The other task is the distribution of the burdens and costs of the war fairly among all the people. The loss of life and human suffering is the greatest of all the costs of war. The other cost, which all must share in greater or smaller measure, is felt in the scarcities, the deprivations and restrictions caused by war. No nation can use half of its total production for war and continue to improve the standard of living of all its people at the same time. By a miracle of organization, we are producing in Canada almost twice as much as we did before the war. In spite of our immense industrial and agricultural contribution to war-making, what is left over for the people to consume is nearly as great as our total production in 1939. What is even more remarkable is that, in the midst of the greatest war in history, we have achieved in Canada a more just and fair distribution of goods among all the people than we ever had before in our history. That is no accident. We have had in Canada a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country. The burdens of war have been distributed in accordance with the ability of people to bear them. We turned our backs resolutely on the easy and fatal road of inflation.

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What do we mean by inflation? By inflation, we mean a rise in prices and costs. By inflation, we mean that our dollar will buy less and less of things we want.

Despite the vast increase in production in Canada, war has brought inevitable shortages. We have all noticed shortages of some goods and the difficulty of obtaining services of all kinds. If inflation had been allowed, if prices had been permitted to rise, the competition for these scarce goods and services would have sent prices sky-high. Only those with large and expanding incomes would be able to buy what was available. Everyone agrees that it would be unjust to give an advantage of this kind to the well-to-do. Rising prices would increase the cost of living more rapidly than wages and salaries could increase. Rising prices would reduce the value of savings. Rising prices would bring hardship to nearly everyone, and much greater hardship to some than to others.

The government, therefore, determined to keep prices down. The most drastic of the weapons used to fight the inflation of prices has been the price ceiling imposed just two years ago.

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In the past two years, price control has been so effective in Canada that too many of us have come to take it for granted. When prices do not go up, we think it is quite natural and easy to keep them down.

Let me remind you of what has been accomplished in keeping down the cost of living in Canada in the past two years. Here are a few facts. In the six months before the ceiling policy was announced the cost of living rose by 6%; in the past two years it has only risen a little more than 3%. In the comparable two-year period of the last war the cost of living increased nearly 27%. The country with which Canada is most familiar is the United States. Conditions there closely resemble conditions in Canada, yet in the last two years, the cost of living has gone up more than 11%. Money wages are generally higher in the United States than in Canada. That fact is well-known to labour. But the real value of wages is what the money will buy.

In the United States the total cost of living has risen over 25% since 1939; in Canada it has risen only a little over 18%, and, as I have pointed out, all but 3% of that rise took place before the price ceiling was established. In Canada the cost of food has risen some 34%; in the United States 47%. For clothing

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the percentages are Canada 20%, United States 32%. These figures are averages for both countries as a whole.

The price ceiling can be saved and prices kept down only if costs are also kept down. That is why, if the cost of living is to be controlled, it is essential to control the cost of raw materials and all other costs of production and distribution.

Everyone is a consumer. As consumers, we all benefit from the price ceiling. But there may be those who question whether the benefit they derive from price control as consumers is as great as the disadvantages which the policy of controlling the cost of living seems to impose upon them as producers or workers.

Continue with original part 4 on agriculture

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Part Two
Revised version (JAG)

The Danger of Inflation

There are two sides to waging a modern war. One side is concerned with armies, navies and air forces in active combat with the enemy; the other with the organization of the whole nation to back up the armed forces with the utmost strength the people can muster.

More than half of all that Canada produces today goes into making war - in the form of ships and planes and guns and machines and munitions of war, of equipment, clothing and food-stuffs. We cannot expect to use half of our total production for war and to improve the standard of living of our people at the same time. But we can, and must, maintain if possible the standards which we have. By a miracle of production, we now produce in Canada almost twice as much as we did before the war. What is left over for the people to consume almost equals our total production in 1939. Some things are scarce; other things, notably food, are more abundant. In the midst of the greatest war in history, we have achieved in Canada a more just and fair distribution of goods among all the people than ever before in our history.

This great measure of social justice has been achieved mainly because the government set out in 1939 to distribute the cost and the burdens of war as fairly as possible in accordance

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with the ability of the people to bear them. We turned our backs resolutely on the easy and fatal road of inflation.

This battle on the home front against inflation has been fought with many weapons. The most drastic of these weapons has been the ceiling on nearly all prices. Since it was started in November 1941, price control has been so effective in Canada that too many people take it for granted. When prices do not go up, we think it is natural and quite easy to keep them down. Indeed, the very success of the ceiling has become a danger because its success has caused us to lose sight of the difficulties of maintaining it.

Although every country at war has recognized that inflated prices are a constant danger on the home front, no other country has been so successful as Canada in keeping down the cost of living. This record lays upon all of us a special duty to fight this enemy of inflation, so that our war effort both at home and abroad may be strong and unstinted.

Keeping down the cost of living may not sound a very spectacular activity. It has been an uphill fight against many kinds of pressure. But if prices were to rise at will, without any kind of control over them, the long-term results would be disastrous. Rising prices would make it more costly and more difficult to pay for Canada's war effort. Uncontrolled prices would increase the cost of living more rapidly than wages and salaries could increase. Rising prices would reduce the value of savings. Rising prices would mean hardship for many people,

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and great distress to the people least able to meet it.

If we are to have a maximum war effort, then there are bound to be scarcities in some of the goods that people would like to buy. If there had been no control over rising prices, desire of more people to buy more goods which were already scarce would have sent those prices soaring. Because these goods are scarce, there must be a planned distribution of both goods and services on the fairest basis we can discover. Still more important, if we are not going to lose all the benefits of the control over prices during the past two years, we must see that this control is continued and that fair distribution is assured.

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Part Three (JAG)

Government Policy Against Inflation

In fighting against inflation, control of prices alone will not defeat the enemy. Neither will it alone ensure a fair distribution of goods and services. A greater demand for goods, reflecting the fact that more people have more money to spend, will of itself tend to make prices rise. so also will an increase in the cost of producing goods, and of distributing them until they reach the final consumer.

This greater demand for goods can be reduced if the ability to buy the goods is correspondingly reduced. We have already made drastic reductions in Canada. We place rigid limits on profits. We tax high incomes very heavily. The people of Canada, by investing in Victory bonds and war savings, have set voluntary limits to their own capacity to buy goods which they might otherwise not have felt obliged to do without.

But if the cost of living is to be controlled effectively, all the costs of production must be controlled. For if costs are not kept within limits -- costs of raw materials, labour, transportation -- then retail costs to the consumer cannot be kept down.

In this respect there is no difference between the consumer and the producer. I do not think anyone will want to argue, in wartime, whether the advantage of controlled prices to the consumer outweighs the limitations which producers and

workers accept. Two years' experience in keeping the cost of living within bounds has shown that all of these interests are bound up together, and that we cannot now afford to separate them.

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Everyone welcomed the "ceiling" on the prices of things he or she had to buy. But someone else has to sell everything that anyone buys. And it is impossible to control the price of what we buy unless the price of what we sell is also controlled.

It is here that the battle against inflation has called for self-denial and self-discipline. Everyone can see an immediate advantage in increasing his income whether it is by getting higher prices for what he sells or a higher salary or wages for his work. It is not so easy to see that a higher money income will not be any advantage if the money buys less and less because prices are going up. The fact that the vast majority of Canadians have realized that inflation would hurt the war effort is a tribute to their patriotism; the fact that they realized it would hurt themselves is a tribute to their intelligence.

There are signs that the price ceiling is in danger; signs that some are forgetting that all have a part to play if the battle against inflation is to be won and the home front held firm in support of our fighting men.

Everyone is a consumer. As consumers, all benefit from the price ceiling. But most of us are also producers or workers. As producers or workers, some seem to feel

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they are losing more from the control of their income than they are gaining as consumers. They believe that they are being asked to do more than their fair share of fighting in the battle of inflation. I do not believe that many Canadians feel this way; few would compare their burdens with the sacrifices of our soldiers, sailors and airmen. Fewer still would wish to lighten their own burdens at the expense of our fighting men. But they want to be sure that the controls and restrictions they are asked to accept are really helping to win the war and to prepare our country to meet the problems of peace.

Wage Stabilization

D 61493

Everyone can see that, if farm prices go up, the cost of living will increase. There is not quite the same obvious connection between salary or wage increases and rising prices. Salaries or wages paid in war industries do not enter directly into the cost of living. There are those who say such salaries and wages could be increased without increasing prices. But it would be so unjust as to be impossible to control only those salaries and wages which enter into the cost of the things we buy. Everyone can see how unfair it would be to control wages in a factory making shoes and to permit wages to rise freely in a factory making guns. The only fair method of stabilizing wages is to stabilize all wages on the same basis.

No one will deny that wages are a large element, often the largest element, in the cost of everything we buy. If wages rise, prices must rise too, or the goods cannot be sold for enough to pay the wages. ~~A general price ceiling cannot be maintained, unless wages are stabilized in the industries and trades whose products are under the ceiling.~~ The government, ~~therefore~~, did not undertake to control wages out of a mere love of control. If the cost of living could be controlled without controlling wages, my colleagues and I

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would be very happy. Wages are controlled in order to control costs. Costs are controlled to protect the basic standard of living of wage-earners, and others with small incomes.

While wages have been controlled, they have not been kept down in cases where they were obviously unjust and unfair. The government has been accused of having "frozen" wages in 1941. That is not true. What we did "freeze", with a few exceptions, were prices. We knew there were certain injustices and inequalities in the wage structure which it would be intolerable to freeze for the whole of the war. The government established a National War Labour Board and Regional Boards to deal with inequalities and injustices in wages. I shall not weary you with the details of the operation of the wage control as it has worked in the past two years. But one point I wish to stress. The best evidence that wages were not frozen is the fact the War Labour Boards have received 40,000 applications for wage adjustments affecting two and a half million workers, and they have approved 90% of them in whole or part.

Wage control as established two years ago provided for a compulsory cost of living bonus to offset in part such increases as there might be in the cost of living. In some industries, cost of living bonuses were already being paid

at that time; in others, wage increases had recently been granted. The use of cost of living bonuses has given Canada a complicated structure of wages and bonuses, which are often the source of misunderstanding and friction.

The wage control policy has now been revised to provide that the existing cost of living bonuses are to be added to and to become a part of existing wage rates. No further cost of living bonuses will be awarded. All wages are to be stabilized at existing levels, although the National and Regional War Labour Boards are to have power to correct gross inequalities and injustices. In order to compensate for abolishing the cost of living bonus, the government believes that the cost of living can be kept down approximately at the present level. Every practicable step will be taken to maintain the cost of living index within a range of, say, 118 to 121 - and we shall constantly endeavour to keep it at the lower end of that range. The index may occasionally rise a point or two for a short period before it can be corrected. I wish, on behalf of my colleagues, to give a definite undertaking that, should the index exceed the present level by as much as three points in two consecutive months, the whole programme of price and wage

control will be reviewed and revised. What we intend to do is to reinforce the policy of price control by this new and rigorous policy of "holding the line". Such a policy, we believe, will provide a more adequate safeguard of the basic living standards of labour than is provided by the cost of living bonus. Of course we can only keep the cost of living down, if wages remain stable. The rise in the price of coal following the recent increase in the wage of coal miners is a warning of what will come if wages cannot be effectively controlled.

I will admit readily that it is often difficulty for labour to forego an immediate opportunity to take advantage of favourable circumstances to secure somewhat higher wages, just as it is difficult for farmers and other primary producers to deny themselves the immediate advantage of an increased price for their products. Most of us are not accustomed to think of these matters in general terms and the immediate gain seems often more attractive than a more distant advantage.

Speaking particularly to labour, I would say that wage stabilization is essential to our success in preventing inflation. We must prevent inflation if Canada is to do her full part to win the war and if we are to lay the foundations for a better life in the years of peace. I appeal, tonight, particularly to labour to give warm and firm support to policies which are in the interests of labour, in the interests of Canada, and in the interests of a free world.

dollars. Since 1939, the cost of living in Canada has risen a little more than 18 per cent. But, since price ceilings were established two years ago, the rise has been only 3 per cent. Of this 3 per cent the great bulk has been made up by the increases in the price of food.

I have already suggested that we are producing nearly twice as much as before the war and that more than half of our increased production is being used for war purposes. Of what is left from total production for civilian needs there is much more even distribution than there ever was before the war. During the war, there has been in Canada a planned levelling up and levelling down of spendable incomes on a scale never before attempted in a democratic country.

The purpose of price control is not to improve the standard of living. It is to protect and maintain the basic standard of living which we now enjoy. It is this basic standard of living which must be defended against all assaults of the enemy of inflation. The only way in which we might attempt, during war time, to improve the general standard of living would be by taking away from our war effort. We could only do this if we used more manpower and

more resources to satisfy civilian demands for things which we have learned to do without. I do not believe that the people of Canada want the government to relax its efforts in waging war in order to alter or improve living standards at the expense of the war effort. We may never finally achieve complete fairness and justice. But we can try, and we can see that gross injustices are not allowed to remain.

The policy of the government against inflation includes the rigid control of profits, steeply graded income taxes, consistent war savings, a comprehensive control of prices, and a maintaining of basic salaries and wage rates. This policy must stand or fall as a whole. Every part of it is essential to the success of the battle against inflation.

This battle against inflation is the biggest fight we have ever waged against any enemy on the home front. It is a battle of the private citizen in co-operation with the Government of Canada. There are no Generals, or Colonels, or Sergeant-Majors. It is a war effort on the home front in which the main battle against inflation must also destroy the enemy pill-boxes of complacency, selfishness, rumour-mongering, and defeatism.

I do not need to suggest to you that if this citizens' army were to fall back in disorder before the assaults of the enemy of inflation, the whole structure of our war effort would be impaired. We should forfeit all the advantages of more than four years of careful planning. We should waste valuable parts of the superb industrial organization which has been built up to provide the weapons and munitions of war. We should be false to the trust reposed in us, as a people and a government, by those whose voluntary savings have helped to pay for so large a part of the cost of this tremendous effort. We should have broken faith with those whose loved ones have already laid down their lives on many a far-flung battle line.

I am sure that the people of Canada will not slacken their fight against the enemies on the home front. For this is a fight in which everyone can have a part. Not all of us can serve in the Navy, or the Army, or the Air Force. But we can all help to ensure that the regulations which control prices and keep the cost of living within bounds are loyally and faithfully carried out. For, if the system breaks down, if the battle-line begins to crumble, no one will gain in the long run.

I would ask you to think of this battle against inflation in still another way. If we cannot control the cost of living in wartime, how shall we be prepared to meet the tremendous demands of the period of re-adjustment which must follow the defeat of the enemy? If we cannot prevent the worst evils of inflation by controlling prices and wages, how can we expect to move forward with new measures of social security for all the people? If the whole ecomomic basis of our society is disrupted, how can we hope to achieve the post-war goals of maximum production based upon full employment?

The answer to these questions is in your hands. Everything you do now to push back the enemy of inflation will count for gains far beyond victory itself. Fair prices, adequate wages, and equitable distribution will be just as important in peace as they have been in war. You can help to make possible all of these things.

D 61501

Insert - The Battle against Inflation

Part 8 - at bottom of page one

In the United States the total cost of living has risen over 25% since 1939; in Canada it has risen only a little over 18%, and, as I have pointed out, all but 3% of that rise took place before the price ceiling was established. In Canada the cost of food has risen some 34%; in the United States 47%. For clothing the percentages are Canada 20%, United States 32%. These figures are averages for both countries as a whole.

You may be interested in some comparisons between neighbouring cities in the two countries. In Toronto, for example, the cost of living has risen about 17½%; in Buffalo 27½%. In Winnipeg the increase has been 15½%; in Minneapolis 21½%. In Vancouver it has been 17½%; in Seattle 27½%. Of course, one can find even more striking contrasts by taking the prices of particular commodities; but the comparisons I have given are carefully worked out so as to give an accurate picture of the increase in the total cost of living. What they reveal is that Canada has been particularly successful in keeping up the buying power of the Canadian dollar. That is a point we are often inclined to overlook when we compare wages or salaries in Canada with those paid in the United States.

D61502

Inflation in Ireland

The dangers of inflation are not confined only to those countries actually at war. Ireland is not at war, but that country has not escaped some of the consequences of world-wide war. The cost of living index in Ireland had already risen 60% between the outbreak of war in 1939 and the summer of this year. The cost of living index does not give an adequate measure of the rise in prices in Ireland, since price control is confined largely to necessaries which are included in the index. Other commodities, not included in the index, have, in some cases, risen twice or three times in price since the outbreak of war.

The rise in Irish prices is largely caused by the scarcity of imported foodstuffs and raw materials. The index of food prices has risen over 50%, although Ireland is still largely an agricultural country. Tea has gone up 20% and is severely rationed; bread and potatoes about 30%; sugar 33%; milk 80%; and uncontrolled foodstuffs have gone much higher. The price of fresh pork, for example, has increased from 80 to 120%; cod fish steaks, 130%; and eggs, 200%. The controlled foodsturfs are, in many cases, scarce. If one may judge from the record of prosecutions, a considerable proportion of the supplies find their way to

the black market. According to evidence given in the courts, tea, for example, has been sold for 17/6 to £1. a pound, prices which are the equivalent of $3 to $4 a pound in our money.

The rise in Irish prices has been felt particularly by pensioners, those receiving small salaries, and wage-earners. Wages have risen very slowly in Ireland where there is considerable unemployment. In other words, the inflation of prices has created acute hardship for labour and for those with small fixed incomes.

D 61504

Suggested changes by Dr. Clark and Mr. Macintosh:

Pages 6: 3rd line from bottom of page - change beginning of sentence beginning with "A FEW VERY CLEVER PEOPLE" to:

"A few sharp, unscrupulous people"

7: 1st paragraph - down to "...in the post-war period".

"During the last war and the years immediately following, wage rates in this country more than doubled, but such was the rise in the cost of living, that at no time throughout the war was the purchasing power of wage rates as great as before the war began. Only in 1919 and 1920, did the worker begin to catch up and then he made a gain of a meagre 9%. Price and wage control in this war have already done vastly better for the wage earner than that. When living costs fell in 1920, wages fell and unemployment became widespread." ..

8: 8th line from top of ~~xfxxx~~ page: "Change "a so-called "ceiling" to: "A so-called "ceiling" was placed over virtually all prices" and delete rest of sentence.

3rd
11: ~~1xx~~ line from bottom of 1st paragraph: change "are greater than they were in 1939" to "Farm incomes today are EQUAL TO THE BEST THEY HAVE EVER ENJOYED."

Question: Provisional O.K. of first 10 pages?

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File re Basic Wage & D 61505
Inflation

(Wages Stabilization)

DRAFT FOR LABOUR POLICY ANNOUNCEMENT

from Dept of Labour - Dec 1st 1943

D 61506

DRAFT FOR LABOUR POLICY ANNOUNCEMENT

Part 1 - Introductory

The importance of good industrial relations in any modern economy at all times is so fully recognized that it need hardly be stated. Even under the most prosperous conditions any dispute which produces an interruption of employment inflicts a direct loss on worker and employer alike and subtracts from the well-being of the community as a whole. No matter what advantages may be gained by one side or the other they must be offset by the fact that everyone suffers directly in some degree.

But if this is true in normal times it is vastly more significant in time of war. When a nation is struggling for its very survival, pitting every resource in a life and death conflict, any interference with total production saps the fighting strength of the nation as a whole and becomes a matter of direct public concern.

With manpower shortages constantly threatening to limit our output of weapons and to curtail essential work at home, the common welfare demands that men should not stand idle for a moment except through unavoidable cause.

For any government at war, maintenance of harmonious industrial relations becomes a matter of war policy, ranking high in the list of wartime necessities. The fact is that in Canada industrial relations have been a subject of continual and careful study by the government ever since this country took its place in the battleline more than four years ago.

Let me say at this point that in Canada the record both of industry itself and of the great civilian army which mans industry, has on the whole been excellent. There have been difficulties from time to time as in all human affairs,

but I do not think that any of the democracies have found a better spirit among its war workers.

I still recall with a thrill of pride the response of Canada's workers to the emergency of 1940. With Britain stripped of almost every weapon, save that last and greatest of all weapons - the courage of her people, I appealed for maximum speed and maximum effort on every Canadian war contract then in operation. Some of the groups of organized labour in reply volunteered working hours that seemed beyond the wise limits of human endurance and were modified at the government's request. The whole working population made it clear from that moment where they stood with regard to the issues and the perils of this war, and have never faltered since.

But zeal and good morale are not the whole of any question. They must be given a setting in which to operate and it is the responsibility of government - sometimes quite a delicate responsibility - to provide that setting. In a situation like this it becomes necessary to organize the whole resources of the nation in orderly fashion, to maintain justice under the strain of war, to reconcile divergent views, to avoid or at least minimize the clash of conflicting interests - and all this while retaining the widest possible freedom for individuals whose spirit is one of the greatest fighting assets we have.

The control of labour matters is in normal times almost exclusively the affair of the provinces. It has become increasingly a federal responsibility as the war effort absorbed more and more of the nation's energies and became increasingly a total effort.

It has, from the outset, involved a triple obligation.

D 61508

It was imperative that the country's manpower resources be mobilized and trained for their respective tasks with the utmost expedition.

As a matter of justice, it was important that in the midst of a disturbed and rapidly changing atmosphere the traditional rights of labour should be preserved as completely as possible.

Simultaneously it has been necessary to study closely the relationship of all labour policy to the whole economic and financial programme.

In dealing with this problem from the outset to the present day, the government has been guided continually by the belief that while war demands a great many arbitrary measures, arbitrary action is better avoided, even in war, except where it is really required.

It has been necessary, as I say, to marshal the resources of this country as completely as possible but equally necessary that this should be done by means that were in harmony with the spirit of the people themselves and would receive their loyal support. For even in a state of mobilization, Canada is still a democracy, deeply inbued with the spirit of individual free will, ready to accept the discipline of war, but conscious of its right to examine the demands made upon it.

From an economic standpoint we have worked on the principle that labour was entitled to adequate monetary rewards for its effort and that these rewards should not be watered down and rendered fictitious by inflation.

During the last war and the years immediately following, wages rose sharply, but in hardly any case did they keep pace with the cost of living which doubled. When living costs fell, wages fell faster and for many individuals of course disappeared.

We have sought to avoid that experience this time. We mean to avoid it if it is humanly possible to do so.

D 61509

Part 2

The first important step taken with respect to labour matters was in November 1939 when the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, which had previously applied chiefly to public utilities, were extended to cover all war industries. This made the conciliation services of the Federal Department of Labour immediately available to assist in the adjustment of any disagreement affecting war production. The usefulness of this measure was very soon demonstrated by the large number of applications received for Boards from war industries and the good measure of results achieved by them.

In June, 1940, after consultation with labour organizations, the government felt it desirable to lay down certain general principles for the regulation of labour conditions and the avoidance of industrial unrest during the war. An order in council issued at that time declared, among other things: that fair and reasonable standards and other conditions should be established: that the right of employees to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively should be recognized and that disputes should be settled by negotiation or with the assistance of the government conciliation service or through the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act.

This declaration was intended to carry moral force, and it did serve a useful purpose in that it laid down guiding principles for the adjustment of disagreements between employers and employees who were willing in the war emergency to abide by the expressed wishes of the government. Actually, a large number of collective labour agreements were concluded in Canadian industry under the principles of this declaration.

As early as December, 1940, order in council P.C. 7440 was passed as the first in the series of stabilization measures.

In brief this order was an instruction to Boards of Conciliation, setting as a standard for wage adjustment the levels reached during the period of relatively high wages in the late twenties. In seeking to stabilize wages at that level it also provided for a flat-rate cost of living bonus to compensate for any increase in living costs subsequent to December, 1940. At one and the same time this measure was designed to assist in obtaining price stabilization, and yet compensate wage-earners for actual living cost increases.

While this measure proposed a definite standard for wages in general, it provided for adjustment in special cases where wage rates were out of line or inequitable.

During the Summer of 1941 it became evident that the safeguards we had raised against an inflationary rise in the cost of living were not holding. Despite a "pay as you go" policy and an unprecedented scale of taxation and borrowing, public spending-power had overtaken the diminishing supply of goods available to civilians, and prices were steadily mounting.

The threat of inflation was upon us, and firm action was necessary if it were to be averted. As you will recall the decision taken was to fix a ceiling over virtually all prices paid by the consumer and adjust costs and price-spreads at all stages of distribution to bring them into line with this ceiling. Nothing less positive would have met the situation. The rise in retail prices simply must be stopped short and that meant adjusting costs to prices - not prices to costs.

In thus fixing prices the government was bound to recognize the fact that wages and salaries account for 60% of all direct production and distribution costs in Canada and it would be manifestly impossible to place a ceiling over the prices a producer

might charge without imposing a similar control over the wages and salaries he might be required to pay.

Accordingly the order in council fixing prices was accompanied by measures generally prohibiting the increase of wage rates, salaries, or fees for services, without special sanction. Provision was again made, however, for the adjustment of abnormal wage situations; and the task of dealing with these was referred to the National and Regional War Labour Boards set up at that time to administer the new policy.

Under the administration of the existing War Labour Boards, 40,000 applications affecting the remuneration of some two and a half million employees have been dealt with up to the present and more than 90% of them were approved in whole or in part.

The result of these adjustments, now in force, has been an aggregate increase in payments to Canadian wage-earners in excess of $150,000,000 per year.

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Part 3

While the need for sweeping stabilization measures was manifest to all of us in the Autumn of 1941, there was no one who would have dared to prophesy whether they would succeed or fail. There were no precedents to guide us.

At this distance I am able to say that these measures under the able administration of Mr. DonaldGordon, Chairman of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, have thus far been highly successful.

Since the outbreak of war the cost of living in Canada as measured by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics index has risen only eighteen points as compared with fifty-six points in the corresponding period of the last war.

During the two years since price regulation and wage control were introduced in October 1941, the rise in the cost of living index has been less than 4 points. It rose more than ten times as much - more than 40 points - during the corresponding two years, from 1916 to 1918.

And while it is difficult to draw exact comparisons, there is no room for doubt that Canada has up to the present had far greater success in combatting inflation and holding living costs in check than any other nation with a comparable problem.

The degree of stability, of economic security, that this has meant to our citizens can only be measured in terms of what might have happened without these successful controls, and that is largely a matter for the imagination.

The conditions of this war are much more stringent than those of the last war, the economic forces with which we are contending immeasurably stronger.

Consequently while one recalls that in the First World War the cost of living in Canada had doubled by 1920, even that can not be taken as the full measure of what might be happening

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in Canada now without the existing controls - might yet happen if they cease to be effective.

Against these possibilities we can at present set the fact that the combination of wartime wage adjustment, coupled with price stabilization, has given to the workers of Canada today a greater measure of well-being, a higher standard of real wages, than they have ever enjoyed before. The burden of war taxes weighs heavily upon them, it is true, but that burden is fully shared by the industries that employ them - we have seen to that - and by all of their fellow citizens in Canada. It is part of the common price that we are all paying, and trying to pay cheerfully, for the preservation of our freedom and our democratic traditions.

It cannot be denied that there are still inequalities within the present wage structure. There are discrepancies as between different occupations and also between different regions of Canada. There always have been. We have had to carry the past along with us to some extent, for it would have been an insuperable task in the midst of war to overhaul and reconstitute the entire wage structure of the country.

A very large measure of re-adjustment has, however, been accomplished through the medium of the War Labour Boards and I feel justified in believing that their work has gone a long way toward the removal of obvious inequalities.

Part 4

I stated a few minutes ago that Canada's record of industrial relations in this war had been highly creditable. Actually last year less than half a million working days were lost through labour disputes - about 40% of the figure for 1917 and half of that for 1937. As a percentage of man-hours worked this loss through disputes is considerably less than the average for the last ten peace years. During the present year, however, there were some signs of deterioration in this good situation, and growing evidence of the necessity for new measures and new machinery. In the light of this and of repeated representations from labour itself, it was decided to re-examine the whole situation.

As a first step, the National War Labour Board was re-constituted last February with the idea of giving it a more judicial function. At the same time it was authorized to conduct an inquiry into the whole field of industrial relations and present its findings. This inquiry was opened last Spring and heard representations on every phase of the problem from representatives of organized labour, of industry, business, and many other interested organizations and individuals.

The Board produced its findings in the form of two reports. A majority report signed by the Chairman, Mr. Justice McTague and Mr. Leon Lalande, and a minority report by Mr. J. L. Cohen, K. C., then the third member of the Board. Both of these documents and also a great mass of evidence taken at the hearings were carefully studied by the government in considering what changes, if any, were required in the administration of its labour policy.

It appeared at once that while a division of opinion existed between the Board reports on various matters, particularly with regard to questions of administration, there was unanimity on a number of fundamental proposals. Representations presented to the Board at its hearings had tended to focus on a limited number of suggestions

such as a labour relations code, compulsory collective bargaining, compulsory arbitration of disputes and the modification of certain existing labour measures.

The majority and minority reports were agreed in recommending:-

(1) The introduction, as a war measure, of a Labour Relations Code.

(2) Provision for compulsory collective bargaining and for compulsory arbitration of disputes, with adequate machinery for enforcement.

(3) Administration of the code by a National Labour Relations Board.

(4) Its application to all war industries in Canada.

(5) The abrogration or suspension of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act with related orders-in-council.

The Board's unanimity on these fundamental points provided a natural basis for the formulation of a revised labour policy. The matters on which the two reports disagreed were also examined with regard to their relative merits and feasibility.

The conclusions suggested by this study, however, represented such a broad departure from previous practices that it was felt the government should consult with the provinces at this point.

Under the British North America Act, the Governments of the Provinces have the authority and responsibility to operate in large portions of the field of industrial relations. In fact, in normal times the area which remains to the Government of the Dominion in this regard is quite restricted. Moreover, it has always been our policy to promote co-operation between the several Governments in Canada in the more important fields of administration. Consequently, while the Dominion Government possesses jurisdiction in the war emergency under the War Measures Act to regulate matters which are of

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interest to industries classed as war industries -- and this jurisdiction in these cases relates also to employer-employee relations --it was the feeling of the Government that important changes should not be made in the basic legislation under the heading of industrial relations, without consultation between the Governments of the Dominion and of the provinces.

In speaking on this point I should like also to record the appreciation of the Dominion at the considerable assistance given by the Provincial Departments of Labour in conducting conciliation where industrial disputes have arisen. The conciliation services of the provinces have been virtually placed at our disposal on many occasions, and that our industrial relations have been largely of a harmonious nature is in no small part due to the aid we have received from the provinces.

In order to obtain the opinions of the Governments of the provinces in respect of the proposed legislation arising out of the recommendations of the National War Labour Board, an invitation was extended for a Conference to be held in Ottawa commencing on November 8. It was open to the provinces to send as representatives the Minister of Labour or any other Members of the Provincial Cabinets and Officers of the Department of Labour of the provinces. All provinces responded, with the result that a most representative gathering of provincial people held a three-day Conference with the Federal Minister of Labour and Officers of his Department.

The discussions were most fruitful, and a considerable area of common ground was discovered, not only amongst the provinces themselves, but also in relation to Dominion jurisdiction. Above all, it is heartening to find at this time so much genuine desire on the part of the provinces to give the utmost in the way of assistance to the Dominion in these difficult matters of labour administration.

It was conceded by the provinces that the Dominion should be free to legislate in regard to war industries, that is to say,

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in regard to labour relations in those industries essential to the war effort. Also, the Provinces offered practical co-operation in administering whatever legislation the Dominion might deem necessary at this time, to promote improved relations between employer and employee in the interests of our common war effort. It is not too much to hope that at least a co-ordination of conciliation effort between the Dominionaand the provinces may be worked out, covering the entire field, if one judges by the atmosphere of the Conference.

The Government has thus been in a position to draw its final proposals on the basis of sound experience, broad inquiry and friendly representations from practically every group who had an interest in labour policy or a view to express regarding it. On this basis it has drafted as war measures two new orders-in-council which have been (signed, announced, promulgated) to-day.

Part 5

D

61518

The first Order is essentially restricted in its scope to war industries, or to other industries over which the Dominion has jurisdiction in regard to labour relations, although the Minister of Labour is authorized to confer with the government of each province, to the end that where the province wishes the scope of the Dominion Order to apply to industries which are not classed as "war industries" extension of the provisions may be made to these other industries with the concurrence of the Province.

Briefly, the Order provides:

1 For compulsory collective bargaining in respect of any customary term or condition of employment.

2 For the compulsory arbitration and settlement of disputes arising out of a negotiated agreement.

3 For the establishment of a labour code and the definition and prohibition of unfair labour practices.

4 For the appointment of a National Wartime Labour Relations Board, to make regulations and provide for the administration of the Order in such manner as is best suited to the conditions in each province on the general principle that the machinery of the provincial government will be used for the administrative provisions of the Order in the province save as to "National Industries", so far as it is possible to do so, and that the enforcement thereof should be undertaken by the Federal authority.

The National Labour Relations Board will consist of seven members, three of whom will be selected as representative of the interest of the general public and two each for representative organizations of employers and labour respectively after consultation with such groups. Provision is also made for the appointment of regional boards in the provinces, one of whose members in each case

may be nominated by the provincial government concerned. With respect to collective bargaining, the order provides that:-

Employees shall have the right to form and join labour organizations and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing with employers as to all terms and conditions of employment.

The representatives selected for the purpose of collective bargaining by the majority of the employees in a unit appropriate for such purposes shall be the exclusive representatives of all the employees in such unit for that purpose.

Employers must negotiate in good faith with the representatives of any labour organization or organizations certified by the Board as the appropriate bargaining agency in respect of the employees concerned as to any term or condition of employment customarily included in collective agreements, subject to the provisions of the Wartime Wage Control Order.

Machinery will be established through which the Board may ascertain in any particular case what is the appropriate unit for collective bargaining and who are the proper bargaining representatives.

In the event of unsuccessful negotiations, the Board will have power to direct that the negotiations shall continue with the aid of Conciliation Services, and if agreement is still not achieved, the Board will issue a report recommending the terms and conditions it believes to be just. If these are not accepted and a substantial interference with the war effort is threatened, the Board may then, subject to the approval of the Governor General in Council, provide by order, terms and conditions of employment which will be binding upon the parties until the Board orders otherwise.

Employers shall be prohibited from "unfair labour practices" such as: interfering with workers in the exercise of their right to organize or bargain collectively; dominating or interfering with the formation or administration of any labour

organization, or contributing financial aid thereto; by discrimination as to conditions of employment to encourage or discourage membership in any labour organization; discriminating against or discharging a worker for participating in the activities of any labour organization; refusing to bargain collectively with the proper representatives of the employees.

Employees in exercising their right to form and join labour organizations under the order shall be prohibited from the use of coercion or intimidation of any kind to influence any person to join their organizations.

The section dealing with compulsory settlement of disputes prohibits lockouts and strikes in connection with any dispute arising out of an existing collective agreement. The parties are required to notify the Board wherever such dispute exists or is apprehended.

Where the ordinary means of settlement,have not proved successful, such disputes will be referred to arbitration for final settlement. The arbitration award in any such case will be final and binding upon the parties.

Any strike or lockout arising out of the failure of any party to abide by the terms of such an award will be punishable as an offence against the order.

D 61521

Part 6.

The second of these orders-in-council has to do with economic stabilization and the relation to it of wage control.

It is the declared policy of our government that all practicable measures shall be taken to stabilize the cost of living at present levels, and that in the event of any appreciable continued change in living costs, the whole stabilization policy shall be reviewed and further appropriate action considered. In other words, it is the intention of the government that the cost of living shall not increase in Canada appreciably from now on. In view of this, the provision for bonuses with respect to any such rise in price levels no longer appears necessary.

It has therefore been decided that all cost of living bonuses shall henceforth be included as part of basic wage rates. Wage rates, in other words, will be revised upward to the level of the present authorized wage and bonus combined, and payment of the bonus as such will be discontinued.

Two years have elapsed since provision was first made for the adjustment of wages that were out of line with the general standard, and a great measure of such adjustment has been accomplished. The machinery for such adjustments is still retained, but it is specified that they may only be made where necessary to rectify a gross inequality or injustice and where they are also consistent with the ability of the employer to pay out of his own resources the resultant increase in costs. However, to insure that this modification should not prejudice applications now pending, it is expressly provided that these shall be dealt with in terms of the old order.

The new wages order will be administered by an enlarged National War Labour Board consisting of six members representative of the interests concerned, with a regional board in each of the provinces, the provincial Ministers of Labour being continued as chairmen of their regional boards if they so desire to be.

The National Board will be authorized as before to

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inquire from time to time into conditions affecting labour and industrial relations. It will have power to review the activities of the regional boards and to hear appeals from their decisions.

D 61523

Part 7

I have recalled to your minds and emphasized the underlying importance of maintaining peaceful industrial relations -- the importance to labour, to management, to the public, and especially at this time the importance to the other members of the United Nations.

Legislation to be helpful in the desired direction must appeal to the partners in industry as sound and beneficial: otherwise it cannot be hoped that it will succeed. Moreover, legislation bearing on industrial relations, wherever it has been successful, has been of an evolutionary character, has consisted largely of formulas arrived at through the method of trial and discovery of error.

The measures which I have just announced appear to the Government, after mature consideration, to be necessary and desirable in the light of existing trends and circumstances. Representing in large part, as they do, the views of the partners in industry, made known through the general enquiry, as well as the views of those skilled in the administration of such legislation, we do hope that they will commend themselves as a genuine contribution to industrial stability and to the economic strength of this country at a time when its whole fabric is under great stress.

I would remind you that the considerations involved touch many interests and have a wide bearing upon the Government's domestic policy as a whole. In some instances the interests concerned are by their very nature of a divergent character so that the only course open is to endeavour always to effect what seems fair and wise, and to make that the basis of the Government's decision.

In every case, in the preparation of these measures, it naturally is our duty to place the national interest above everything else, and this we have sought to do.

I would appeal to the public of Canada, to employers and employees, to lend their support and co-operation in the task of

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putting the new measures into effect, for as cannot be stated too often, in no field of human endeavour is a co-operative approach quite so necessary for success as in the promotion of industrial peace. With these measures operating, we predict that we shall have moved a considerable distance nearer to the goal desired -- nearer to uninterrupted harmony in employer-employee relations, and nearer also to economic stability and justice through the anti-inflation measures we find it necessary to impose in the interests of the people of Canada.

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

122

Ottawa,.....

Material on Inflation
in other countries

61525

D 61526

The German Inflation (1922-23)

For those who have never experienced inflation its dangers may seem unreal or, at least, exaggerated. No country in modern times has experienced a more disastrous inflation than Germany after the close of the last war.

I have therefore collected a few examples to illustrate what happened in Germany when the inflation was at its height in 1922 and 1923.

The wages of coal miners by April of 1922 were already about 30 times as high as they were in 1914; by August they were 60 times as high; and by December about 600 times as high.

The cost of living in April of 1922 was not much higher proportionately than the wages of coal miners. It was about 34 times the cost in 1914. By August it was 77 times as high and by December 685 times as high. By January, 1923, the cost of living was already 112 times what it was in 1914. From January 1923, prices went up sky-high. By September they were over a million times what they had been in 1914 and by the end of the year prices were being measured in billions. Money literally came to be worth less than the paper it was printed on. Of course, wages went up, too, in 1923, until they reached fantastic figures. But wages could not keep pace with prices,

particularly when the value of money was changing so rapidly that a whole week's wages often became quite worthless the day after the wages were paid. Even in 1922, as the figures show, the wages of coal miners could not keep up with prices. Coal miners were organized in unions with a strong bargaining position - in 1922, there were still labour unions in Germany. The situation was far worse for unorganized labour, and worse still for those living on war pensions, old age pensions or small savings. The German inflation completely wiped out the internal national debt of the country. Those who had lent their savings to help pay for the war watched them melt away. The savings of a life-time often vanished in a single day. At the same time, colossal profits were being made by successful speculators in property of all kinds. Out of the social disintegration which resulted from the inflation, Hitlerism was born and developed. Inflation born of one war thus became a prime cause of another war.

Re: Inflation in China

D 61528

(I) Cost of 1941 Studebaker car in Chungking $26,625.00. Value at Ottawa about $1,000 - 1941.

(2) Residence - estimated cost of Legation residence $120,000.

(3) Carrots - in one year price has risen from .30 to $4.00 a pound.

(4) May 16, 1943 - Two days ago rice jumped from 260 Chinese dollars to 500 per ton.

(5) Jan. 10, 1943 - There was food in the small towns and open restaurants were fragrant with fish and meat, but food was only for those who could pay. Wheat now costs seventy cents a pound in American money and the price is still rising. Last winter it cost only seven cents a pound. Beef is cheaper, selling for thirty-four cents a pound. This is because the peasants killed their farm animals to eat and sell the surplus on the market before it spoils. The government is greatly worried that the immense slaughtering of animals may make difficult the plowing of the ground for future crops.

(6) July 12, 1943. - 1938 Ford car purchased for $175,000 but it was completely unsatisfactory. It has been exchanged for DeSota at additional cost of $40,000.

(7) Oct. 7, 1943 - A coolie without $1,000 on him would be an anomaly. Children play with $100 notes. Rickshaw men would not be elated at earning $1,000 a day. Beggars are said to refuse $10 bills. The U. S. Government pays up to $900,000 for used trucks.

D 61529

Inflation in Europe

In the present war, Germany has taken drastic measures to prevent inflation within Germany. In the occupied countries, the Nazis have followed the opposite policy. The currencies of these unhappy countries have been deliberately inflated so that supplies of all kinds could be bought up cheaply by the Germans.

I have collected a few examples of actual prices known to have been paid for a variety of articles in different occupied countries.

In France, for example, where the franc before the war was worth about 4 cents, 4000 francs has been paid for a pair of shoes, 2000 for a ham, 500 for a chicken and 50 francs for a cup of tea. Sour milk costs 34 francs a litre, while before the war fresh milk was less than 2½ francs a litre.

In Belgium a loaf of black bread may cost 55 francs and an egg 10½ francs, if they can be bought at all.

In Greece, where the drachma before the war was worth about a little less than one cent, a loaf of bread costs 5000 drachmas, a pound of fish 8000-10,000 drachmas, a pound of meat 12,000 and a pair of shoes 200,000.

In Holland, salaries and wages are fixed. Wages vary between 30 and 130 guilders a week. On the black market butter is 20 to 25 guilders a pound, meat 15 guilders, a man's suit 4000 guilders, a pair of shoes 80 guilders.

In Denmark, the wages of a farm labourer are 2000 to 2,200 crowns a year. Some typical prices are - shoes 40 crowns; overalls 30 crowns; men's suits 350 crowns.

Of course, these examples are from countries where the inflation has been deliberately used by the enemy. Spain, however, is not occupied. In Spain, a worker earns 12, 15 or 20 pesetas a day. He must spend 20 to 25 pesetas to eat moderately well. A pair of shoes costs from 120 to 150 pesetas; a loaf of brown bread 8 to 10 pesetas.

CANADA

D 61531

THE WARTIME PRICES AND TRADE BOARD

108 Sparks Street,
Ottawa, Canada
November 23, 1943

J.W. Pickersgill, Esq.,
Prime Minister's Office,
East Block, Ottawa

Dear Mr. Pickersgill:

Enclosed herewith you will find some notes on prices of specific articles in certain occupied countries, together with a few general comments. These have been obtained mainly from the United States Censorship Reports but are sufficiently disguised so that the use of a limited number of them would be quite alright from their point of view.

Yours very truly,

J. Douglas Gibson
Supervisor,
Research Division

Encl.

INFLATION IN EUROPE

D 61532

Inflation in Europe has been a deliberate German occupation policy designed to draw off supplies. All available stocks of food, raw materials, industrial equipment and even personal inventories of consumer goods have been confiscated or bought up with occupation currency. The result has been acute shortages of almost everything coupled with an ever-increasing volume of currency in circulation.

Attempts have been made at price control, but when prices are fixed supplies disappear into the black markets. If this drain begins to threaten the supplies ear-marked for Germany the occupation authorities raise their purchase price and pay for the goods with more printed currency. As a result, barter has become increasingly popular among the people who still have goods to trade. Wage-earners and others who depend entirely on a money income have, of course, suffered worst because they must resort to the black markets for many essential articles and the prices are simply beyond their reach. Black market prices are, incidentally, bid up by the German soldiers and other occupation officials whose incomes are extremely high.

In all occupied countries there are official rations for almost all foods - bead, fats, sugar, cheese, etc.; even fresh fruits and vegetables are rationed when available. In most cases the ration levels are inadequate to maintain health, and in many cases they are below subsistence standards. It is impossible for the average consumer to supplement his ration by buying non-rationed foods because they are usually not available and, if so, only at exorbitant black market prices. Moreover, the official rations are frequently not honoured.

Clothing has been rationed in most occupied countries at an extremely low level. Wardrobes have been depleted both by the inability of consumers to replace worn-out articles and by frequent levies on clothing and household textiles for supplies to be sent to Germany. During the past few months sales of clothing have been completely stopped in almost all countries. Some supplies may still be available on black markets but these will be limited and prices out of the reach of ordinary consumers.

D 61533

France (pre-war value of the franc - $0.0392

Black Market Prices

Litre of oil	1100 francs
Pr.stockings	350 francs
Pr.shoes	4000 francs
A ham	2000 francs
A chicken	500 francs
A cake	100 francs
Cup of tea	50 francs

Sour milk costs 34 francs a litre, while before the war fresh milk was only 2.4 francs a litre.

Belgium

Butter is as much as 160 frs. for a lb. and people cannot afford to buy it. A loaf of black bread may cost 55 francs and an egg 10.50 francs, but these items are not always obtainable. Fats can only be bought at black market prices and usually cost several hundred francs per lb.

Greece (1 drachma = $ .0086) pre-war)

A pound of meat costs 12000 drachmas; fish is 8000 - 10000 drachmas a pound.

1 loaf of bread	5000 drachmas
1 ordinary lunch	10,000 drachmas
1 pr. shoes	200,000 drachmas

The only available examples of wage rates are for a seamstress who was receiving about 300-400 drachmas per month, and a young man, sewing as an apprentice, who received about 400 (equivalent to the price of a kilo of olive oil).

Holland

On the Black Market butter is 20 to 25 gld. per pound. A lb. of fat is 25 gld, a lb. of meat 15 gld, a gentleman's suit 4,000 gld, a pair of shoes 80 gld, and eggs can sometimes be had at 1.20 gld. each. Salaries and wages are fixed, and wages vary between 30 and 130 gld. a week.

D 61534

Other Black Market prices in terms of dollars: (Amer.)

1 lb. margarine	$7.00
1 lb. butter	6.10
1 loaf of bread	1.05
1 cake of soap	1.50
1 pr. of shoes	21.00
women's dresses	54.00 - 170.00

DENMARK

A farm hand's wages are 2,000 to 2,200 kr. a year.

Prices of goods:

Shoes	40 kr.
Stockings	7 kr.
cotton sheets	80 kr.
overalls	30 kr.
man's suit	350 kr.

SPAIN

A worker in Spain earns 12, 15 or 20 pesetas a day, whereas he must spend 20 to 25 pesetas to eat moderately well. A bolt of cloth which before the war cost 12 to 15 pesetas now costs 80 to 100. A pair of shoes costs 120 to 150 pesetas. A loaf of brown bread costs 8 - 10 pesetas.

Bread is very scarce and when bought on the black market costs 5 reales instead of one.

Kilo of meat	8 pesetas
Kilo of fish	3 pesetas

Rent for upper floor of house 100 pesetas a month.

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96		U.N. Leaders. Speeches in Parliament	8 Mar. 1943	D 61142 - D 61143	
96		Vichy. Speeches in Parliament	30 Jan. 1943	D 61144 - D 61153	
96		Wartime Information Board. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 61154 - D 61184	
96		The War, Progress. Speeches in Parliament	24 July 1943	D 61185 - D 61198	
96		Thirtieth National Foreign Trade Convention, New York. Speeches outside Parliament	26 Oct. 1943	D 61199 - D 61235	
96		Fifth Victory Loan Message of Thanks, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	14 Nov. 1943	D 61236 - D 61240	
96		Inflation, The Battle Against, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	4 Dec. 1943	D 61241 - D 61534	
96		Christmas Message to Armed Forces in the Mediterranean. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Dec. 1943	D 61535 - D 61549	

Mr ~~Acland to see~~ Mr

Mr Blessell to file

Draft of Xmas b'cast

to armed forces to

be kept for reference JWP

D 61535

Draft by IWP

Christmas broadcast to Mediterranean D 61536

I am happy to have the opportunity, on behalf of all Canadians, to extend Christmas greetings to the men who are serving in Canada's forces in Italy, North Africa and throughout the Mediterranean area, whether on land, at sea or in the air. For some of you this will be the fifth Christmas spent away from your homes and your loved ones. All of you, whether the separation has been long or short, are in our thoughts at this season. Your families and friends are hoping and praying for your early and safe return to Canada.

The hour of reunion for most of you awaits the hour of victory. All Canada is proud of your splendid part in bringing victory nearer. Canadian ships and Canadian sailors in the Mediterranean are writing a brilliant chapter in the naval history of our country. Canadian airmen in Africa, Italy and the Middle East are upholding the finest of our national traditions in aerial warfare. Canadian troops in Sicily and in Italy have been worthy successors of the Canadian Corps of a quarter of a century ago. No country can offer higher praise to its fighting men.

D 61537

With the greetings from Canada, I bring you the assurance that your country and your own people are united in support of your efforts. We are resolved, until the war is won, to exert ourselves to the utmost to ensure victory and to ensure it as speedily as possible.

At this festival of the Prince of Peace, our thoughts, like yours, range beyond victory to the peace that will follow. We are striving to plan and to organize the peace you are earning for us, so that it may endure for generations to come. We are planning for the day of your return, a country which will accord you opportunities worthy of your exertions and your sacrifices.

The armed forces and the people of Canada have made our country strong in war; we must strive equally, once victory is achieved, to make Canada happy and prosperous in peace.

The fighting men of Canada, I know, will wish me as well to extend, on behalf of all our people, fraternal greetings to your comrades in arms of all the United Nations. You are all joined together in a great brotherhood in arms to uphold the Christian ideal of human brotherhood which is the hope of the world. At this Christmas season, Canada salutes all the fighting men of the United Nations.

D R A F T

JAG/DR
20:12:43

D 61538

Christmas Broadcast to Mediterranean

It is nearly six months since all Canada was thrilled by the news of Canadian landings near Pachino, in Sicily. This assault was the very beginning of the battle for the liberation of Italy. Today, with the battle of Italy still proceeding on the mainland against the Nazi enemy, the people of Canada have been following the fighting with an interest which mounts with each succeeding day.

The battles from Pachino to Orsogna in which Canadian forces have served have become a part of our contribution on the fighting fronts of this world wide war. It is with a vivid remembrance of those contributions that I send to you today, the fighting men of Canada, the most cordial greetings and our united good wishes.

When this war began more than four years ago, none of us could foresee or know that, in 1943, many thousands of our soldiers, sailors and airmen would be spending Christmas in Italy, or in North Africa, or elsewhere in the Mediterranean theatre of operations. But the warmth of the greetings which we send to you grows greater by the knowledge of how substantially your efforts have carried Canada, together with the United Nations, along the road towards final victory.

Mingled with our Christmas wishes this year are remembrances of many brave men fallen in battle, many undaunted airmen who never returned, many stout-hearted mariners whose sepulchre is becoming the sounding sea.

D 61539

Some of us have seen the cross -- the Crusaders Cross of White Limestone, erected in the Canadian cemetery near the battlefield of Agira. The cross has always been a symbol of sacrifice, and at this season of remembrance of Him who was the Prince of Peace, the Canadian Cross will become for many in our midst a symbol of the peace which we are striving to build.

As you celebrate this Christmas, you may be sure that you are ever in the thoughts of loved ones at home, and of all the people of Canada. As you enter into the New Year of 1944 -- a year of hope and expectancy for us all -- you will know that the prayers for your safety and your early return to your homeland are steadfast and sincere. They are mingled with our longing for peace -- a just peace -- that shall endure and make strong and secure the welfare of our own and future generations.

It will make us all happy if you will share the Christmas wishes we send to you with your comrades-in-arms of other United Nations. Their efforts joined with yours will hasten the day of victory.

Once again I send to you all the wish that is old, yet ever new -- a joyous Christmas and a bright New Year.

D 61540

Draft notes for the Prime Minister, supplied by the Public Relations Branch of the Armed Forces

To the Canadian armed forces fighting in the Mediterranean area and to their comrades and Allies I bring you today the warmest greetings of all Canadians at home. To you and to your kind alone we owe the fact that at home we are enjoying this day in security; with peace in our own land and with a degree of happiness tempered only by your absence from our midst.

Because of your determined effort and gallant sacrifices, the possibilities of the failure of our cause have lost their terror. You have given us confidence. You have revealed that our highest hopes may be realized soon.

But because my voice today brings you this message of pride and hope and confidemce do not conclude that we are insensitive to the immensity of the task which lies before you and before us to support you.

The battle for Italy has been consistently tough and it is recognized here at home that there has been no deterioration in the fighting ability of your enemies in spite of the realization throughout Germany that they have no chance of winning the war.

D 61541

We are fully aware here at home that the enemy still has powerful forces in the field. We know that to defeat these huge forces, to draw finally the fangs of aggression and give back a measure of stability to civilization, is still a gigantic task. We know too well the price you are prepared to pay for that ultimate success and we solemnly acknowledge, now, our debt to you.

To our gallant Navy we owe a debt, not only for their work in the Mediterranean but for their help in holding the Atlantic life-line which has made the rest possible. A year ago the outlook for the great and continuous Battle of the Atlantic was very grim. Today thanks to the Navy and to the Air Force, it is reasonable to hope that the twilight of the U-boat is approaching.

To the men of our Army, I can say as simply as possible for the Canadian people ... "We are proud." The manner in which you have struck at the enemy, consistently driving him back over the most difficult terrain, has been beyond praise. Gradually you are penetrating that fortress which the enemy has called "impregnable" bringing with you the added terror to the Germans of air bases closer to the heart of their country. Obviously Germany is desperately anxious to keep our heavy bombers as far away as possible from her industry in South Germany and Austria.

D 61542

In relation to the action on the Russian front, the Italian operation may be a small one. But you are killing Germans, you are demonstrating your superiority in men and equipment and you are a spearhead threatening the very vitals of the enemy.

You, I can well say for the people of Canada, have maintained the highest fighting traditions of Canadians.

To the men of the Royal Canadian Air Force, Canada sends a special salute. You are making a major contribution to the allied air offensive over Germany which daily grows in fury and effect. In a dozen theatres of combat you are fighting with great skill and daring. In the Mediterranean theatre you have been particularly active both in long range bombing missions and in close support for our armies. There is no need for me to recite the facts of your deeds. But the Canadian people expect me to tell you of their admiration and gratitude. It is unbounded.

Germany today stands as a rotten tree. How far that rot has penetrated we cannot be sure. Some sudden disaster may bring it crashing. But it is the wiser course to assume that it still may take many heavy blows to bring it down. It is to tell you that we are fully confident of your ability to strike those blows and to tell you that we are prepared to support you to our utmost that I address you today.

Let us pray God that a year from today the task will be over and the prospect of many Christmases at home be bright.

D 61543

Draft notes for the Prime Minister, supplied by the

Public Relations Branch of the Armed Forces

To the Canadian armed forces fighting in the Mediterranean area and to their comrades and Allies I bring you today the warmest greetings of all Canadians at home. To you and to your kind alone we owe the fact that at home we are enjoying this day in security; with peace in our own land and with a degree of happiness tempered only by your absence from our midst.

Because of your determined effort and gallant sacrifices, the possibilities of the failure of our cause have lost their terror. You have given us confidence. You have revealed that our highest hopes may be realized soon.

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D 61545

In relation to the action on the Russian front, the Italian operation may be a small one. But you are killing Germans, you are demonstrating your superiority in men and equipment and you are a spearhead threatening the very vitals of the enemy.

You, I can well say for the people of Canada, have maintained the highest fighting traditions of Canadians.

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Let us pray God that a year from today the task will be over and the prospect of many Christmases at home be bright.

D 61546

For release to the press
for publication after 12 noon E.D.T.
Friday, December 24, 1943.

Christmas message from Prime Minister Mackenzie King
broadcast to Canada's armed forces
in the Mediterranean area
December 25, 1943

On this Christmas Day, I am particularly happy to have the opportunity to speak to the men and women who are serving abroad in Canada's forces. I do so on behalf of all Canadians. From all at home, I bring to you the warmest of Christmas greetings.

For some of you, this will be the fifth Christmas away from your homes and your loved ones. Whether your absence has been long or short, you are all, more than ever, in our thoughts.

When the war began in September, 1939, none of us could have foreseen that in 1943, many thousands of Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen would be spending Christmas in Italy, North Africa and throughout the Mediterranean area. This year, in the Mediterannean, Canadian sailors have been writing a brilliant chapter in the naval history of our country. In Africa, Italy and the Middle East, Canadian airmen are adding, day by day, to the highest traditions in aerial warfare.

In Sicily, some six months ago, the landing of Canadian troops, along with British and American troops, marked the very beginning of the battle for the liberation of Europe. Within three months, Italy had surrendered unconditionally. Since that hour, we at home have been following your fight against the Nazi enemy, with an interest and pride which have mounted with each succeeding day. All Canada is proud of your achievements in battle.

At this Christmas Season, you have reason to rejoice that you are fighting to preserve the spirit of Christmas itself. You are fighting to save from destruction its contribution to civilization, and to extend, throughout the world, its influence for good.

D 61547

Mingled with our Christmas wishes is the remembrance of those of your comrades whose sepulchre is the sounding sea or the soil of distant lands. There could be no more fitting symbol of their sacrifice than the crusaders' cross which you have raised near the battlefield of Agira. Its symbolism holds its place in our hearts, as it does in yours.

To your comrades in arms of the United Nations, I extend, with you, the warmest of fraternal greetings. You are all joined together in a militant brotherhood to uphold in arms the Christian ideal of human brotherhood which is the hope of the world.

With these greetings from Canada, I bring you the assurance that your country is united in support of your efforts. Like you, we are all resolved to exert ourselves to the utmost to ensure victory, and to ensure it as speedily as possible.

As you enter the New Year, remember that every day you will be in the thoughts of loved ones at home, and that the efforts of all in Canada will be joined with yours to hasten your safe return to your native land.

My renewed best of wishes to you all!

D 61548

For release to the press
for publication after 12 noon E.D.T.
Friday, December 24, 1943.

Christmas message from Prime Minister Mackenzie King
broadcast to Canada's armed forces
in the Mediterranean area
December 25, 1943

On this Christmas Day, I am particularly happy to have the opportunity to speak to the men and women who are serving abroad in Canada's forces. I do so on behalf of all Canadians. From all at home, I bring to you the warmest of Christmas greetings.

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My renewed best of wishes to you all!

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96		New Year's Message, Ottawa, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Dec. 1943	D 61550 - D 61558	
97		Notes for Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1944	D 61559 - D 61575	
97		Mulock, Sir William, 100th Birthday Anniversary, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Jan. 1944	D 61576 - D 61609	
97		National Liberal Federation Dinner, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Feb. 1944	D 61610 - D 61613	
97		Sixth Victory Loan, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	22 Apr. 1944	D 61614 - D 61626	
97		Parliament of United Kingdom, Address to Members of Both Houses, London, England. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 61627 - D 61672	
97		Prime Minister' Conference, Closing of, London, England. Speeches outside Parliament	16 May 1944	D 61673 - D 61723	
97		Civic Reception for Prime Minister King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 May 1944	D 61724 - D 61727	

D 61550

Prime Minister's Office

Press Release December 31, 1943.

CANADA'S NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE

by Prime Minister Mackenzie King

As we pass from the Old Year into the New, the thoughts of all Canada are of the men and women who are serving in our armed forces throughout the world, defending, with their lives, our liberties and the world's freedom. Our thoughts are of the wounded, the maimed and the suffering; and of those who are confined to prison camps. One and all have their place in our hearts tonight. Our thoughts are of the homes that have been bereaved of their loved ones. Our thoughts are of the great company who have already given their lives that evil forces may be overborne and Christian civilization may survive. We will hold in reverence for all time the memory of their supreme sacrifice. It has given to their names, and to the name of our country, an immortal place.

Our soldiers, sailors and airmen have fought and continue to fight, in order that everything which free men value and cherish may remain our inheritance, and become the heritage of future generations.

Tonight we are resolved, as never before, that their sacrifice shall not be in vain; that their warfare shall be crowned with victory. For our armed forces, 1944 will bring harder fighting and heavier losses. For all of us at home, that should mean more of high endeavour, a deeper unity, and the utmost effort we can put forth. Only if we all do our part may we hope to witness the defeat and collapse of Nazi Germany in the coming year.

In the arena of world conflict, wherever the sons and daughters of Canada may be, we send to them tonight the word that their lives are more precious to us than all else; that our supreme aim is to ensure their early return to their own home-land. We want them to know that a united country is waiting to greet them with gratitude and pride. It is of that hour we are thinking as we welcome the dawn of a new year, the days of which give promise of victory.

What we wish for our own, we wish also for the fighting forces of all the United Nations.

D 61551

Prime Minister's Office

Press Release December 31, 1943.

CANADA'S NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE

by Prime Minister Mackenzie King

As we pass from the Old Year into the New, the thoughts of all Canada are of the men and women who are serving in our armed forces throughout the world, defending, with their lives, our liberties and the world's freedom. Our thoughts are of the wounded, the maimed and the suffering; and of those who are confined to prison camps. One and all have their place in our hearts tonight. Our thoughts are of the homes that have been bereaved of their loved ones. Our thoughts are of the great company who have already given their lives that evil forces may be overborne and Christian civilization may survive. We will hold in reverence for all time the memory of their supreme sacrifice. It has given to their names, and to the name of our country, an immortal place.

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What we wish for our own, we wish also for the fighting forces of all the United Nations.

DRAFT

D 61552/22

draft not used

A New Year Message

by

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

The world is on the eve of a new year which may be as momentous as any year in the history of mankind. In the coming year, if all do their part, we may witness the defeat and collapse of Nazi Germany. We may also hope for great progress in the struggle to destroy the militarism of Japan.

The Canadian people have every right to be proud of the achievements of our navy, army and air force in the year now ended. For our fighting men, the new year will bring even harder fighting and heavier losses. We know they will be equal to whatever tasks they undertake. It is for all of us at home to do our utmost to ensure that their sacrifices will not be in vain.

Three duties will be imposed by the stern taskmaster of war on the people of Canada in the coming year. Our fighting men will require all the support we can give them by our work, by our savings, and by our steadfastness on the home front. Canada's national security after the war will depend upon international co-operation to keep the peace won by the fighting men of the United Nations. The

foundations of that international organization are being laid now. Its success will depend upon a united will for peace among our own people and the other free peoples of the world. Active support is as necessary to win the peace as to win the war.

The prosperity of our country, work and homes and security for the men who are fighting for our freedom and for all our people, will not be achieved by magic. Planning and preparation are needed. We can have a prosperous post-war Canada only if we are united in our arms and agreed upon the means of reaching the goals we set for ourselves.

The three tasks for 1944, as I see them, are to work for victory, to organize for security, and to plan for prosperity. Let these be the New Year's resolutions of the Canadian people.

DRAFT

D 61554

A New Year Message

by

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

The world is on the eve of a new year which may be as momentous as any year in the history of mankind. In the coming year, if all do their part, we may witness the defeat and collapse of Nazi Germany. We may also hope for great progress in the struggle to destroy the militarism of Japan.

The Canadian people have every right to be proud of the achievements of our navy, army and air force in the year now ended. For our fighting men, the new year will bring even harder fighting and heavier losses. We know they will be equal to whatever tasks they undertake. It is for all of us at home to do our utmost to ensure that their sacrifices will not be in vain.

Three duties will be imposed by the stern taskmaster of war on the people of Canada in the coming year. Our fighting men will require all the support we can give them by our work, by our savings, and by our steadfastness on the home front. Canada's national security after the war will depend upon international co-operation to keep the peace won by the fighting men of the United Nations. The

foundations of that international organization are being laid now. Its success will depend upon a united will for peace among our own people and the other free peoples of the world. Active support is as necessary to win the peace as to win the war.

The prosperity of our country, work and homes and security for the men who are fighting for our freedom and for all our people, will not be achieved by magic. Planning and preparation are needed. We can have a prosperous post-war Canada only if we are united in our arms and agreed upon the means of reaching the goals we set for ourselves.

The three tasks for 1944, as I see them, are to work for victory, to organize for security, and to plan for prosperity. Let these be the New Year's resolutions of the Canadian people.

JWP

DRAFT

JAG/Z
29-12-43

MESSAGE FOR NEW YEAR'S EVE

D 61556

The people of Canada are standing today at the threshold of what may be one of the most momentous years in the history of our civilization.

I should like to give to all my fellow citizens a message of hope and encouragement as we enter upon this New Year.

It is a year in which we shall all have to exert our utmost efforts for victory.

Victory at any future date, and victory, if we are to achieve it at the earliest possible day, mean many exertions and many sacrifices.

It means that we must back up our fighting men with every resource we can muster, and with all the weapons we can produce. We must support them in every way we can, so that our united effort, as a part of the larger effort of the United Nations, will help to speed the victory.

We must also hold fast on the home front. We must continue to combat the unseen enemies in our midst - complacency, selfishness, and all the evils which will arise if we do not win the battle against inflation.

We must take care that at this critical moment we do not hazard the s tructure and substance of our war

effort, and all the careful planning which has made it, by anything less than our best efforts, for every day until the enemy is defeated. No one can foretell how long it may be before the day of victory. The fighting is certain to be heavy, and there may be many anxious days before the enemy is brought to unconditional surrender. Throughout this New Year, we mus t have unquenchable faith in the ideals for which we all fight, implacable determination to see the fight through to the very end.

Here, in our own homeland, shall we not resolve in our hearts and minds that a better Canada shall arise - a Canada strengthened by the efforts of all the people; a Canada made proud by the remembrance of the laying down of many brave lives; a Canada rising to a new destiny in bringing food and clothing and the comfort of more generous humanity to many millions of the oppressed and persecuted of freedom-loving lands? May not the vision of a saner world, a durable peace, a more equitable distribution of the world's stores of abundance--may not all of these spur us on in the high quest for victory?

With a full realization of all that you have done throughout the years to make our country strong and its effort worthy, I extend to you all - the men and women and children of Canada, my greetings and best of wishes for the New Year.

(1) Mr Tuthill
(2) Mr Blissett

Bureau du Premier Ministre

Communiqué

le 31 décembre 1943

Le message du Nouvel An
du Premier Ministre M. Mackenzie King

D 61558

Au seuil de la Nouvelle Année, la pensée de tous se porte vers les hommes et les femmes de nos forces armées à travers le monde, qui défendent, au péril de leur vie, nos libertés et la liberté du monde. Nous pensons aux blessés, aux mutilés, à ceux qui souffrent; et à ceux qui sont prisonniers. Tous et chacun ont leur place dans nos coeurs ce soir. Nous pensons aux foyers qui ont perdu ceux qui leur étaient chers. Nous pensons aux valeureux compagnons qui ont sacrifié leur vie pour la victoire sur les forces du mal et pour la survivance de la civilisation chrétienne. Nous révérerons toujours le souvenir de leur suprême sacrifice. Il a donné à leur nom et à notre pays, l'immortalité.

Nos soldats, nos marins et nos aviateurs ont combattu et continuent le combat pour préserver notre héritage d'hommes libres et pour qu'il soit transmis intact aux générations à venir.

Nous prenons la résolution, ce soir, plus sérieusement qu jamais, que leur sacrifice n'aura pas été vain, que leur combat sera couronné par la victoire. A nos forces armées, 1944 promet une lutte plus dure et des pertes plus élevées. A nous tous, à l'arrière, il faut une ardeur renouvelée, une unité plus profonde, et le plus grand effort dont nous soyons capables. Seulement si nous apportons tous notre contribution, pouvons-nous espérer voir la défaite et l'effondrement de l'Allemagne nazie au cours de ~~cette~~ la nouvelle année.

Où qu'ils soient dans l'immense arène de ce conflit mondial, nous voulons ce soir que nos fils et nos filles aux armées sachent que leur vie nous est plus précieuse que tout; que notre but constant est d'assurer leur prompt retour dans leur patrie. Nous voulons qu'ils sachent qu'un peuple uni les attend et les accueillera avec gratitude et fierté. C'est à ce jour que nous pensons à l'aurore du nouvel an, à la promesse que ce nouvel an apporte de la victoire.

Et ce que nous désirons pour les nôtres, nous le désirons aussi pour les forces armées de toutes les Nations Unies.

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(2) Mr Blissett

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REPEAT
REPETITION

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(2) Mr Blissett

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KING, William Lyon Mackenzie: Speeches Series

MG 26, J 5, Volume 97, pages D 61559 - D 62117

Ottawa, May 21, 1944.

D 61559

I have just returned from a memorable and heartening visit to Britain. Three impressions of my stay are uppermost in my mind.

The first, of course, is of the meetings with Mr. Churchill and the Prime Ministers of the other nations of the Commonwealth. The meetings were significant for the discussions which actually took place; for the frank, full and friendly exchange of views which they represented. They were no less significant, in a symbolic sense, of the complete unity of purpose of the Members of the Commonwealth in the prosecution of the war. I have returned with an increased assurance that everything possible is being done to back up our fighting men in the critical stage of the winning of victory by allied forces war which lies immediately before us.

The second impression is of the Canadian forces in Britain. For obvious reasons I had no opportunity of seeing our naval units in action, but the distinction they gained during my visit was a moment I shall not forget. I did, however, have opportunities to visit some of the units of the army and the air force. These visits were moving experiences

D 61560

I have never been more proud of being a Canadian than I felt as I watched our soldiers and airmen - the finest and best of our young manhood - in the Canadian Army and the Canadian bomber group.

My third impression grows directly out of the second. It is of the high place which Canada occupies in the minds and hearts of the people of Britain. I have heard the highest praise of our country and its achievements from everyone with whom I have talked; from the King and the Queen, from members of the British Government, from people in all walks of life. We owe our high reputation, in part, to our achievement in industry and agriculture and to the vast volume of supplies of all kinds we have sent overseas. There are few people in Britain today who have not had personal evidence of Canadian production. But we owe our good name, above all, to the hundreds of thousands of young Canadians in the armed forces, who have been so long in Britain, who have been so wonderfully received by the British people, and who have been the finest ambassadors of friendship and good will any country could have.

D 61561

I can think of no experience today, which is comparable with a visit to Britain as a means of increasing one's pride in Canada.

I should, also, mention a fourth impression. I mention it last because it is not a new one; but a recalling of the deep impression of my first visit to wartime Britain in 1941. I refer to the spirit, the courage, the endurance and the plain hard work of the British people. Nearly five years of war have served only to deepen my feeling of their true greatness as a people. Free men everywhere owe to Britain a debt which can never be repaid. As they face the climax of this long struggle, we may hope with them that the dawn will soon break over a happier world.

File 61562
122

Suggested Points.

Speech at Press Gallery Dinner.

1. Press Gallery is a vital part of the House of Commons; its members, like members of the House, have their responsibilities and their privileges.

Main responsibility:

to give public a fair and honest summary of proceedings in Chamber below;

Main privilege:

to look down, literally and figuratively, on the politicians; to strip off the pretense and pretensions and to reveal the real men beneath.

2. Tradition of Canadian political journalism, splendidly upheld by press gallery, to respect the privacy of the private lives of public men.

No other country where this sound and healthy tradition is so thoroughly respected.

Part of the essential tolerance which is characteristic of all good Canadians.

Would like at present to know that their adherence to this tradition is understood and fully appreciated.

D 61563

3. Mutual confidence between members of press gallery and public men essential to best efforts of both.

Press Gallery always respect confidence shown them;

Regret not more frequent meetings and more opportunities;

Real problem is TIME or the lack of it. No system of rationing time yet devised which really works.

After the war, hope rationing experts of the Prices Board will retire for a few years and work on the problem.

In frequent meetings due not to lack of trust, but purely and simply to shortage of time and energy.

4. Have sometimes had occasion to criticize newspapers for lack of fairness, but can scarcely remember any occasion when I felt inclined to criticize members of the press gallery for the stories they have written.

Members of press gallery know conditions of Ottawa and House of Commons better than most publishers and are, therefore, able to put them in proper perspective.

D 61564

Recent events have shown how important it is to make clear to the public what the real issues are in public debate - combination of an exceptionally good debate and fair and honest reporting a great contribution to understanding and support for our institutions.

122

PRESS

D 61565

Press - background of government policy.

Beginning with last elections - (See speech (to Liberals.

2 aims : unity
total war effort. (See Speech (from Throne

Conscription:

Attempts at - 1st conference 1941.
Another attempt at - 1943 ?
" " " - 1944-45.

Avoid politics - win the war.

(Organization dropped.

3 Periods:

War
Transition
Peace.

War Effort speaks for itself:

Army
Navy
Air
Munitions
Food
Money - Victory Loans
Mutual Aid.

Transition - Committees of the House

Re-establishment and rehabilitation
Reconstruction

New Departments.

D 61566

Speech from Throne:

1. World conditions.
2. Position of Canadian forces.
3. World organization.
4. Peace and Security - Prosperity and Trade.

Transition:

U.N.R.R.R.

Policies re Credits, etc. (See Ilsley's speech)
Banks, etc.

Employment - (corner stone)

Peace

Trade

Mutual Aid - UNRRA

War with Japan.

3 Departments:

War Veterans

Reconstruction

Health and Welfare

Post-war employment policies.

Free enterprise.

Government control:

Price controls
Wage stabilization
Minimum price and wage
Ceilings and floors.

D 61567

PRESS

Back to international.

Dominion-Provincial relations.

(Saskatchewan - 8 hr. etc.

(sweating)

Win war.

Elections.

New Parliament.

D 61568

Notes for Prime Minister's remarks to

Weekly Newspaper dinner.

Influence of weeklies cannot be measured by circulation;
Publishers and Editors are closely identified
with local community and personally known
to most of their readers;

Intimate contact and respect inspire greater
confidence; great dailies are more anonymous;

Weeklies are read carefully and thoroughly; dailies
often skimmed through and tossed aside.

Weeklies cannot seek latest sensation; journalism more
sober and reflective; longer perspective on affairs;
Have played great part in wartime in keeping public
informed and thus maintaining high morale - "the
truth shall make you free";

Particular need at this critical time for honest,
truthful and moderate interpretation of events
at critical stage of war.

D 61569

Appeal for support of government (not in party sense) but as wartime administration of the nation, in discharging responsibilities to all sections of the nation;

Weekly papers can be of special help in re-establishment of returning veterans - in keeping them informed of their rights and the services available to them; in interpreting wartime changes to those who have been long away from home; and in promoting understanding at home of the attitudes and problems of our fighting men.

Great task to make our veterans feel that all Canada is behind them not only while they are in the fight, but on into the future;

In this year when much time will unavoidably be given to a domestic political contest, let us all resolve to keep the future of our fighting men outside of and above political controversy; let us all unite to tell them what the whole country unitedly is determined to achieve, namely, to make their future as secure as possible.

D 61570

In that task all the weekly papers, whatever their political views can join whole-heartedly. In that task, I invite your whole-hearted support.

In fulfilling the great trust of the press - the spread of truth - no force is greater than the steady and steadying influence, week by week, of the weekly newspapers of Canada.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

122

D 61571

For the Prime Minister:

Re: Speech for August the 7th

Attached are a few suggested points along a line you mentioned the other day. The list of principles could be, of course greatly extended and amplified, and no doubt some of the most important have been omitted. I have tried, however, to suggest a few which were typical rather than to be exhaustive.

J.W.P.

August 4th, 1944
JWP/LAB

D 61572

Prime Minister's Speech, August 7, 1944

Suggested Points

Basic Objectives in Public Life

A. Social:

1. National minimum of social security and human welfare.

2. Closer approach to equality of opportunity for all.

B. National:

1. Unity based not on a single race or language, but upon tolerance, equality and deep attachment to a common homeland.

2. Development of national strength based on harmonizing differences of race and class, acceptance of common objectives and, above all, the greatest possible measure of freedom.

C. International:

1. The fullest measure of freedom of decision by Canada, and equality of status for Canada with other nations of the world.

2. Co-operation with other nations to preserve freedom and promote prosperity for all.

D 61573

Principles which have guided conduct in public life:

1. Human values are higher than material values. The supreme obligation of society is to provide a suitable environment for the full development of the human personality.

2. Freedom is much more than the negative concept of the absence of restraint. There can be no true freedom so long as men are the prey of fear and insecurity.

3. A healthy and vigorous national consciousness and pride is essential to the unity of any country, but nationality which is not subordinated to the higher claims of humanity is one of the greatest evils.

4. Industry, properly viewed, is a form of social service. Industry is only justified to the extent that it serves humanity.

5. A living community is one in which there is continuous social change, but beneficial change comes only as a result of a steady process of public education.

D 61574

6. Enduring social reform and indeed all effective and lasting action by government depends upon the consent and approval of public opinion, and the pace of reform cannot be forced.

7. The effectiveness of governmental action does not depend upon its being spectacular. The most significant action is often, like the action of a glacier, the least perceptible at the time.

8. The evil which a wise government prevents is often more significant than the positive good it accomplishes.

9. The exponents of "ACTION" often forget that extremes of conduct or of language on one side generally arouse extremes on the opposite side. In the resulting conflict the two neutralize each other and no action results.

10. Effective action is based on mature deliberation - on the meeting of minds and the exchange of views. That is the justification of cabinet government and the reason why the action of free governments, though it may often seem slow, is generally effective.

D 61575

11. One-man rule invariably leads to action without deliberation and ultimately to injustice and violence.

12. The secret of successful government in a free community is the use of the maximum of persuasion and the minimum of coercion.

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D 61576

Address by
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada,
At the Presentation of a Tree
to
Rt. Hon. Sir William Mulock
On His One Hundredth Birthday Anniversary
by
The Men of the Trees.
Toronto - January 19, 1944.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

With your kind permission, I shall address my few remarks to Sir William Mulock. It is to honour Sir William on his One Hundredth birthday anniversary we are assembled at his city residence today.

Sir William:

I am sure you will agree that there is something most appropriate about this little ceremony being held, in part, in the open. God's out-of-doors is the home of the trees; and it is "The Men of the Trees" who have come to do you honour, and to make a presentation to you on your One Hundredth birthday anniversary.

We are a small company, but today we represent the people of Canada. We do more than represent our contemporaries, for we speak also for many of an earlier generation, to whom, like ourselves, your life has been an

D 61577

inspiration, and for many of future generations, to whom it will be a benediction.

The presentation which I now have the honour to make on behalf of the assembled company, is the large walnut tree which, at the moment, has its place on the lawn of this your city residence. It is to be transported immediately to North York, and planted in the Yonge Street public park. It will thus have a lasting association with the constituency in which you were born, and which, for almost a quarter of a century, you represented in the Parliament of Canada. It will also be associated with the city whose most honoured citizen you have been for an even greater length of time.

May I say, Sir William, that I can think of no more fitting symbol of your own life than that which is suggested by the gift being made to you today by "The Men of the Trees". You have lived from the forties of one century to the forties of another. A tree, a century old, to endure so long, would have had to have its roots planted in the right kind of soil, and its early years properly nurtured. No soil could be better than that of North York.

D 61578

North York was your place of birth. It was the cradle of free government in this old province of Ontario. You have told us that the most precious possession of your life is the remembrance of the lavish devotion of your own dear mother, and the kindness and affection of relatives and friends. In this you have revealed to us hidden sources of your strength. In words, with which Dr. Cody will be familiar, you were "rooted and grounded in love".

But, while strength may owe much to secret sources, it is the buffetings in the open that test and make the sinews of a man, no less than the fibres of a tree. Of the storms and stresses of life you, Sir William, have had your full share. No man could be in politics for a quarter of a century, in opposition or in office, and not know something about all kinds of weather.

Yours, Sir William, has not been an easy life, nor a life of ease. It has been - as I, who know it well, can say - a life of tireless industry, a life which has fought prejudice and bigotry at every turn; a life of constant effort to right existing wrongs, to further goodwill and to better conditions for your fellow-men; a life

which has continuously sought to advance the interests of our country and of the great Empire of which it is a part.

Your career in Parliament speaks for itself. As Postmaster General, in the Cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, it was you who were responsible for the establishment of a two-cent postage rate from Canada to all parts of the Empire, and, on your motion, penny postage was adopted within the Empire. It was you who initiated the first steps toward the construction of the Pacific Cable. It was you who first introduced in the House of Commons what was known as "the Fair Wages Resolution", to prevent the evil of sweat shop conditions, and to ensure the workers on government contracts "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work". It was you who introduced in Parliament the bill to establish a Department of Labour for Canada. You were Canada's first Minister of Labour. That was nearly forty-three years ago.

Did time permit, I might speak at length of other of your many sided activities to which reference has already been made by Col. Drew, the Premier of this Province, and to other interests and causes with

D 61579-1

which your life has been identified. Suffice it to say that, in you, your fellow Canadians recognize one who has been, at all times, a friend of the oppressed, a lover of liberty, a champion of freedom, and one who, throughout his life, has held high, and firm, the standards of right, and truth, and justice.

Just one more word. A tree to live to a great age must be sound at heart. Sir Wilfrid Laurier once said to me: "Mulock has the largest heart of any man I know". You have a great heart, Sir William, and it is that, above all else - your broad and human sympathies - that have won you the hosts of friends who have been yours all along the way, and who surround, and delight to honour you, today.

Pervading all you have done, and have sought most to accomplish, in your long and active career, is your large and generous humanity. And so, through years to come, your fellow Canadians will think of you, as one thinks of some mighty tree, that has helped to shelter the generations that have passed, or rested, beneath its boughs. They will think of you, and your century of years, as one who lived to a grand old age, and whose long and active life was devoted to the public good.

D 61580

I bring to you, Sir William, today, on your One Hundredth birthday anniversary, the congratulations and the good wishes of the Government, the Parliament, and the people of Canada.

D 61581

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Prime Minister of Canada,
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To
Rt. Hon. Sir William Mulock
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D 61582

May I say, Sir William, that I can think of no more fitting symbol of your own life than that which is suggested by the gift being made to you today by "The Men of the Trees". You have lived from the forties of one century to the forties of another. A tree, a century old, to endure so long, would have had to have its roots planted in the right kind of soil, and its early years properly nurtured. No soil could be better than that of North York. North York was your place of birth. It was the cradle of free government in this old province of Ontario. You have told us that the most precious possession of your life is the remembrance of the lavish devotion of your own dear mother, and the kindness and affection of relatives and friends. In this you have revealed to us hidden sources of your strength. In words, with which Dr. Cody will be familiar, you were "rooted and grounded in love".

But, while strength may owe much to secret sources, it is the buffetings in the open that test and make the sinews of a man, no less than the fibres of a tree. Of the storms and stresses of life you, Sir William, have had your full share. No man could be in politics for a quarter of a century, in opposition or in office, and not know something about all kinds of weather.

Yours, Sir William, has not been an easy life, nor a life of ease. It has been - as I, who know it well, can say - a life of tireless industry, a life which has fought prejudice and bigotry at every turn; a life of constant effort to right existing wrongs, to further good-will and to better conditions for your fellow-men; a life which has continuously sought to advance the interests of our country and of the great Empire of which it is a part.

Your career in Parliament speaks for itself. As Postmaster General, in the Cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, it was you who were responsible for the establishment of a two-cent postage rate from Canada to all parts of the Empire, and, on your motion, penny postage was adopted within the Empire. It was you who initiated the first steps toward the construction of the Pacific Cable. It was you who first introduced in the House of Commons what was known as "the Fair Wages Resolution", to prevent the evil of sweat shop conditions, and to ensure the workers on government contracts

61583

"a fair day's wage for a fair day's work". It was you who introduced in Parliament the bill to establish a Department of Labour for Canada. You were Canada's first Minister of Labour. That was nearly forty-three years ago.

Did time permit, I might speak at length of other of your many-sided activities to which reference has already been made by Col. Drew, the Premier of this Province, and to other interests and causes with which your life has been identified. Suffice it to say that, in you, your fellow Canadians recognize one who has been, at all times, a friend of the oppressed, a lover of liberty, a champion of freedom, and one who, throughout his life, has held high, and firm, the standards of right, and truth, and justice.

Just one more word. A tree to live to a great age must be sound at heart. Sir Wilfrid Laurier once said to me: "Mulock has the largest heart of any man I know". You have a great heart, Sir William, and it is that, above all else - your broad and human sympathies - that have won you the hosts of friends who have been yours all along the way, and who surround, and delight to honour you, today.

Pervading all you have done, and have sought most to accomplish, in your long and active career, is your large and generous humanity. And so, through years to come, your fellow Canadians will think of you, as one thinks of some mighty tree, that has helped to shelter the generations that have passed, or rested, beneath its boughs. They will think of you, and your century of years, as one who lived to a grand old age, and whose long and active life was devoted to the public good.

I bring to you, Sir William, today, on your One Hundredth birthday anniversary, the congratulations and the good wishes of the Government, the Parliament, and the people of Canada.

D 61584

Address by
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
At the Presentation of a Tree
To
Rt. Hon. Sir William Mulock
On His One Hundredth Birthday Anniversary
By
The Men of the Trees.

Toronto - January 19, 1944.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

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D 61585

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D 61587

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At the Presentation of a Tree
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D 61589

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To
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D 61590

Toronto - January 19, 1944.

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D 61591

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D 61592

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Did time permit, I might speak at length of other of your many-sided activities to which reference has already been made by Col. Drew, the Premier of this Province, and to other interests and causes with which your life has been identified. Suffice it to say that, in you, your fellow Canadians recognize one who has been, at all times, a friend of the oppressed, a lover of liberty, a champion of freedom, and one who, throughout his life, has held high, and firm, the standards of right, and truth, and justice.

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D 61593

Address by
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Prime Minister of Canada,
At the Presentation of a Tree
to
Rt. Hon. Sir William Mulock
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by
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D 61594

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D 61595

North York was your place of birth. It was the cradle of free government in this old province of Ontario. You have told us that the most precious possession of your life is the remembrance of the lavish devotion of your own dear mother, and the kindness and affection of relatives and friends. In this you have revealed to us hidden sources of your strength. In words, with which Dr. Cody will be familiar, you were "rooted and grounded in love".

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D 61598

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D 61599

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by
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D 61601

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Prime Minister of Canada,
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On His One Hundredth Birthday Anniversary,
By
The Men of the Trees.

Toronto - January 19, 1944.

D 61605

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Withcyour kind permission, I shall address my few remarks to Sir William Mulock. It is to honour him on his One Hundredth birthday anniversary we are assembled in front of his city residence today.

Sir William:

I am sure you will agree that there is something most appropriate about this little ceremony being held in the open. God's out-of-doors is the home of the trees; and it is "The Men of the Trees" who have come to do you honour and to make a presentation to you on your One Hundredth birthday anniversary. We are a small company, but today we represent the people of Canada. We do more than represent our contemporaries, for we speak also for many of an earlier generation, to whom, like ourselves, your life has been an inspiration, and for many of future generations, to whom it will be a benediction.

D 61606

The presentation to be made, and which I now have the honour to make on behalf of the assembled company, is the large walnut tree which, at the moment, has its place on the lawn of this your city residence. It is to be transported immediately to North York, and planted in the Yonge Street public park. It will thus have a lasting association with the constituency in which you were born, and which, for almost a quarter of a century, you represented in the Parliament of Canada. It will also be associated with the city whose most honoured citizen you have been for an even greater length of time.

May I say, Sir William, that I can think of no more fitting symbol of your own life than that which is suggested by the gift being made to you today by "The Men of the Trees". You have lived from the forties of one century to the forties of another. A tree, a century old, to endure so long, would have to have its roots planted in the right kind of soil, and its early years properly nurtured. No soil could be better than that of North York. It was your place of birth. It was the cradle of free government in this old province of Ontario. You have told us that the most precious possession of your life is the remembrance of the lavish devotion of your own dear mother.

D 61607

In this you have revealed to us the hidden sources of your strength. In words with which Dr. Cody will be familiar, you were "rooted and grounded in love".

But, while strength may owe much to secret sources, it is the buffetings in the open that test and make the sinews of a man, no less than the fibres of a tree. Of the storms and stresses of life you, Sir William, have had your full share. No man could be in politics for a quarter of a century, in opposition or in office, and not know something about all kinds of weather.

Yours, Sir William, has not been an easy life, nor a life of ease. It has been, as I who know it well can say, a life of great industry, a life which has continuously sought to advance the interests of Canada, a life of constant effort to right existing wrongs and to better conditions for your fellow-men.

Your career in Parliament speaks for itself. As Postmaster General in the Cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, it was you who were responsible for the establishment of a two-cent postage rate from Canada to all parts of the Empire, and, on your motion, penny postage was adopted within the Empire. It was you who initiated the first steps

D 61608

toward the construction of the Pacific Cable. It was you who first introduced in the House of Commons what was known as "the Fair Wages Resolution", to prevent the evil of sweat shop conditions and to ensure the workers on government contracts "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work". It was you who introduced in Parliament the bill to establish a Department of Labour for Canada. You were Canada's first Minister of Labour. That was nearly forty-three years ago.

Did time permit, I might speak at length of your many-sided activities and the interests and causes with which your life has been identified. Suffice it to say that, in you, your fellow Canadians recognize one who has been, at all times, a friend of the oppressed, a lover of liberty, a champion of freedom, and one who, throughout his life, has held high and firm the standards of right, and truth, and justice.

Just one more word. A tree to live to a great age must be sound at heart. Sir Wilfrid Laurier once said to me: "Mulock has the largest heart of any man I know". You have a great heart, Sir William, and it is that, above all else - your broad and human sympahties - that have won you hosts of friends who have been yours all along the way,

and who surround, and delight to honour you, today.

Pervading all you have done, and have sought most to accomplish, in your long and active career, is your large and generous humanity. And so, through years to come, your fellow Canadians will think of you as one thinks of some mighty tree that has helped to shelter the generations that have rested beneath its boughs. They will think of you and your century of years as one who lived to a grand old age, and whose life was devoted to the public good.

extra paragraph.

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National Liberal Federation
Dinner - Feb. 11, 1944.

D 61610

The Liberal Party

What it is - before us

Party in Country:

Party in Parliament:

How they should work

Party in country organize

(1) for ideas

(2) for elections

For ideas:

Liberal Federation

For elections

National organization

Provincial organization

Constituency organization.

Party in Parliament:

(1) determine policies
(Speech from Throne)

(2) translate into legislation

2.

Relation of two

former should lead to latter

- leader in country because
leader in Parliament

Wishart Robertson, example.

M.P. is both of country

of parliament

Should help both

see both carried out.

This session example:

Liberal Federation meeting

Resolutions

Speech from Throne

Legislation being

Publicity

Liberalism what it is

freedom

equality of opportunity

D 61612

In international arena

In national arena

Exemplified in Speech from Throne

main division

vs. Cons. and socialism -

emphasis on property

and organization

Libs. - emphasis on life

other is means to end.

Asquith-

Aberdeen - Christianity of

Competition vs. Mutual Aid

members one of another

bear our brother's burdens

In world

our men fighting for freedom

young lives

At home

fight for equality of opportunity

need to fight

D 61613

4.

Example Liberal policy re <u>inflation</u>

Tory attitude affects all
C.C.F " ?
Lib. " equality of class

Our <u>responsibility</u>

Liberal inheritance

Eclipse of Liberalism

strange death of in England

in Ontario - Europ
;]

danger in Federal field

Liberal never changed name -

great traditions.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for Mr. Pickersgill. D 61614

Some time ago Mr. Graham Towers saw the Prime Minister, and apparently obtained his agreement to participate in a Victory Loan show of some kind to take place on Parliament Hill on Saturday, April 22nd. I presume that this will involve some kind of a brief speech.

It might be well therefore, for you to get in touch with Manson* or whoever will be looking after this, and finding out just what is involved so that at the last moment you will not be called on to produce material, without the co-operation which you will want and the Prime Minister will expect.

W.J.T.
W.J.T.

6th April, 1944.

* Is it Stevens - we have already discussed it.
W.

D 61615

Address by Prime Minister
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
At Opening of Sixth Victory Loan Campaign
Parliament Hill, Ottawa, April 22, 1944

Canada is opening a new Victory Loan Campaign. It is a fitting occasion on which to dedicate ourselves anew to the supreme task of the United Nations. That task is the defeat of the enemy both in Europe and in the Orient, and the establishment throughout the world of peace and freedom.

Since the last Victory Loan was launched, the outlook may have brightened; but, in some respects, the ~~worst of the war~~ fiercest fighting has still to be faced. Germany and Japan have each received crushing blows, but both still remain powerful enemies. Most of Europe is still under German control. Japan still holds intact extensive possessions she seized from Holland, Britain, and the United States.

Our gallant Russian allies have made amazing advances. But, despite spectacular Russian successes, German armies are still on Russian soil. In Italy, the allied powers have fought with grim determination for over half a year, but Rome and all of Italy to the north are still under German occupation.

The hope of ultimate victory may seem brighter than it has been at any time. But, over that hope there hangs the dark cloud of impending events. When that cloud

D 61616

bursts, nothing comparable in the way of conflict will ever have been witnessed in the history of the world. All we know is that the hour of supreme effort is at hand, and that upon its outcome will depend for centuries the fortunes of this world.

The shock of the actual invasion may well prove to be but the prelude to desperate fighting for months to come. Vast, well-disciplined armies hold all of the territory that lies between the coasts of Europe and the boundaries of Germany, and all the roads that lead from German frontiers to Berlin.

Japan, one may be sure, will fight with even greater determination and resourcefulness once she sees Germany staggering towards defeat.

Let us face realities. Let us not be deceived into believing that the war may soon end. The war will end only when the effort of the United Nations has become so overwhelming that neither Germany nor Japan can any longer resist.

Bearing these facts in mind, you will, I know, be quick to see the need of helping all you possibly can.

The war is now costing Canada, in money alone, a hundred million dollars a week. About half of this vast sum is being met from our taxes; the other half must be

borrowed, and borrowed wholly from the Canadian people. This task calls for self-denial and saving by citizens in every part of the country and in every walk of life.

The money costs of war we can meet; ~~and they in time may come to be fully repaid.~~ What we can never repay nor even replace are the precious human lives that hour by hour will continue to be sacrificed till the war is at an end. Every dollar, every cent you subscribe to the Victory Loan will help to bring the war nearer to its close, and to spare further loss of human life.

On this platform, as you see, are nine shields bearing the symbol of the Sixth Victory Loan. They are inscribed with the names of the nine provinces. They also bear the pledges which have been given by the provinces to meet their share of the loan. Representatives of the Armed Forces, here assembled, from each of the provinces, will today transmit these shields to couriers. The couriers are also with us here on Parliament Hill. They will transmit the shields by air express to the several provinces. In each province its shield will be received, on behalf of its citizens, by members of the National War Finance Committee.

D 61618

In opening the Sixth Victory Loan Campaign, may I appeal to my fellow citizens in all parts of Canada to "put Victory first". May I appeal to every one of you to do all that lies within your power to give the utmost support to our Armed Forces. As they approach the climax of their long, patient and heroic struggle, they need your help as never before. You, I am sure, will not fail them in the hour of their greatest need.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

D 61619

MEMORANDUM

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

Re. Opening of Sixth Victory Loan

The National War Finance Committee inform me that when Mr. Graham Towers saw you some time ago, he obtained your agreement to participate in an opening ceremony in connection with the Victory Loan, to be held on Parliament Hill on Saturday, April 22nd.

I have received from the War Finance Committee a preliminary draft of the programme and a few draft paragraphs suggesting a theme for your remarks. The time suggested is about 5½ minutes. I also attach a draft prepared by Mr. Acland and Mr. Pickersgill, expanding somewhat the theme suggested by the War Finance Committee.

I understand that, in order to make other arrangements, they would now like to get a confirmation, as soon as possible, of your intention to participate, and any views you may have as to modifications in the suggested programme.

W.J.T.

April 12, 1944.
JWP/MP

~~3rd Reveal~~

Dec.

Address by Prime Minister
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
At Opening of Sixth Victory Loan Campaign
Parliament Hill, Ottawa, April 22, 1944

D 61620

Canada is opening a new Victory Loan Campaign. It is a fitting occasion on which to dedicate ourselves anew to the supreme task of the United Nations. That task is the defeat of the enemy both in Europe and in the Orient; and the establishment, throughout the world, of peace and freedom.

Since the last Victory Loan was launched, the outlook may have brightened; but the fiercest fighting of the war has still to be faced. Germany and Japan have each received crushing blows, but both remain powerful enemies. Most of Europe is still under German control. Japan still holds intact extensive possessions she seized from Holland, Britain, and the United States.

Our gallant Russian allies have made amazing advances. But, despite spectacular Russian successes, German armies are still on Russian soil. In Italy, the allied powers have fought with grim determination for the best part of a year, but Rome, and all of Italy to the north are still occupied by the Nazis.

Hope of ultimate victory may seem brighter than it has been at any time. But, over that hope there hangs the

D 61621

dark cloud of impending events. When that cloud bursts, and the lightning flashes of battle make their presence known, nothing comparable in the way of conflict will ever have been witnessed.

The shock of the actual invasion may well prove to be but the prelude to desperate fighting for months to come. Vast, well-disciplined armies hold all of the territory that lies between the coasts of Europe and the boundaries of Germany. They also garrison the roads that lead from the frontiers of Germany to Berlin.

Japan, one may be sure, will fight with even greater determination and resourcefulness once she sees Germany staggering towards defeat.

Let us face realities. Let us not be deceived into believing that the war may soon end. The war will end only when the power of the United Nations has become so overwhelming that neither Germany nor Japan can any longer resist.

Bearing these facts in mind, you will, I know, be quick to see the need of giving all the help you possibly can.

The war is now costing Canada, in money alone, a hundred million dollars a week. About half of this vast sum is being met from our taxes; the other half must be borrowed, and borrowed wholly from the Canadian people. This task calls for self-denial and saving by our citizens, in every part of the country, and in every walk of life.

D 61622

The money costs of war we can meet. Our Victory Bonds will be repaid. What we can never replace are the precious human lives that, hour by hour, will continue to be sacrificed until the war is at an end. Every dollar, every cent you subscribe to the Victory Loan will help to bring the war nearer to its close, and to spare further loss of human life.

On this platform are nine shields bearing the symbol of the Sixth Victory Loan. They are inscribed with the names of the nine provinces. The shields also bear the pledges which have been given by the provinces to meet their share of the Loan. Representatives of the Armed Forces, here assembled, will act as couriers in transmitting the shields from Parliament Hill to the capitals of the several provinces. In each province its shield will be received, on behalf of its citizens, by members of the National War Finance Committee.

In opening the Sixth Victory Loan Campaign, may I appeal to my fellow Canadians, wherever they may be, to "Put Victory First." May I appeal to every one of you to do all that lies within your power to give the utmost

D 61623

support to our Armed Forces. As they approach the climax of their long, patient and heroic struggle, they need your help as never before. You, I am sure, will not fail them in the hour of their greatest need.

DRAFT

D 61624

Prime Minister's Address
At Opening of Sixth Victory Loan Campaign
Parliament Hill, April 22, 1944

Canada is opening a new Victory Loan Campaign. It is a fitting occasion to dedicate ourselves anew to the great task which is yet to be completed. That task is the defeat of the enemy both in the West and in the East, and the establishment of freedom and peace throughout the world.

Since the last Victory Loan was launched, prospects have indeed brightened. Germany and Japan have received blows which have grown increasingly frequent and increasingly severe. Germany, which has been hurt far more than Japan, is still a powerful enemy. Most of Europe is still under German control. Germany itself is yet to be invaded.

Our gallant Russian allies have made monumental advances - but they have met extremely determined and skilful resistance. Despite these spectacular successes, the German armies have still to be driven entirely from Russian territory. We know well with what grim stubbornness the Germans have fought in Italy, so that Rome has yet to be taken.

The prospect of victory has seemed brighter, this past year, to those of us at home in Canada. Over that hope hangs the shadow of impending events in which Canadian troops

D 61625

will have their part. The soldiers of Canada, along with the young men of Britain, the United States and other United Nations, are about to hurl themselves into a tornado of fire in the invasion of the mainland of Europe. Many will be called upon to lay down their lives in the cause of freedom.

The shock of the actual invasion is not the only thing that will be costly in men. There will have to be many hammer blows before the forces of the United Nations can finally smash the vast well disciplined armies of Germany, laying open the road to Berlin.

We have, moreover, no grounds for believing that Japan will right with any less determination or any less resourcefulness as she sees Germany staggering towards defeat. Japan today is a mighty empire, still controlling great areas taken from the forces of Britain, or the United States and of Holland. In recent months, the forces of the United Nations in the Pacific have inflicted many brilliantly executed blows upon the Japanese. But the allied forces are still many hundreds of miles from the mainland of Japan, and the vast new overseas empire of Japan is still largely intact.

D 61626

Bearing these facts in mind, the people of Canada will be quick to see the need of unrelenting exertions and they will, I believe, be fully as responsive to the Sixth Victory Loan Campaign as they have been to those which preceded it.

Canada is now spending about a hundred million dollars each week to do our part in defeating the enemies of mankind. About half of this huge sum is being paid by our taxes; the other half must be borrowed from the Canadian people. Such a task calls for self-denial and saving by citizens in every section of the country and in every walk of life.

The nine replicas of the Sixth Victory Loan insignia on this platform are inscribed with the names and pledges of the nine provinces, each to meet its share of the first objective in the voluntary lending requirements for the war. Representatives of the Armed Forces from each of the provinces will today transmit each of these replicas to couriers. These couriers will transmit them to the provinces by air express. In each province, the replica of the Sixth Victory Loan insignia will be received by the National War Finance Committee on behalf of its citizens.

In thus opening the Sixth Victory Loan campaign, I desire to say again to my fellow citizens: it is both the privilege and the inescapable duty of every Canadian to give full support to our armed forces as they approach the climax of their struggle.

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D 61627

International Conciliation

JUNE, 1944 · NO. 401

ADDRESS BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE W. L. MACKENZIE KING PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

Westminster, May 11, 1944

THE SHAPING OF THE FUTURE

An Address by Sumner Welles
Former Under Secretary of State
New York, May 18, 1944

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In Two Sections — Section 2

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ADDRESS BY

THE RIGHT HONORABLE W. L. MACKENZIE KING

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

To Members of Both Houses of Parliament, Westminster, May 11, 1944

Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker, My Lords and members of the House of Commons:

When I received from you, Prime Minister, the invitation to address members of both Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, I found myself at a loss for words in which to acknowledge so high an honor. Your kindness in presiding on this occasion, your words of introduction, the traditions and associations of Westminster, and the presence in such numbers of members of the Lords and Commons add greatly to my sense of obligation.

I am only too well aware of all that it means to be the guest of the people of Britain, and to be speaking to them, and to others, from the heart of the British Commonwealth and Empire, at this moment of supreme crisis in human affairs. Your friendship and mine over many years of peace, and our close companionship throughout the years of war, afford me a support I greatly welcome in addressing this distinguished assembly.

Four years have now passed since you accepted the leadership of the people of Britain, and the leadership of the cause of human freedom. You and your colleagues have led this country, and the cause for which it stands, from the dark days of extreme peril, to this hour when at last the light is beginning to break. It is a source of confidence throughout the free world that you, Prime Minister, are continuing your leadership with a vision and a courage which have already become a legend.

I recognize that, for me, this occasion is designed as a welcome to Canada's representative at the meeting of Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth. For the high compliment being paid Canada today, I should like to express my gratitude and pride.

I know that the welcome you accord to me is equally heartfelt and generous toward the representatives of Australia, New Zea-

land, and South Africa. I should like to say to Mr. Curtin, Mr. Fraser, and Field Marshal Smuts how great is the admiration of the people of Canada of their leadership and of the heroic part which their countries have taken in this war. I should also like to say to them how glad I am that our presence in London at this time affords us not only exceptional opportunities of conferences but of making clear to the world the oneness of nations of the Commonwealth in the winning of the war, and in seeking international cooperation after the war.

Perhaps I may be allowed to convey a special message from the people of Canada.

No memory of happiness in the past is more cherished than the recollection of the visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen. In Canada, as in Britain, the years of war have heightened the admiration and increased the affection felt by men and women everywhere for our King and Queen. We have been inspired by their courage and devotion in sharing the dangers and sorrows of the people. In all the nations of the Commonwealth, their example has deepened the meaning and significance of our common allegiance to the Crown. The heroic endurance of the people of Britain is ever present in our minds. We shall never forget your resolution in the darkest days of the war. Nor shall we ever cease to remember the determination with which, amid destruction of your homes and in peril of your lives, you, the men, women and children of Britain, have continued to carry on your work and to maintain your confidence in the future. Clearly the maintenance of human freedom has depended upon the preservation of the freedom of Britain. It is our greatest pride, as it is the greatest pride of other nations of the Commonwealth, that when, for so long a time, you alone bore the brunt of the attack, we stood with you in arms against the might of Nazi Germany. The free nations of the world can never forget that it was the indomitable resistance of the people of Britain that bought the precious time for the mobilization of the forces of freedom around the globe.

Britain has been an example to the world of the organization of a free people for a common task. You have astonished the world

by the marvels of your industrial production, and by the skill and efficiency of your workers. You have never lost your faith. A new energy, a new confidence have been generated in your people. These will endure. And your faith, tested and tried in the fires of affliction, will be firmer and stronger than it has ever been.

When victory is won, you will still possess the same initiative, vigor and endurance; the same skills of hand and brain; the same qualities of mind and spirit. These have enabled the people of Britain to make a contribution to the winning of the war, which, man for man, no other nation has surpassed. In peace as in war, these qualities will remain. In the building of a better world after the war, Britain will be able, by the force of her example, to give the same leadership that she has given in the waging of war.

It is, however, not of Britain but of Canada that I am expected to speak on this occasion. I should like, therefore, if I may, to speak to you particularly of the spirit of Canada, as exemplified in Canada's war effort. I do this with less embarrassment, as a like spirit, I know, animates the war efforts of all the nations united in a common allegiance to the Crown.

I should like to speak, as well, of what that spirit signifies for the future of the British Commonwealth, and of the relations of the nations of the Commonwealth with other nations in the building of a new world order.

In speaking of Canada's war effort, it is not my intention to describe our contribution to the present world conflict primarily in terms of men and materials. What I should like to refer to are certain aspects which, viewed collectively, reveal the spirit of the Canadian people.

I place first the aspect I regard as most significant. Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. It is the free expression of a free people. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth at war today, we entered the war of our own free will, and not as the result of any formal obligation. Ours was not primarily a response to a call of blood or race. It was the outcome of our deepest political instinct, a love of freedom and a sense of justice. As our decision was a voluntary decision, so the effort of our people in carrying on the war has been a voluntary effort. In Canada, as in other

countries, controls and restrictions have been imposed in order to prosecute the war with vigor and efficiency. But at every stage these measures have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people.

Canada's population numbers eleven and a half millions. Three quarters of a million of our finest young men are serving in the armed forces. This military demand on our manpower resources has not prevented our country from doubling its prewar production. Thanks to the skill and devotion of our men and women, Canada is a granary, an arsenal, an aerodrome, and a shipyard of freedom. Our country has become increasingly proud of the fact that every fighting man from Canada serving across the seas, on the seas, and in the air is a volunteer. We can say, in very truth, that Canada's effort in this war is a voluntary effort.

Canada's decision to enter the war was an immediate decision. When, in 1939, the last hopes of peace were fading from the world, I announced that, if Britain took up arms in the defense of freedom, our Government would ask Parliament to place Canada at Britain's side. When war came, there was no hesitation. As soon as Parliament could act, Canada was at war.

In those days, few if any of our people believed our country stood in immediate danger of attack. What we sensed immediately was the issue. We saw that a bitter struggle had begun between freedom and domination, and that the conflict would certainly spread. For the second time in a generation, Canada went to war to help prevent tyranny in Germany from extending its domination to other parts of the globe.

When the last war ended, the people of Canada, like other freedom-loving peoples, hoped and believed that peace and freedom had been assured to mankind for generations. In our National War Memorial, that hope and that faith were symbolized in the inseparably joined figures of peace and freedom. But all our history, all our political experience told us that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free.

From the beginning, our war effort was so planned and organized that we might reach, as rapidly as possible, the maximum effort our people could sustain during a long war. We expanded our

navy as fast as we could build, or acquire the ships and train the men. We expanded our army to the highest strength we believed we could maintain in a long war. We expanded our air force to the limit of our capacity to secure the needed equipment, and to train personnel. The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was expedited and expanded beyond all anticipations. The one hundred thousandth fighting airman has just completed his training. The cooperative training in Canada has vastly increased the joint strength in the air of the United Nations. We have expanded our war industries far beyond the needs of our own armed forces. Despite the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of men from the farms, the fisheries, the mines and the forests, we have greatly enlarged our production of foodstuffs and raw materials. We are devoting about half our total production directly to the waging of war. We are paying about half of the financial cost of our war effort out of current revenue from taxation. Through victory loans and war savings, nearly every family is helping to finance the war.

In fighting men, in weapons and munitions, in food and in finance, we are seeking as a people to make our utmost contribution to the fight for world freedom. Our objective has been a total effort for total war, and we believe that objective is being attained.

Of the nations of the Western Hemisphere, Canada was the first to defend in arms the frontiers of the freedom of the new world. For more than two years, our country, alone in the Americas, was at war. In more ways than one our effort has been a pioneering effort.

Canada's contribution to the present war has been the greater because we live side by side with the United States. Without the harmony and reciprocity which exist between our two countries, neither could have achieved so much in the common cause. The ability of both Canada and the United States to defend the North American continent, and to fight abroad, has been greatly increased by our arrangements for joint defense, and by the pooling of resources. We have sought to make Canada's war effort, wherever possible, a cooperative effort. The extensive military

works undertaken in Canada in conjunction with the United States have provided a remarkable instance of close and friendly cooperation. Ours is surely the supreme example of a smaller nation living in the fullest security and harmony side by side with a very powerful one.

As a part of our war policy, Canada is sharing, with other of the United Nations, ships, machines, weapons and other supplies which we are producing far in excess of the needs of our own armed forces. Since the war began, we have supplied to Britain, and to Britain's armed forces, war materials and other supplies worth nearly nine hundred million pounds ($4,000,000,000). Almost half of these supplies represent an outright contribution. Under our system of mutual aid, war materials have, for the past year, been supplied without payment to the United Nations, in accordance with strategic need. Canada is now supplying mutual aid to Britain, Australia, the Soviet Union, China, and the French Committee of National Liberation.

As the war has progressed, our effort has become more and more a world-wide effort. Canadian-made machines and munitions of war have been used on all the fighting fronts. Canadian sailors and merchant seamen have served on all oceans. Our airmen have fought in the battle of the skies around the globe. From the early days of the war, our soldiers have helped to guard this Island. They have seen active service in the Pacific area, as well as at Dieppe, and in the Italian campaign. Today our army awaits the word of command to join with their comrades in the liberation of Europe. The morrow will witness Canadian forces taking part in a final assault upon Japan. Canada's effort has truly become a world-wide effort.

I need scarcely say that we are in this war to the end. Canada's fight for freedom will be a fight to the finish. It is clear to our people that this war is all one war; a monstrous conspiracy of the Fascist powers to dominate and enslave the world. Having taken up arms of their own free will, the Canadian people will not relax until freedom is secure. Canada's effort will be an enduring effort.

We have also sought to look beyond the war; to make our

effort a long-range effort. The Canadian people, no less than the people of Britain, whose sacrifices have been so great, need the promise of a brighter future. To sustain us in our endeavors, we all need the vision of a new world order. By coordinated action, by mutual aid, by continuous cooperation, the United Nations are achieving military victory. The widest measure of cooperation will be no less needed in the making and keeping of peace. While our primary aim, like yours, is military victory, our ultimate aim, like yours, is a better future for mankind.

Above all, our war effort must be viewed as a national effort. Our decision in 1939 was more than the free choice of a free Parliament. It was the most solemn act of a free nation. Our war effort appeals to our national pride. We have sought to make it worthy of Canada.

I have spoken of the war effort of Canada. May I hasten to say again that a like spirit has animated the war efforts of each of the other nations of the Commonwealth. With due allowance for varying conditions, the several aspects of Canada's war effort have been paralleled in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. When war came, four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the scene of the conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain. To each, the issue was plain; from each the response was immediate. Each is seeking to put forth the utmost effort. The contributions of all bear the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer. Cooperation has marked their course throughout. Each is making a long-range effort which will prove to be an enduring effort. It is the pride of each that its war effort has been a national effort.

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort on the part of the nations of the Commonwealth. The spirit of a nation is not readily defined. It is known only as it is revealed. It resembles the flow of waters hidden beneath the earth's surface. From time to time, and from place to place, the waters having their origin in some secret source, reveal themselves as springs, or streams, or rivers. So also, from time to time, a nation's spirit wells up from its source and manifests itself in the collective acts of a people. Such collective action is quickened

and heightened at a time of war. The war efforts of the nations of the Commonwealth owe their inspiration to a common source. That source is the love of freedom and the sense of justice which, through generations have been nurtured and cherished in Britain, as nowhere else in the world. The terrible events of 1940 revealed how great was the menace to freedom, and how suddenly freedom might be lost. So long as freedom endures, free men everywhere will owe to the people of Britain, a debt they can never repay. So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom, and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her own preeminence throughout the world. So long as Britain continues to share that spirit with the other nations of the Commonwealth, she need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth. The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand, and by South Africa are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

This common effort springing from a common source has given a new strength and unity, a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth.

Without attempting to distinguish between the terms "British Empire" and "British Commonwealth," but looking rather to the evolution of this association of free nations, may I give to you what I believe to be the secret of its strength and of its unity, and the vision which I cherish of its future. "We, who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents, more than any other similar organization has ever represented, the peaceful cooperation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become." This vision, I need scarcely say, is not mine alone; indeed, the words in which I have sought to portray it are not even my own. They were spoken thirty-seven years ago by one whose fame today is not surpassed in any part of the world, if, indeed, it has been equalled at any time in the world's history. They are the words of the present Prime Minister of Britain, uttered by Mr. Churchill in 1907. As they continue to reverberate down the years, they

bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown, and increasing hope to mankind. Visions of youth, sometimes, "die away, and fade into the light of common day." They fade not because the vision is ever wholly lost, but because resolution wavers, because determination fails, because of seemingly insuperable obstacles. It has not been so with Mr. Churchill. He has not to ask, "Whither is fled the visionary gleam? Where is it now, the glory and the dream?"

The glory and the dream—are not they being realized at this very hour, in the strength and unity of the nations of the Commonwealth?

From time to time, it is suggested that we should seek new methods of communication and consultation.

It is true we have not, sitting in London continuously, a visible Imperial War Cabinet or Council. But we have, what is much more important, though invisible, a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the Commonwealth. It is a conference of Cabinets which deals, from day to day, and, not infrequently, from hour to hour, with policies of common concern. When decisions are taken, they are not the decisions of Prime Ministers, or other individual Ministers, meeting apart from their own colleagues, and away from their own countries, they are decisions reached after mature consideration by all members of the Cabinet of each country, with a full consciousness of their immediate responsibility to their respective Parliaments. I believe very strongly in close consultation, close cooperation, and effective coordination of policies. What more effective means of cooperation could have been found than those which, despite all the handicaps of war, have worked with such complete success; let us, by all means, seek to improve where we can. But in considering new methods of organization, we cannot be too careful to see that, to our own peoples, the new methods will not appear as an attempt to limit their freedom of decision or, to peoples outside the Commonwealth, as an attempt to establish a separate bloc. Let us beware lest in changing the form, we lose the substance; or, for appearance's sake, sacrifice reality. I am told that, somewhere, over the grave of one who did not know when he was well off, there is the

following epitaph: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am."

In the passage I quoted from Mr. Churchill a moment ago, I gave only a part of what he said. He set forth as well the means of realizing his vision of peaceful cooperation. "Let us," he said, "seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire, an *inclusive* and not an *exclusive* character."

Like the nations of which it is composed, the British Commonwealth has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. Therein lies its strength. That spirit expressed itself in cooperation. Therein liest the secret of its unity. Cooperation is capable of indefinite expansion. Therein lies the hope of the future.

It is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest possible cooperation among its members. In like manner, it is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of mankind that, after the war, there should be the greatest possible cooperation among the nations of the world.

The wartime cooperation of the Commonwealth is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies of benefit to all. Moreover, they are policies that make an appeal "to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries," provided only they are men of good will.

If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive, but by policies which can be shared with other nations. I am firmly convinced that the way to maintain the unity of the Commonwealth is to base that unity upon principles which can be extended to all nations. I am equally sure that the only way to maintain world unity is to base it upon principles that can be universally applied. The war has surely convinced all nations, from the smallest to the greatest, that there is no national security to be found in the isolation of any nation or group of nations. The future security of peace-loving nations will depend upon the extent and effectiveness of international cooperation. It is no less true that it is not the Great Powers only that are needed to defend, to preserve, and to extend freedom.

We should be false to the freedom for which we are fighting if, at any time, we failed to remember that no nation liveth unto itself; and that nations, great and small, are members one of another.

But it is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible. Their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought economic security in economic isolation from its neighbors. What happened was that the economic security of all nations was destroyed. Now is surely the time for the whole world to realize that. Just as no nation of itself can insure its own safety so no nation or group of nations can in isolation insure its own prosperity. For my part, I profoundly believe that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth and, in large measure, the security and welfare of all peace-loving nations will depend on the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which, in character, are not exclusive, but inclusive. How far such policies can be successfully pursued will, of course, depend on the extent to which other nations are prepared to pursue similar policies. But let us, at least, wherever that is possible, give the lead that is in the interests of the world as a whole.

Over many years, Canada's relations have been especially friendly with the United States. Throughout the war, we have followed the path of cooperation. We like, also, to think that our country has had some part in bringing about a harmony of sentiment between the United States and the whole British Commonwealth. That harmony is the foundation of the close military collaboration which is proving so fruitful in this war.

It will ever be a prime object of Canadian policy to work for the maintenance of a fraternal association of the British and American peoples. When peace comes, it is our highest hope that the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the United States will continue to march at each others side, united more closely than ever. But we equally hope that they will march in a larger company, in which all the nations united today in defense of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind.

We are approaching, in the European theater, the supreme crisis of this long and terrible struggle. In this fateful hour, it is imperative that everything be done to maintain single-minded concentration on the achievement of victory. That is our first obligation. It is our duty to the humble people in all the Allied countries whose patient endurance, unremitting toil and ready acceptance of the burdens of war have made possible the immense strength in war materials and supplies of the United Nations. It is our duty, above all, to the millions of fighting men who, to defend our freedom and the freedom of mankind, are facing death at sea, on land, and in the air.

The assurance of the unfailing support of our sailors, soldiers, and airmen, is the supreme objective of the meetings of the Prime Ministers of the nations of the Commonwealth. We have met here, first and foremost, in order to do everything possible, by cooperation and by united action, to assure that support in largest possible measure on all the fighting fronts.

The present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. In any accurate geographical sense, it is the first world war in history. It is a war that is being fought not only on land and at sea but, also in the clouds, miles above the surface of the earth. It is, moreover, a war that is not confined to the material realm. It is a struggle for the control of men's minds and men's souls. Its outcome will shape the moral destiny of the world. The support of our fighting men, and our debt to all who are near and dear to them must extend beyond the theaters of war. It must look beyond the end of hostilities. We owe it to all who bear the heat of the strife; we owe it to those who are crippled and maimed; we owe it to the many homes that are bereaved; we owe it to the memory of those who give their lives, to do all in our power to insure that their service and their sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

In the past, the sacrifice of human life in war has been commemorated in monuments of stone or bronze. After this war, we must create something more fitting as a memorial. That, I believe, will be found only in securing for others the opportunities of a more abundant life. Already we, of the British Commonwealth

and Empire, are a community of many nations, of many races and of many tongues. Already we have advanced far in the art of responsible government, in the practice of international cooperation, and in the application of the principle of mutual aid. Surely it is ours to help fashion a new world order in which social security and human welfare will become a part of the inheritance of mankind.

The war has been none of our making. We sought, above all else, the promotion of peace, of understanding and of good will. We deplored the extension of war to all parts of the world. Yet in the perspective of time, this world encircling danger may prove to have been a blessing in disguise. Only in this way, perhaps, could other nations, as well as our own, have come to see that the interests of mankind are one, and that the claims of humanity are supreme.

Our first duty is to win the war. But to win the war, we must keep the vision of a better future. We must never cease to strive for its fulfilment. No lesser vision will suffice to gain the victory over those who seek world domination and human enslavement. No lesser vision will enable us fittingly to honor the memory of the men and women who are giving their all for freedom and justice.

In the realization of this vision, the Governments and peoples who owe a common allegiance to the Crown may well find the new meaning and significance of the British Commonwealth and Empire. It is for us to make of our association of free British nations, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become.

THE SHAPING OF THE FUTURE[1]

By Sumner Welles
Former Under Secretary of State

I am deeply grateful to *The New York Times* for the privilege which it has afforded me of speaking in this forum, and of taking part in a program which has in the past made so valuable a contribution toward the enlightenment of public opinion with regard to the crucial issues which the American people confront.

It is just seven months since I last had the opportunity of addressing a New York audience.

At that time I ventured to set out in some detail my individual ideas regarding the course which this country should follow in order to make certain, in so far as our national policy alone can make certain, that the victory which we and our allies will win will provide mankind with sure ground for hope that a progressive world order founded on peace and human freedom will thereafter come into being. For it is my abiding conviction that only in that way can those who are doing the fighting—and the dying—for us, achieve an end commensurate with the sacrifice they make. Only thus can the peoples of the Democracies ever atone for the blindness and the lack of courage that they all displayed during these last tragic decades, and which unloosed the curse of hate, of death, and of devastation with which the Axis powers have afflicted the human race.

During these intervening months much has been done by our own Government, and by the governments of some of the other United Nations, to prepare the way for the better world which must be inaugurated when the day of victory dawns. I wish it were possible for me to say that I believed that everything had been done which could have been done.

But there have been notable achievements. The Four-Power Declaration signed at Moscow last autumn, by which the four

[1] Address delivered in Times Hall, New York, on May 18 at the final meeting of a series arranged by *The New York Times*. Reprinted by permission.

major powers among the United Nations pledged themselves to continue their cooperation in the postwar period and to press toward the creation of an international organization is, of course, outstanding. From the standpoint of the participation of our own Government in such an organization, the overwhelming support given by the Congress of the United States to the principles embodied in the Four-Power Declaration was paramount in its importance.

The apparent realization of the leaders of both political parties that the overwhelming majority of the American people demand that the influence and power of the United States be exerted to their fullest extent to preserve world peace—and this time through acts and not by empty words—appears to offer the firm assurance that the United States is prepared to join with other members of the United Nations in the prevention of war and in the taking of such common measures of international cooperation as may be required to bring about world recovery and to further world progress.

During this period there have been several concrete instances of practical cooperation between all of the United Nations for the purpose of preparing themselves to cope with the immediate needs of the postwar years.

There has finally emerged the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, representative of all of the thirty-four members of the United Nations, now ready when the hour of liberation comes to undertake the task of affording relief and the means of self-help to those rendered destitute by Hitlerism. We have seen the continuation of the work so admirably initiated when the United Nations jointly established the committee called upon to deal with the basic problems of food and agriculture.

We saw only a month ago the encouraging advance made by experts representative of all of the United Nations when they unanimously agreed upon the principles best designed to procure the stabilization of world currencies after the termination of the war, without which no healthy international trade would be conceivable. A few days ago we watched the most recent meeting of the International Labour Organisation, which resulted in the as-

surance of an ever more important collaboration on the part of labor throughout the world in the task of world reconstruction, and in the raising of living standards.

In the pronouncements made at Cairo by the President, Mr. Churchill, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, all of the peoples of the United Nations were stimulated by the spirit of justice and the clarity with which these leaders laid down the broad principles of the terms to be imposed upon a defeated Japan, and outlined the form of the major adjustments then to be undertaken in the Far East.

Finally, we are permitted to understand that the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union have agreed in principle upon the purely military features of their future occupation of German territory. We have also seen agreements similar to that recently concluded between the Governments of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, providing for the prompt transfer of jurisdiction within each liberated country from the military forces of the United Nations to the national authorities, signed with several additional governments of the occupied nations.

All of these are evidences of actual and heartening progress in the taking of preliminary steps which will facilitate the establishment of an international order. They are consonant with the assurances held out to free peoples everywhere in the provisions of the Atlantic Charter. They constitute in themselves developments of the most far-reaching and gratifying significance.

But it would be, I fear, as evidence of undue optimism were the people of the United States or the peoples of the other United Nations to believe that, if the collapse of Germany were to occur in the immediate future, these adjustments implied that the United Nations had as yet arrived at any such basis of agreement and understanding as to make possible immediately thereafter the prompt and efficient functioning of a United Nations organization able and prepared to deal with all of the manifold problems which must be dealt with as soon as the war ends in the European or in the Asiatic theater.

There is nothing which is more needed today than for every

government and every people among the United Nations well to mark the bitter lessons of experience, which we should have learned from the history of the first World War. If we, for our part, are not to blunder again into the same errors as those which we committed in those years, a few cardinal points must be borne uppermost in mind.

The gravest mistake which the people of this country made in those years was to permit the vital question of whether the United States, in its own interest, should participate in a practical form of international organization, to become a question of party politics. The American people, I think, have learned this lesson. They see clearly today that the future security of the United States, the lives of our sons and the maintenance of our living standards are questions which rise far above all partisan lines.

I wonder whether they have so clearly in mind a second lesson. In my judgment that lesson is that the ability of the United States to exercise its influence in securing the basic objectives, which it believes essential as the fruits of our victory, is far greater before the close of the war than it can possibly be after hostilities have ceased. We know today that the Covenant of the League of Nations was grafted upon the Treaty of Versailles. We know that it was never, as it should have been, the real heart of the treaty. We know that it never would have been even incorporated within the treaty had it not been for the unfaltering determination of Woodrow Wilson.

What we perhaps do not appreciate fully yet is what to me is an inescapable conclusion, and that is that, had a political organization of the Allied Powers in the first World War been forged and functioning during the war years, and had that organization been so constituted as to represent to all of the Allied peoples the only agency through which the victory of peace could be won, as the inter-Allied High Command was the sole agency through which the military victory could have been gained, the history of the past quarter of a century might have well been wholly different.

So far as we can see today, beyond the shadowy report that the

three major powers intend to discuss "before long" the nature of an international organization, no progress has yet been made in order that this mistake will not occur again. The Moscow Declaration constitutes a pledge and a declaration of intent. In itself it provides no method whereby the intent can be carried out. That proclamation of intent should have been inseparably linked to an additional declaration on the part of the four major powers setting up an initial political agency representative not only of each one of the major powers, but representative likewise of all of the other United Nations.

If one believes, as I believe, that the form of world organization which the experience of the past quarter of a century has shown to be the most practicable and the most desirable is an organization founded upon regional systems of States, each system primarily responsible for the maintenance of peace in its own neighborhood, but all functioning in coordination with and under the supreme authority of a universal organization, which possesses power to employ force whenever the peace of the world, rather than merely the peace of one region, is menaced, such an initial agency might well be composed of the individual representatives of the major powers, together with a small number of representatives elected by the States comprised within each regional system.

The major powers, who assume responsibility for the maintenance of world peace, in addition to their responsibility for participating with the other States within their own region for the maintenance of peace in that region, must not be impeded by the smaller powers—at least not until a perfected universal international organization is eventually established—from freely reaching decisions regarding the purely military aspects of their police functions. But in all other matters it is indispensable that all other powers among the United Nations be afforded an equal right to participate in the making of those political decisions which will determine the kind of world in which we all must live in the years to come, and by which their own individual interests and well-being will be directly affected.

The kind of agency to which I refer has come to be known as a Council of the United Nations. As the weeks and months have

passed and no apparent advance has been made toward the establishment of such an agency, I am glad to say that an ever greater segment of public opinion in the United States has been increasingly disquieted and has been pressing more and more openly for the creation of such a council. I am told, for example, that this very day has been set aside by many organizations as "United Nations Council Day" and that twenty-five organizations have now joined together to stand behind the following statement:

> We call upon our Government to cooperate now with the other United Nations in setting up a United Nations Council to proceed with the formation of the general international organization foreshadowed in the Moscow Declaration and the Connally Resolution.

These developments indicate that an ever larger body of our citizens is reaching the conclusion that the time to achieve international organization is before, rather than after, the end of the war. They are convinced that the way in which to obtain an international organization is to set about its actual construction, and not merely to talk about it.

Many, who feel that after the victory is won there must come a protracted period of transition, during which major decisions involving readjustment and reconstruction must be carried out before any perfected and final international organization can be established, realize that every political decision made in these latter stages of the war is automatically shaping the world of the future. Many of us believe, for this reason, that the political decisions which have recently been reached by the major powers alone, as in the cases of France and Italy, as well as in the cases of peoples of the United Nations in Eastern Europe, might far more safely have been reached had such decisions represented the determination of all of the United Nations. Are such great powers as Brazil, and Mexico, for example, who have contributed vastly to the common war effort, to be excluded when decisions are reached which affect them vitally? Have the major powers nothing to gain from their wisdom and statesmanship? Are the peoples of the Netherlands and Norway, for instance, to be given no chance to have their government speak for them when decisions are taken

which inevitably affect the shape of the Europe of the future?

Many of us also feel that political controversies now looming large, such as the future status of Poland, might far more readily have been prevented from reaching their present proportions had all of the United Nations been afforded the opportunity of participating in the consideration of an equitable solution.

Up to the present moment, except in a few isolated instances, none of the United Nations, other than the three major powers, has been called upon to join in deciding such political questions. It is inconceivable that free peoples who have been fighting to prevent Hitlerism from succeeding in imposing its domination over the world will willingly accept in the years to come some other kind of dictatorship over their destinies, even though that be exercised by the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain.

And perhaps the most fatal result of the failure of the three great powers to create as yet the machinery which is indispensable, if they indeed intend to expedite the establishment of an international organization representative of all nations—if they intend to make it clear that their oft-repeated recognition of the "equality of sovereignty of all States" is not merely a phrase, but an actual fact—lies in the fact that, as time goes on, more and more people appear to be inclining toward the belief that world peace and world stability in the future can in fact be secured merely through a continuing military alliance of these major powers and that nothing more than lip service need be offered to the ideal of an international organization representative of all free peoples—both small and great.

We may smile wryly at the statement, when it is blurted out, that the United States and Great Britain and the Soviet Union are going "to rule the world." But we cannot afford to underestimate the peril to our future safety which is inherent in the rapid growth of this concept. Nor shall we fail to remember that in a world upheaval such as this it is only human nature to respond to a purely military conception of power as the be-all and the end-all in international relationships.

I doubt whether, when the war is won, the American people will again be called upon to choose between international cooperation and isolation. Isolation, in its earlier form, as an issue is, I believe, dead. It seems far more likely that the two policies between which they may be forced to make their choice will be a policy of true world organization and a policy based upon military alliances, the indefinite piling up of armaments, and their inevitable adjunct, stark imperialism.

For if the people of the United States pin their faith to a four-power military alliance as the sole cure for the ills from which the world is today suffering, they will find themselves compelled to adopt as their national policy, after a few uneasy years a course of unremitting armaments building and of territorial agrandizement as the only method by which they can then achieve physical security.

History does not record any example of a military alliance between great nations which has endured for more than a short while. The result of such alliances has invariably been that during their continuance the partners have jockeyed for individual influence and for selfish advantage. At best they have given rise only to a temporary and precarious balance of power.

The employment of power and force by themselves can never make for any true world peace. A real peace can only spring from the consent of all free peoples to the exercise in their name, by an organization entitled to speak for them, of such power as may be required to see that the moral law upon which they determine is maintained between nations. And no international organization can prosper unless it is supported by the strength of public opinion.

If we follow the path of a pure four-power military alliance and embark upon the course of imperialism which will accompany it, how can we expect to see accomplished those fundamental reforms without which there will be no hope of a more stable world? With a recrudescence of imperialistic trends, is it likely that dependent peoples now struggling for liberty will be granted that right? Is it possible that the currents of international trade and of investment would not in such event flow back into the same dead sea of autarchy and of discrimination which was created in the Hitler age? Is it possible to conceive of the establishment under such conditions of freedom of religion, of information, and of expression as human rights guaranteed to all men?

Nor should we fail to see that some of those very same reac-

tionary forces within this land, which, for their own selfish ends, were able to cause this nation to adopt isolationism as its policy, are today already outspokenly demanding the adoption of the policy of a military alliance on the ground that it constitutes what they term "realism."

We should all be blind if we were to fail to recognize the evidences of a trend toward imperialism within many other sectors of our own public opinion. We cannot afford to ignore the voices of responsible officials within our own Government who are already demanding, as a means of insuring our future security, the immediate outright cession to the United States by Great Britain of bases which were leased to the United States for a period of ninety-nine years at a moment when our country needed to insure its safety at a desperately uncertain stage of the present war.

Nor can we disregard similar demands that we must secure permanently bases and other facilities which some of our neighbors of the Western Hemisphere have willingly lent us for our use during the war period as one of the contributions they could make to our common war effort.

Nor should we minimize the significance of the claims that when the victory is won we should retain for our exclusive use new bases throughout the Pacific Ocean, and even in Africa, although in many instances these areas already belong to other members of the United Nations.

Are not the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations logically justified in demanding for the same reasons the very same bases which some of us are claiming? Is there any valid reason why the Soviet Union should not demand, on the ground that they are required for her security, many of the same bases in the Pacific Ocean some of us now insist should be retained for the exclusive use of the United States?

Would not an international organization capable of insuring the security of all nations, by force when necessary, obviate an imperialistic policy on the part of any major power, inasmuch as the bases required to afford such security would then be available to all policing powers under the authority of the international organization itself?

No world organization can successfully be established unless it is built from the outset upon a firm and continuing partnership between the four major powers among the United Nations—the United States, the British Commonwealth of Nations, the Soviet Union, and China. Such a partnership will be peculiarly essential during the transition period after the war. But it is equally impossible to envisage a world organization which does not in fact recognize the full sovereignty of every independent nation of the world, no matter how small it may be, and its inalienable right to participate, directly or indirectly, in the political decisions which must be taken. Nor do I believe such an organization can survive unless it is predicated upon the acceptance by all of the participating nations of enlightened principles of international conduct and unless it possesses equitable and effective means for the pacific adjudication of all controversies as well as the force required to maintain peace.

Those who are so vehemently maintaining that the only practical need of this country after the war is partnership in a four-power military alliance, not unnaturally insist that we should presently refrain from furthering the international adoption of principles of international conduct. Their theory is that the policemen will make the law as they see fit. A resort to such a policy in the world of tomorrow will not make for peace or security. It can only mean continuing chaos and a renewal, under one guise or another, of the reign of brute force.

There are, of course, also those who, while professing unswerving allegiance to the great ideal of an eventual international organization, show every disposition to postpone for an indefinite period the taking of any practical steps toward its establishment. We can all of us agree that under our constitutional system, in the determination of the kind of international organization which should be created and of the nature of our participation in it, the executive and legislative branches of our Government must cooperate. The Congress must be in substantial accord with the policy of the Executive. But none of us can forget that time is running out.

The longer the creation of the first political nucleus of the international organization is delayed the greater will be the danger

that it may be postponed too long—the greater the likelihood that people of this country, and the peoples of the other major powers likewise, may be persuaded to the belief that the great concept of an association of free peoples is impracticable and illusory and that all that is left as a means of obtaining safety is miliatry alliance and imperialism. And that road leads only to the third World War.

In one of the most profoundly moving passages which he ever spoke, Woodrow Wilson said:

No man can look at the past of the history of this world without seeing a vision of the future of the history of this world. . . . You can see that age by age, though with a blind struggle in the dust of the road, though often mistaking the path, and losing its way in the mire, mankind is yet—sometimes with bloody hands and battered knees—nevertheless struggling step after step up the slow stages to the day when he shall live in the full light which shines upon the uplands. . . .

Only a leader of the people imbued with a deep religious faith and himself possessed of the true vision of the future of which he spoke could have said these words. We have today in the President a similar leader. But under the crushing weight of the burdens which he must carry he needs more than ever before the clear understanding by his fellow-citizens of the true issues with which this country is faced as it charts its future course. The more we all of us endeavor to see straight and to think straight and to demand that these vital questions, in which the destinies of our children and our children's children are inextricably bound up, be settled for us in the light of the experience we have gained in the past quarter of a century, the surer we will be that our national policy will be expeditiously settled and rightly settled.

We have been granted by God's grace a further opportunity to help to shape a safe and peaceful world of the future if we will but take it. The words of Wilson which I have quoted were spoken thirty years ago. Even he could not foresee the deterioration of every human value and the lowering of every moral standard which these past thirty years have brought forth. Neither our nation in its present form nor the liberties which have blessed us can long survive if we once more mistake the path.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

These documents present the views of distinguished leaders of opinion of many countries on vital international problems and reproduce the texts of official treaties, diplomatic correspondence, and draft plans for International projects such as the Permanent Court of International Justice. *International Conciliation* appeared under the imprint of the American Association for International Conciliation, No. 1, April 1907, to No. 199, June 1924. The most recent publications are listed below. A complete list will be sent upon application to International Conciliation, 405 West 117th Street, New York 27, N. Y.

397—*February, 1944.* Address of Field Marshal, Rt. Hon. Jan Christiaan Smuts, December 28, 1943. Text of Draft Pact for the Future International Authority, drawn up by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, London. The League of Nations and Associated Agencies, by Arthur Sweetser. World Organization, by John J. Parker, Senior Judge, United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fourth District.

398—*March, 1944.* The United Nations, the British Commonwealth, and the United States: Articles by Richard K. Law, Lord Halifax, Colonel J. J. Llewellin, Sir Clive Baillieu, H. Duncan Hall, Leighton McCarthy, J. B. Brigden, Walter Nash, Ralph W. Close, and Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai. Speech of Lord Halifax to Toronto Board of Trade, January 24, 1944. Statement of W. L. Mackenzie King to House of Commons, Ottawa, January 31, 1944. Report of Vyacheslav M. Molotov to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Moscow, February 1, 1944. Text of Soviet Autonomy Decrees, February 1, 1944.

399—*April, 1944.* The International Law of the Future: Postulates, Principles, and Proposals.

400—*May, 1944.* Measures To Promote International Law and Order, proposed by the United States Chamber of Commerce. The Bases of Lasting Peace: A declaration by the American Federation of Labor. United States Foreign Policy: Statements by the Honorable Cordell Hull and the Department of State. The Americas and World War II: A chart issued by the Juridical Division of the Pan American Union.

401—*June, 1944.* Universities Committee on Post-War International Problems: Summary of Reports of Cooperating Groups. Address by the Right Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, at Westminster, May 11, 1944. The Shaping of the Future: An Address by Sumner Welles, former Under Secretary of State, at New York, May 18, 1944.

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No 61

PROCÈS-VERBAUX

DE LA

CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES

DU CANADA

SÉANCE DU JEUDI, 18 MAI 1944

PRIÈRES.

M. Macdonald (*Halifax*), adjoint parlementaire du ministre de la Défense nationale, dépose,—Réponse à un ordre de la Chambre, en date du 27 avril 1944, —Etat montrant:—1. En ce quarante-septième jour de séance de la Chambre, quelles dispositions a-t-on prises pour porter à plus de $65 l'allocation accordée pour des habits civils aux anciens militaires, soldats, matelots et aviateurs, ayant obtenu une libération honorable des forces armées après avoir servi outre-mer?
2. Quelle somme en argent comptant leur accorde-t-on en plus de cette allocation pour vêtements?

M. Howe, membre du Conseil privé du Roi, dépose,—Réponse à une adresse à Son Excellence le Gouverneur général, en date du 1er mai 1944,—Copie de tout arrêté ou tous arrêtés en conseil concernant le projet de production au Canada d'un avion entièrement canadien destiné à être mis à l'usage des Lignes aériennes Trans-Canada (le Douglas D.C. 4); ainsi que la copie de toute entente intervenue entre les Lignes aériennes Trans-Canada ou toute autre personne agissant pour le compte du gouvernement et la *Canadian Vickers Limited* de Montréal.

Aussi,—Etat révélant la quote-part financière totale du gouvernement du Canada dans la *Canadian Vickers Limited*, ainsi que la copie des documents déterminant les termes et conditions d'exploitation de l'usine de Montréal pour le compte du gouvernnement.

Et aussi,—Réponse à une adresse à Son Excellence le Gouverneur général, en date du 24 avril 1944,—Copie de tous contrats et correspondances entre le gouvernement du Canada et la *Canadian Vickers* relativement à la construction des avions D-4.

M. Michaud, membre du Conseil privé du Roi, dépose,—Réponse supplémentaire à une adresse à Son Excellence le Gouverneur général, en date du 24 avril 1944,—Copie de tous télégrammes, lettres, correspondances et autres documents échangés depuis le 1er janvier 1940 entre le gouvernement fédéral ou l'un de ses ministères et J. François Leduc et ses associés, ingénieurs conseils, de 354 est, rue Sainte-Catherine, Montréal, concernant l'octroi par le gouvernement de contrats pour l'inspection des matériaux aux différents aéroports en cours de construction par le ministère des Transports.

Les questions suivantes inscrites au feuilleton ont été changées en ordres de rapport, en vertu du paragraphe 4 de l'article 44 du Règlement, et les officiers compétents en ont été avertis, à savoir:

Par M. Diefenbaker—A compter du mois de septembre 1943 jusqu'au mois de mars 1944 inclusivement, combien a-t-on accordé, par province, de permis de sortie à des Canadiens du sexe masculin âgés de 18 à 38 ans les autorisant à se rendre aux EtatsUnis?

Par M. Knowles—1. Quel a été, pour l'année 1939, le nombre de jours passés par des malades dans chacun des hôpitaux relevant du ministère des Pensions et de la Santé nationale?

2. Quel a été, pour l'année 1943, le nombre de jours passés par des malades dans chacun des hôpitaux relevant du ministère des Pensions et de la Santé nationale?

3. Quel a été, pour l'année 1939, le nombre total de membres du personnel médical employés: *a*) continuellement; *b*) en service interrompu, dans chacun de ces hôpitaux?

4. Quel a été, pour l'année 1943, le nombre total de membres du personnel médical employés: *a*) continuellement; *b*) en service interrompu, dans chacun de ces hôpitaux?

M. Mackenzie (*Vancouver-Centre*), membre du Conseil privé du Roi, dépose immédiatement la réponse à l'ordre précité.

Par M. Bence—1. *a*) Quelle solde supplémentaire accorde-t-on pour leur compétence professionnelle aux officiers faisant fonctions de conseillers juridiques dans le Corps d'aviation royal canadien; *b*) quelle solde supplémentaire accorde-t-on pour leur compétence professionnelle aux officiers faisant fonctions de conseillers juridiques dans le Corps d'aviation royal; *c*) quelle solde supplémentaire accorde-t-on pour leur compétence professionnelle aux médecins militaires dans le Corps d'aviation royal canadien; *d*) quelle solde supplémentaire accorde-t-on pour leur compétence professionnelle aux médecins militaires dans le Corps d'aviation royal?

2. *a*) Combien d'officiers employés comme conseillers juridiques détiennent le rang de commandant d'escadre ou un rang supérieur dans le Corps d'aviation royal canadien; *b*) combien d'officiers employés comme médecins militaires détiennent le rang de commandant d'escadre ou un rang supérieur dans le Corps d'aviation royal?

3. *a*) Quel est le grade le plus élevé accordé dans les établissements du quartier général d'une région au substitut du juge avocat général ou quel est le grade le plus haut des officiers affectés à des fonctions juridiques; *b*) quel est le grade le plus élevé accordé dans les établissements du quartier général d'une région au médecin militaire en chef de la région ou quel est le grade le plus haut des officiers affectés au service médical; *c*) quel est le grade le plus élevé accordé dans les établissements du quartier général d'une région à l'officier-comptable en chef de la région et quel est le plus haut grade des officiers affectés à la comptabilité; *d*) quelle est la raison de la différence, s'il en est, dans les grades mentionnés dans les réponses aux questions *a*), *b*) et *c*)?

4. Y a-t-il pénurie ou excédent de conseillers juridiques dans le Corps d'aviation royal canadien, ou le nombre de ces officiers est-il suffisant?

5. Existe-t-il quelque différence dans le taux de la solde accordée à un officier de l'armée remplissant les fonctions de conseiller juridique ou à un officier du Corps d'aviation royal canadien de grade correspondant, accomplissant des fonctions semblables? Dans l'affirmative: *a*) quelle est cette différence; *b*) quelle est la raison de cette différence?

Par M. Tucker—1. Le gouvernement, ou l'un de ses ministères ou organismes, s'est-il fait représenter au congrès américain de chimie agricole tenu récemment à St-Louis, Mo.?

2. Est-ce que les procédés concernant la fabrication du sirop avec du blé, qui auraient été perfectionnés au *Northern Research Laboratory* du gouvernement des Etats-Unis, à Peoria, Ill., d'après les rapports du congrès ont été étudiés par quelque organisme du gouvernement canadien dans le but d'en encourager l'utilisation, s'ils sont trouvés réalisables, dans les installations de sucre de betterave ou ailleurs au Canada?

Par M. Hanson (*York-Sunbury*)—1. S. S. Wright, prévôt des incendies pour la Nouvelle-Ecosse, a-t-il présenté à Ottawa un rapport concernant l'incendie au quai No 21 à Halifax?

2. Dans l'affirmative, à quel ministère a-t-il présenté ce rapport?

3. Quelles étaient les conclusions du prévôt concernant: *a*) ce qui est survenu après la découverte de l'incendie; *b*) les fournitures qui y étaient emmagasinées; *c*) l'endroit où a commencé l'incendie?

Par M. Fraser (*Peterborough-Ouest*)—1. Quel est le montant de l'assurance contre les risques de guerre sur les grains?

2. A-t-on pris quelque assurance contre les risques de guerre sur des biens du gouvernement fédéral?

3. Dans l'affirmative, sur quels biens et où sont-ils situés?

4. Quel a été le montant d'assurance contre les risques de guerre vendu dans chaque province?

5. Dans quelles provinces a-t-on payé des réclamations sur les assurances contre les risques de guerre?

La Chambre reprend le débat, en comité plénier, d'un projet de résolution destinée à octroyer à Sa Maesté une somme d'argent d'au plus $2,800,000,000 (représentant le solde de $3,650,000,000), pour la défense et la sécurité nationales, et après avoir rapporté le progrès accompli le comité obtient l'autorisation d'en reprendre l'étude à la prochaine séance de la Chambre.

Sur motion de M. Ralston, la Chambre s'ajourne à dix heures et 55 p.m. jusqu'à demain après-midi à trois heures.

J. ALLISON GLEN,
Orateur.

AVIS DE MOTIONS ET QUESTIONS

M. *Noseworthy*—Lundi prochain—QUESTION—1. Qu'en a-t-il coûté au gouvernement: *a*) en publicité; *b*) pour les solliciteurs; *c*) pour les banques et les banquiers de placements, les commissions, etc.; *d*) pour les autres dépenses, pour prélever le cinquième emprunt de la Victoire?

2. Quel a été le montant total souscrit?

3. Quel a été le nombre total des souscripteurs?

4. Quel a été le montant total souscrit et le nombre total des souscripteurs pour chacune des catégories de souscriptions?

M. *Bence*—Lundi prochain—QUESTION—1. Quel est le montant total des prêts consentis par le gouvernement canadien sous le régime de la Loi pour favoriser les amélirations municipales, chapitre 33 des Statuts du Canada, 1938?

2. Quelle est la répartition de ces prêts par province et par municipalité?

M. *Bence*—Lundi prochain—QUESTION—1. Le Conseil économique du Canada a-t-il été requis par le gouvernement de faire une étude et de présenter un rapport sur les conditions de logement au Canada, conformément aux dispositions de l'article 3 de la Loi fédérale sur le logement, chapitre 58 des Statuts du Canada, 1935?

2. Dans l'affirmative, ledit conseil a-t-il présenté un rapport au gouvernement?

M. *Bence*—Lundi prochain—QUESTION—Quelles sommes d'argent ont été dépensées, au cours de chaque année, sous le régime de la Loi nationale sur le logement, chapitre 49 des Statuts du Canada, 1938?

M. *Diefenbaker*—Lundi prochain—QUESTION—1. Dans combien de cas, dans chacune des provinces de la Saskatchewan, de l'Alberta et du Manitoba, au cours de chacune des années de 1941 à 1943 inclusivement, a-t-on refusé à des personnes se livrant à l'exploitation agricole des paiements sous le régime de la Loi sur l'assistance à l'agriculture des Prairies sous prétexte que l'exploitation agricole n'était pas leur unique occupation?

2. *a*) A-t-on accordé des paiements à des personnes qui en avaient fait la demande et dont l'exploitation agricole n'était pas la seule occupation; *b*) dans l'affirmative, quel a été le nombre de ces cas dans chacune desdites provinces au cours de chacune desdites années?

M. *Diefenbaker*—Lundi prochain—QUESTION—1. A quelle date Byrne Hope Saunders a-t-elle été nommée à la division des consommateurs de la Commission des prix et du commerce en temps de guerre?

2. Quelle est la nature de sa position et quel est son traitement mensuel?

3. Depuis sa nomination, quel est le montant total qui lui a été versé: *a*) en traitement; *b*) en allocations de subsistance ou en autres allocations; *c*) en frais de déplacement; *d*) sous toutes autres formes?

M. *Quelch*—Lundi prochain—QUESTION—1. Combien ont coûté au gouvernement fédéral les terres suivantes qui ont été vendues à des soldats-colons en 1920: sections 6, 13, 14, 15, E ½ 16, 22, 23, 24 de la ligne 18, du canton 33, à l'ouest de 4, et sections 32, 30, N.-E. ¼ 26, 23, 22, 0 ½ 19, 18, 17, 16, 15, et N.-E. ¼ 13, de la ligne 18, du canton 33, à l'ouest de 4?

2. Quel a été le prix initial total exigé des colons pour lesdites terres?

3. Quel a été la moyenne du prix de ces terres, à l'acre?

4. Quelle est la dette totale des soldats-colons ou des membres de la Garde des vétérans qui habitent encore sur ces terres?

5. Combien de soldats se sont établis, dès les débuts, sur ces terres?

6. Combien ont acquitté le paiement de leurs terres en entier?

7. Combien ont délaissé leurs terres?

8. Combien habitent encore sur ces terres?

9. Combien font partie de la Garde des vétérans mais sont encore propriétaires de leurs terres?

Le *Secrétaire d'Etat*—Lundi prochain—La Chambre en comité plénier pour l'étude de la résolution suivante:

Résolu,—Qu'il y a lieu de présenter un projet de loi dans le but d'établir les règlements autorisant des personnes (que l'on désignera comme les électeurs canadiens en service de guerre) à exercer le droit de vote, et les prisonniers canadiens de guerre à voter par procuration, lors de toute élection générale tenue au cours de la guerre actuelle; et aussi, de présenter les modifications, découlant desdits règlements, à la Loi des élections fédérales, 1938; et de plus, de stipuler que toute dépense faite en exécution de ladite loi sera défrayée à même les sommes disponibles du Fonds du revenu consolidé du Canada.

CONVOCATION DES COMITÉS

Salle	Comité	Heure
	Le vendredi 19 mai	
429	Dépenses de guerre (*sous-comité no 2*)	10.30 a.m.
277	Banque et commerce	11.00 a.m.
	Le mardi 23 mai	
268	Règlements de la défense du Canada	11.00 a.m.
429	Sécurité sociale	11.00 a.m.
277	Banque et commerce	11.00 a.m.
497	Bills privés	11.00 a.m.

ADDENDUM

AUX

PROCÈS-VERBAUX

DU JEUDI, 18 MAI, 1944

CEREMONIE TENUE A L'OCCASION D'UN DISCOURS PRONONCE PAR LE PREMIER MINISTRE DU CANADA DEVANT LES DEUX CHAMBRES DU PARLEMENT DE WESTMINSTER, LE 11 MAI 1944

DISCOURS PRONONCÉS PAR

Le très honorable Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.,
Premier Ministre du Royaume-Uni.

Le très honorable W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.,
Premier Ministre du Canada.

Le très honorable Vicomte Simon, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., O.B.E.,
Grand Chancelier.

Le très honorable Clifton Brown, M.P.,
Président de la Chambre des communes du Royaume-Uni.

Le très honorable M. WINSTON CHURCHILL: Milord chancelier, monsieur le président de la Chambre des communes, milords, mesdames et messieurs:

Nous sommes réunis auourd'hui pour souhaiter une chaleureuse bienvenue à M. Mackenzie King, premier ministre du Dominion du Canada. Nous le connaissons de longue date et nous l'aimons chaque année davantage. Il vient du Canada pour prendre part à notre assemblée des dirigeants de l'Empire; il arrive parmi nous avec la réputation d'avoir joué un rôle sans pareil dans le progrès du Canada.

Comme la plupart de nous il appartient à un parti politique. Ma foi, cela n'a rien qui puisse faire rougir! Mais je déclare sans hésiter que nul plus que notre hôte distingué de cet après-midi n'aurait pu conduire un Canada uni dans cette lutte mondiale, et il est probable qu'aucune autre carrière n'aurait aussi bien préparé un homme à l'accomplissement d'une telle mission.

Il a amené le Canada à l'apogée de son développement. Quand on y réfléchit, ce que le Canada a accompli pendant le présent conflit est extraordinaire. Le fracas continuel des événements, les drames qui se succèdent et qui se chevauchent, l'absorption intense des personnes de tout âge, secte et classe dans l'effort de guerre, sans même le temps de reprendre haleine—tout cela nous rend incapables de nous rendre compte de la plus petite partie de ce qui se passe, de ce qui s'est passé au Canada, sous un gouvernement dirigé par un homme qui est depuis vingt-cinq ans à la tête d'un parti et qui a été pendant dix-huit ans premier ministre du Dominion. Etant donné tout ce que nous faisons chez nous, nous pouvons certes espérer qu'on nous excusera de n'y avoir pas prêté toute l'attention que cela mérite.

Le Canada, avec ses onze millions d'habitants a monté la garde au cœur et dans la citadelle de l'Empire pendant l'époque la plus périlleuse de son histoire. A une époque, le corps d'armée canadien a constitué notre principale forme de défense—entre les hordes ennemies qui se disposaient à nous envahir et cette vaste métropole de Londres. Et les Canadiens sont devenus un peuple de marins. Non seulement ils construisent des navires, en temps de paix comme en temps de guerre, mais ils en fournissent les équipages, ils s'en servent pour combattre, et ils ont contribué de manière notoire à la destruction de la menace sous-marine.

Quant à l'aviation, le Canada est le centre de l'entraînement des aviateurs de l'Empire et du Commonwealth britanniques. Sa situation géographique et d'autres circonstances en ont décidé ainsi, et les camps du Canada ont fourni une race d'aviateurs qui ont non seulement récolté des honneurs incomparables, mais qui continueront à forger plus étroitement les liens de nature écrite ou légale sur lesquels repose l'Empire britannique.

Mon ami, M. Mackenzie King, je le connais depuis plus de quarante ans, l'ayant rencontré d'abord dans la politique et ensuite dans l'intimité, et je suis au courant de tout ce qu'il a fait pendant tout ce temps pour en arriver à ce point culminant du développement et de la démonstration de la puissance de son pays le Canada. Le Canada a un avenir dont personne ne peut se faire une idée. Le représentant de ce peuple magnifique nous donnera aujourd'hui une idée non seulement de la participation générale du Canada dans l'Empire, mais de la nature particulière de sa contribution que, dans notre vaste et complexe organisme, nous accueillons toujours du plus grand cœur.

Le Canada est le trait d'union entre l'ancien et le nouveau monde; il nous relie au grand peuple américain avec lequel, je l'espère, nous formerons nous aussi une association fraternelle. Le Canada, rattaché par des liens sacrés à la mère patrie et par des rapports de la plus profonde intimité et amitié aux Etats-Unis, forge l'entière structure de ce bénin et glorieux Empire britannique, qui ne connaît pas la crainte, en une masse homogène qui, lorsque survient une crise mondiale, ne manque jamais à son devoir.

J'ai l'honneur de vous présenter M. Mackenzie King.

Le très honorable W. L. Mackenzie King: Monsieur le Premier Ministre, monsieur le Grand Chancelier, monsieur l'Orateur, milords et membres de la Chambre des communes:

Lorsque vous m'avez invité, monsieur le Premier Ministre, à prendre la parole devant les deux Chambres du Parlement du Royaume-Uni, les mots me manquaient pour vous remercier d'un si grand honneur. La bienveillance que vous me témoignez en présidant cette réunion, vos bonnes paroles en me présentant aux Chambres, les traditions et les souvenirs de Westminster, et la présence en si grand nombre des membres de la Chambre des lords et de la Chambre des communes ne font qu'ajouter à ma dette de reconnaissance.

Je suis pleinement conscient de tout ce que cela représente que d'être l'hôte du peuple anglais, et de m'adresser à la population de Grande-Bretagne et d'ailleurs, du cœur même du Commonwealth et de l'Empire britannique, à ce moment décisif pour l'humanité. Une amitié partagée pendant de nombreuses années de paix, à laquelle vous avez fait si aimablement allusion, et les liens étroits qui nous unissent depuis le début de la guerre me fournissent un appui sur lequel je suis bien aise de pouvoir compter en prenant la parole devant un auditoire aussi distingué.

Quant à la part que j'ai prise à l'entrée du Canada en guerre, je n'ai fait, par là, qu'assumer la responsabilité qui m'incombait de donner expression, en cette heure décisive, au désir et à l'esprit du peuple canadien et de veiller à ses intérêts les plus élevés.

Quatre années se sont écoulées depuis que vous, monsieur le Premier Ministre, avez accepté de diriger la population de Grande-Bretagne et de vous faire le porte-étendard de la liberté humaine. Vous et vos collègues, vous avez conduit le pays et vous vous êtes consacrés à la cause qu'il sert, depuis les sombres jours du péril extrême, jusqu'à l'heure actuelle ou, enfin, la lumière commence à poindre. L'univers libre est d'autant plus confiant en l'avenir que vous continuez à diriger les destinées de votre pays avec une prévoyance et un courage désormais légendaires.

Je reconnais qu'en m'accueillant en ce moment, on désire souhaiter la bienvenue au représentant du Canada à la conférence des premiers ministres du Commonwealth britannique. Pour ce grand honneur fait au Canada aujourd'hui, je tiens à vous exprimer ma gratitude et ma fierté.

Je sais que cet accueil sincère et généreux s'adresse également aux représentants de l'Australie, de la Nouvelle-Zélande et de l'Afrique du Sud. Je voudrais dire ici à MM. Curtin, Fraser et au Maréchal Smuts toute la grande admiration que ressent le peuple du Canada pour la manière avec laquelle ils ont dirigé leur gouvernement et pour le rôle héroïque joué par leurs pays respectifs dans cette guerre. J'aimerais aussi à leur dire combien je me réjouis de ce que notre présence à Londres, en ce moment, nous offre, non seulement des possibilités précieuses de consultation avec le Premier Ministre et ses collègues, mais aussi l'occasion de démontrer clairement au monde l'unité avec laquelle les nations du Commonwealth marchent vers la victoire et désirent la coopération internationale après la guerre.

Hommages du Canada

On me permettra sans doute de transmettre un message spécial de la part du peuple canadien au peuple de la Grande-Bretagne.

Notre population n'a pas de souvenir plus cher que celui de la visite de Leurs Majestés le Roi et la Reine. Au Canada, comme en Grande-Bretagne, les années de guerre ont augmenté l'admiration et l'affection que tous, hommes et femmes, éprouvent à l'égard de nos souverains. Le courage et le dévouement avec lesquels ils ont partagé les dangers et les souffrances de la population sont une source d'inspiration pour nous. Dans toutes les nations du Commonwealth, leur exemple a mieux fait comprendre le sens profond de la commune allégeance à la Couronne. L'héroïque endurance de la population britannique est à jamais présente à notre esprit. Nous n'oublierons jamais votre détermination aux heures les plus sombres de la guerre. Nous ne cesserons jamais de nous rappeler la fermeté avec laquelle, au milieu de vos maisons en ruines et au péril de votre vie, vous avez, hommes, femmes et enfants de Grande-Bretagne, poursuivi votre tâche et conservé votre foi en l'avenir. De toute évidence, la préservation de la liberté humaine a reposé sur celle de la liberté de la Grande-Bretagne. C'est notre meilleur titre de fierté, comme celui des autres nations britanniques représentées ici, d'avoir, pendant les si longs jours où vous souteniez seuls le choc de l'attaque, résisté sous les armes avec vous à la puissance de l'Allemagne nazie. Les nations libres du monde ne pourront jamais oublier que c'est grâce à la résistance indomptable de la population britannique qu'elles ont pu avoir le temps précieux de mobiliser les forces de la liberté dans tout l'univers.

Puissance de la Grande-Bretagne

La Grande-Bretagne a aussi servi d'exemple à l'univers en montrant comment un peuple libre s'organise en vue d'une tâche commune. Les merveilles de votre production industrielle, de même que l'habileté et la compétence de vos travailleurs, sont un sujet d'étonnement pour le monde. Vous n'avez jamais perdu confiance. Vos gens ont acquis une nouvelle énergie, une nouvelle confiance qu'ils garderont. Et votre confiance, trempée au feu de l'affliction, sera plus ferme et plus forte que jamais.

Après la victoire, vous posséderez encore le même esprit d'initiative, la même vigueur et la même endurance, la même habileté manuelle et la même intelligence, les mêmes qualités d'esprit et d'âme. Grâce à ces qualités, le peuple anglais a contribué à gagner la guerre d'une façon qu'aucune autre nation n'a surpassée, au prorata de la population. En temps de paix comme en temps de guerre, ces qualités demeureront. Dans l'établissement d'un meilleur monde après le conflit, la Grande-Bretagne pourra jouer, par la force de son exemple, le même rôle de chef qu'elle a joué dans la conduite de la guerre.

L'esprit qui inspire l'effort de guerre du Canada

Mais en cette occasion, on attend de moi que je parle non de la Grande-Bretagne, mais du Canada. Permettez-moi donc de parler surtout de l'esprit du Canada, tel qu'il se manifeste dans son effort de guerre. Je le fais avec d'autant moins d'embarras qu'un esprit semblable, je le sais, anime l'effort de guerre de toutes les nations unies dans une commune allégeance envers la Couronne. Je voudrais parler aussi de ce que signifie cet esprit pour l'avenir du Commonwealth britannique et de ses relations avec les autres pays dans l'établissement d'un nouvel ordre mondial.

En traitant de l'effort de guerre du Canada, je n'entends pas décrire notre participation au présent conflit mondial au point de vue surtout de notre contribution en hommes et en matériel. Je voudrais mentionner certains aspects qui, considérés dans leur ensemble, révèlent l'esprit du peuple canadien.

Effort volontaire

Je souligne en premier lieu l'aspect que je considère comme le plus significatif. L'effort de guerre du Canada est un effort volontaire. Il a été librement consenti par un peuple libre. De même que les autres nations belligérantes du Commonwealth, nous sommes entrés en guerre de notre propre chef et non par suite de quelque obligation positive. Les liens du sang et les affinités ethniques ne constituaient pas notre principal mobile. Notre décision fut la conséquence de nos aspirations politiques les plus profondes, c'est-à-dire le culte de la liberté et le sens de la justice.

De même que cette décision avait été spontanée, de même l'effort fourni par notre peuple dans la poursuite de la guerre fut librement consenti. Au Canada, comme dans les autres pays, la poursuite énergique et efficace de la guerre a rendu nécessaires certaines réglementations et restrictions. Néanmoins, en tout temps, ces mesures ont reçu un appui sans réserve de la part du peuple canadien.

La population du Canada est de onze millions et demi de citoyens. Sept cent cinquante mille de nos jeunes gens les mieux doués servent dans les forces armées. L'apport en ressources humaines qu'exigeaient de lui les forces combattantes, n'a pas empêché notre pays de doubler sa production d'avant-guerre. Grâce à la compétence et au dévouement de ses hommes et de ses femmes, le Canada est à la fois un grenier, un arsenal, un aérodrome et un chantier maritime au service de la liberté. Notre pays est de plus en plus fier du fait que chaque combattant canadien en service au-delà des mers, sur les eaux ou dans les airs, est un volontaire. Vraiment, nous pouvons dire que notre effort de guerre est un effort volontaire.

Effort immédiat

La décision prise par le Canada d'entrer en guerre a été immédiate. Quand, en 1939, le monde voyait s'évanouir les derniers espoirs de paix, j'ai annoncé que, si l'Angleterre prenait les armes pour la défense de la liberté, notre gouvernement demanderait au Parlement de placer le Canada au côté de la Grande-Bretagne. Au début de la guerre, nous n'avons pas hésité. Dès que le Parlement put agir, le Canada fut en guerre.

A cette époque, bien peu de Canadiens, si toutefois il y en eut, pensaient que notre pays était exposé au danger d'une attaque. Ce que nous avons compris tout de suite, c'est le principe en jeu. Nous avons compris que venait de commencer une lutte terrible entre la liberté et la domination et que le conflit se propagerait certainement. Pour la deuxième fois en une génération, le Canada prit les armes pour empêcher que la tyrannie qui régnait en Allemagne put étendre sa domination sur les autres pays du globe.

Au lendemain de la dernière guerre, les Canadiens, tout comme les autres peuples pacifiques, souhaitaient et étaient convaincus que l'humanité jouirait de la paix et de la liberté pendant plusieurs générations. Au sommet du monument

que notre nation a élevé pour commémorer la guerre, cet espoir et cette foi ont été symbolisés dans les figures inséparablement unies de la paix et de la liberté. Cependant, toute notre histoire et toute l'expérience acquise dans le domaine politique nous disaient que la liberté canadienne ne pourrait survivre dans un monde qui ne connaissait plus la liberté.

Un effort total

Dès le début, notre effort de guerre a été conçu et organisé en vue de nous permettre d'atteindre, le plus rapidement possible, l'effort maximum que notre pays pourrait soutenir durant une guerre de longue durée.

Nous avons développé notre marine aussi rapidement que nous pouvions construire, ou acquérir les navires et former les hommes. Nous avons porté notre armée aux effectifs les plus nombreux que nous croyons pouvoir maintenir durant une longue guerre. Nous avons accru notre force aérienne à la limite de notre capacité à nous procurer le matériel nécessaire et à former les aviateurs.

Nous avons développé le Plan d'entraînement aérien du Commonwealth avec une rapidité et une ampleur dépassant toutes prévisions. Le cent millième aviateur combattant vient de terminer sa formation. L'instruction coopérative pratiquée au Canada a de beaucoup augmenté la puissance aérienne conjointe des Nations Unies.

L'ampleur que nous avons donnée à nos industries de guerre dépasse énormément les besoins de nos services armés. Bien que nous ayons soustrait des milliers d'hommes de nos fermes, de nos pêcheries, de nos mines et de nos forêts, nous avons considérablement accru notre production de vivres et de matières premières. Nous affectons directement à la poursuite de la guerre environ la moitié de notre rendement total. Nous acquittons à peu près la moitié du coût de notre effort de guerre à même le revenu courant dérivé des impôts. Au moyen d'emprunts de la victoire et d'épargnes de guerre, presque chaque famille aide à financer le conflit.

Par notre contribution en combattants, en armes et munitions, en vivres et en capitaux, nous essayons, en tant que peuple, de concourir le plus possible à la lutte pour la liberté universelle. Puisqu'il s'agit d'une guerre totale, nous avons visé à accomplir un effort total, et nous croyons être en voie d'atteindre ce but.

Œuvre de pionnier

Parmi les nations de l'hémisphère occidental, le Canada, le premier, eut recours aux armes pour défendre les frontières de la liberté du Nouveau-Monde. Pendant plus de deux ans, notre pays fut le seul dans les deux Amériques à participer à la guerre. L'effort du Canada a été, à plus d'un égard une œuvre de pionnier.

Effort coopératif

L'apport du Canada à la guerre actuelle a été d'autant plus considérable que nous avons une frontière commune avec les Etats-Unis. Sans l'harmonie et la réciprocité qui existent entre nos deux pays, ni l'un ni l'autre n'auraient pu contribuer comme ils l'ont fait à la cause commune. La défense du continent nord-américain par le Canada et les Etats-Unis, ainsi que leur participation à la guerre outre-mer, a été grandement favorisée par les ententes que nous avons conclues en vue d'une défense conjointe, ainsi que par la mise en commun de nos ressources.

Nous avons cherché à donner à notre effort de guerre, chaque fois que la chose était possible, le caractère d'une entreprise coopérative. Les vastes travaux militaires entrepris au Canada de concert avec les Etats-Unis fournissent un exemple remarquable de la coopération étroite et amicale qui existe entre les deux pays. Certes, le Canada offre l'exemple parfait d'un petit pays qui vit dans la sécurité et l'harmonie la plus complète à côté d'une nation très puissante.

L'un des aspects de notre politique de guerre consiste en ce que le Canada partage avec d'autres Nations Unies des navires, des machines, des armes et d'autre matériel que nous produisons, comme je l'ai dit, en quantités dépassant de beaucoup les besoins de nos propres forces armées. Depuis le début de la guerre, nous avons fourni à la Grande-Bretagne et à ses forces armées du matériel de guerre et divers approvisionnements pour une valeur qui atteint presque 900 millions de livres (4 milliards de dollars). Près de la moitié de ces approvisionnements représente une contribution pure et simple. Aux termes de notre politique d'aide mutuelle, nous avons l'an dernier, sans exiger de paiement, fourni du matériel de guerre aux Nations Unies, en conformité des besoins stratégiques. Grâce à cette même politique, le Canada fournit maintenant du matériel à la Grande-Bretagne, à l'Australie, à l'Union soviétique, à la Chine et au Comité Français de la Libération nationale.

Effort de guerre mondial

Parallèlement à l'évolution de la guerre, notre effort a pris de plus en plus un caractère mondial. Les machines et munitions de guerre de fabrication canadienne ont servi sur tous les théâtres de combat. Les matelots canadiens et les marins de la marine marchande canadienne ont servi sur tous les océans. Nos aviateurs ont pris part aux combats aériens dans toutes les parties du monde. Depuis le début des hostilités, nos soldats ont aidé à la défense de cette Ile. Ils ont fait du service actif dans la région du Pacifique, de même qu'à Dieppe et dans la campagne d'Italie. Aujourd'hui, nos troupes attendent le mot d'ordre pour s'élancer, avec leurs frères d'armes, à la libération de l'Europe. Demain nous verrons les forces canadiennes participer à l'assaut final contre le Japon. L'effort du Canada a pris en vérité des proportions mondiales.

Effort persévérant

J'ai à peine besoin de dire que nous sommes engagés dans cette guerre jusqu'à a fin. Le Canada ira jusqu'au bout dans sa lutte pour la liberté. Notre population se rend compte qu'il ne s'agit que d'une seule guerre, d'une conspiration monstrueuse des puissances fascistes en vue de dominer le monde et de le réduire en esclavage. Après avoir pris les armes de son plein gré, la population canadienne n'aura de cesse que la liberté ne soit assurée. L'effort du Canada sera persévérant.

Effort à longue portée

Nous avons aussi essayé de voir plus loin que la guerre et de donner à notre effort une longue portée. Le peuple canadien, non moins que celui de la Grande-Bretagne dont les sacrifices ont été si grands, a besoin d'entrevoir un nouvel ordre mondial.

Par la coordination de leurs programmes, par l'aide mutuelle et par une collaboration constante, les Nations Unies sont en voie de remporter la victoire militaire. La plus grande collaboration ne sera pas moins nécessaire à l'établissement et à la conservation de la paix. Si notre premier objectif, comme le vôtre, est la victoire militaire, notre objectif ultime, comme le vôtre, est un avenir meilleur pour l'humanité.

Un effort national

Il faut, par dessus tout, envisager notre effort de guerre comme celui d'une nation. La décision que nous avons prise en 1939 a été plus que le libre choix d'un Parlement libre. Elle a été l'acte le plus solennel qu'une nation libre pût poser. Notre effort de guerre répond à notre fierté nationale; nous nous sommes efforcés de le rendre digne du Canada.

Identité d'effort dans tout le Commonwealth

J'ai fait l'exposé de l'effort de guerre du Canada. Je m'empresse d'ajouter qu'un même esprit a animé l'effort de guerre de chacune des autres nations du Commonwealth. Compte tenu de la diversité des conditions, les divers aspects de l'effort du Canada ont eu leur parallèle en Australie, en Nouvelle-Zélande et en Afrique australe. Lorsque la guerre éclata, quatre nations, toutes éloignées de plusieurs milliers de milles de la scène du conflit, se rangèrent aux côtés de la Grande-Bretagne. Pour chacune d'elles le principe en jeu était bien clair, et chacune s'empressa d'agir. Chacune de ces nations cherche à réaliser un effort maximum. La part accompli par toutes dénote l'esprit d'initiative et d'assurance du pionnier. La coopération n'a cessé de caractériser leurs actes. Chacune accomplit un effort à longue portée qui s'avérera durable. Chacune s'énorgueillit du fait que son effort de guerre a revêtu un caractère national.

Le culte de la liberté

Nous n'avons pas non plus à chercher bien longtemps pour découvrir la cause de cette identité d'effort.

L'esprit d'une nation n'est pas facile à définir. On ne le connaît que dans la mesure où il se révèle. Il ressemble aux eaux cachées sous la surface de la terre. De temps à autre, et en divers lieux, les eaux provenant de quelque endroit secret jaillissent à la surface pour former des sources, des ruisseaux ou des rivières. Pareillement, de temps à autre, l'esprit d'une nation jaillit de sa source et se manifeste par les actes collectifs d'un peuple.

L'effort de guerre de chacune des nations du Commonwealth puise son inspiration à une source commune. Cette source c'est l'amour de la liberté et le sens de la justice qui, au cours des siècles, ont été préservés et entretenus par les citoyens britanniques comme ils ne l'ont été nulle part ailleurs.

Les terribles événements de 1940 ont démontré à quel point la liberté était gravement menacée, et avec quelle soudaineté elle aurait pu être perdue. Tant que la liberté existera, les hommes libres de partout auront envers le peuple de Grande-Bretagne une dette dont ils ne pourront jamais s'acquitter. Tant que la Grande-Bretagne gardera le culte de la liberté, et continuera de défendre la liberté des autres nations, elle n'aura jamais lieu de douter de sa prééminence dans le monde entier. Aussi longtemps que nous continuerons tous à partager cet esprit, nous n'aurons pas besoin de craindre pour la force ou l'unité du Commonwealth. Les décisions prises de plein gré par la Grande-Bretagne, le Canada, l'Australie, la Nouvelle-Zélande et l'Afrique méridionale attestent de façon péremptoire la force unificatrice de la liberté.

Puissance et unité du Commonwealth britannique

Cet effort en commun, résultant d'une origine commune, a donné une nouvelle force et une nouvelle unité, une nouvelle importance et une nouvelle signification au Commonwealth et à l'Empire britanniques.

Sans tenter d'établir une distinction entre les expressions: "Empire britannique" et "Commonwealth britannique", mais en envisageant plutôt l'évolution de cette association de nations libres, puis-je vous exposer ce qui me semble le secret de sa force et de son unité, et la vision que je me complais à évoquer de son avenir? "Nous, qui comptons sur de plus grandes fraternités et des normes encore plus précises de justice sociale, nous apprécions et nous chérissons l'Empire britannique, parce qu'il représente, plus que toute autre association semblable ne l'a jamais fait, la coopération pacifique de toutes les catégories de citoyens dans tous les genres de pays, et parce que nous pensons qu'il constitue, à cet égard au moins, un modèle de ce que toute l'humanité deviendra, un jour, nous l'espérons". Cette vision de l'avenir, ai-je besoin de le dire, ne m'est pas exclusive; de fait, les mots dont je me suis servi pour tenter d'exprimer ma pensée,

ne sont pas de moi. Ils furent prononcés, il y a trente-sept ans, par un homme dont la gloire, aujourd'hui est insurpassée en aucune partie du monde, si tant est qu'elle ait été égalée dans les annales de l'humanité. Ce sont les paroles que prononçait en 1907 l'actuel premier ministre de Grande-Bretagne, M. Churchill. A mesure qu'elles se répercutent avec les années, elles raniment l'inspiration de tous ceux qui doivent allégeance à la Couronne et apportent un renouveau d'espoir à l'humanité.

Parfois les rêves de jeunesse
. . . "s'évanouissent
Et se dissipent dans la lumière du jour".

Ils s'estompent, non pas parce que l'esprit de vision vient jamais à se perdre totalement, mais parce que la détermination chancelle, parce que la volonté flanche, parce que les obstacles paraissent insurmontables. Il n'en a pas été ainsi pour M. Churchill. Il n'a pas à demander

"Où s'est évanouie la lueur chimérique?
Où se sont réfugiés la gloire et le rêve?"

Gloire et rêve, n'en suivons-nous pas la réalisation à ce moment dans la puissance et l'unité des nations du Commonwealth?

Moyens de consultation et de coopération

On laisse entendre de temps à autre que nous devrions chercher de nouvelles méthodes de communication et de consultation.

Je crois très fermement en une consultation étroite, en une collaboration étroite et en une coordination efficace des principes de gouvernement. Quelles mesures de collaboration plus efficaces pouvait-on trouver que celles qui, en dépit des difficultés de la guerre, ont remporté un succès si complet?

Nous n'avons pas, il est vrai, de cabinet ou conseil impérial de guerre visible, siégeant continuellement à Londres. Mais nous avons, et c'est beaucoup plus important bien qu'invisible, une conférence continuelle des cabinets du Commonwealth. C'est une conférence des cabinets qui, de jour en jour et, assez souvent, d'heure en heure, s'occupe des politiques d'intérêt commun.

Lorsqu'on prend des décisions, ce ne sont pas celles de premiers ministres ou d'autres ministres pris individuellement, qui se rencontrent en l'absence de leurs collègues et loin de leur pays, ce sont des décisions prises, après mûres considération, par tous les membres du cabinet de chaque pays, pleinement conscients de leur responsabilité immédiate envers leurs parlements respectifs.

Efforçons-nous, par tous les moyens, de les améliorer où faire se peut. Mais, dans la considération de nouvelles méthodes d'organisation, nous ne saurions user d'une trop grande prudence pour nous assurer que, aux yeux de nos propres pays, les nouvelles méthodes ne soient pas considérées comme une tentative de restreindre leur liberté de décision ou, aux yeux des peuples qui ne sont pas du Commonwealth, comme une tentative d'établir un bloc séparé. Veillons bien à ne pas perdre l'essentiel en modifiant la forme, ou, à ne pas sacrifier la réalité pour l'apparence. J'ai oui dire que, quelque part, sur la tombe de quelqu'un qui n'avait pas su apprécier son sort, on peut lire l'épitaphe que voici: "J'étais bien; je voulais être mieux; et voici où je suis".

L'espoir de l'avenir

Je n'ai cité, tout à l'heure, qu'un extrait de ce qu'a dit M. Churchill. Il exposa également les moyens de rendre réelle sa conception d'une coopération pacifique. "Cherchons d'année en année, dit-il, à inculquer à l'Empire britannique un caractère d'*inclusion* et non d'*exclusion*".

Comme les nations qui le constituent, le Commonwealth britannique possède en soi un esprit qui n'est pas exclusif mais qui est l'opposé de l'exclusiveté. C'est en cela que réside sa force. Cet esprit se traduit par la coopération. Là réside le secret de son unité. La coopération est susceptible d'expansion à l'infini. Là se trouve l'espoir de l'avenir.

Le Commonwealth et la coopération mondiale

Il est d'importance souveraine pour le Commonwealth que le plus haut degré possible de coopération continue d'exister parmi ses membres. De même, il est, à mon sens, de la plus haute importance pour l'avenir de l'humanité qu'il y ait, après la guerre, la plus grande mesure possible de coopération entre les nations du monde.

La coopération dont nous faisons preuve en temps de guerre n'est pas le fruit de l'unité formelle propre aux institutions; elle résulte d'une entente sur des lignes de conduite qui intéressent "toutes sortes d'hommes dans toutes sortes de pays", à condition, toutefois, que ce soient des hommes de bonne volonté.

Si, à la fin des hostilités, la force et l'unité du Commonwealth doivent subsister, on y parviendra non pas en adoptant des lignes de conduite exclusives, mais des lignes de conduite que l'on pourra partager avec d'autres nations. J'ai la ferme conviction que l'on pourra maintenir l'unité du Commonwealth en fondant cette unité sur des principes qui peuvent être appliqués à toutes les nations. Je suis convaincu également que le seul moyen de maintenir l'unité mondiale, c'est de l'établir sur des principes d'application universelle.

La guerre a sûrement fait comprendre à tous les peuples, quelle que soit leur importance, que la sécurité nationale ne réside point dans l'isolement d'une nation ou d'un groupe de nations. La sécurité future des peuples épris de paix sera fonction de l'ampleur et de l'efficacité de la collaboration internationale. Il n'est pas moins vrai que la tâche de défendre, de préserver et de promouvoir la liberté n'est pas l'affaire exclusive des grandes puissances. Nous ne serions pas dignes de la liberté pour laquelle nous combattons si à un moment nous oubliions qu'aucune nation ne peut vivre dans l'isolement et que les nations grandes ou petites sont les membres d'un même corps.

La prospérité, comme la sécurité, est indivisible

Toutefois, ce n'est pas seulement la sécurité des nations qui est indivisible. Il en va de même de leur prospérité. Peu nombreux sont ceux qui désirent retourner aux années qui ont précédé la guerre, alors que chaque pays cherchait la sécurité économique en s'isolant économiquement de ses voisins. Ce qui s'est produit c'est que la sécurité économique de toutes les nations s'est affondrée. Il est temps pour l'univers entier de se rendre à l'évidence. De même qu'aucune nation ne peut, par elle-même, assurer sa propre sécurité, de même aucun pays ou groupe de pays ne peut assurer sa propre prospérité par l'isolement.

Par ma part, je suis profondément convaincu que la sécurité et le bien-être des nations du Commonwealth britannique et, dans une grande mesure, la sécurité et le bien-être de toutes les nations éprises de paix dépendront de la possibilité, pour les nations du Commonwealth, de donner l'essor à l'application de programmes de nature non pas exclusive, mais inclusive. Il est bien entendu que la mise en œuvre de tels programmes dépendra de la mesure dans laquelle les autres peuples sont disposés à en adopter de semblables. Efforçons-nous du moins, autant que possible, de donner le ton pour le plus grand bien de l'univers dans son ensemble.

Le Canada et les Etats-Unis

Vous avez, monsieur le Premier ministre, souligné l'importance de renforcir les liens fraternels qui existent actuellement entre le Commonwealth britannique et les Etats-Unis.

Depuis de nombreuses années, les relations entre le Canada et les Etats-Unis sont des plus amicales. Pendant toute la guerre, nous avons suivi la voie de la collaboration. Nous aimons aussi à penser que notre pays a contribué dans une certaine mesure à créer l'harmonie de sentiments entre les Etats-Unis et le Commonwealth britannique tout entier. Cette harmonie est à la base de l'étroite collaboration militaire qui se révèle si fructueuse au cours de cette guerre.

Ce sera toujours l'un des buts primordiaux de la politique canadienne que de travailler au maintien de l'association fraternelle entre les peuples britanniques et le peuple américain. Quand viendra la paix, c'est notre plus ferme espoir que les peuples du Commonwealth britannique et des Etats-Unis continueront de marcher côte à côte, plus étroitement unis que jamais. Mais nous espérons également qu'ils pourront marcher en un groupe plus nombreux dans lequel toutes les nations unies aujourd'hui pour la défense de la liberté resteront unies pour le service de l'humanité.

La crise suprême

Nous approchons, sur le théâtre européen, le moment le plus critique de ce long et terrible conflit. En cette heure décisive, il est impérieux de tout faire pour que nos esprits se concentrent sur un seul but, la victoire. C'est là notre première obligation. C'est notre devoir envers les humbles gens de tous les pays alliés dont le courage persévérant, le labeur acharné et l'acceptation résolue des fardeaux de la guerre ont rendu possible la production immense de matériel et de fournitures de guerre des Nations Unies. C'est notre devoir, avant tout, envers les millions de combattants qui, pour défendre notre liberté et celle de l'humanité tout entière, bravent la mort.

Le principal objectif des présentes réunions des premiers ministres, c'est de donner l'assurance du plus entier appui à nos marins, à nos soldats et à nos aviateurs. Nous nous sommes réunis ici, d'abord et avant tout, pour faire tout ce qu'il est possible d'accomplir, par la coopération et l'unité d'action, afin d'assurer cet appui dans la plus large mesure possible sur tous les fronts de combat.

La guerre actuelle diffère de toutes les guerres du passé. Elle a lieu sur une échelle différente. Au strict sens géographique, c'est la première guerre mondiale de l'histoire. C'est une guerre qui se fait non seulement sur la terre et sur les mers, mais aussi dans les nuages, à des milles au-dessus du sol. En outre, cette guerre ne se livre pas uniquement dans le domaine matériel. C'est une lutte pour la domination des esprits et des âmes. Son issue réglera la destinée morale du monde.

L'appui que nous donnons à nos combattants et la dette que nous avons contractée envers ceux qui leur touchent de près et leur sont chers doivent dépasser les théâtres de guerre et se prolonger au delà de la fin des hostilités. A tous ceux qui auront subi le feu du combat, à tous ceux qui nous reviendront infirmes et meurtris, à tous les foyers en deuil, à la mémoire de ceux qui auront fait le sacrifice de leur vie, nous devons tout ce qui est en notre pouvoir pour assurer que leurs services et leurs sacrifices n'auront pas été vains.

Par le passé, nous avons commémoré les sacrifices de vies humaines à la guerre par des monuments de pierre ou de bronze. Après cette guerre-ci, nous devrons garder le souvenir de tels sacrifices d'une manière encore plus appropriée. Et ce sera, je crois, en assurant aux survivants des garanties d'une vie plus heureuse. Nous du Commonwealth et de l'Empire britanniques formons déjà une communauté de plusieurs nations, de plusieurs races et de plusieurs langues. Nous avons beaucoup progressé dans l'art du gouvernement responsable, dans la pratique de la coopération internationale et dans l'application

du principe d'aide mutuelle. Il nous revient donc, à coup sûr, d'aider à façonner un ordre mondial nouveau, dans lequel la sécurité sociale et le bien-être de l'homme deviendront partie intégrante de l'héritage de l'humanité.

Cette guerre n'a pas été suscitée par nous. Nous avons cherché avant tout à promouvoir la paix, la compréhension et la bonne volonté. Nous avons déploré que la guerre se soit propagée à toutes les parties du monde. Et cependant, avec le recul du temps, ce péril de magnitude mondiale peut se révéler un bienfait jusque-là insoupçonné. Il aura peut-être fallu l'état de choses actuel pour faire comprendre aux autres nations aussi bien qu'à la nôtre que les intérêts de l'humanité ne font qu'un et que les exigences humaines sont primordiales.

Notre premier devoir est de gagner la guerre. Mais pour gagner la guerre, nous devons garder la vision d'un avenir meilleur; nous ne devons jamais nous lasser d'en poursuivre la réalisation. Cette vision nous sera nécessaire si nous voulons remporter la victoire contre ceux qui cherchent à dominer le monde et à rendre l'homme esclave. Elle nous permettra également d'honorer dignement la mémoire des hommes et des femmes qui sacrifient leur vie pour la liberté et la justice.

Peut-être est-ce dans la réalisation de cette vision que les gouvernements et les peuples unis par une commune allégeance à la Couronne verront la nouvelle signification et la nouvelle orientation du Commonwealth et de l'Empire britanniques. Il nous appartient de faire de notre association de nations britanniques libres un modèle du monde futur que nous envisageons.

M. Churchill: Milords et messieurs, j'invite le Lord Chancelier à proposer un vote de remerciements à l'adresse de notre distingué visiteur.

Le Lord Chancelier (le très honorable vicomte Simon): Milords et messieurs les Députés:

Monsieur le Président et moi avons été invités à exprimer brièvement la gratitude que nous éprouvons tous deux à l'égard du premier ministre du Canada pour sa présence et son allocution. La démonstration qui a suivi la fin de son discours montre qu'un flot de paroles serait superflu. Nous sommes très reconnaissants à M. Mackenzie King d'avoir dit, avec tant d'éloquence et de vigueur, des choses si pleines de sagesse, d'encouragement et d'espérance. Je pense que nous lui sommes particulièrement reconnaissants de l'exposé qu'il a fait—du brillant exposé qu'il a fait—tant de l'esprit qui règne au Canada que de la contribution vraiment extraordinaire de cette Puissance à l'effort commun. Je pense que monsieur le Président m'approuvera si j'ose dire à monsieur Mackenzie King, au nom de notre grande assemblée, que nous tenons à exprimer notre admiration la plus sincère pour tous les efforts de ce grand Dominion, et que nous nous réjouissons à la pensée d'avoir parmi nous le chef de ce grand peuple.

Il n'y a pas longtemps, lorsque l'un d'entre nous amenait des visiteurs dans cette partie du Palais de Westminster, nous étions passablement embarrassés de répondre à la question suivante: "A quoi sert cette salle?" Je pense que la meilleure réponse était que cette vaste et splendide salle a été construite pour loger deux immenses tableaux qui, autrement, n'auraient pu trouver d'abri. Mais c'était là nous montrer injustes à l'égard de l'architecte qui, il y a un siècle, a conçu le projet d'une pareille salle. Cet architecte a dû prévoir ce qui arriverait. Car, grâce maintenant à la facilité avec laquelle M. Mackenzie King peut quitter son pays le soir et être ici le lendemain matin, et grâce aussi aux excursions étonnantes d'autres premiers ministres de Dominions, cette grande salle, située, semble-t-il, entre la Chambre des communes et la Chambre des Lords, est devenue en de grandes occasions comme celle-ci, un lieu de rencontre où les membres des deux Chambres peuvent se réunir en toute sécurité et écouter un discours, sans porter atteinte aux privilèges anciens et strictement conservés de l'une ou l'autre Chambre.

Nous sommes très heureux que le nom de M. Mackenzie King soit venu s'ajouter à la liste de ceux qui ont pris la parole parmi nous. Et du fond du cœur, nous le remercions de son discours en lui exprimant, le plus chaleureusement possible, l'avis qu'un tel discours et l'état d'esprit qu'il reflète sont autant de contributions à l'unité et à la fraternité dans l'Empire britannique, ce qui est la plus sûre garantie d'une victoire finale et le meilleur motif d'espoir en une paix future dans le monde.

M. Churchill: Milords et messieurs, une expérience de plusieurs années m'a appris à attendre le signal de monsieur le Président, et, comme je me rends parfaitement compte que les rôles sont renversés, je tiens à profiter le plus possible de cet avantage.

M. le Président (le très honorable Clifton Brown, colonel): En cette occasion, et bien que la chose ne soit pas absolument dans l'ordre, il me fait certainement plaisir de répondre à l'appel du Premier Ministre.

C'est du fonds du cœur que j'appuie la motion de remerciements à monsieur Mackenzie King. Je n'ajouterai que deux phrases. Dans la première, je tiens à réitérer notre chaleureuse appréciation de tout ce qu'ont fait, au Canada, nos confrères pro-britanniques, sous la direction de monsieur Mackenzie King. Les mots nous manquent pour exprimer notre admiration de l'effort qu'ils ont fourni dans la présente guerre. Voilà ma première phrase.

Ma seconde est la suivante: d'après moi, le Canada travaille à une œuvre plus grande encore que la lutte dans cette guerre. Je parle en ce moment, avec votre permission, au nom des députés et aussi je pense, des membres de la Chambre des lords—notre admiration est sans bornes, notre imagination s'est émue devant le plan d'entraînement aérien réalisé par le Canada. Vous avez là la fleur, non seulement de la jeunesse canadienne, mais de celle de tous les autres Dominions et nations libres du monde, qui, une fois réunie, travaille de concert à se découvrir des liens et des attaches communes que le premier ministre de la Nouvelle-Zélande, si je ne me trompe, qualifiait, l'autre jour, d'"invisibles, mais plus forts que l'acier". Voilà, je crois, les liens qui, dans l'avenir, assureront l'unité de notre Empire—liens d'une ténacité incalculable et d'une valeur incomparable pour l'Empire britannique.

C'est donc le plus chaleureusement que je remercie M. Mackenzie King de l'œuvre accomplie par lui et les Canadiens dans notre intérêt, et du discours qu'il a prononcé, ici, discours que je me permets d'appuyer.

M. Churchill: Que tous ceux qui sont en faveur du vote de remerciements à M. Mackenzie King, disent oui.

Oui!

M. Mackenzie King: Milord chancelier, monsieur le président:

Permettez-moi de vous remercier tous les deux très chaleureusement des paroles extrêmement aimables que vous venez de prononcer. Je vous remercie encore une fois, monsieur le Premier ministre, des paroles qui m'ont très profondément touché et qui, je le crois, susciteront une vive émotion dans le cœur des Canadiens.

Qu'il me soit permis de remercier de nouveau les membres de la Chambre des lords et de la Chambre des communes de la grande courtoisie dont ils ont fait preuve en assistant si nombreux à la séance de cet après-midi. Merci très cordialement pour le "oui" que j'ai entendu lorsque l'honorable premier ministre a mis la proposition aux voix. Les "oui" sont toujours doux aux oreilles du Gouvernement.

Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, Imprimeur de Sa Très Excellente Majesté le Roi, 1944.

Missing Page Numbers

The following pages were not microfilmed because they are duplicates.

They are numbers D61629 to D61631

Numéros des pages manquantes

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As for the air, Canada is the home of the British Empire and Commonwealth in central organization. Her geographical and other conditions have facilitated this, and from the fields of Canada have come a race of airmen who have not only gathered unsurpassed honour, but will continue to be an asset for the greater unity which underlies all written or legal constitutions for the British Empire.

My friend, Mr. Mackenzie King, I have known for well over forty years, first in politics and then in personal friendship, and I know well the many steps he has always taken throughout that period leading up to this great climax of the development and demonstration of the power of Canada. Canada has a future which none can measure. The representative of this magnificent people will give us to-day a conception not only of the general participation of Canada in the Empire, but of the particular character of her contribution which, in our vast and varied organization, is always to be welcomed.

Canada is the link which joins together the old world and the new; which links the vast American people with whom, I trust, we shall ourselves develop a fraternal association. Canada, bound by sacred ties to the Mother Country, and also by terms of the deepest intimacy and friendship to the United States, clamps the whole structure of this benignant, unfearing, glorious British Empire together into one homogeneous mass which, when crisis comes for the world as a whole, will never fail in its duty.

I call upon Mr. Mackenzie King.

U + P. May 18/44

Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King: Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor, My Lords and Members of the House of Commons:

When I received from you, Prime Minister, the invitation to address members of both Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, I found myself at a loss for words in which to acknowledge so high an honour. Your kindness in presiding on this occasion, your words of introduction, the traditions and associations of Westminster, and the presence in such numbers of the Lords and Commons add greatly to my sense of obligation.

I am only too well aware of all that it means to be the guest of the people of Britain, and to be speaking to them, and to others, from the heart of the British Commonwealth and Empire, at this moment of supreme crisis in human affairs. Your friendship and mine over many years of peace, and our close companionship throughout the years of war, to which you have made so kind a reference, afford me a support I greatly welcome in addressing this distinguished assembly.

As to my part in Canada's entry into the war, it was but the discharge of the responsibility which was mine to give expression, in a decisive hour, to the will and spirit of the Canadian people, and to serve their highest interests.

Four years have now passed since you, Prime Minister, accepted the leadership of the people of Britain and the leadership of the cause of human freedom. You and your colleagues have led this country, and the cause for which it stands, from the dark days of extreme peril, to this hour when at last the light is beginning to break. It is a source of confidence throughout the free world that you are continuing your leadership with a vision and a courage which have already become a legend.

I recognize that, for me, this occasion is designed as a welcome to Canada's representative at the meeting of Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth. For the high compliment being paid Canada to-day, I should like to express my gratitude and pride.

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PROCEEDINGS ON THE OCCASION OF AN ADDRESS BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA TO MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT AT WESTMINSTER,

MAY 11, 1944

ADDRESSES BY

The Right Honourable Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P., Prime Minister of the United Kingdom

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P., Prime Minister of Canada

The Right Honourable Viscount Simon, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., O.B.E., Lord Chancellor

The Right Honourable Clifton Brown, M.P., Speaker of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom

Right Hon. WINSTON CHURCHILL: My Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons, my Lords, ladies and gentlemen:—

We are met here to-day to give a hearty welcome to Mr. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada. We have known him a long time, and the longer we have known him the more we have loved him. He comes here from Canada to attend our gathering of Empire leaders; he comes here as one who has played an unrivalled part in the forward march of Canada.

Like most of us here, he is a party politician. Well, there is nothing to be ashamed of in that! But I say without hesitation that there was no other man, and perhaps there was no other career which any man could have followed, which would have enabled our honoured guest this afternoon to lead Canada united into the heart of this world-shaking struggle.

He has brought Canada to the greatest development of her power. It is extraordinary to think what Canada has done in this war. This unending crash of events, one scene of drama succeeding and overlapping another, the intense absorption of people of every age, sect and class in the war effort, hardly enabling them to draw breath—all this makes us incapable of appreciating a tithe of what is going on, what has been going on in Canada, under its Government headed by one who has been twenty-five years the leader of a party and eighteen years Prime Minister of the Dominion. With all that is being done there, we may well ask to be excused if we have not followed it all in the detail it deserves.

Canada, with her eleven million people, has guarded the heart and citadel of the Empire during the most perilous months in its history. There was a time when the Canadian Corps stood as our principal method of defence between the enemy's gathering invasion hordes and this vast City of London. And Canadians have become a naval people. They have gone to sea. Not only do they build ships, both of peace and war, but they man them, and fight them, and have contributed in a notable degree to the destruction of the U-boat menace.

I know that the welcome you accord me is equally heartfelt and generous towards the representatives of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. I should like to say to Mr. Curtin, Mr. Fraser and Field Marshal Smuts how great is the admiration of the people of Canada of their leadership, and of the heroic part which their countries have taken in this war. I should also like to say to them how glad I am that our presence in London at this time affords to us all not only exceptional opportunities of conference with the Prime Minister of Britain and his colleagues, but of making clear to the world the oneness of the nations of the Commonwealth in the winning of the war and in seeking international co-operation after the war.

Greetings From Canada

Perhaps I may be allowed to convey a special message from the people of Canada to the people of Britain.

No memory of happiness in the past is more cherished than the recollection of the visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen. In Canada, as in Britain, the years of war have heightened the admiration and increased the affection felt by men and women everywhere for our King and Queen. We have been inspired by their courage and devotion in sharing the dangers and sorrows of the people. In all the nations of the Commonwealth, their example has deepened the meaning and significance of our common allegiance to the Crown.

The heroic endurance of the people of Britain is ever present in our minds. We shall never forget your resolution in the darkest days of the war. Nor shall we ever cease to remember the determination with which, amid destruction of your homes and in peril of your lives, you, the men, women and children of Britain, have continued to carry on your work and to maintain your confidence in the future. Clearly the maintenance of human freedom has depended upon the preservation of the freedom of Britain. It is our greatest pride, as it is the greatest pride of other British nations represented here, that when, for so long a time, you alone bore the brunt of the attack, we stood with you in arms against the might of Nazi Germany. The free nations of the world can never forget that it was the indomitable resistance of the people of Britain that bought the precious time for the mobilization of the forces of freedom around the globe.

The Strength of Britain

Britain has also been an example to the world of the organization of a free people for a common task. You have astonished the world by the marvels of your industrial production and by the skill and efficiency of your workers. You have never lost your faith. A new energy, a new confidence have been generated in your people. These will endure. And your faith, tested and tried in the fires of affliction, will be firmer and stronger than it has ever been.

When victory is won, you will still possess the same initiative, vigour and endurance; the same skills of hand and brain; the same qualities of mind and spirit. These have enabled the people of Britain to make a contribution to the winning of the war which, man for man, no other nation has surpassed. In peace as in war, these qualities will remain. In the building of a better world after the war Britain will be able, by the force of her example, to give the same leadership that she has given in the waging of war.

The Spirit Underlying Canada's War Effort

It is, however, not of Britain but of Canada that I am expected to speak on this occasion. I should like, therefore, if I may, to speak to you particularly of the spirit of Canada, as exemplified in Canada's war effort. I do this with

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less embarrassment as a like spirit, I know, animates the war efforts of all the nations united in a common allegiance to the Crown. I should like to speak, as well, of what that spirit signifies for the future of the British Commonwealth and of its relations with other nations in the building of a new world order.

In speaking of Canada's war effort it is not my intention to describe our contribution to the present world conflict primarily in terms of men and materials. What I should like to refer to are certain aspects which, viewed collectively, reveal the spirit of the Canadian people.

A Voluntary Effort

I place first the aspect I regard as most significant. Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. It is the free expression of a free people. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth at war to-day, we entered the war of our own free will; and not as the result of any formal obligation. Ours was not primarily a response to a call of blood or race. It was the outcome of our deepest political instinct—a love of freedom and a sense of justice.

As our decision was a voluntary decision, so the effort of our people in carrying on the war has been a voluntary effort. In Canada, as in other countries, controls and restrictions have been imposed in order to prosecute the war with vigour and efficiency. But at every stage these measures have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people.

Canada's population numbers eleven and a half millions. Three-quarters of a million of our finest young men are serving in the armed forces. This military demand on our manpower resources has not prevented our country from doubling its pre-war production. Thanks to the skill and devotion of our men and women, Canada is a granary, an arsenal, an aerodrome, and a shipyard of freedom. Our country has become increasingly proud of the fact that every fighting man from Canada serving across the seas, on the seas and in the air is a volunteer. We can say, in very truth, that our effort in this war is a voluntary effort.

An Immediate Effort

Canada's decision to enter the war was an immediate decision. When, in 1939, the last hopes of peace were fading from the world, I announced that, if Britain took up arms in the defence of freedom, our government would ask Parliament to place Canada at Britain's side. When war came, there was no hesitation. As soon as Parliament could act, Canada was at war.

In those days few if any of our people believed our country stood in immediate danger of attack. What we sensed immediately was the issue. We saw that a bitter struggle had begun between freedom and domination and that the conflict would certainly spread. For the second time in a generation Canada went to war to help prevent tyranny in Germany from extending its domination to other parts of the globe.

When the last war ended the people of Canada, like other freedom-loving peoples, hoped and believed that peace and freedom had been assured to mankind for generations. In our National War Memorial that hope and that faith were symbolized by inseparably joined figures of peace and freedom. But all our history, all our political experience told us that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free.

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An All-Out Effort

From the beginning, our war effort was so planned and organized that we might reach, as rapidly as possible, the maximum effort our people could sustain during a long war.

We expanded our Navy as fast as we could build or acquire the ships and train the men. We expanded our Army to the highest strength we believed we could maintain in a long war. We expanded our Air Force to the limit of our capacity to secure the needed equipment and to train personnel.

The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was expedited and expanded beyond all anticipations. The one hundred thousandth fighting airman has just completed his training. The co-operative training in Canada has vastly increased the joint strength in the air of the United Nations.

We have expanded our war industries far beyond the needs of our own armed forces. Despite the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of men from the farms, the fisheries, the mines and the forests, we have greatly enlarged our production of foodstuffs and raw materials. We are devoting about half our total production directly to the waging of war. We are paying about half of the financial cost of our war effort out of current revenue from taxation. Through victory loans and war savings, nearly every family is helping to finance the war.

In fighting men, in weapons and munitions, in food and in finance, we are seeking as a people to make our utmost contribution to the fight for world freedom. Our objective has been a total effort for total war, and we believe that objective is being attained.

A Pioneering Effort

Of the nations of the western hemisphere, Canada was the first to defend in arms the frontiers of the freedom of the new world. For more than two years our country, alone in the Americas, was at war. In more ways than one our effort has been a pioneering effort.

A Co-operating Effort

Canada's contribution to the present war has been the greater because we live side by side with the United States. Without the harmony and reciprocity which exist between our two countries neither could have achieved so much in the common cause. The ability of both Canada and the United States to defend the North American continent and to fight abroad, has been greatly increased by our arrangements for joint defence and by the pooling of resources.

We have sought to make our war effort, wherever possible, a co-operative effort. The extensive military works undertaken in Canada in conjunction with the United States have provided a remarkable instance of close and friendly co-operation. Ours is surely the supreme example of a smaller nation living in the fullest security and harmony side by side with a very powerful one.

As a part of our war policy, Canada is sharing, with other of the United Nations, ships, machines, weapons and other supplies which, as I have said, we are producing far in excess of the needs of our own armed forces. Since the war began we have supplied to Britain, and to Britain's armed forces, war materials and other supplies worth nearly nine hundred million pounds ($4,000,000,000). Almost half of these supplies represent an outright contribution. Under our system of mutual aid, war materials have, for the past year, been supplied without payment to the United Nations, in accordance with strategic need. Canada is now supplying mutual aid to Britain, Australia, the Soviet Union, China and the French Committee of National Liberation.

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A World-Wide Effort

As the war has progressed, our effort has become more and more a world-wide effort. Canadian-made machines and munitions of war have been used on all the fighting fronts. Canadian sailors and merchant seamen have served on all oceans. Our airmen have fought in the battle of the skies around the globe. From the early days of the war our soldiers have helped to guard this island. They have seen active service in the Pacific area, as well as at Dieppe, and in the Italian campaign. To-day our army awaits the word of command to join with their comrades in the liberation of Europe. The morrow will witness Canadian forces taking part in a final assault upon Japan. Canada's effort has truly become a world-wide effort.

An Enduring Effort

I need scarcely say that we are in this war to the end. Canada's fight for freedom will be a fight to the finish. It is clear to our people that this war is all one war: a monstrous conspiracy of the fascist powers to dominate and enslave the world. Having taken up arms of their own free will, the Canadian people will not relax until freedom is secure. Canada's effort will be an enduring effort.

A Long-Range Effort

We have also sought to look beyond the war; to make our effort a long-range effort. The Canadian people, no less than the people of Britain, whose sacrifices have been so great, need the promise of a brighter future. To sustain us in our endeavours, we all need the vision of a new world order.

By co-ordinated action, by mutual aid, by continuous co-operation, the United Nations are achieving military victory. The widest measure of co-operation will be no less needed in the making and keeping of peace. While our primary aim, like yours, is military victory, our ultimate aim, like yours, is a better future for mankind.

A National Effort

Above all, our war effort must be viewed as a national effort. Our decision in 1939 was more than the free choice of a free parliament. It was the most solemn act of a free nation. Our war effort appeals to our national pride. We have sought to make it worthy of Canada.

Identity of Effort throughout the Commonwealth

I have spoken of the war effort of Canada. May I hasten to say again that a like spirit has animated the war efforts of each of the other nations of the Commonwealth. With due allowance for varying conditions, the several aspects of Canada's war effort have been paralleled in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. When war came four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the scene of the conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain. To each the issue was plain; from each the response was immediate. Each is seeking to put forth the utmost effort. The contributions of all bear the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer. Co-operation has marked their course throughout. Each is making a long-range effort which will prove to be an enduring effort. It is the pride of each that its war effort has been a national effort.

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Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort. The spirit of a nation is not readily defined. It is known only as it is revealed. It resembles the flow of waters hidden beneath the earth's surface. From time to time and from place to place the waters having their origin in some secret source reveal themselves as springs, or streams, or rivers. So also, from time to time, a nation's spirit wells up from its source and manifests itself in the collective acts of a people. Such collective action is quickened and heightened at a time of war.

The war efforts of the nations of the Commonwealth owe their inspiration to a common source. That source is the love for freedom and the sense of justice which, through generations, have been nurtured and cherished in Britain as nowhere else in the world.

The terrible events of 1940 revealed how great was the menace to freedom and how suddenly freedom might be lost. So long as freedom endures, free men everywhere will owe to the people of Britain a debt they can never repay. So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her own pre-eminence throughout the world. So long as we all share that spirit, we need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth. The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand, and by South Africa are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

THE STRENGTH AND UNITY OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

This common effort springing from a common source has given a new strength and unity, a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth and Empire.

Without attempting to distinguish between the terms "British Empire" and "British Commonwealth", but looking rather to the evolution of this association of free nations, may I give to you what I believe to be the secret of its strength and of its unity, and the vision which I cherish of its future. "We . . . who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents, more than any other similar organization has ever represented, the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become".

This vision, I need scarcely say, is not mine alone; indeed, the words in which I sought to portray it are not even my own. They were spoken thirty-seven years ago by one whose fame to-day is not surpassed in any part of the world if, indeed, it has been equalled at any time in the world's history. They are the words of the present Prime Minister of Britain, uttered by Mr. Churchill in 1907. As they continue to reverberate down the years, they bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown and increasing hope to mankind.

> Visions of youth, sometimes, "die away,
> and fade into the light of common day".

They fade not because the vision is ever wholly lost, but because resolution wavers, because determination fails, because of seemingly insuperable obstacles. It has not been so with Mr. Churchill. He has not to ask

> "Whither is fled the visionary gleam?
> Where is it now, the glory and the dream?"

The glory and the dream—are they not being realized, at this very hour, in the strength and unity of the nations of the Commonwealth.

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Means of Consultation and Co-operation

From time to time it is suggested that we should seek new methods of communication and consultation.

I believe very strongly in close consultation, close co-operation, and effective co-ordination of policies. What more effective means of co-operation could have been found than those which, despite all the handicaps of war, have worked with such complete success.

It is true we have not, sitting in London continuously, a visible Imperial War Cabinet or Council. But we have, what is much more important, though invisible, a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the Commonwealth. It is a conference of Cabinets which deals, from day to day and, not infrequently, from hour to hour, with policies of common concern.

When decisions are taken they are not the decisions of Prime Ministers or other individual Ministers, meeting apart from their own colleagues and away from their own countries. They are decisions reached after mature consideration by all members of the Cabinet of each country, with a full consciousness of their immediate responsibility to their respective Parliaments.

Let us, by all means, seek to improve where we can. But in considering new methods of organization we cannot be too careful to see that, to our own peoples, the new methods will not appear as an attempt to limit their freedom of decision or, to peoples outside the Commonwealth, as an attempt to establish a separate bloc. Let us beware lest in changing the form we lose the substance; or, for appearance's sake, sacrifice reality. I am told that, somewhere, over the grave of one who did not know when he was well off, there is the following epitaph: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am".

The Hope of the Future

In the passage I quoted from Mr. Churchill a moment ago I gave only a part of what he said. He set forth, as well, the means of realizing his vision of peaceful co-operation. "Let us", he said, ". . . seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire, an inclusive and not an exclusive character."

Like the nations of which it is composed, the British Commonwealth has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. Therein lies its strength. That spirit expresses itself in co-operation. Therein lies the secret of its unity. Co-operation is capable of indefinite expansion. Therein lies the hope of the future.

Commonwealth and World Co-operation

It is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest possible co-operation among its members. In like manner it is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of mankind that, after the war, there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world.

Our wartime co-operation is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies of benefit to all. Moreover, they are policies that make an appeal "to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries", provided only they are men of good will.

If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive, but by policies which can be shared with other nations. I am firmly convinced that the way to maintain our unity is to base that unity upon the

principles which can be extended to all nations. I am equally sure that the only way to maintain world unity is to base it upon principles that can be universally applied.

The war has surely convinced all nations, from the smallest to the greatest, that there is no national security to be found in the isolation of any nation or group of nations. The future security of peace-loving nations will depend upon the extent and effectiveness of international co-operation.

It is no less true that it is not the great powers only that are needed to defend, to preserve, and to extend freedom. We should be false to the freedom for which we are fighting if, at any time, we failed to remember that no nation liveth unto itself; and that nations, great and small, are members one of another.

Prosperity Like Security, Indivisible

It is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible. Their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought economic security in economic isolation from its neighbours. What happened was that the economic security of all nations was destroyed. Now is surely the time for the whole world to realize that, just as no nation of itself can ensure its own safety, so no nation or group of nations can in isolation ensure its own prosperity.

For my part, I profoundly believe that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth and, in large measure, the security and welfare of all peace-loving nations will depend on the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which, in character, are not exclusive but inclusive. How far such policies can be successfully pursued will, of course, depend on the extent to which other nations are prepared to pursue similar policies. But let us, at least, wherever that is possible, give the lead that is in the interests of the world as a whole.

Canada and the United States

You, Prime Minister, have referred to the importance of strengthening the fraternal association that now exists between the British Commonwealth and the United States.

Over many years Canada's relations with the United States have been especially friendly. Throughout the war, we have followed the path of co-operation. We like to think that our country has had some part in bringing about a harmony of sentiment between the United States and the whole British Commonwealth. That harmony is the foundation of the close military collaboration which is proving so fruitful in this war.

It will ever be a prime object of Canadian policy to work for the maintenance of the fraternal association of the British and American peoples. When peace comes it is our highest hope that the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the United States will continue to march at each other's side, united more closely than ever. But we equally hope that they will march in a larger company, in which all the nations united to-day in defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind.

The Supreme Crisis

We are approaching, in the European theatre, the supreme crisis of this long and terrible struggle. In this fateful hour it is imperative that everything be done to maintain single-minded concentration on the achievement of victory.

Means of Consultation and Co-operation

From time to time it is suggested that we should seek new methods of communication and consultation.

I believe very strongly in close consultation, close co-operation, and effective co-ordination of policies. What more effective means of co-operation could have been found than those which, despite all the handicaps of war, have worked with such complete success.

It is true we have not, sitting in London continuously, a visible Imperial War Cabinet or Council. But we have, what is much more important, though invisible, a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the Commonwealth. It is a conference of Cabinets which deals, from day to day and, not infrequently, from hour to hour, with policies of common concern.

When decisions are taken they are not the decisions of Prime Ministers or other individual Ministers, meeting apart from their own colleagues and away from their own countries. They are decisions reached after mature consideration by all members of the Cabinet of each country, with a full consciousness of their immediate responsibility to their respective Parliaments.

Let us, by all means, seek to improve where we can. But in considering new methods of organization we cannot be too careful to see that, to our own peoples, the new methods will not appear as an attempt to limit their freedom of decision or, to peoples outside the Commonwealth, as an attempt to establish a separate bloc. Let us beware lest in changing the form we lose the substance; or, for appearance's sake, sacrifice reality. I am told that, somewhere, over the grave of one who did not know when he was well off, there is the following epitaph: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am".

The Hope of the Future

In the passage I quoted from Mr. Churchill a moment ago I gave only a part of what he said. He set forth, as well, the means of realizing his vision of peaceful co-operation. "Let us", he said, ". . . seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire, an inclusive and not an exclusive character."

Like the nations of which it is composed, the British Commonwealth has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. Therein lies its strength. That spirit expresses itself in co-operation. Therein lies the secret of its unity. Co-operation is capable of indefinite expansion. Therein lies the hope of the future.

Commonwealth and World Co-operation

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REPEAT
REPETITION

That is our first obligation. It is our duty to the humble people in all the Allied countries whose patient endurance, unremitting toil and ready acceptance of the burdens of war have made possible the immense strength in war materials and supplies of the United Nations. It is our duty, above all, to the millions of fighting men who, with their lives, are defending our freedom and the freedom of mankind.

The assurance of unfailing support to our sailors, soldiers and airmen is the supreme objective of the present meetings of Prime Ministers. We have met here, first and foremost, in order to do everything possible, by co-operation and by united action, to assure that support in largest possible measure on all the fighting fronts.

The present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. In any accurate geographical sense, it is the first world war in history. It is a war that is being fought not only on land and at sea but also in the clouds, miles above the surface of the earth. It is, moreover, a war that is not confined to the material realm. It is a struggle for the control of men's minds and men's souls. Its outcome will shape the moral destiny of the world.

The support of our fighting men and our debt to all who are near and dear to them must extend beyond the theatres of war. It must look beyond the end of hostilities. We owe it to all who bear the heat of the strife; we owe it to those who are crippled and maimed; we owe it to the many homes that are bereaved; we owe it to the memory of those who give their lives; to do all in our power to ensure that their service and their sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

In the past, the sacrifice of human life in war has been commemorated in monuments of stone or bronze. After this war we must create a more fitting memorial. That, I believe, will be found only in securing for others the opportunities of a more abundant life. Already we of the British Commonwealth and Empire are a community of many nations, of many races and of many tongues. Already we have advanced far in the art of responsible government, in the practice of international co-operation, and in the application of the principle of mutual aid. Surely it is ours to help fashion a new world order in which social security and human welfare will become a part of the inheritance of mankind.

The war has been none of our making. We sought, above all else, the promotion of peace, of understanding and of good-will. We deplored the extension of war to all parts of the world. Yet in the perspective of time this world-encircling danger may prove to have been a blessing in disguise. Only in this way, perhaps, could other nations as well as our own, have come to see that the interests of mankind are one and that the claims of humanity are supreme.

Our first duty is to win the war. But to win the war, we must keep the vision of a better future. We must never cease to strive for its fulfilment. No lesser vision will suffice to gain the victory over those who seek world domination and human enslavement. No lesser vision will enable us fittingly to honour the memory of the men and women who are giving their all for freedom and justice.

In the realization of this vision, the government and peoples who owe a common allegiance to the Crown may well find the new meaning and significance of the British Commonwealth and Empire. It is for us to make of our association of free British nations "a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

Mr. CHURCHILL: My Lords and gentlemen, I call upon the Lord Chancellor to propose a vote of thanks to our honoured guest.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Right Hon. Viscount Simon): My Lords and Members of the House of Commons:

Mr. Speaker and I have been asked to express in a few sentences the gratitude which we both feel to the Prime Minister of Canada for his presence and speech. The demonstration which followed the close of his address shows that, indeed, no long argument is needed. We are very grateful to Mr. Mackenzie King for saying, with so much eloquence and vigour, many wise and stimulating and hopeful things. I think we are especially grateful to him for the account which he gave—the brilliant account which he gave—both of the spirit of Canada and of the truly stupendous contribution which that Dominion is making to the common effort. I think Mr. Speaker will join with me if I venture to say to Mr. Mackenzie King, on behalf of this great company, that we do most sincerely express our admiration for all the efforts which this great Dominion is making, and we rejoice to think that we have amongst us the leader of that great people.

It wasn't so many years ago that, when any of us brought visitors into this part of the Palace of Westminster, we were considerably puzzled how to reply to the question, "What is this room for?" The most hopeful answer, I think, was that this large and splendid hall was built in order to find room for two quite enormous pictures which otherwise couldn't be accommodated. That was an injustice to the architect who designed this great hall one hundred years ago. He must have anticipated what would happen. For, thanks now to the way in which Mr. Mackenzie King can leave his country one evening and arrive here the next morning, and other astonishing excursions by other Dominion Premiers, this great hall, lying as it were between the House of Commons and the House of Lords, has become on great occasions such as these a piece of common ground where Members of the two Houses may safely meet and where they can listen to an address without any breach of the ancient and precisely preserved privileges of either Chamber.

We are greatly rejoiced that Mr. Mackenzie King has now been added to the list of those who have thus addressed us. And with all our hearts we thank him for his speech, and wish to express to him in the warmest terms our feeling that that speech and the spirit behind it are all contributing to the unity and the comradeship of the British Empire, which is the surest guarantee of ultimate victory and the best hope of a peaceful world in the future.

Mr. CHURCHILL: My Lords and gentlemen: It has been my experience over a great many years to await the call of Mr. Speaker, and I am now fully conscious that the tables are turned, and I mean to avail myself of this advantage to the full.

Mr. SPEAKER (Col. the Right Hon. D. CLIFTON BROWN): On this occasion, although it may be slightly out of order, I am pleased indeed to obey the call of the Prime Minister.

Now I second this vote of thanks to Mr. Mackenzie King with great warmth indeed. I am only going to utter two sentences to you. In one I want to echo the warm appreciation we have of all that our fellow Britishers have done in the Dominion of Canada, under the leadership of Mr. Mackenzie King. We stand lost in admiration of the effort which they have put forward in this war. That's my first sentence. My second is this: That I believe Canada is building up something even greater than action in this war. I speak now, if I may, for Members of the House of Commons, and I believe for the Members of the House of Lords too,—we are lost in admiration, it has struck our imagination, the Air Training scheme which Canada has set up. Therein you have the cream of all young men, not merely from Canada but from all

the rest of the Dominions and from the free nations of the world, meeting together, training together, forming bonds and links which I think the Prime Minister of New Zealand described the other day as "invisible, yet stronger than steel". Those, I believe, are the links which are going to bind our Empire together in the future—of incalculable strength and incalculable value to the British Empire.

For all that work that the Canadians and Mr. Mackenzie King are doing on our behalf, I thank him most warmly and for the speech which he has given to us, which I beg to second.

Mr. CHURCHILL: All in favour of the vote of thanks to Mr. Mackenzie King, say Aye.

Aye!

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker:—

May I thank you both very warmly for the exceedingly kind words which you have just spoken. May I thank you again, Prime Minister, for the words that touched my heart very deeply, and which I believe will meet with warm response in the heart of Canada.

May I again thank the Members of the House of Lords and the Members of the House of Commons for their great courtesy in being present this afternoon in such numbers. May I thank you very warmly for the "Aye" which I heard when the Prime Minister put the resolution to this gathering. "Ayes" are always pleasant to the ears of Government.

OTTAWA: Printed by EDMOND CLOUTIER, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1944.

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Address by Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
to Members of both Houses of Parliament
at Westminster - May 11, 1944.

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Address by Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King
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Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor, My Lords and Members of the House of Commons:

When I received from you, Prime Minister, the invitation to address members of both Houses of the Parliament of the Unite Kingdom, I found myself at a loss for words in which to acknowledge so high an honour. Your kindness in presiding on this occasion, your words of introduction, the traditions and associations of Westminster, and the presence in such numbers of the Lords and Commons add greatly to my sense of obligation.

I am only too well aware of all that it means to be the guest of the people of Britain, and to be speaking to them, and to others, from the heart of the British Commonwealth and Empire at this moment of supreme crisis in human affairs. Your friendship and mine over many years of peace, and our close companionship throughout the years of war, to which you have made so kin reference, afford me a support I greatly welcome in addressing this distinguished assembly.

As to my part in Canada's entry into the war, it was bu the discharge of the responsibility which was mine to give expression, in a decisive hour, to the will and spirit of the Canadian people, and to serve their highest interests.

Four years have now passed since you, Prime Minister, accepted the leadership of the people of Britain and the leadership of the cause of human freedom. You and your colleagues have led this country, and the cause for which it stands, from the dark days of extreme peril, to this hour when at last the light is beginning to break. It is a source of confidence throughout the free world that you are continuing your leadership with a vision and a courage which have already become a legend.

I recognize that, for me, this occasion is designed as a welcome to Canada's representative at the meeting of Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth. For the high compliment being paid Canada to-day, I should like to express my gratitude and pride.

I know that the welcome you accord me is equally heartfelt and generoud towards the representatives of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. I should like to say to

Mr. Curtin, Mr. Fraser and Field Marshal Smuts how great is the admiration of the people of Canada of their leadership, and of the heroic part which their countries have taken in this war. I should also like to say to them how glad I am that our presence in London at this time affords to us all not only exceptional opportunities of conference with the Prime Minister of Britain and his colleagues, but of making clear to the world the oneness of the nations of the Commonwealth in the winning of the war and in seeking international co-operation after the war.

Greetings from Canada

Perhaps I may be allowed to convey a special message fr the people of Canada to the people of Britain.

No memory of happiness in the past is more cherished than the recollection of the visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen. In Canada, as in Britain, the years of war have heightened the admiration and increased the affection felt by men and women everywhere for our King and Queen. We have been inspired by their courage and devotion in sharing the dangers and sorrows of the people. In all the nations of the Commonwealth, their example has deepened the meaning and significance of our common allegiance to the Crown.

The heroic endurance of the people of Britain is ever present in our minds. We shall never forget your resolution in the darkest days of the war. Nor shall we ever cease to remember the determination with which, amid destruction of your homes and in peril of your lives, you, the men, women and children of Britain, have continued to carry on your work and to maintain your confidenc in the future. Clearly the maintenance of human freedom has depended upon the preservation of the freedom of Britain. It is our greatest pride, as it is the greatest pride of other British nations represented here, that when, for so long a time, you alone bore the brunt of the attack, we stood with you in arms against the might of Nazi Germany. The free nations of the world can never forget that it was the indomitable resistance of the people of Britain that bought the precious time for the mobilization of the forces of freedom around the globe.

The Strength of Britain

Britain has also been an example to the world of the organization of a free people for a common task. You have astonished the world by the marvels of your industrial production

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and by the skill and efficiency of your workers. You have never lost the faith. A new energy, a new confidence have been generated in your people. These will endure. And your faith, tested and tried in the fires of affliction, will be firmer and stronger than it has ever been.

When victory is won, you will still possess the same initiative, vigour and endurance; the same skills of hand and brain; the same qualities of mind and spirit. These have enabled the people of Britain to make a contribution to the winning of the war which, man for man, no other nation has surpassed. In peace as in war, these qualities will remain. In the building of a better world after the war Britain will be able, by the force of her example, to give the same leadership that she has given in the waging of war.

The Spirit Underlying Canada's War Effort

It is, however, not of Britain but of Canada that I am expected to speak on this occasion. I should like, therefore, if I may, to speak to you particularly of the spirit of Canada, as examplified in Canada's war effort. I do this with less embarrassment as a like spirit, I know, animates the war efforts of all the nations united in a common allegiance to the Crown. I should like to speak, as well, of what that spirit signifies for the future of the British Commonwealth and of its relations with other nations in the building of a new world order.

In speaking of Canada's war effort it is not my intention to describe our contribution to the present world conflict primarily in terms of men and materials. What I should like to refer to are certain aspects which, viewed collectively, reveal the spirit of the Canadian people.

A Voluntary Effort

I place first the aspect I regard as most significant. Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. It is the free expression of a free people. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth at war to-day, we entered the war of our own free will; and not as the result of any formal obligation. Ours was the outcome of our deepest political instinct - a love of freedom and a sense of justice.

As our decision was a voluntary decision, so the effort of our people in carrying on the war has been a voluntary effort. In Canada, as in other countries, controls and restrictions have been imposed in order to prosecute the war with vigour and efficiency. But at every stage these measures have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people.

Canada's population numbers eleven and a half millions. Three-quarters of a million of our finest young men are serving in the armed forces. This military demand on our manpower resources has not prevented our country from doubling its pre-war production. Thanks to the skill and devotion of our men and women, Canada is a granary, an arsenal, an aerodrome, and a shipyard of freedom. Our country has become increasingly proud of the fact that every fighting man from Canada serving across the seas, on the seas and in the air is a volunteer. We can say, in very truth, that our effort in this war is a voluntary effort.

An Immediate Effort

Canada's decision to enter the war was an immediate decision. When, in 1939, the last hopes of peace were fading from the world, I announced that, if Britain took up arms in the defence of freedom, our government would ask Parliament to place Canada at Britain's side. When war came, there was no hesitation. As soon as Parliament could act, Canada was at war.

In those days few if any of our people believed our country stood in immediate danger of attack. What we sensed immediately was the issue. We saw that a bitter struggle had begun between freedom and domination and that the conflict would certainly spread. For the second time in a generation Canada went to war to help prevent tyranny in Germany from extending its domination to other parts of the globe.

When the last war ended the people of Canada, like other freedom-loving peoples, hoped and believed that peace and freedom had been assured to mankind for generations. In our National War Memorial that hope and that faith were symbolized by inseparably joined figures of peace and freedom. But all our history, all our political experience told us that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free.

An All-Out Effort

From the beginning, our war effort was planned and organized that we might reach as rapidly as possible, the maximum effort our people could sustain during a long war.

We expanded our Navy as fast as we could build or acquire the ships and train the men. We expanded our Army to the highest strength we believed we could maintain in a long war. We expanded our Air Force to the limit of our capacity to secure the needed equipment and to train personnel.

The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was expedited and expanded beyond all anticipations. The one hundred thousandth fighting airman has just completed his training. The co-operative training in Canada has vastly increased the joint strength in the air of the United Nations.

We have expanded our war industries far beyond the needs of our own armed forces. Despite the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of men from the farms, the fisheries, the mines and the forests, we have greatly enlarged our production of foodstuffs and raw materials. We are devoting about half our total production directly to the waging of war. We are paying about half of the financial cost of our war effort out of current revenue from taxation. Through victory loans and war savings, nearly every family is helping to finance the war.

In fighting men, in weapons and munitions, in food and in finance, we are seeking as a people to make our utmost contribution to the fight for world freedom. Our objective has been a total effort for total war, and we believe that objective is being attained.

A Pioneering Effort

Of the nations of the western hemisphere, Canada was the first to defend in arms the frontiers of the freedom of the new world. For more than two years our country, alone in the Americas, was at war. In more ways than one our effort has been a pioneering effort.

A Co-operating Effort

Canada's contribution to the present war has been the greater because we live side by side with the United States. Without the harmony and reciprocity which exist between our two countries neither could have achieved so much in the common cause. The ability of both Canada and the United States to defend the North American continent and to fight abroad, has been greatly increased by our arrangements for joint defence and by the pooling of resources.

We have sought to make our war effort, wherever possible, a co-operative effort. The extensive military works undertaken in Canada in conjunction with the United States have provided a remarkable instance of close and friendly co-operation. Ours is surely the supreme example of a smaller nation living in the fullest harmony side by side with a very powerful one.

As a part of our war policy, Canada is sharing, with other of the United Nations, ships, machines, weapons and other supplies which, as I have said, we are producing far in excess of the needs of our own armed forces. Since the war began we have supplied to Britain, and to Britain's armed forces, war materials and other supplies worth nearly nine hundred million pounds ($4,000,000,000). Almost half of these supplies represent an outright contribution. Under our system of mutual aid, war materials have, for the past year, been supplied without payment to the United Nations, in accordance with strategic need. Canada is now supplying mutual aid to Britain, Australia, the Soviet Union, China and the French Committee of National Liberation.

A World-Wide Effort

As the war has progressed, our effort has become more and more a world-wide effort. Canadian-made machines and munitions of war have been used on all the fighting fronts. Canadian sailors and merchant seamen have served on all oceans. Our airmen have fought in the battle of the skies around the globe. From the early days of the war our soldiers have helped to guard this island. They have seen active service in the Pacific area, as well as at Dieppe, and in the Italian campaign. To-day our army awaits the world of command to join with their comrades in the liberation of Europe. The morrow will witness Canadian forces taking part in a final assault upon Japan. Canada's effort has truly become a world-wide effort.

An Enduring Effort

I need scarcely say that we are in this war to the end. Canada's fight for freedom will be a fight to the finish. It is clear to our people that this war is all one war: a monstrous conspiracy of the fascist powers to dominate and enslave the world. Having taken up arms of their own free will, the Canadian people will not relax until freedom is secure. Canada's effort will be an enduring effort.

A Long-Range Effort

We have also sought to look beyond the war; to make our effort a long-range effort. The Canadian people, no less than the people of Britain, whose sacrifices have been so great, need the promise of a brighter future. To sustain us in our endeavours we all need the vision of a new world order.

By co-ordinated action, by mutual aid, by continuous co-operation, the United Nations are achieving military victory. The widest measure of co-operation will be no less needed in the

making and keeping of peace. While our primary aim, like yours, is a better future for mankind.

A National Effort

I have spoken of the war effort of Canada. May I hasten to say again that a like spirit has animated the war efforts of each of the other nations of the Commonwealth. With due allowance for varying conditions, the several aspects of Canada's war effort have been paralleled in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. When war came four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the scene of the conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain. To each the issue was plain; from each the response was immediate. Each is seeking to put forth the utmost effort. The contributions of all bear the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer. Co-operation has marked their course throughout. Each is making a long-range effort which will prove to be an enduring effort. It is the pride of each that its war effort has been a national effort.

The Spirit of Freedom

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort. The spirit of a nation is not readily defined. It is known only as it is revealed. It resembles the flow of waters hidden beneath the earth's surface. From time to time and from place to place the waters having their origin in some secret source reveal themselves as springs, or streams, or rivers. So also, from time to time, a nation's spirit wells up from its source and manifests itself in the collective acts of a people. Such collective action is quickened and heightened at a time of war.

The war efforts of the nations of the Commonwealth owe their inspiration to a common source. That source is the love for freedom and the sense of justice which, through generations, have been nurtured and cherished in Britain as nowhere else in the world.

The terrible events of 1940 revealed how great was the menace to freedom and how suddenly freedom might be lost. So long as freedom endures, free men everywhere will owe to the people of Britain a debt they can never repay. So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her own pre-eminence throughout the world. So long as we all share that spirit, we need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth. The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand, and by South Africa are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

The Strength and Unity of The British Commonwealth

This common effort springing from a common source has given a new strength and unity, a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth and Empire.

Without attempting to distinguish between the terms "British Empire" and "British Commonwealth", but looking rather to the evolution of this association of free nations, may I give to you what I believe to be the secret of its strength and of its unity, and the vision which I cherish of its future. "We... who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents, more than any other similar organization has ever represented, the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become".

This vision, I need scarcely say, is not mine alone; indeed, the words in which I sought to portray it are not even my own. They were spoken thirty-seven years ago by one whose fame to-day is not surpassed in any part of the world, if, indeed, it has been equalled at any time in the world's history. They are the words of the present Prime Minister of Britain, uttered by Mr. Churchill in 1907. As they continue to reverberate down the years, they bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown and increasing hope to mankind.

Visions of youth, sometimes, "die away,
and fade into the light of common day".

They fade not because the vision is every wholly lost, but because resolution wavers, because determination fails, because of seemingly insuperable obstacles. It has not been so with Mr. Churchill. He has not to ask

"Whither is fled the visionary gleam?
Where is it now, the glory and the dream?"

The glory and the dream - are they not being realized, at this very hour, in the strength and unity of the nations of the Commonwealth.

Means of Consultation and Co-operation

From time to time it is suggested that we should seek new methods of communication and consultation.

I believe very strongly in close consultation, close

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The Strength and Unity of The British Commonwealth

This common effort springing from a common source has given a new strength and unity, a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth and Empire.

Without attempting to distinguish between the terms "British Empire" and "British Commonwealth", but looking rather to the evolution of this association of free nations, may I give to you what I believe to be the secret of its strength and of its unity, and the vision which I cherish of its future. "We... who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents, more than any other similar organization has ever represented, the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become".

This vision, I need scarcely say, is not mine alone; indeed, the words in which I sought to portray it are not even my own. They were spoken thirty-seven years ago by one whose fame to-day is not surpassed in any part of the world, if, indeed, it has been equalled at any time in the world's history. They are the words of the present Prime Minister of Britain, uttered by Mr. Churchill in 1907. As they continue to reverberate down the years, they bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown and increasing hope to mankind.

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It is true we have not, sitting in London continuously, a visible Imperial War Cabinet or Council. But we have, what is much more important, though invisible, a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the Commonwealth. It is a conference of Cabinets which deals, from day to day and, not infrequently, from hour to hour, with policies of common concern.

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The hope of the Future

In the passage I quoted from Mr. Churchill a moment ago I have only a part of what he said. He set forth, as well, the means of realizing his vision of peaceful co-operation. "Let us", he said "...seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire, an inclusive and not an exclusive character."

Like the nations of which it is composed, the British Commonwealth has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. Therein lies its strength. That spirit expresses itself in co-operation. Therein lies the secret of its unity. Co-operation is capable of indefinite expansion. Therein lies the hope of the future.

Commonwealth and World Co-Operation

It is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest possible co-operation among its members. In like manner it is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of mankind that, after the war, there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world.

Our wartime co-operation is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies of benefit to all. Moreover, they are policies that make an appeal "to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries", provided only they are men of good will.

If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive, but by policies which can be shared with other nations. I am firmly convinced that the way to maintain our unity is to base that unity upon the principles which can be extended to all nations. I am equally sure that the only way to maintain world unity is to base it upon principles that can be universally applied.

The war has surely convinced all nations, from the smallest to the greatest, that there is no national security to be found in the isolation of any nation or group of nations. The future security of peace-loving nations will depend upon the extent and effectiveness of international co-operation.

It is no less true that it is not the great powers only that are needed to defend, to preserve, and to extend freedom. We should be false to the freedom for which we are fighting if, at any time, we failed to remember that no nation liveth unto itself; and that nations, great and small, are members one of another.

Prosperity Like Security, Indivisible

It is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible. Their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought economic security in economic isolation from its neighbours.

What happened was that the economic security of all nations was destroyed. Now is surely the time for the whole world to realize that, just as no nation of itself can ensure its own safety, so no nation or group of nations can in isolation ensure its own prosperity.

For my part, I profoundly believe that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth and, in large measure, the security and welfare of all peace-loving nations will depend on the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which, in character, are not exclusive but inclusive. How far such policies can be successfully pursued will, of course, depend on the extent to which other nations are prepared to pursue similar policies. But let us, at least, wherever that is possible, give the lead that is in the interests of the world as a whole.

Canada and the United States

You, Prime Minister, have referred to the importance of strengthening the fraternal association that now exists between the British Commonwealth and the United States.

Over many years Canada's relations with the United States have been especially friendly. Throughout the war, we have followed the path of co-operation. We like to think that our country has had some part in bringing about a harmony of sentiment between the United States and the whole British Commonwealth. That harmony is the foundation of the close military collaboration which is proving so fruitful in this war.

It will ever be a prime object of Canadian policy to work for the maintenance of the fraternal association of the British and American peoples. When peace comes it is our highest hope that the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the United States will continue to march at each other's side, united more closely than ever. But we equally hope that they will march in a larger company, in which all the nations united to-day in defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind.

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The Supreme Crisis

We are approaching, in the European theatre, the supreme crisis of this long and terrible struggle. In this fateful hour it is imperative that everything be done to maintain single-minded concentration on the achievement of victory.. That is our first obligation. It is our duty to the humble people in all the Allied countries whose patient endurance, unremitting toil and ready acceptance of the burdens of war have made possible the immense strength in war materials and supplies of the United Nations. It is our duty, above all, to the millions of fighting men who, with their lives, are defending our freedom and the freedom of mankind.

The assurance of unfailing support to our sailors, soldiers and airmen is the supreme objective of the present meetings of Prime Ministers. We have met here, first and foremost, in order to do everything possible, by co-operation and by united action, to assure that support in largest possible measure on all the fighting fronts.

The present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. In any accurate geographical sense, it is the first world war in history. It is a war that is being fought not only on land and at sea but also in the clouds, miles above the surface of the earth. It is, moreover, a war that is not confined to the material realm. It is a struggle for the control of men's minds and men's souls. Its outcome will shape the moral destiny of the world.

The support of our fighting men and our debt to all who are near and dear to them must extend beyond the theatres of war. It must look beyond the end of hostilities. We owe it to all who bear the heat of the strife; we owe it to bereaved; we owe it to the memory of those who give their lives; to do all in our power to ensure that their service and their sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

In the past, the sacrifice of human life in war has been commemorated in monuments of stone or bronze. After this war we must create a more fitting memorial. That, I believe, will be found only in securing for others the opportunities of a more abundant life. Already we of the British Commonwealth and Empire are a community of many nations, of many races and of many tongues. Already we have advanced far in the art of responsible government, in the practice of international co-

operation, and in the application of the principle of mutual aid. Surely it is ours to help fashion a new world order in which social security and human welfare will become a part of the inheritance of mankind.

The war has been none of our making. We sought, above all else, the promotion of peace, of understanding and of good-will. We deplored the extension of war to all parts of the world. Yet in the perspective of time this world-encircling danger may prove to have been a blessing in disguise. Only in this way, perhaps, could other nations as well as our own, have come to see that the interests of mankind are one and that the claims of humanity are supreme.

Our first duty is to win the war. But to win the war, we must keep the vision of a better future. We must never cease to strive for its fulfilment. No lesser vision will suffice to gain the victory over those who seek world domination and human enslavement. No lesser vision will enable us fittingly to honour the memory of the men and women who are giving their all for freedom and justice.

In the realization of this vision, the government and peoples who owe a common allegiance to the Crown may well find the new meaning and significance of the British Commonwealth and Empire. It is for us to make of our association of free British nations "a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

Mr. Churchill: My Lords and gentlemen, I call upon the Lord Chancellor to propose a vote of thanks to our honoured guest.

The Lord Chancellor (Right Hon. Viscount Simon): My Lords and Members of the House of Commons:
Mr. Speaker and I have been asked.....

Mr. Mackenzie King: Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker:-

May I thank you both very warmly for the exceedingly kind words which you have just spoken. May I thank you again, Prime Minister, for the words that touched my heart very deeply, and which I believe will meet with warm response in the heart of Canada.

May I again thank the Members of the House of Lords and the Members of the House of Commons for their great courtesy in being present this afternoon in such numbers. May I thank you very warmly for the "Aye" which I heard when the Prime Minister put the resolution to this gathering. "Ayes" are always pleasant to the ears of Government.

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Address by Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King
to Members of both Houses of Parliament
at Westminster - May 11, 1944

Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor, My Lords and Members of the House of Commons:

When I received from you, Prime Minister, the invitation to address members of both Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, I found myself at a loss for words in which to acknowledge so high an honour. Your kindness in presiding on this occasion, your words of introduction, the traditions and associations of Westminster, and the presence in such numbers of the Lords and Commons add greatly to my sense of obligation.

I am only too well aware of all that it means to be the guest of the people of Britain, and to be speaking to them, and to others, from the heart of the British Commonwealth and Empire at this moment of supreme crisis in human affairs. Your friendship and mine over many years of peace, and our close companionship throughout the years of war, to which you have made so kind reference, afford me a support I greatly welcome in addressing this distinguished assembly.

As to my part in Canada's entry into the war, it was but the discharge of the responsibility which was mine to give expression, in a decisive hour, to the will and spirit of the Canadian people, and to serve their highest interests.

Four years have now passed since you, Prime Minister, accepted the leadership of the people of Britain and the leadership of the cause of human freedom. You and your colleagues have led this country, and the cause for which it stands, from the dark days of extreme peril, to this hour when at last the light is beginning to break. It is a source of confidence throughout the free world that you are continuing your leadership with a vision and a courage which have already become a legend.

I recognize that, for me, this occasion is designed as a welcome to Canada's representative at the meeting of Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth. For the high compliment being paid Canada to-day, I should like to express my gratitude and pride.

I know that the welcome you accord me is equally heartfelt and generoud towards the representatives of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. I should like to say to

Mr. Curtin, Mr. Fraser and Field Marshal Smuts how great is the admiration of the people of Canada of their leadership, and of the heroic part which their countries have taken in this war. I should also like to say to them how glad I am that our presence in London at this time affords to us all not only exceptional opportunities of conference with the Prime Minister of Britain and his colleagues, but of making clear to the world the oneness of the nations of the Commonwealth in the winning of the war and in seeking international co-operation after the war.

Greetings from Canada

Perhaps I may be allowed to convey a special message fr the people of Canada to the people of Britain.

No memory of happiness in the past is more cherished than the recollection of the visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen. In Canada, as in Britain, the years of war have heightened the admiration and increased the affection felt by men and women everywhere for our King and Queen. We have been inspired by their courage and devotion in sharing the dangers and sorrows of the people. In all the nations of the Commonwealth, their example has deepened the meaning and significance of our common allegiance to the Crown.

The heroic endurance of the people of Britain is ever present in our minds. We shall never forget your resolution in the darkest days of the war. Nor shall we ever cease to remember the determination with which, amid destruction of your homes and in peril of your lives, you, the men, women and children of Britain, have continued to carry on your work and to maintain your confidenc in the future. Clearly the maintenance of human freedom has depended upon the preservation of the freedom of Britain. It is our greatest pride, as it is the greatest pride of other British nations represented here, that when, for so long a time, you alone bore the brunt of the attack, we stood with you in arms against the might of Nazi Germany. The free nations of the world can never forget that it was the indomitable resistance of the people of Britain that bought the precious time for the mobilization of the forces of freedom around the globe.

The Strength of Britain

Britain has also been an example to the world of the organization of a free people for a common task. You have astonished the world by the marvels of your industrial production

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and by the skill and efficiency of your workers. You have never lost the faith. A new energy, a new confidence have been generated in your people. These will endure. And your faith, tested and tried in the fires of affliction, will be firmer and stronger than it has ever been.

When victory is won, you will still possess the same initiative, vigour and endurance; the same skills of hand and brain; the same qualities of mind and spirit. These have enabled the people of Britain to make a contribution to the winning of the war which, man for man, no other nation has surpassed. In peace as in war, these qualities will remain. In the building of a better world after the war Britain will be able, by the force of her example, to give the same leadership that she has given in the waging of war.

The Spirit Underlying Canada's War Effort

It is, however, not of Britain but of Canada that I am expected to speak on this occasion. I should like, therefore, if I may, to speak to you particularly of the spirit of Canada, as examplified in Canada's war effort. I do this with less embarrassment as a like spirit, I know, animates the war efforts of all the nations united in a common allegiance to the Crown. I should like to speak, as well, of what that spirit signifies for the future of the British Commonwealth and of its relations with other nations in the building of a new world order.

In speaking of Canada's war effort it is not my intention to describe our contribution to the present world conflict primarily in terms of men and materials. What I should like to refer to are certain aspects which, viewed collectively, reveal the spirit of the Canadian people.

A Voluntary Effort

I place first the aspect I regard as most significant. Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. It is the free expression of a free people. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth at war to-day, we entered the war of our own free will; and not as the result of any formal obligation. Ours was the outcome of our deepest political instinct - a love of freedom and a sense of justice.

As our decision was a voluntary decision, so the effort of our people in carrying on the war has been a voluntary effort. In Canada, as in other countries, controls and restrictions have been imposed in order to prosecute the war with vigour and efficiency. But at every stage these measures have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people.

Canada's population numbers eleven and a half millions. Three-quarters of a million of our finest young men are serving in the armed forces. This military demand on our manpower resources has not prevented our country from doubling its pre-war production. Thanks to the skill and devotion of our men and women, Canada is a granary, an arsenal, an aerodrome, and a shipyard of freedom. Our country has become increasingly proud of the fact that every fighting man from Canada serving across the seas, on the seas and in the air is a volunteer. We can say, in very truth, that our effort in this war is a voluntary effort.

An Immediate Effort

Canada's decision to enter the war was an immediate decision. When, in 1939, the last hopes of peace were fading from the world, I announced that, if Britain took up arms in the defence of freedom, our government would ask Parliament to place Canada at Britain's side. When war came, there was no hesitation. As soon as Parliament could act, Canada was at war.

In those days few if any of our people believed our country stood in immediate danger of attack. What we sensed immediately was the issue. We saw that a bitter struggle had begun between freedom and domination and that the conflict would certainly spread. For the second time in a generation Canada went to war to help prevent tyranny in Germany from extending its domination to other parts of the globe.

When the last war ended the people of Canada, like other freedom-loving peoples, hoped and believed that peace and freedom had been assured to mankind for generations. In our National War Memorial that hope and that faith were symbolized by inseparably joined figures of peace and freedom. But all our history, all our political experience told us that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free.

An All-Out Effort

From the beginning, our war effort was planned and organized that we might reach as rapidly as possible, the maximum effort our people could sustain during a long war.

We expanded our Navy as fast as we could build or acquire the ships and train the men. We expanded our Army to the highest strength we believed we could maintain in a long war. We expanded our Air Force to the limit of our capacity to secure the needed equipment and to train personnel.

The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was expedited and expanded beyond all anticipations. The one hundred thousandth fighting airman has just completed his training. The co-operative training in Canada has vastly increased the joint strength in the air of the United Nations.

We have expanded our war industries far beyond the needs of our own armed forces. Despite the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of men from the farms, the fisheries, the mines and the forests, we have greatly enlarged our production of foodstuffs and raw materials. We are devoting about half our total production directly to the waging of war. We are paying about half of the financial cost of our war effort out of current revenue from taxation. Through victory loans and war savings, nearly every family is helping to finance the war.

In fighting men, in weapons and munitions, in food and in finance, we are seeking as a people to make our utmost contribution to the fight for world freedom. Our objective has been a total effort for total war, and we believe that objective is being attained.

A Pioneering Effort

Of the nations of the western hemisphere, Canada was the first to defend in arms the frontiers of the freedom of the new world. For more than two years our country, alone in the Americas, was at war. In more ways than one our effort has been a pioneering effort.

A Co-operating Effort

Canada's contribution to the present war has been the greater because we live side by side with the United States. Without the harmony and reciprocity which exist between our two countries neither could have achieved so much in the common cause. The ability of both Canada and the United States to defend the North American continent and to fight abroad, has been greatly increased by our arrangements for joint defence and by the pooling of resources.

We have sought to make our war effort, wherever possible, a co-operative effort. The extensive military works undertaken in Canada in conjunction with the United States have provided a remarkable instance of close and friendly co-operation. Ours is surely the supreme example of a smaller nation living in the fullest harmony side by side with a very powerful one.

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As a part of our war policy, Canada is sharing, with other of the United Nations, ships, machines, weapons and other supplies which, as I have said, we are producing far in excess of the needs of our own armed forces. Since the war began we have supplied to Britain, and to Britain's armed forces, war materials and other supplies worth nearly nine hundred million pounds ($4,000,000,000). Almost half of these supplies represent an outright contribution. Under our system of mutual aid, war materials have, for the past year, been supplied without payment to the United Nations, in accordance with strategic need. Canada is now supplying mutual aid to Britain, Australia, the Soviet Union, China and the French Committee of National Liberation.

A World-Wide Effort

As the war has progressed, our effort has become more and more a world-wide effort. Canadian-made machines and munitions of war have been used on all the fighting fronts. Canadian sailors and merchant seamen have served on all oceans. Our airmen have fought in the battle of the skies around the globe. From the early days of the war our soldiers have helped to guard this island. They have seen active service in the Pacific area, as well as at Dieppe, and in the Italian campaign. To-day our army awaits the world of command to join with their comrades in the liberation of Europe. The morrow will witness Canadian forces taking part in a final assault upon Japan. Canada's effort has truly become a world-wide effort.

An Enduring Effort

I need scarcely say that we are in this war to the end. Canada's fight for freedom will be a fight to the finish. It is clear to our people that this war is all one war: a monstrous conspiracy of the fascist powers to dominate and enslave the world. Having taken up arms of their own free will, the Canadian people will not relax until freedom is secure. Canada's effort will be an enduring effort.

A Long-Range Effort

We have also sought to look beyond the war; to make our effort a long-range effort. The Canadian people, no less than the people of Britain, whose sacrifices have been so great, need the promise of a brighter future. To sustain us in our endeavours we all need the vision of a new world order.

By co-ordinated action, by mutual aid, by continuous co-operation, the United Nations are achieving military victory. The widest measure of co-operation will be no less needed in the

making and keeping of peace. While our primary aim, like yours, is a better future for mankind.

A National Effort

I have spoken of the war effort of Canada. May I hasten to say again that a like spirit has animated the war efforts of each of the other nations of the Commonwealth. With due allowance for varying conditions, the several aspects of Canada's war effort have been paralleled in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. When war came four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the scene of the conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain. To each the issue was plain; from each the response was immediate. Each is seeking to put forth the utmost effort. The contributions of all bear the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer. Co-operation has marked their course throughout. Each is making a long-range effort which will prove to be an enduring effort. It is the pride of each that its war effort has been a national effort.

The Spirit of Freedom

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort. The spirit of a nation is not readily defined. It is known only as it is revealed. It resembles the flow of waters hidden beneath the earth's surface. From time to time and from place to place the waters having their origin in some secret source reveal themselves as springs, or streams, or rivers. So also, from time to time, a nation's spirit wells up from its source and manifests itself in the collective acts of a people. Such collective action is quickened and heightened at a time of war.

The war efforts of the nations of the Commonwealth owe their inspiration to a common source. That source is the love for freedom and the sense of justice which, through generations, have been nurtured and cherished in Britain as nowhere else in the world.

The terrible events of 1940 revealed how great was the menace to freedom and how suddenly freedom might be lost. So long as freedom endures, free men everywhere will owe to the people of Britain a debt they can never repay. So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her own pre-eminence throughout the world. So long as we all share that spirit, we need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth. The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand, and by South Africa are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

The Strength and Unity of The British Commonwealth

This common effort springing from a common source has given a new strength and unity, a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth and Empire.

Without attempting to distinguish between the terms "British Empire" and "British Commonwealth", but looking rather to the evolution of this association of free nations, may I give to you what I believe to be the secret of its strength and of its unity, and the vision which I cherish of its future. "We... who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents, more than any other similar organization has ever represented, the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become".

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Our wartime co-operation is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies of benefit to all. Moreover, they are policies that make an appeal "to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries", provided only they are men of good will.

If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive, but by policies which can be shared with other nations. I am firmly convinced that the way to maintain our unity is to base that unity upon the principles which can be extended to all nations. I am equally sure that the only way to maintain world unity is to base it upon principles that can be universally applied.

The war has surely convinced all nations, from the smallest to the greatest, that there is no national security to be found in the isolation of any nation or group of nations. The future security of peace-loving nations will depend upon the extent and effectiveness of international co-operation.

It is no less true that it is not the great powers only that are needed to defend, to preserve, and to extend freedom. We should be false to the freedom for which we are fighting if, at any time, we failed to remember that no nation liveth unto itself; and that nations, great and small, are members one of another.

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What happened was that the economic security of all nations was destroyed. Now is surely the time for the whole world to realize that, just as no nation of itself can ensure its own safety, so no nation or group of nations can in isolation ensure its own prosperity.

For my part, I profoundly believe that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth and, in large measure, the security and welfare of all peace-loving nations will depend on the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which, in character, are not exclusive but inclusive. How far such policies can be successfully pursued will, of course, depend on the extent to which other nations are prepared to pursue similar policies. But let us, at least, wherever that is possible, give the lead that is in the interests of the world as a whole.

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It will ever be a prime object of Canadian policy to work for the maintenance of the fraternal association of the British and American peoples. When peace comes it is our highest hope that the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the United States will continue to march at each other's side, united more closely than ever. But we equally hope that they will march in a larger company, in which all the nations united to-day in defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind.

The Supreme Crisis

We are approaching, in the European theatre, the supreme crisis of this long and terrible struggle. In this fateful hour it is imperative that everything be done to maintain single-minded concentration on the achievement of victory.. That is our first obligation. It is our duty to the humble people in all the Allied countries whose patient endurance, unremitting toil and ready acceptance of the burdens of war have made possible the immense strength in war materials and supplies of the United Nations. It is our duty, above all, to the millions of fighting men who, with their lives, are defending our freedom and the freedom of mankind.

The assurance of unfailing support to our sailors, soldiers and airmen is the supreme objective of the present meetings of Prime Ministers. We have met here, first and foremost, in order to do everything possible, by co-operation and by united action, to assure that support in largest possible measure on all the fighting fronts.

The present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. In any accurate geographical sense, it is the first world war in history. It is a war that is being fought not only on land and at sea but also in the clouds, miles above the surface of the earth. It is, moreover, a war that is not confined to the material realm. It is a struggle for the control of men's minds and men's souls. Its outcome will shape the moral destiny of the world.

The support of our fighting men and our debt to all who are near and dear to them must extend beyond the theatres of war. It must look beyond the end of hostilities. We owe it to all who bear the heat of the strife; we owe it to bereaved; we owe it to the memory of those who give their lives; to do all in our power to ensure that their service and their sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

In the past, the sacrifice of human life in war has been commemorated in monuments of stone or bronze. After this war we must create a more fitting memorial. That, I believe, will be found only in securing for others the opportunities of a more abundant life. Already we of the British Commonwealth and Empire are a community of many nations, of many races and of many tongues. Already we have advanced far in the art of responsible government, in the practice of international co-

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operation, and in the application of the principle of mutual aid. Surely it is ours to help fashion a new world order in which social security and human welfare will become a part of the inheritance of mankind.

The war has been none of our making. We sought, above all else, the promotion of peace, of understanding and of good-will. We deplored the extension of war to all parts of the world. Yet in the perspective of time this world-encircling danger may prove to have been a blessing in disguise. Only in this way, perhaps, could other nations as well as our own, have come to see that the interests of mankind are one and that the claims of humanity are supreme.

Our first duty is to win the war. But to win the war, we must keep the vision of a better future. We must never cease to strive for its fulfilment. No lesser vision will suffice to gain the victory over those who seek world domination and human enslavement. No lesser vision will enable us fittingly to honour the memory of the men and women who are giving their all for freedom and justice.

In the realization of this vision, the government and peoples who owe a common allegiance to the Crown may well find the new meaning and significance of the British Commonwealth and Empire. It is for us to make of our association of free British nations "a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

Mr. Churchill: My Lords and gentlemen, I call upon the Lord Chancellor to propose a vote of thanks to our honoured guest.

The Lord Chancellor (Right Hon. Viscount Simon): My Lords and Members of the House of Commons:
Mr. Speaker and I have been asked.....

Mr. Mackenzie King: Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker:-

May I thank you both very warmly for the exceedingly kind words which you have just spoken. May I thank you again, Prime Minister, for the words that touched my heart very deeply, and which I believe will meet with warm response in the heart of Canada.

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May I again thank the Members of the House of Lords and the Members of the House of Commons for their great courtesy in being present this afternoon in such numbers. May I thank you very warmly for the "Aye" which I heard when the Prime Minister put the resolution to this gathering. "Ayes" are always pleasant to the ears of Government.

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97		Notes for Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1944	D 61559 - D 61575	
97		Mulock, Sir William, 100th Birthday Anniversary, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Jan. 1944	D 61576 - D 61609	
97		National Liberal Federation Dinner, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Feb. 1944	D 61610 - D 61613	
97		Sixth Victory Loan, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	22 Apr. 1944	D 61614 - D 61626	
97		Parliament of United Kingdom, Address to Members of Both Houses, London, England. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 61627 - D 61672	
97		Prime Minister' Conference, Closing of, London, England. Speeches outside Parliament	16 May 1944	D 61673 - D 61723	
97		Civic Reception for Prime Minister King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 May 1944	D 61724 - D 61727	

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Ottawa, May 17, 1944.

Text of speeches made at the closing meeting of Prime Ministers, 16th May, 1944:

Mr. Churchill:

My Lords and Gentlemen, Prime Ministers of the Dominions. We have this morning concluded the formal and official parts of our labours to which we have devoted the last fortnight and I take this opportunity of expressing on behalf of His Majesty's Government in this country the very deep sense of pleasure which this visit from all parts of our Empire and Commonwealth has given to those who have the honour to be the hosts on this occasion. We have found comfort in hours of stress and anxiety, in days when great military operations are proceeding with vigour and at last not uncheered by hopes of success. We have found pleasure in meeting men whose companionship is a comfort, whose comradeship is strong as a rock. We have got to know each other in some cases much better than we did. For my part I have known Mr. Mackenzie King and Field Marshal Smuts for about 40 years. I was delighted to meet the representatives who have come to us from Australia and New Zealand, and particularly to meet for the first time Mr. Curtin. My confidence in the future is enormously strengthened by all that has passed round this Council Board, and I am sure that this meeting will in future years be looked back to as one of the important milestones in the history of our united association. We do not know how far we have to go. We do not know how long victory will be denied or what tribulations we shall have to ask our people to endure, but we are absolutely sure that they will not be found unequal to the tests and the trials, however long, however heavy, and that after these are over we shall preserve in union, in association, that poise and calm for which we like to feel we have been honoured in the world and take at least as large a part in leading mankind out of the miseries into which they have fallen as we took in bearing the brunt of the struggle which broke upon us some five years ago. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom trust indeed that their guests may have safe journeys home across the war scourged seas and with

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the hazards of the air. We are most grateful to them for the exertions they have made in coming. We hope they will carry back to their countries a good tale of what they found here and tell them that we will all go along together in the fullest war effort till peace and justice have been established on unshakeable foundations.

Mr. Mackenzie King:

Prime Minister, My Lords and Gentlemen. I cannot reciprocate too warmly the sentiments which you have so feelingly and eloquently expressed. I can say with deep confidence that all who are present deeply appreciate the invitations which His Majesty's Government in Great Britain extended to us to meet in London at this time and we all feel that the meeting in this Council Chamber on this momentous occasion has meant much, not only to us personally but will mean a great deal to the Governments which we represent. There has been but one opinion as to the importance of the meetings which we are now concluding. There can be but one opinion. They have been most helpful and useful to all who have participated in the proceedings. Particularly do I value the opportunity they have provided for the discussion of common problems with the other Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth, with the representatives of India and Southern Rhodesia and with members of the United Kingdom War Cabinet and Government. I shall never be able adequately to express, Prime Minister, what your own contribution as Chairman, and in our deliberations has meant to us. Time and again we have been moved and inspired by your memorable utterances. We shall return to our respective countries more impressed than ever with the magnitude and complexity of the problems which confront the world today, but also with our hopes heightened and with a profound appreciation of the courage and resolution with which they are being faced. London at this moment in history has been the right and proper place for our discussions. We have all been deeply impressed and affected by the spirit of this country. Since that very different Spring four years ago the will and spirit of the people of Britain have been a source of inspiration to all the peoples of the Commonwealth. At no time was this truer than at the present. I came here fully aware of our oneness of purpose. I was certain there was full agreement on

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essentials. I know that our soldiers, sailors and airmen have been taken into your hearts and homes and that the High Command under which they serve is worthy of the trust we place in them. During these short weeks I have been strengthened in that knowledge. I shall be able to tell the people of Canada, at this crest of our collective effort, that the fighting forces are being given full and hearty support, and that all is being done well. The singleness of purpose with which the task is being accomplished, and with which tasks ahead are being undertaken, adds to the assurance of final victory and a constructive peace. The Declaration we sign this morning is a clear and firm indication of what the British Commonwealth means to its members and to the world. The statement will be enthusiastically welcomed in all parts of Canada. Thanks to the swift and smooth machinery of consultation which has steadily improved under the stimulus of the conditions of war, we came to these meetings knowing much of each other's problems and points of view, but I should like to say how much it has meant to hear those problems and points of view explained and interpreted by those who themselves are responsible to their own Parliaments for the conduct of their countries' business. Since the beginning of the war we have welcomed to Ottawa many visitors from the other nations of the Commonwealth. The Government and people of Canada are looking forward with much pleasure to a visit from Mr. Curtin, the Prime Minister of Australia. It will provide an opportunity to pay tribute to him and to the achievements of his countrymen in this present war. We are eager, also, to welcome again Mr. Fraser, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, who is happily no stranger to Canada. It is many years since Field Marshal Smuts, the Prime Minister of South Africa, has been to Canada. I speak for all the people of our country when I urge him to visit us again. You, Mr. Churchill, need no assurance of the welcome which will always await you on Canadian soil. Prime Minister, I cannot depart without expressing my appreciation, and that of those who have accompanied me, for the cordial and generous hospitality which the United Kingdom Government has extended to us. If I may say so, the arrangements for our meetings have been admirable and businesslike. We have had a good many sessions covering a good deal of ground in a very brief time. That this has been possible is, I am sure, largely due to the efforts of the Joint Secretariat provided by the War Cabinet and the Dominions Offices. I should like to

convey to them our warmest thanks. May I add again, no words of mine can express what we all feel of the many courtesies that have been extended to us and, above all, how exceptional has been the opportunity of gaining a wider vision and a clearer and closer understanding in respect of the problems which we have in common. I go away very much pleased, indeed, with the proceedings of this gathering.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Ottawa, May 17, 1944.

Text of speeches made at the closing meeting of
Prime Ministers, 16th May, 1944:

Mr. Curtin:

Mr. Prime Minister, My Lords and Gentlemen. It is not very easy for me to say all that is in my heart. The people and the Government of Australia were most anxious that this consultation should take place. They desired it because they felt that the time had come when this Council should review the war in the state which it has now reached, so that the Heads of Governments could be informed more clearly as to the probable course that it might take, and the problems that have to be overcome, in order to mount to the summit the strength which has gradually been gathered from all parts of the British Commonwealth and Empire, and also the resources and efforts of our Allies. I can only say that we are deeply indebted to you, and to your colleagues, for the attention you have given, not only to the war itself but also to those multitudinous difficulties for the Commonwealth which the war has caused. During these Council meetings you have given to us the amplitude of your great mind and heart, and I know nobody anywhere who could have steered us through these deliberations more graciously, more inspiringly, or more successfully. I count myself, if I may offer a personal word, happy to have taken part in these discussions. I came not only from a sense of duty but also with a deep desire to be associated in a humble way with deliberations which I knew would reach conclusions of historic significance, not only to the Commonwealth and Empire but, I do believe, to the world at large. The Declaration which we have agreed upon, and which is to be issued, indicates broadly the essential unity which marks this Commonwealth and Empire, and it expresses to other nations its deep purpose that is to be with them with all that we have, until the war is over, and also our determination to do all we can in the years to come to make the world a safer and a better place. I believe that the episode through which we are passing - I call it an episode, though it is markedly an occasion when aggressors have been able to wage war upon peace loving peoples. It is an episode which has heartened the evolution

of our association, has strengthened it, and, as it were, has given much acceleration and greater speed to our complete fraternisation as peoples offering homage to the King and to that association over which he rules as marking the greatest confraternity of Governmental relations the world has yet witnessed. Our association is one of kinship, one of common ideals and common purposes, and we say to the world at large that we ourselves feel that a world organisation for peace, for ensuring peace, and for the prevention of war, is an association into which we will enter and to which we will give all those qualities which we have, and which we believe have enabled us to play a very, very significant part in the life of the world as a whole. I give you the pledge of my country and I am sure any other Government of the Commonwealth would give you the same pledge of inflexible determination to be with you until the victory is won. That determination shall have imported into it every quality which marks the people of the Commonwealth. Those qualities of high endeavour, of endurance, of fortitude, and, may I say, of fighting capability, which the sons and daughters of our race in the Antipodes have displayed, and which I think has been recognised as one of its greatest gifts. I have great pride in the people of Australia. They have great pride in the British Commonwealth and we say, too, that this occasion, when we have gathered here in the midst of this terrible war in order the more solidly to wage the struggle, will be regarded by them as one of the great contributions to the earlier termination of the struggle. I should like to express our thanks for the great aid your officers have given to us and for the arrangements which have been made for our comfort and for our travel, and to say we will go back to our respective countries, as I know I shall in Australia, with an even clearer insight into the heroic gallantry and the unflagging endeavour which have enabled this bastion of the freedom of the world to reach its present state when it can look forward to peace with confidence.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Ottawa, May 17, 1944.

Text of speeches made at the closing meeting of Prime Ministers, 16th May, 1944:

Mr. Fraser:

Prime Minister, My Lords and Gentlemen. This meeting of Prime Ministers has been of great value and, I am sure, has inspired and strengthened all of us. I am most deeply gratified with the spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation which has throughout pervaded the discussions, as it does the relationship amongst the respective members of the Commonwealth and Empire. It is this spirit, more than any other factor, from which our great Empire and Commonwealth derives its strength, and upon its continuance rest our high hopes of the future. As a result of these completely frank exchanges, each of us has an understanding of the point of view and feelings of the other units of the Commonwealth, and has been given glimpses of the way our respective Governments are likely to consider proposals to meet changing circumstances. This will be invaluable, as in our own countries we have from day to day to make decisions on the important questions which continually arise. It has been a great benefit to me as, I am sure, it has been to all of us to have attended this historic meeting held at this critical period of the war in Europe - at a time which vitally affects the destinies of our own Commonwealth of British Nations and is fraught with momentous consequences for the peoples of the world. We have had an opportunity at this Conference to review the strategy of the war, to learn of the plans upon which it is being conducted. We have exchanged views of the world organisation which we trust and pray will be devised to maintain future peace. Most immediate and overwhelming in importance has been our agreement on the policy of concentrating on the defeat of Germany and Japan and their satellites, and upon the building of an international organisation and a world order which will make possible ordered political and economic

development and better standards of social welfare, full employment and good and assured standards of living and culture for all. We have not been concerned so much with constitutional machinery as with specific purposes to be achieved. Our aim has been to determine in this critical and tragic time in the history of mankind which are the matters upon which it is essential we should stand united in co-operation, and then to consider the methods by which we can best achieve these purposes. I would like to take this opportunity of expressing my very deep appreciation of the manner in which you, Mr. Churchill, have presided over our Conference. We have derived the greatest benefit from your inspired leadership, as we have throughout the war, and from your great wisdom as well as from your outstanding courage. I would like to thank also the Prime Minister's colleagues and the Ministers who have assisted us, for the statements they have so ably presented to us. We are also grateful to the efficiency of the Secretariat which has contributed so much in time and effort towards the smooth running of these meetings. They have worked long hours, and the preparations they have made, and the drafts which have been presented, have contributed greatly to the success of our meetings. In conclusion, Mr. Prime Minister, I would only say that, sure of our aims, we have demonstrated not only the desirability but the absolute necessity in the interests of the world as a whole, as well as of the peoples of the British Commonwealth and Empire, of maintaining and strengthening the Commonwealth, not merely as an organisation but as a mighty instrument for achieving great purposes in the highest interests of mankind. Strengthened and inspired as I have been with the clear ringing reaffirmation by the Conference of the faith expressed in our various Declarations since the outbreak of war, and particularly in the Atlantic Charter, I repeat and renew solemnly, but with great pride, the pledge given by our late Prime Minister, Mr. Savage, in 1939 - "Where Britain goes, we go, where she stands, we stand".

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Field Marshal Smuts:

Mr. Prime Minister, My Lords and Gentlemen. I wish to express my pleasure and my deep agreement with what has been said by you, Prime Minister, and my other colleagues. This is the end of a very remarkable Conference. I have attended many of the Imperial Conferences of the past, but, thinking back today over those Conferences, I cannot think of one which has had a character like the present. This has not only been an Imperial Conference but it has achieved a success that is amazing under war conditions. There have been a spirit and an atmosphere at this Conference unlike any that I have experienced in previous Conferences. In a large sense, Prime Minister, that is due to your leadership of this Conference, which has had the same high quality that your leadership has had in your conduct of the affairs of the world in the times through which we are passing. The difference is also due to the importance of the subjects that we have discussed. At no previous Conference, that I can remember, has there ever been such a rnnge of far-reaching fundamental problems, touching not only this group of ours but the whole world, as at this Conference we have discussed questions of war, we have discussed questions of international affairs, we have discussed the matters that go to the root of our own society and of all the nations, and it has all been done in an atmosphere, in a spirit of comradeship, friendship and understanding such as I have never experienced before. I go back to my country from this Conference with a renewed feeling of strength, courage and good cheer to meet the heavy tasks that lie ahead. At no Conference has it been more necessary than at this one for us to have personal contact. We have been discussing, we have been writing, we have been corresponding with each other for these four years on problems that have engaged our attention, but it has always been at a distance and never with that personal contact which now, for the first

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time, we have been able to realize in the war that personal contact, meeting face to face, has been the greatest value. I am sure we have all been strengthened in our resolve, our minds have been clarified, and we have derived a benefit and an advantage from this Conference such as could never have been achieved by long and intricate correspondence. We have discussed our own affairs, we have discussed the affairs of the world, but we have discussed our own affairs in no sense of self-interest. We have always had in view that fact that we are working not only now and here but in a much greater world chain. We are many partners great and small, and we realize that no success can be achieved, no objects can be realised, unless there is unity, unless the advantage and the welfare of all are kept in view, and in all the discussions we have had, we have always been imbued with that spirit, the spirit which looks to the wider human welfare and not to the individual advantage of our own particular group. We go back to our countries from this Conference with the message that we have signed this morning, a message of good cheer, a message which I hope will put all our peoples in good heart. They have carried heavy burdens, they have carried intolerable burdens, and this message coming to them from this Conference after nearly five years of war will help them in the final phase, the climax of this war, which we all hope will be the end. Our message will mean to them an expression of the hope, the faith, the confidence, the strength that there is in this group of ours and in the hearts of our Governments. I thank you for your great service to this Conference, for the leadership you have given, for the help you have been to us. I thank all your colleagues, all our British colleagues who have been more than helpful because, coming from afar, we have had to deal not only with the large problems of war and peace but, in many cases, with the problems of our own countries. The United Kingdom Government, the members of His Majesty's Government in this country have been most helpful to us in these domestic questions which we have had to discuss with them outside this Conference. I wish to thank very sincerely, also, the officials for the work they have been doing for us. By this Conference we have added very largely to their

heavy burdens, but they have helped us and they have made their contribution to an achievement which I think will stand out as one of the great successes of this war. This Conference has raised many great problems, but what has been achieved is a victory of great promise, as it opens the prospect of wise counsels and wise decisions and great settlements for our world.

v Sir Firoz Khan Noon:

Mr. Prime Minister, My Lords and Gentlemen. It has been a source of real pleasure for us, the Maharaja and myself, to come here and sit round this table with the Prime Ministers and discuss Empire problems, and we sincerely hope that there will be similar opportunities in the future for consideration of matters of mutual interest. We have many chances of coming to England and making contact with His Majesty's Government, but we feel that, for the development of friendly relations and a powerful Commonwealth, it is very necessary that we should make contacts with the representatives of the Dominions also, and it is from that point of view that we consider this meeting is of special value. This meeting has also shown to us that, in the wider policy of the Commonwealth, there are no differences at all between the Dominions and ourselves, or His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and ourselves, and it is on that ground that we can look forward with hope and patience to the growing spirit of this political association. I should, however, like to mention one thing, that this is all due to one great factor and that is the characteristics of the British people. I was here in 1940 and I know the troublous times through which we passed in those days, and I, for one, was enormously impressed by the determination and bravery and sense of duty to freedom displayed by all the men and women of this country, and may I be permitted to say that that determination is typified in the leadership that you, Mr. Prime Minister, have provided personally for this Commonwealth of Nations. It is the clear-headedness of the leader and his policy which enables the various component parts to stay together, and you personally have, through your leadership, taken the Empire and the

Commonwealth from strength to strength, and we are confident for the future, not only of this country but of the whole Commonwealth and of the Empire, and I need hardly say how carefully the peoples of India have watched the proceedings of this Conference and how grateful they must all be that their representatives, along with the Prime Ministers from the Dominions, have deliberated jointly and come to conclusions which are acceptable to all.

Sir Godfrey Huggins:

Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to say that I rejoice in the spirit of unity displayed at this Conference and, if there is no relapse when fear departs, this Commonwealth and Empire, which with courage, enterprise and self-discipline has saved the world from barbarians, will remain in the lead and help return this sorely stricken world to days of peace. The United Kingdom, with her associates under the Crown, has characteristics which will be required after the war, their love of freedom, their ability to compromise, to give and take, and to play the game. They need have no fear for the future if, under Divine will, selfishness is kept in check and goodwill and unity under the Crown are maintained. We saved the world in war, and, if we maintain this unity in peace, we can preserve the world for the service of humanity and make it worthy of inheritance.

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DRAFT STATEMENT FOR PRIME MINISTER ON ARRIVAL IN CANADA.

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I have just returned from a memorable and heartening visit to Britain. Three impressions of my stay are uppermost in my mind.

The first, of course, is of the meetings with Mr. Churchill and the Prime Ministers of the other nations of the Commonwealth. The meetings were significant for the discussions which actually took place; for the frank, full and friendly exchange of views which they represented. They were no less significant, in a symbolic sense, of the complete unity of purpose of the Members of the Commonwealth in the prosecution of the war. I have returned with an increased assurance that everything possible is being done to back up our fighting men in the critical stage of the war which lies immediately before us.

The second impression is of the Canadian forces in Britain. For obvious reasons I had no opportunity of seeing our naval units in action, but the distinction they gained during my visit was a moment I shall not forget. I did, however, have opportunities to visit some of the units of the army and the air force. These visits were moving

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experiences. I have never been more proud of being a Canadian than I felt as I watched our soldiers and airmen - the finest and best of our young manhood - in the First Canadian Army and the Canadian bomber group.

My third impression grows directly out of the second. It is of the high place which Canada occupies in the minds and hearts of the people of Britain. I have heard the highest praise of our country and its achievements from everyone with whom I have talked; from the King and the Queen, from members of the British Government, from people in all walks of life. We owe our high reputation, in part, to our achievement in industry and agriculture and to the vast volume of supplies of all kinds we have sent overseas. There are few people in Britain today who have not had personal evidence of Canadian production. But we owe our good name, above all, to the hundreds of thousands of young Canadians in the armed forces, who have been so long in Britain, who have been so wonderfully received by the British people, and who have been the finest ambassadors of friendship and good will any country could have.

I can think of no experience today, which is

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comparable with a visit to Britain as a means of increasing one's pride in Canada.

I should, also, mention a fourth impression. I mention it last because it is not a new one; but a recalling of the deep impression of my first visit to wartime Britain in 1941. I refer to the spirit, the courage, the endurance and the plain hard work of the British people. Nearly five years of war have served only to deepen my feeling of their true greatness as a people. Free men everywhere owe to Britain a debt which can never be repaid. As they face the climax of this long struggle, we may hope with them that the dawn will soon break over a happier world.

hrs Bennett

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CABINET DU PREMIER MINISTRE

OTTAWA

Communiqué
pour publication immédiate

Le 17 mai 1944.

Suit le texte des discours prononcés à la réunion de clôture des premiers ministres, à Londres, Angleterre, le 16 mai 1944:

M. CHURCHILL (premier ministre du Royaume-Uni):

Milords et messieurs les premiers ministres des Dominions, nous sommes parvenus ce matin au terme de la partie officielle des travaux auxquels nous avons consacré la dernière quinzaine, et je saisis cette occasion pour exprimer, au nom du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté en ce pays, le vif plaisir qu'a procuré à ceux qui avaient l'honneur d'être les hôtes, la visite des représentants de toutes les parties de notre Empire et Commonwealth. Leur réconfort ne nous a jamais manqué, tant aux heures de crise et d'anxiété qu'aux jours où les opérations militaires se poursuivent énergiquement et, enfin, avec espoir de succès. Il nous a fait plaisir de rencontrer des hommes dont la société est un réconfort, dont l'esprit de fraternité est inébranlable comme le roc. En certains cas, nous avons pu faire plus ample connaissance. Pour ma part, je connaissais déjà M. Mackenzie King et le feld-maréchal Smuts depuis près de quarante ans. J'ai été très heureux de rencontrer les représentants que nous ont délégués l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande, et, en particulier, de faire la connaissance de M. Curtin, que je voyais pour la première fois. Les délibérations qui ont eu lieu dans cette enceinte affermissent ma confiance en l'avenir; la présente réunion marquera, j'en suis sûr, une étape importante dans l'histoire de notre association de peuples unis. Nous ignorons ce que nous réserve l'avenir. Pendant combien de temps encore la victoire nous sera-t-elle refusée? Quelles nouvelles tribulations notre peuple aura-t-il à subir? Nul ne le sait. Mais je suis absolument sûr que nos gens sortiront victorieux de l'épreuve, si prolongée et si pénible soit-elle. Je suis convaincu qu'à la fin des hostilités, nous conserverons, unis et associés, cette pondération et ce calme dont nous aimons à nous croire doués, en tant que peuple, et que nous jouerons, afin de libérer l'humanité des misères dans lesquelles elle a été plongée, un rôle au moins égal à celui que nous avons dû assumer en supportant la plus grande part du conflit qui a fondu sur nous il y aura bientôt cinq ans. Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté au Royaume-Uni souhaite vivement que ses invités retournent en toute sécurité dans leurs pays, malgré les océans désolés par la guerre et les risques aériens. Notre reconnaissance leur est acquise pour les fatigues qu'ils se sont imposées en venant ici. Nous espérons qu'ils retourneront chez eux avec une bonne impression de ce qu'ils ont vu ici. Nous leur déclarons que nous continuerons tous ensemble à poursuivre un effort de guerre intégral jusqu'à ce que la paix et la justice soient établies sur une base inébranlable.

M. MACKENZIE KING (premier ministre du Canada):

Monsieur le premier ministre, milords, messieurs, du fond du coeur je fais miens les sentiments que vous venez d'exprimer avec tant d'éloquence et de sincérité. Je puis dire avec confiance que tous les premiers ministres ici présents éprouvent une vive gratitude envers le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté au Royaume-Uni pour l'invitation qu'il leur a transmise de se réunir à Londres en un pareil moment. Nous sommes tous d'avis que la présente réunion dans cette salle du Conseil a revêtu une signification importante, pour nous personnellement aussi bien que pour les Gouvernements dont nous sommes les mandataires. L'unanimité d'opinion règne quant à l'importance des réunions qui prennent fin aujourd'hui. L'opinion ne peut être qu'unanime.

hrs Blewett

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CABINET DU PREMIER MINISTRE

OTTAWA

Communiqué
pour publication immédiate

Le 17 mai 1944.

Suit le texte des discours prononcés à la réunion de clôture des premiers ministres, à Londres, Angleterre, le 16 mai 1944:

M. CHURCHILL (premier ministre du Royaume-Uni):

Milords et messieurs les premiers ministres des Dominions, nous sommes parvenus ce matin au terme de la partie officielle des travaux auxquels nous avons consacré la dernière quinzaine, et je saisis cette occasion pour exprimer, au nom du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté en ce pays, le vif plaisir qu'a procuré à ceux qui avaient l'honneur d'être les hôtes, la visite des représentants de toutes les parties de notre Empire et Commonwealth. Leur réconfort ne nous a jamais manqué, tant aux heures de crise et d'anxiété qu'aux jours où les opérations militaires se poursuivent énergiquement et, enfin, avec espoir de succès. Il nous a fait plaisir de rencontrer des hommes dont la société est un réconfort, dont l'esprit de fraternité est inébranlable comme le roc. En certains cas, nous avons pu faire plus ample connaissance. Pour ma part, je connaissais déjà M. Mackenzie King et le feld-maréchal Smuts depuis près de quarante ans. J'ai été très heureux de rencontrer les représentants que nous ont délégués l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande, et, en particulier, de faire la connaissance de M. Curtin, que je voyais pour la première fois. Les délibérations qui ont eu lieu dans cette enceinte affermissent ma confiance en l'avenir; la présente réunion marquera, j'en suis sûr, une étape importante dans l'histoire de notre association de peuples unis. Nous ignorons ce que nous réserve l'avenir. Pendant combien de temps encore la victoire nous sera-t-elle refusée? Quelles nouvelles tribulations notre peuple aura-t-il à subir? Nul ne le sait. Mais je suis absolument sûr que nos gens sortiront victorieux de l'épreuve, si prolongée et si pénible soit-elle. Je suis convaincu qu'à la fin des hostilités, nous conserverons, unis et associés, cette pondération et ce calme dont nous aimons à nous croire doués, en tant que peuple, et que nous jouerons, afin de libérer l'humanité des misères dans lesquelles elle a été plongée, un rôle au moins égal à celui que nous avons dû assumer en supportant la plus grande part du conflit qui a fondu sur nous il y aura bientôt cinq ans. Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté au Royaume-Uni souhaite vivement que ses invités retournent en toute sécurité dans leurs pays, malgré les océans désolés par la guerre et les risques aériens. Notre reconnaissance leur est acquise pour les fatigues qu'ils se sont imposées en venant ici. Nous espérons qu'ils retourneront chez eux avec une bonne impression de ce qu'ils ont vu ici. Nous leur déclarons que nous continuerons tous ensemble à poursuivre un effort de guerre intégral jusqu'à ce que la paix et la justice soient établies sur une base inébranlable.

M. MACKENZIE KING (premier ministre du Canada):

Monsieur le premier ministre, milords, messieurs, du fond du coeur je fais miens les sentiments que vous venez d'exprimer avec tant d'éloquence et de sincérité. Je puis dire avec confiance que tous les premiers ministres ici présents éprouvent une vive gratitude envers le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté au Royaume-Uni pour l'invitation qu'il leur a transmise de se réunir à Londres en un pareil moment. Nous sommes tous d'avis que la présente réunion dans cette salle du Conseil a revêtu une signification importante, pour nous personnellement aussi bien que pour les Gouvernements dont nous sommes les mandataires. L'unanimité d'opinion règne quant à l'importance des réunions qui prennent fin aujourd'hui. L'opinion ne peut être qu'unanime.

REPEAT
REPETITION

Ces réunions ont été des plus utiles; elles se sont avérées avantageuses pour tous ceux qui y ont participé. Je souligne, en particulier, l'occasion qui y a été fournie de discuter les problèmes d'intérêt commun avec les autres premiers ministres du Commonwealth britannique, avec les représentants de l'Inde et de la Rhodésie du Sud, ainsi qu'avec les membres du Cabinet de guerre et du Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni.

Les mots me manquent, monsieur le premier ministre, pour dire ce que votre apport à titre de président a valu à nos délibérations. A maintes reprises, vos déclarations mémorables nous ont émus et inspirés. Nous retournerons dans nos pays plus impressionnés que jamais par l'ampleur et la complexité des problèmes auxquels le monde entier doit aujourd'hui faire face. Par contre, nous rapporterons avec nous un espoir raffermi et une profonde admiration pour le courage et la détermination avec lesquels ces problèmes sont attaqués.

A ce tournant de l'histoire, Londres était bien l'endroit approprié pour la tenue de nos délibérations. L'esprit qui règne en ce pays nous a tous profondément impressionnés et émus. Depuis ce printemps si différent d'il y a quatre ans, la détermination du peuple britannique a été une source d'inspiration pour toutes les populations du Commonwealth. Il en est plus que jamais ainsi.

Je suis arrivé ici avec la pleine conscience de notre unité d'intention. J'étais persuadé qu'il y aurait unanimité sur les points essentiels. Je sais que nos soldats, nos marins et nos aviateurs ont trouvé place dans vos coeurs et dans vos foyers, et que le haut commandement sous lequel ils servent est digne de la confiance que nous avons mise en lui. Mon bref séjour ici m'a raffermi dans cette conviction. Je pourrai dire au peuple du Canada, à cet apogée de notre effort collectif, que les forces combattantes sont pleinement et chaleureusement secondées et que tout se passe le mieux du monde. L'esprit d'unité avec lequel la tâche est accomplie, et avec lequel nous attaquons celles qui se présentent est une autre assurance de victoire finale et de paix féconde.

La déclaration que nous signons ce matin est une claire et ferme indication de ce que signifie le Commonwealth britannique aux yeux de ses membres et du monde entier. Le texte en sera accueilli avec enthousiasme dans toutes les parties du Canada. Grâce au rapide et efficace mécanisme de consultation qui s'est constamment perfectionné sous l'impulsion des exigences militaires, nous sommes arrivés à ces assemblées avec une bonne idée des problèmes et des points de vue de chacun, mais je tiens à déclarer combien il a été utile d'entendre expliquer et interpréter ces problèmes et ces points de vue par ceux qui sont eux-mêmes responsables envers leur parlement de la direction des affaires de leur pays.

Depuis le début de la guerre nous avons accueilli à Ottawa un grand nombre de visiteurs d'autres pays du Commonwealth. Le gouvernement et le peuple du Canada se font un grand plaisir à l'idée que M. Curtin, premier ministre d'Australie, viendra bientôt leur rendre visite. Cela nous donnera l'occasion de lui rendre hommage et de payer tribut à l'effort de guerre de ses concitoyens. Nous espérons également revoir de nouveau M. Fraser, premier ministre de Nouvelle-Zélande, qui heureusement n'est pas étranger au Canada. Il y a longtemps que le maréchal Smuts, premier ministre de l'Afrique du Sud, n'est pas venu au Canada. Au nom de tous les habitants du Canada je l'invite instamment à revenir bientôt. Quant à vous, monsieur Churchill, vous n'avez pas besoin que je vous dise combien vous serez toujours le bienvenu chez nous. Monsieur le premier ministre, je ne saurais partir sans vous exprimer, en mon nom comme à celui de tous ceux qui m'accompagnent, nos remercîments pour la cordiale hospitalité que le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni nous a si généreusement accordée. Permettez-moi de dire que les préparatifs pour nos assemblées ont été admirables et pratiques. Nous avons accompli beaucoup

de besogne au cours d'un grand nombre de réunions en très peu de temps. Cela est dû, j'en suis sûr, principalement aux efforts du secrétariat collectif fourni par le ministre de la Guerre et les bureaux des Dominions. Je tiens à les en remercier de tout mon coeur. Je ne sauraistrop répéter qu'il m'est impossible d'exprimer par des mots la reconnaissance que nous éprouvons tous pour toutes les courtoisies que vous nous avez prodiguées et, par dessus tout, pour l'occasion sans pareille d'acquérir une idée plus large, plus claire et plus exacte des problèmes que nous avons en commun. J'emporte un excellent souvenir, je vous assure, des délibérations de cette assemblée.

M. Curtin (premier ministre d'Australie):

Monsieur le premier ministre, milords et messieurs. Je trouve de la difficulté à exprimer les sentiments que j'éprouve. Le peuple et le gouvernement d'Australie tenaient beaucoup à cette consultation. Ils désiraient qu'elle ait lieu parce qu'à leur idée il était temps que ce Conseil étudie la situation sous son aspect présent, pour que les chefs du gouvernement soient informés plus clairement de l'orientation probable des événements, des problèmes à résoudre, de manière à parvenir au faîte de la puissance graduellement amassée dans toutes les parties du Commonwealth britannique et de l'Empire, et pour qu'ils soient également informés des ressources et des efforts de nos Alliés. Je dirai seulement que nous vous sommes profondément reconnaissants, à vous et à vos collègues, des soins que vous avez apportés non seulement à la conduite de la guerre mais aussi à la solution des innombrables difficultés occasionnées par la guerre dans les affaires du Commonwealth. Au cours de ces assemblées du Conseil, vous nous avez prodigué les trésors de votre esprit et de votre coeur, et je ne connais personne au monde capable de diriger ces délibérations d'une manière plus bienveillante, plus encourageante ou plus efficace. Je m'estime heureux, si je puis parler en son nom, d'avoir assisté à ces discussions. Je suis venu non seulement parce que j'estimais que c'était mon devoir, mais parce que j'éprouvais un profond désir d'être associé dans une humble mesure à des délibérations qui me paraissaient devoir revêtir une importance historique non seulement pour le Commonwealth et l'Empire mais aussi, à mon avis, pour le monde entier.

La déclaration convenue entre nous et sur le point d'être publiée indique dans ses grandes lignes l'unité essentielle qui caractérise ce Commonwealth et l'Empire, et exprime aux autres nations notre ferme intention d'être avec elles de toutes nos forces jusqu'à la fin de la guerre, ainsi que notre détermination de tout faire en notre pouvoir à l'avenir pour donner au monde plus de sécurité et de bien-être. Je pense que l'épisode que nous traversons -- je l'appelle un épisode quoique ce soit en réalité une occasion dont les agresseurs ont profité pour faire la guerre aux nations qui aiment la paix -- je pense que cet épisode a hâté l'évolution de notre association, l'a renforcée et, pour ainsi dire, a accéléré considérablement notre complète fraternisation en tant que peuples, rendant hommage au Roi et à cette association de pays sur laquelle s'étend un règne qui témoigne de la plus grande confraternité de relations gouvernementales que le monde ait jamais vue.

Notre association est à base de confraternité, d'idéal commun et de buts communs, et nous déclarons au monde entier notre intime conviction qu'une organisation internationale de la paix, destinée à assurer la paix et à supprimer la guerre, est une association dont nous ferons partie et au service de laquelle nous mettrons toutes les qualités que nous possédons et qui nous ont permis de jouer un rôle très, très significatif dans la vie du monde entier.

Je vous apporte la promesse de mon pays, et je suis sûr que tous les autres gouvernements du Commonwealth vous feraient la même promesse, de vous soutenir avec une détermination inflexible jusqu'à la victoire. Cette détermination est faite de toutes les qualités qui caractérisent les nations du Commonwealth. Ces qualités d'inlassable effort, d'endurance, de bravoure et, j'ose l'ajouter, d'habileté à la lutte, qu'ont déployées, aux extrémités de la terre, les

fils et les filles de notre race, et qui, je pense, ont été reconnues comme l'un de ses plus grands dons. Je suis très fier du peuple australien. Eux sont très fiers du Commonwealth britannique, et cette occasion où nous sommes réunis ici, au milieu de la terrible guerre en cours, pour mener la lutte avec le plus de solidarité possible, cette occasion, nous le disons aussi, sera considérée par eux comme l'un des pas les plus décisifs pour hâter l'issue du conflit. Je tiens à exprimer nos remerciements pour l'excellente aide que nous avons reçue de vos officiers, et pour les mesures prises en vue d'assurer notre confort et notre voyage; j'affirme que nous retournerons dans nos pays respectifs, comme moi-même, j'en suis sûr, en Australie, avec une certitude plus éclairée que jamais du courage héroïque et de la résistance inflexible qui ont permis à ce bastion de la liberté dans le monde d'arriver à ses positions actuelles et d'anticiper la paix avec confiance.

M. Fraser (premier ministre de la Nouvelle-Zélande):

Monsieur le premier ministre, milords et messieurs. La présente réunion des Premiers Ministres a été d'une grande valeur, et je suis certain qu'elle nous donnera, à tous, une nouvelle inspiration et une nouvelle force. Je me réjouis profondément de l'esprit de sympathie mutuelle et de collaboration qui a présidé aux discussions, comme il préside aux relations des différents membres du Commonwealth et de l'Empire. C'est dans cet esprit, plus que dans tout autre facteur, que notre grand Empire et Commonwealth puise sa force, et sur le maintien de cet esprit reposent nos meilleurs espoirs en l'avenir. Grâce à ce commerce absolument sincère, chacun de nous comprend le point de vue et les sentiments des autres unités du Commonwealth, et il a eu un aperçu de l'attitude probable de nos gouvernements respectifs vis-à-vis des propositions qui seront soumises pour faire face aux éventualités. Privilège inestimable, étant donné que, dans nos propres pays, nous devrons, de jour en jour, prendre les décisions sur les importantes questions qui ne cessent de surgir. Je tiens, personnellement, pour un grand avantage, et je suis sûr que chacun de nous aura bénéficié, d'avoir assisté à cette séance historique, tenue à un moment si critique de la guerre en Europe - à un moment où les destinées de notre propre Commonwealth des nations britanniques sont en jeu, et qui sera lourd de graves conséquences pour les peuples du monde. Durant cette conférence, nous avons eu l'occasion de passer en vue la stratégie de la guerre, d'étudier les plans d'après lesquels celle-ci se poursuit. Nous avons échangé des vues sur l'organisation mondiale qui, nous le souhaitons dans nos prières, sera conçue pour assurer la paix future. De la plus haute urgence et de la plus grave importance est l'entente que nous avons conclue à l'égard d'une politique de concentration sur la défaite de l'Allemagne, du Japon et de leurs satellites, et sur l'édification d'une organisation internationale et d'un ordre mondial qui rendront possibles un développement systématique de la vie politique et économique et une amélioration des conditions de bien-être social, la plénitude de l'emploi ainsi que des niveaux élevés et assurés de vie et de culture pour tous. Nous nous sommes moins préoccupés du mécanisme constitutionnel que des buts spécifiques à atteindre. A cette heure critique et tragique de l'histoire de l'humanité, notre objectif a été de déterminer quelles sont les tâches auxquelles il est essentiel que nous continuions de travailler de concert, puis d'envisager les meilleurs moyens d'arriver à ces fins.

Je tiens à profiter de l'occasion pour exprimer toute mon admiration, monsieur Churchill, de la manière dont vous avez présidé à notre conférence. Nous avons retiré le plus grand profit de votre direction inspirée, comme nous le faisons depuis le début de la guerre, et aussi de votre grande sagesse et de votre courage exemplaire. Je tiens également à remercier les collègues du premier ministre et les ministres qui nous ont aidé et qui ont fait si savamment des déclarations. Nous avons, en outre, apprécié l'efficacité du Secrétariat, qui a consacré tant de temps et d'énergie au succès de ces réunions. Son personnel s'est imposé de longues heures de travail, et les mémoires rédigés n'ont pas moins contribué que les ébauches soumises au succès de nos séances.

Pour conclure, monsieur le premier ministre, je me bornerai à dire que nous avons voulu démontrer qu'il était non seulement opportun, mais absolument nécessaire, dans l'intérêt du monde en général comme dans celui des nations du Commonwealth et de l'Empire britanniques, de maintenir et de consolider le Commonwealth, non seulement en tant qu'organisme, mais en tant qu'instrument puissant capable de réaliser des choses importantes pour le plus grand bien de l'humanité. Fortifié et inspiré comme je l'ai été, en entendant les membres de cette Conférence réaffirmer avec éclat les principes exprimés dans nos diverses déclarations depuis le début de la guerre, et en particulier dans la Charte de l'Atlantique, je répète et je renouvelle solennellement, mais avec beaucoup de fierté, l'engagement pris en 1939 par notre regretté premier ministre, M. Savage: "Où la Grande-Bretagne va, nous allons, où elle s'arrête, nous nous arrêtons".

Le feld-maréchal Smuts (premier ministre de l'Afrique du Sud):

Monsieur le premier ministre, milords, messieurs. Je désire exprimer mon contentement et mon entière approbation à l'égard de ce que vous avez dit, monsieur le premier ministre, et de ce qu'ont dit mes autres collègues. Nous sommes au terme d'une conférence très remarquable. J'ai assisté à plusieurs conférences impériales dans le passé, et, en y songeant, je n'en trouve aucune qui ait eu un caractère semblable à celle-ci. Cette conférence n'a pas été seulement une conférence impériale, elle a aussi remporté un succès qui est étonnant en temps de guerre. Elle s'est déroulée dans un esprit et une atmosphère différents de ceux que j'ai constatés lors des conférences précédentes. Cela est dû dans une large mesure, monsieur le premier ministre, au fait que vous avez dirigé cette conférence aussi habilement que vous avez conduit les affaires du monde dans les temps que nous traversons. Cette différence tient aussi à l'importance des questions que nous avons discutées.

A mon souvenir, aucune des conférence précédentes n'a étudié autant de problèmes fondamentaux de grande envergure, concernant non seulement notre groupe, mais le monde entier; en plus de discuter des problèmes de guerre pendant cette conférence, nous avons discuté des questions d'affaires internationales, nous avons discuté des sujets qui intéressent le principe même de notre société et de celle de toutes les nations, et tout cela s'est accompli dans un esprit et une atmosphère de camaraderie, d'amitié et de compréhension que je n'ai jamais vus auparavant. A l'issue de cette conférence, je retourne dans mon pays avec un nouveau sentiment de force, de courage et de réconfort pour entreprendre les tâches difficiles qui m'attendent. Jamais les relations personnelles nous ont été plus nécessaires que dans cette conférence-ci. Au cours des quatre dernières années, nous avons discuté et correspondu sur les problèmes qui ont retenu notre attention, mais nous l'avons toujours fait à distance sans jamais en arriver à ce contact personnel que nous venons de réaliser pour la première fois dans cette guerre et qui est d'une valeur inappréciable. Je suis certain que cette conférence a affermi nos résolutions et éclairé nos esprits, et que nous en avons tiré des avantages que nous n'aurions jamais obtenus au moyen d'une correspondance longue et compliquée. Nous avons discuté nos propres affaires, nous avons étudié les affaires du monde, mais nous n'avons pas discuté nos propres affaires au point de vue de notre intérêt personnel. Nous n'avons jamais oublié le fait que nous travaillons non seulement pour une époque et un endroit en particulier, mais sur un plan mondial beaucoup plus considérable. Nous sommes plusieurs associés, petits et grands, et nous comprenons qu'il est impossible d'arriver au succès ni d'atteindre nos fins, à moins d'être unis, à moins de tenir compte des avantages et du bien-être communs, et dans toutes les discussions que nous avons eues, nous avons toujours été pénétrés de cet esprit, de l'esprit qui a en vue le plus grand bien de l'humanité et non les intérêts individuels de notre propre groupe.

Nous retournons dans nos pays respectifs avec le message que nous avons signé ce matin; ce message d'encouragement, je l'espère, réchauffera le coeur de tous nos peuples. Ceux-ci ont porté de lourds, de très lourds fardeaux, et ce message qui leur est transmis par cette conférence, après presque cinq années de guerre, les aidera à tenir le coup durant la dernière phase, le point culminant, qui, nous l'espérons tous, marquera la fin du conflit. Notre message sera pour eux l'expression de l'espoir, de la foi, de la confiance et de la force qui nous animent et qui animent le coeur de nos gouvernements.

Je vous remercie du grand service que vous avez rendu à cette Conférence, de la direction que vous lui avez assurée et du concours que vous nous avez prêté. Je remercie tous vos collègues, tous nos collègues anglais, qui nous ont été très utiles, parce que, venant de loin, il nous a fallu traiter non seulement des grands problèmes de la guerre et de la paix, mais aussi, en maintes occasions, des problèmes de nos propres pays. Le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni, les membres du gouvernement de Sa Majesté, en ce pays, nous ont été des plus secourables relativement à ces problèmes domestiques que nous avons dû discuter avec eux en dehors de la conférence. Je veux aussi remercier bien sincèrement les fonctionnaires du travail qu'ils ont accompli pour nous. Nous avons par cette conférence ajouté énormément à leur lourde tâche, mais ils nous ont aidés et ils ont contribué à réaliser ce qui, je crois, restera l'un des grands succès de la présente guerre.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

La présente conférence a soulevé plusieurs graves problèmes, mais ce qu'elle a accompli constitue une grande victoire. Elle offre la perspective de jugements sages, de décisions éclairées et de règlements importants pour notre monde.

Sir Firoz Khan Noon (représentant de l'Inde):

Monsieur le premier ministre, milords et messieurs, cela nous a été une cause de plaisir réel, au Maharaja et à moi-même, de venir ici nous asseoir autour de cette table avec les premiers ministres et de discuter les problèmes de l'Empire; et nous espérons sincèrement que des occasions semblables nous seront offertes dans l'avenir d'étudier les questions qui nous intéressent réciproquement. Nous avons souvent l'occasion de venir en Angleterre et d'établir contact avec le gouvernement de Sa Majesté, mais nous croyons que, pour développer des relations amicales et un Commonwealth puissant, il est très nécessaire que nous entrions en rapport avec les représentants des Dominions également; c'est à ce point de vue que nous attribuons à cette réunion une valeur particulière. Cette réunion nous a aussi fait voir que, dans les grandes questions qui intéressent le Commonwealth, il n'y a absolument aucune divergence d'opinions entre les Dominions et nous-mêmes, ou entre le gouvernement de Sa Majesté au Royaume-Uni et nous-mêmes, et c'est en nous appuyant sur ce fait que nous pouvons attendre avec patience et espoir un accroissement de cette association politique.

Une chose, cependant, que j'aimerais mentionner, c'est que tout cela découle d'un seul grand facteur, et que c'est le propre du peuple anglais. Je me trouvais ici en 1940 et je connais les temps troublés qu'il a fallu traverser alors; et moi, pour un, j'ai été énormément impressioné par la détermination et la bravoure et le sens du devoir envers la liberté manifestés par tous, hommes et femmes, en ce pays. Et l'on me permettra de dire que cette détermination est symbolique de la direction que vous-même, monsieur le premier ministre, avez personnellement donnée à ce Commonwealth des Nations. La perspicacité du chef et la sagacité de sa politique ont permis aux différentes parties composantes de rester ensemble, et vous avez personnellement, par vos qualités de chef, rendu l'Empire et le Commonwealth de plus forts en plus forts. Nous avons confiance dans l'avenir, non seulement de ce pays mais du Commonwealth et de l'Empire tout entier, et j'ai à peine besoin d'ajouter avec quelle attention les Hindous ont suivi les séances de cette Conférence, et combien reconnaissants ils doivent se sentir tous de ce que leurs représentants et les premiers ministres des Dominions aient délibéré ensemble et soient arrivés à des conclusions acceptables à tous.

Sir Godfrey Huggins (représentant de la Rhodésie):

Monsieur le premier ministre, je me réjouis de l'esprit d'unité manifesté à cette Conférence; s'il n'y a pas de rechutes, lorsque la crainte sera dissipée, le Commonwealth et l'Empire qui, avec courage, hardiesse et discipline, ont sauvé le monde de la barbarie, resteront au premier rang et aideront à ramener cet univers si durement frappé vers des jours de paix. Le Royaume-Uni et ses associés de la Couronne possèdent des traits caractéristiques dont l'on aura besoin après la guerre: leur amour de la liberté, leur aptitude à accepter un compromis à se faire des concessions mutuelles et à jouer franc jeu. Ils n'ont pas besoin d'entretenir de craintes pour l'avenir, si, selon la volonté de Dieu, ils mettent un frein à l'égoïsme et maintiennent la bonté, volonté et l'unité sous la Couronne. Nous avons sauvé le monde en guerre, et, si nous restons unis dans la paix, nous pouvons préserver le monde pour le bien de l'humanité et le rendre digne de son héritage.

D 61695

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Ottawa, May 17, 1944.

Text of speeches made at the closing meeting of
Prime Ministers, 16th May, 1944:

Mr. Curtin:

Mr. Prime Minister, My Lords and Gentlemen. It is not very easy for me to say all that is in my heart. The people and the Government of Australia were most anxious that this consultation should take place. They desired it because they felt that the time had come when this Council should review the war in the state which it has now reached, so that the Heads of Governments could be informed more clearly as to the probable course that it might take, and the problems that have to be overcome, in order to mount to the summit the strength which has gradually been gathered from all parts of the British Commonwealth and Empire, and also the resources and efforts of our Allies. I can only say that we are deeply indebted to you, and to your colleagues, for the attention you have given, not only to the war itself but also to those multitudinous difficulties for the Commonwealth which the war has caused. During these Council meetings you have given to us the amplitude of your great mind and heart, and I know nobody anywhere who could have steered us through these deliberations more graciously, more inspiringly, or more successfully. I count myself, if I may offer a personal word, happy to have taken part in these discussions. I came not only from a sense of duty but also with a deep desire to be associated in a humble way with deliberations which I know would reach conclusions of historic significance, not only to the Commonwealth and Empire but, I do believe, to the world at large. The Declaration which we have agreed upon, and which is to be issued, indicates broadly the essential unity which marks this Commonwealth and Empire, and it expresses to other nations its deep purpose that is to be with them with all that we have, until the war is over, and also our determination to do all we can in the years to come to make the world a safer and a better place. I believe that the episode through which we are passing - I call it an episode, though it is markedly an occasion when aggressors have been able to wage war upon peace loving peoples. It is an episode which has heartened the evolution

of our association, has strengthened it, and, as it were, has given much acceleration and greater speed to our complete fraternisation as peoples offering homage to the King and to that association over which he rules as marking the greatest confraternity of Governmental relations the world has yet witnessed. Our association is one of kinship, one of common ideals and common purposes, and we say to the world at large that we ourselves feel that a world organisation for peace, for ensuring peace, and for the prevention of war, is an association into which we will enter and to which we will give all those qualities which we have, and which we believe have enabled us to play a very, very significant part in the life of the world as a whole. I give you the pledge of my country and I am sure any other Government of the Commonwealth would give you the same pledge of inflexible determination to be with you until the victory is won. That determination shall have imported into it every quality which marks the people of the Commonwealth. Those qualities of high endeavour, of endurance, of fortitude, and, may I say, of fighting capability, which the sons and daughters of our race in the Antipodes have displayed, and which I think has been recognised as one of its greatest gifts. I have great pride in the people of Australia. They have great pride in the British Commonwealth and we say, too, that this occasion, when we have gathered here in the midst of this terrible war in order the more solidly to wage the struggle, will be regarded by them as one of the great contributions to the earlier termination of the struggle. I should like to express our thanks for the great aid your officers have given to us and for the arrangements which have been made for our comfort and for our travel, and to say we will go back to our respective countries, as I know I shall in Australia, with an even clearer insight into the heroic gallantry and the unflagging endeavour which have enabled this bastion of the freedom of the world to reach its present state when it can look forward to peace with confidence.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Ottawa, May 17, 1944.

Text of speeches made at the closing meeting of Prime Ministers, 16th May, 1944:

Mr. Fraser:

Prime Minister, My Lords and Gentlemen. This meeting of Prime Ministers has been of great value and, I am sure, has inspired and strengthened all of us. I am most deeply gratified with the spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation which has throughout pervaded the discussions, as it does the relationship amongst the respective members of the Commonwealth and Empire. It is this spirit, more than any other factor, from which our great Empire and Commonwealth derives its strength, and upon its continuance rest our high hopes of the future. As a result of these completely frank exchanges, each of us has an understanding of the point of view and feelings of the other units of the Commonwealth, and has been given glimpses of the way our respective Governments are likely to consider proposals to meet changing circumstances. This will be invaluable, as in our own countries we have from day to day to make decisions on the important questions which continually arise. It has been a great benefit to me as, I am sure, it has been to all of us to have attended this historic meeting held at this critical period of the war in Europe - at a time which vitally affects the destinies of our own Commonwealth of British Nations and is fraught with momentous consequences for the peoples of the world. We have had an opportunity at this Conference to review the strategy of the war, to learn of the plans upon which it is being conducted. We have exchanged views of the world organisation which we trust and pray will be devised to maintain future peace. Most immediate and overwhelming in importance has been our agreement on the policy of concentrating on the defeat of Germany and Japan and their satellites, and upon the building of an international organisation and a world order which will make possible ordered political and economic

development and better standards of social welfare, full employment and good and assured standards of living and culture for all. We have not been concerned so much with constitutional machinery as with specific purposes to be achieved. Our aim has been to determine in this critical and tragic time in the history of mankind which are the matters upon which it is essential we should stand united in co-operation, and then to consider the methods by which we can best achieve these purposes. I would like to take this opportunity of expressing my very deep appreciation of the manner in which you, Mr. Churchill, have presided over our Conference. We have derived the greatest benefit from your inspired leadership, as we have throughout the war, and from your great wisdom as well as from your outstanding courage. I would like to thank also the Prime Minister's colleagues and the Ministers who have assisted us, for the statements they have so ably presented to us. We are also grateful to the efficiency of the Secretariat which has contributed so much in time and effort towards the smooth running of these meetings. They have worked long hours, and the preparations they have made, and the drafts which have been presented, have contributed greatly to the success of our meetings. In conclusion, Mr. Prime Minister, I would only say that, sure of our aims, we have demonstrated not only the desirability but the absolute necessity in the interests of the world as a whole, as well as of the peoples of the British Commonwealth and Empire, of maintaining and strengthening the Commonwealth, not merely as an organisation but as a mighty instrument for achieving great purposes in the highest interests of mankind. Strengthened and inspired as I have been with the clear ringing reaffirmation by the Conference of the faith expressed in our various Declarations since the outbreak of war, and particularly in the Atlantic Charter, I repeat and renew solemnly, but with great pride, the pledge given by our late Prime Minister, Mr. Savage, in 1939 - "Where Britain goes, we go, where she stands, we stand".

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Field Marshal Smuts:

Mr. Prime Minister, My Lords and Gentlemen. I wish to express my pleasure and my deep agreement with what has been said by you, Prime Minister, and my other colleagues. This is the end of a very remarkable Conference. I have attended many of the Imperial Conferences of the past, but, thinking back today over those Conferences, I cannot think of one which has had a character like the present. This has not only been an Imperial Conference but it has achieved a success that is amazing under war conditions. There have been a spirit and an atmosphere at this Conference unlike any that I have experienced in previous Conferences. In a large sense, Prime Minister, that is due to your leadership of this Conference, which has had the same high quality that your leadership has had in your conduct of the affairs of the world in the times through which we are passing. The difference is also due to the importance of the subjects that we have discussed. At no previous Conference, that I can remember, has there ever been such a rnnge of far-reaching fundamental problems, touching not only this group of ours but the whole world, as at this Conference we have discussed questions of war, we have discussed questions of international affairs, we have discussed the matters that go to the root of our own society and of all the nations, and it has all been done in an atmosphere, in a spirit of comradeship, friendship and understanding such as I have never experienced before. I go back to my country from this Conference with a renewed feeling of strength, courage and good cheer to meet the heavy tasks that lie ahead. At no Conference has it been more necessary than at this one for us to have personal contact. We have been discussing, we have been writing, we have been corresponding with each other for these four years on problems that have engaged our attention, but it has always been at a distance and never with that personal contact which now, for the first

time, we have been able to realize in the war that personal contact, meeting face to face, has been the greatest value. I am sure we have all been strengthened in our resolve, our minds have been clarified, and we have derived a benefit and an advantage from this Conference such as could never have been achieved by long and intricate correspondence. We have discussed our own affairs, we have discussed the affairs of the world, but we have discussed our own affairs in no sense of self-interest. We have always had in view that fact that we are working not only now and here but in a much greater world chain. We are many partners great and small, and we realize that no success can be achieved, no objects can be realised, unless there is unity, unless the advantage and the welfare of all are kept in view, and in all the discussions we have had, we have always been imbued with that spirit, the spirit which looks to the wider human welfare and not to the individual advantage of our own particular group. We go back to our countries from this Conference with the message that we have signed this morning, a message of good cheer, a message which I hope will put all our peoples in good heart. They have carried heavy burdens, they have carried intolerable burdens, and this message coming to them from this Conference after nearly five years of war will help them in the final phase, the climax of this war, which we all hope will be the end. Our message will mean to them an expression of the hope, the faith, the confidence, the strength that there is in this group of ours and in the hearts of our Governments. I thank you for your great service to this Conference, for the leadership you have given, for the help you have been to us, I thank all your colleagues, all our British colleagues who have been more than helpful because, coming from afar, we have had to deal not only with the large problems of war and peace but, in many cases, with the problems of our own countries. The United Kingdom Government, the members of His Majesty's Government in this country have been most helpful to us in these domestic questions which we have had to discuss with them outside this Conference. I wish to thank very sincerely, also, the officials for the work they have been doing for us. By this Conference we have added very largely to their

heavy burdens, but they have helped us and they have made their contribution to an achievement which I think will stand out as one of the great successes of this war. This Conference has raised many great problems, but what has been achieved is a victory of great promise, as it opens the prospect of wise counsels and wise decisions and great settlements for our world.

v Sir Firoz Khan Noon:

Mr. Prime Minister, My Lords and Gentlemen. It has been a source of real pleasure for us, the Maharaja and myself, to come here and sit round this table with the Prime Ministers and discuss Empire problems, and we sincerely hope that there will be similar opportunities in the future for consideration of matters of mutual interest. We have many chances of coming to England and making contact with His Majesty's Government, but we feel that, for the development of friendly relations and a powerful Commonwealth, it is very necessary that we should make contacts with the representatives of the Dominions also, and it is from that point of view that we consider this meeting is of special value. This meeting has also shown to us that, in the wider policy of the Commonwealth, there are no differences at all between the Dominions and ourselves, or His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and ourselves, and it is on that ground that we can look forward with hope and patience to the growing spirit of this political association. I should, however, like to mention one thing, that this is all due to one great factor and that is the characteristics of the British people. I was here in 1940 and I know the troublous times through which we passed in those days, and I, for one, was enormously impressed by the determination and bravery and sense of duty to freedom displayed by all the men and women of this country, and may I be permitted to say that that determination is typified in the leadership that you, Mr. Prime Minister, have provided personally for this Commonwealth of Nations. It is the clear-headedness of the leader and his policy which enables the various component parts to stay together, and you personally have, through your leadership, taken the Empire and the

Commonwealth from strength to strength, and we are confident for the future, not only of this country but of the whole Commonwealth and of the Empire, and I need hardly say how carefully the peoples of India have watched the proceedings of this Conference and how grateful they must all be that their representatives, along with the Prime Ministers from the Dominions, have deliberated jointly and come to conclusions which are acceptable to all.

Sir Godfrey Huggins:

Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to say that I rejoice in the spirit of unity displayed at this Conference and, if there is no relapse when fear departs, this Commonwealth and Empire, which with courage, enterprise and self-discipline has saved the world from barbarians, will remain in the lead and help return this sorely stricken world to days of peace. The United Kingdom, with her associates under the Crown, has characteristics which will be required after the war, their love of freedom, their ability to compromise, to give and take, and to play the game. They need have no fear for the future if, under Divine will, selfishness is kept in check and goodwill and unity under the Crown are maintained. We saved the world in war, and, if we maintain this unity in peace, we can preserve the world for the service of humanity and make it worthy of inheritance.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

Proceedings on the Occasion of

AN ADDRESS

by

Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.

Prime Minister of Canada

to

The Members of Both Houses of

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

Addresses by

The Right Honourable WINSTON CHURCHILL, C.H., M.P.
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom

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

The Right Honourable VISCOUNT SIMON, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O.
Lord Chancellor of the United Kingdom

The Right Honourable CLIFTON BROWN, M.P.
Speaker of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom

WESTMINSTER, LONDON, ENGLAND

MAY 11, 1944

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

D 61704

AN ADDRESS

by

Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.

Prime Minister of Canada

TO THE

MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

WESTMINSTER, LONDON, ENGLAND

May 11, 1944

Introduction by Right Honourable Winston Churchill Prime Minister of the United Kingdom

My Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons, My Lords, ladies and gentlemen:

We are met here to-day to give a hearty welcome to Mr. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada. We have known him a long time, and the longer we have known him the more we have loved him. He comes here from Canada to attend our gathering of Empire leaders; he comes here as one who has played an unrivalled part in the forward march of Canada.

Like most of us here, he is a party politician. Well, there is nothing to be ashamed of in that! But I say without hesitation that there was no other man, and perhaps there was no other career which any man could have followed, which would have enabled our honoured guest of this afternoon to lead Canada united into the heart of this world-shaking struggle.

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He has brought Canada to the greatest development of her power. It is extraordinary to think what Canada has done in this war. The unending crash of events, one scene of drama succeeding and overlapping another, the intense absorption of people of every age, sect and class in the war effort, hardly enabling them to draw breath —all this makes us incapable of appreciating a tithe of what is going on, what has been going on in Canada, under its Government headed by one who has been twenty-five years the leader of a party and eighteen years Prime Minister of the Dominion. With all that is being done there, we may well ask to be excused if we have not followed it all in the detail it deserves.

Canada, with her eleven million people, has guarded the heart and citadel of the Empire during the most perilous months in its history. There was a time when the Canadian Corps stood as our principal method of defence between the enemy's gathering invasion hordes and this vast City of London. And Canadians have become a naval people. They have gone to sea. Not only do they build ships, both of peace and war, but they man them, and fight them, and have contributed in a notable degree to the destruction of the U-boat menace.

As for the air, Canada is the home of the British Empire and Commonwealth in central organization. Her geographical and other conditions have facilitated this, and from the fields of Canada have come a race of airmen who have not only gathered unsurpassed honour, but will continue to be an asset for the greater unity which underlies all written or legal constitutions for the British Empire.

My friend, Mr. Mackenzie King, I have known for well over forty years, first in politics and then in personal friendship, and I know well the many steps he has always taken throughout that period leading up to this great climax of the development and demonstration of the power of Canada. Canada has a future which none can measure. The representative of this magnificent people will give us to-day a conception not only of the general participation of Canada in the Empire, but of the particular character of her contribution which, in our vast and varied organization, is always to be welcomed.

Canada is the link which joins together the old world and the new; which links the vast American people with whom, I trust, we shall ourselves develop a fraternal association. Canada, bound by sacred ties to the Mother Country, and also by terms of the deepest intimacy and friendship to the United States, clamps the whole structure of this benignant, unfearing, glorious British Empire together into one homogeneous mass which, when crisis comes for the world as a whole, will never fail in its duty.

I call upon Mr. Mackenzie King.

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Address by Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada

Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker, My Lords and Members of the House of Commons:

When I received from you, Prime Minister, the invitation to address members of both Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, I found myself at a loss for words in which to acknowledge so high an honour. Your kindness in presiding on this occasion, your words of introduction, the traditions and associations of Westminster, and the presence in such numbers of the Lords and Commons add greatly to my sense of obligation.

I am only too well aware of all that it means to be the guest of the people of Britain, and to be speaking to them, and to others, from the heart of the British Commonwealth and Empire, at this moment of supreme crisis in human affairs. Your friendship and mine over many years of peace, and our close companionship throughout the years of war, to which you have made so kind a reference, afford me a support I greatly welcome in addressing this distinguished assembly.

As to my part in Canada's entry into the war, it was but the discharge of the responsibility which was mine to give expression, in a decisive hour, to the will and spirit of the Canadian people, and to serve their highest interests.

Four years have now passed since you, Prime Minister, accepted the leadership of the people of Britain and the leadership of the cause of human freedom. You and your colleagues have led this country, and the cause for which it stands, from the dark days of extreme peril, to this hour when at last the light is beginning to break. It is a source of confidence throughout the free world that you are continuing your leadership with a vision and a courage which have already become a legend.

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I recognize that, for me, this occasion is designed as a welcome to Canada's representative at the meeting of Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth. For the high compliment being paid Canada to-day, I should like to express my gratitude and pride.

I know that the welcome you accord to me is equally heartfelt and generous towards the representatives of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. I should like to say to Mr. Curtin, Mr. Fraser and Field Marshal Smuts how great is the admiration of the people of Canada of their leadership, and of the heroic part which their countries have taken in this war. I should also like to say to them how glad I am that our presence in London at this time affords to us all not only exceptional opportunities of conference with the Prime Minister of Britain and his colleagues, but of making clear to the world the oneness of the nations of the Commonwealth in the winning of the war and in seeking international co-operation after the war.

Greetings from Canada

Perhaps I may be allowed to convey a special message from the people of Canada to the people of Britain.

No memory of happiness in the past is more cherished than the recollection of the visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen. In Canada, as in Britain, the years of war have heightened the admiration and increased the affection felt by men and women everywhere for our King and Queen. We have been inspired by their courage and devotion in sharing the dangers and sorrows of the people. In all the nations of the Commonwealth, their example has deepened the meaning and significance of our common allegiance to the Crown.

The heroic endurance of the people of Britain is ever present in our minds. We shall never forget your resolution in the darkest days of the war. Nor shall we ever cease to remember the determination with which, amid destruction of your homes and in peril of your lives, you, the men, women and children of Britain, have continued to carry on your work and to maintain your confidence in the future. Clearly the maintenance of human freedom has

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depended upon the preservation of the freedom of Britain. It is our greatest pride, as it is the greatest pride of other British nations represented here, that when, for so long a time, you alone bore the brunt of the attack, we stood with you in arms against the might of Nazi Germany. The free nations of the world can never forget that it was the indomitable resistance of the people of Britain that bought the precious time for the mobilization of the forces of freedom around the globe.

The Strength of Britain

Britain has also been an example to the world of the organization of a free people for a common task. You have astonished the world by the marvels of your industrial production and by the skill and efficiency of your workers. You have never lost your faith. A new energy, a new confidence have been generated in your people. These will endure. And your faith, tested and tried in the fires of affliction, will be firmer and stronger than it has ever been.

When victory is won, you will still possess the same initiative, vigour and endurance; the same skills of hand and brain; the same qualities of mind and spirit. These have enabled the people of Britain to make a contribution to the winning of the war which, man for man, no other nation has surpassed. In peace as in war, these qualities will remain. In the building of a better world after the war Britain will be able, by the force of her example, to give the same leadership that she has given in the waging of war.

The Spirit Underlying Canada's War Effort

It is, however, not of Britain but of Canada that I am expected to speak on this occasion. I should like, therefore, if I may, to speak to you particularly of the spirit of Canada, as exemplified in Canada's war effort. I do this with less embarrassment as a like spirit, I know, animates the war efforts of all the nations united in a common allegiance to the Crown. I should like to speak, as well, of what that spirit signifies for the future of the British Commonwealth and of its relation with other nations in the building of a new world order.

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In speaking of Canada's war effort it is not my intention to describe our contributions to the present world conflict primarily in terms of men and materials. What I should like to refer to are certain aspects which, viewed collectively, reveal the spirit of the Canadian people.

A Voluntary Effort

I place first the aspect I regard as most significant. Canada's war effort is a voluntary effort. It is the free expression of a free people. Like the other nations of the Commonwealth at war to-day, we entered the war of our own free will; and not as the result of any formal obligation. Ours was not primarily a response to a call of blood or race. It was the outcome of our deepest political instinct—a love of freedom and a sense of justice.

As our decision was a voluntary decision, so the effort of our people in carrying on the war has been a voluntary effort. In Canada, as in other countries, controls and restrictions have been imposed in order to prosecute the war with vigour and efficiency. But at every stage these measures have received the overwhelming support of the Canadian people.

Canada's population numbers eleven and a half millions. Three-quarters of a million of our finest young men are serving in the armed forces. This military demand on our manpower resources has not prevented our country from doubling its pre-war production. Thanks to the skill and devotion of our men and women, Canada is a granary, an arsenal, an aerodrome, and a shipyard of freedom. Our country has become increasingly proud of the fact that every fighting man from Canada serving across the seas, on the seas and in the air is a volunteer. We can say, in very truth, that our effort in this war is a voluntary effort.

An Immediate Effort

Canada's decision to enter the war was an immediate decision. When, in 1939, the last hopes of peace were fading from the world, I announced that, if Britain took up arms in the defence of freedom, our government would ask Parliament to place Canada at Britain's side. When war came, there was no hesitation. As soon as Parliament could act, Canada was at war.

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In those days few if any of our people believed our country stood in immediate danger of attack. What we sensed immediately was the issue. We saw that a bitter struggle had begun between freedom and domination and that the conflict would certainly spread. For the second time in a generation Canada went to war to help prevent tyranny in Germany from extending its domination to other parts of the globe.

When the last war ended the people of Canada, like other freedom-loving peoples, hoped and believed that peace and freedom had been assured to mankind for generations. In our National War Memorial, that hope and that faith were symbolized by inseparably joined figures of peace and freedom. But all our history, all our political experience told us that freedom in Canada could not survive in a world that was no longer free.

An All-out Effort

From the beginning, our war effort was so planned and organized that we might reach, as rapidly as possible, the maximum effort our people could sustain during a long war.

We expanded our Navy as fast as we could build or acquire the ships and train the men. We expanded our Army to the highest strength we believed we could maintain in a long war. We expanded our Air Force to the limit of our capacity to secure the needed equipment and to train personnel.

The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was expedited and expanded beyond all anticipations. The one hundred thousandth fighting airman has just completed his training. The co-operative training in Canada has vastly increased the joint strength in the air of the United Nations.

We have expanded our war industries far beyond the needs of our own armed forces. Despite the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of men from the farms, the fisheries, the mines and the forests, we have greatly enlarged our production of foodstuffs and raw materials. We are devoting about half our total production directly to the waging of war. We are paying about half the financial

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cost of our war effort out of current revenue from taxation. Through victory loans and war savings, nearly every family is helping to finance the war.

In fighting men, in weapons and munitions, in food and in finance, we are seeking as a people to make our utmost contribution to the fight for world freedom. Our objective has been a total effort for total war, and we believe that objective is being attained.

A Pioneering Effort

Of the nations of the western hemisphere, Canada was the first to defend in arms the frontiers of the freedom of the new world. For more than two years our country, alone in the Americas, was at war. In more ways than one our effort has been a pioneering effort.

A Co-operative Effort

Canada's contribution to the present war has been the greater because we live side by side with the United States. Without the harmony and reciprocity which exist between our two countries neither could have achieved so much in the common cause. The ability of both Canada and the United States to defend the North American continent and to fight abroad, has been greatly increased by our arrangements for joint defence and by the pooling of resources.

We have sought to make our war effort, wherever possible, a co-operative effort. The extensive military works undertaken in Canada in conjunction with the United States have provided a remarkable instance of close and friendly co-operation. Ours is surely the supreme example of a smaller nation living in the fullest security and harmony side by side with a very powerful one.

As a part of our war policy, Canada is sharing, with other of the United Nations, ships, machines, weapons and other supplies which, as I have said, we are producing far in excess of the needs of our own armed forces. Since the war began we have supplied to Britain, and to Britain's armed forces, war materials and other supplies worth nearly nine hundred million pounds ($4,000,000,000). Almost half of these supplies represent an outright contribution. Under our system of mutual aid, war materials have, for the past year, been

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supplied without payment to the United Nations, in accordance with strategic need. Canada is now supplying mutual aid to Britain, Australia, the Soviet Union, China and the French Committee of National Liberation.

A World-wide Effort

As the war has progressed, our effort has become more and more a world-wide effort. Canadian-made machines and munitions of war have been used on all the fighting fronts. Canadian sailors and merchant seamen have served on all oceans. Our airmen have fought in the battle of the skies around the globe. From the early days of the war our soldiers have helped to guard this island. They have seen active service in the Pacific area, as well as at Dieppe, and in the Italian campaign. To-day our army awaits the word of command to join with their comrades in the liberation of Europe. The morrow will witness Canadian forces taking part in a final assault upon Japan. Canada's effort has truly become a world-wide effort.

An Enduring Effort

I need scarcely say that we are in this war to the end. Canada's fight for freedom will be a fight to the finish. It is clear to our people that this war is all one war: a monstrous conspiracy of the fascist powers to dominate and enslave the world. Having taken up arms of their own free will, the Canadian people will not relax until freedom is secure. Canada's effort will be an enduring effort.

A Long-range Effort

We have also sought to look beyond the war; to make our effort a long-range effort. The Canadian pepole, no less than the people of Britain, whose sacrifices have been so great, need the promise of a brighter future. To sustain us in our endeavours, we all need the vision of a new world order.

By co-ordinated action, by mutual aid, by continuous co-operation, the United Nations are achieving military victory. The widest measure of co-operation will be no less needed in the making and keeping of peace. While our primary aim, like yours, is military victory, our ultimate aim, like yours, is a better future for mankind.

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A National Effort

Above all, our war effort must be viewed as a national effort. Our decision in 1939 was more than the free choice of a free parliament. It was the most solemn act of a free nation. Our war effort appeals to our national pride. We have sought to make it worthy of Canada.

Identity of Effort Throughout the Commonwealth

I have spoken of the war effort of Canada. May I hasten to say again that a like spirit has animated the war efforts of each of the other nations of the Commonwealth. With due allowance for varying conditions, the several aspects of Canada's war effort have been paralleled in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. When war came four nations, all of them thousands of miles from the scene of the conflict, ranged themselves at the side of Britain. To each the issue was plain; from each the response was immediate. Each is seeking to put forth the utmost effort. The contributions of all bear the imprint of the initiative and self-reliance of the pioneer. Co-operation has marked their course throughout. Each is making a long-range effort which will prove to be an enduring effort. It is the pride of each that its war effort has been a national effort.

The Spirit of Freedom

Nor have we far to seek to discover the cause of this identity of effort. The spirit of a nation is not readily defined. It is known only as it is revealed. It resembles the flow of waters hidden beneath the earth's surface. From time to time and from place to place the waters having their origin in some secret source reveal themselves as springs, or streams, or rivers. So also, from time to time, a nation's spirit wells up from its source and manifests itself in the collective acts of a people. Such collective action is quickened and heightened at a time of war.

The war efforts of the nations of the Commonwealth owe their inspiration to a common source. That source is the love of freedom and the sense of justice which, through generations, have been nurtured and cherished in Britain as nowhere else in the world.

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The terrible events of 1940 revealed how great was the menace to freedom and how suddenly freedom might be lost. So long as freedom endures, free men everywhere will owe to the people of Britain a debt they can never repay. So long as Britain continues to maintain the spirit of freedom and to defend the freedom of other nations, she need never doubt her own preeminence throughout the world. So long as we all share that spirit, we need never fear for the strength or unity of the Commonwealth. The voluntary decisions by Britain, by Canada, by Australia, by New Zealand, and by South Africa are a supreme evidence of the unifying force of freedom.

The Strength and Unity of the British Commonwealth

This common effort springing from a common source has given a new strength and unity, a new meaning and significance to the British Commonwealth and Empire.

Without attempting to distinguish between the terms "British Empire" and "British Commonwealth", but looking rather to the evolution of this association of free nations, may I give to you what I believe to be the secret of its strength and of its unity, and the vision which I cherish of its future. "We . . . who look forward to larger brotherhoods and more exact standards of social justice, value and cherish the British Empire because it represents, more than any other similar organization has ever represented, the peaceful co-operation of all sorts of men in all sorts of countries, and because we think it is, in that respect at least, a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

This vision, I need scarcely say, is not mine alone; indeed, the words in which I have sought to portray it are not even my own. They were spoken thirty-seven years ago by one whose fame to-day is not surpassed in any part of the world if, indeed, it has been equalled at any time in the world's history. They are the words of the present Prime Minister of Britain, uttered by Mr. Churchill in 1907. As they continue to reverberate down the years, they bring fresh inspiration to all who owe allegiance to the Crown and increasing hope to mankind.

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Visions of youth, sometimes, "die away,
And fade into the light of common day."

They fade not because the vision is ever wholly lost, but because resolution wavers, because determination fails, because of seemingly insuperable obstacles. It has not been so with Mr. Churchill. He has not to ask

"Whither is fled the visionary gleam?
Where is it now, the glory and the dream?"

The glory and the dream—are they not being realized, at this very hour, in the strength and unity of the nations of the Commonwealth?

Means of Consultation and Co-operation

From time to time it is suggested that we should seek new methods of communication and consultation.

I believe very strongly in close consultation, close co-operation, and effective co-ordination of policies. What more effective means of co-operation could have been found than those which, despite all the handicaps of war, have worked with such complete success?

It is true we have not, sitting in London continuously, a visible Imperial War Cabinet or Council. But we have, what is much more important, though invisible, a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the Commonwealth. It is a conference of Cabinets which deals, from day to day and, not infrequently, from hour to hour, with policies of common concern.

When decisions are taken they are not the decisions of Prime Ministers or other individual Ministers, meeting apart from their own colleagues and away from their own countries. They are decisions reached after mature consideration by all members of the Cabinet of each country, with a full consciousness of their immediate responsibility to their respective Parliaments.

Let us, by all means, seek to improve where we can. But in considering new methods of organization we cannot be too careful to see that, to our own peoples, the new methods will not appear as an attempt to limit their freedom of decision or, to peoples outside

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the Commonwealth, as an attempt to establish a separate bloc. Let us beware lest in changing the form we lose the substance; or, for appearance's sake, sacrifice reality. I am told that, somewhere, over the grave of one who did not know when he was well off, there is the following epitaph: "I was well; I wanted to be better; and here I am."

The Hope of the Future

In the passage I quoted from Mr. Churchill a moment ago I gave only a part of what he said. He set forth, as well, the means of realizing his vision of peaceful co-operation. "Let us," he said, ". . . seek to impress, year after year, upon the British Empire, an *inclusive* and not an *exclusive* character."

Like the nations of which it is composed, the British Commonwealth has within itself a spirit which is not exclusive, but the opposite of exclusive. Therein lies its strength. That spirit expresses itself in co-operation. Therein lies the secret of its unity. Co-operation is capable of indefinite expansion. Therein lies the hope of the future.

Commonwealth and World Co-operation

It is of the utmost importance to the Commonwealth that there should continue to be the greatest possible co-operation among its members. In like manner it is, I believe, of the utmost importance to the future of mankind that, after the war, there should be the greatest possible co-operation among the nations of the world.

Our wartime co-operation is not the product of formal institutional unity; it is the result of agreement upon policies of benefit to all. Moreover, they are policies that make an appeal "to all sorts of men in all sorts of countries," provided only they are men of good will.

If, at the close of hostilities, the strength and unity of the Commonwealth are to be maintained, those ends will be achieved not by policies which are exclusive, but by policies which can be shared with other nations. I am firmly convinced that the way to maintain our unity is to base that unity upon principles which can be extended to all nations. I am equally sure that the only way to maintain world unity is to base it upon principles that can be universally applied.

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The war has surely convinced all nations, from the smallest to the greatest, that there is no national security to be found in the isolation of any nation or group of nations. The future security of peace-loving nations will depend upon the extent and effectiveness of international co-operation.

It is no less true that it is not the great powers only that are needed to defend, to preserve, and to extend freedom. We should be false to the freedom for which we are fighting if, at any time, we failed to remember that no nation liveth unto itself; and that nations, great and small, are members one of another.

Prosperity like Security, Indivisible

It is not merely the security of nations that is indivisible. Their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought economic security in economic isolation from its neighbours. What happened was that the economic security of all nations was destroyed. Now is surely the time for the whole world to realize that, just as no nation of itself can ensure its own safety, so no nation or group of nations can in isolation ensure its own prosperity.

For my part, I profoundly believe that both the security and the welfare of the nations of the British Commonwealth and, in large measure, the security and welfare of all peace-loving nations will depend on the capacity of the nations of the Commonwealth to give leadership in the pursuit of policies which, in character, are not exclusive but inclusive. How far such policies can be successfully pursued will, of course, depend on the extent to which other nations are prepared to pursue similar policies. But let us, at least, wherever that is possible, give the lead that is in the interests of the world as a whole.

Canada and the United States

You, Prime Minister, have referred to the importance of strengthening the fraternal association that now exists between the British Commonwealth and the United States.

Over many years Canada's relations with the United States have been especially friendly. Throughout the war, we have followed the

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path of co-operation. We like to think that our country has had some part in bringing about a harmony of sentiment between the United States and the whole British Commonwealth. That harmony is the foundation of the close military collaboration which is proving so fruitful in this war.

It will ever be a prime object of Canadian policy to work for the maintenance of the fraternal association of the British and American peoples. When peace comes it is our highest hope that the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the United States will continue to march at each other's side, united more closely than ever. But we equally hope that they will march in a larger company, in which all the nations united to-day in defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind.

The Supreme Crisis

We are approaching, in the European theatre, the supreme crisis of this long and terrible struggle. In this fateful hour it is imperative that everything be done to maintain single-minded concentration on the achievement of victory. That is our first obligation. It is our duty to the humble people in all the Allied countries whose patient endurance, unremitting toil and ready acceptance of the burdens of war have made possible the immense strength in war materials and supplies of the United Nations. It is our duty, above all, to the millions of fighting men who, with their lives, are defending our freedom and the freedom of mankind.

The assurance of unfailing support to our sailors, soldiers and airmen is the supreme objective of the present meetings of Prime Ministers. We have met here, first and foremost, in order to do everything possible, by co-operation and by united action, to assure that support in largest possible measure on all the fighting fronts.

The present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. In any accurate geographical sense, it is the first world war in history. It is a war that is being fought not only on land and at sea but also in the clouds, miles above the surface of the earth. It is, moreover, a war that is not confined to the material realm. It is a struggle for the control of men's minds and men's souls. Its outcome will shape the moral destiny of the world.

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The support of our fighting men and our debt to all who are near and dear to them must extend beyond the theatres of war. It must look beyond the end of hostilities. We owe it to all who bear the heat of the strife; we owe it to those who are crippled and maimed; we owe it to the many homes that are bereaved; we owe it to the memory of those who give their lives; to do all in our power to ensure that their service and their sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

A More Abundant Life

In the past, the sacrifice of human life in war has been commemorated in monuments of stone or bronze. After this war we must create a more fitting memorial. That, I believe, will be found only in securing for others the opportunities of a more abundant life. Already we of the British Commonwealth and Empire are a community of many nations, of many races and of many tongues. Already we have advanced far in the art of responsible government, in the practice of international co-operation, and in the application of the principle of mutual aid. Surely it is ours to help fashion a new world order in which social security and human welfare will become a part of the inheritance of mankind.

The war has been none of our making. We sought, above all else, the promotion of peace, of understanding and of good-will. We deplored the extension of war to all parts of the world. Yet in the perspective of Time this world-encircling danger may prove to have been a blessing in disguise. Only in this way, perhaps, could other nations as well as our own, have come to see that the interests of Mankind are one and that the claims of Humanity are supreme.

Our first duty is to win the war. But to win the war, we must keep the vision of a better future. We must never cease to strive for its fulfilment. No lesser vision will suffice to gain the victory over those who seek world domination and human enslavement. No lesser vision will enable us fittingly to honour the memory of the men and women who are giving their all for freedom and justice.

In the realization of this vision, the governments and peoples who owe a common allegiance to the Crown may well find the new

meaning and significance of the British Commonwealth and Empire. It is for us to make of our association of free British nations "a model of what we hope the whole world will some day become."

Mr. Churchill:

My Lords and gentlemen, I call upon the Lord Chancellor to propose a vote of thanks to our honoured guest.

The Lord Chancellor (Right Hon. Viscount Simon):

My Lords and Members of the House of Commons:

Mr. Speaker and I have been asked to express in a few sentences the gratitude which we both feel to the Prime Minister of Canada for his presence and speech. The demonstration which followed the close of his address shows that, indeed, no long argument is needed. We are very grateful to Mr. Mackenzie King for saying, with so much eloquence and vigour, many wise and stimulating and hopeful things. I think we are especially grateful to him for the account which he gave—the brilliant account which he gave—both of the spirit of Canada and of the truly stupendous contribution which that Dominion is making to the common effort. I think Mr. Speaker will join with me if I venture to say to Mr. Mackenzie King, on behalf of this great company, that we do most sincerely express our admiration for all the efforts which this great Dominion is making, and we rejoice to think that we have amongst us the leader of that great people.

It wasn't so many years ago that, when any of us brought visitors into this part of the Palace of Westminster, we were considerably puzzled how to reply to the question, "What is this room for?" The most hopeful answer, I think, was that this large and splendid hall was built in order to find room for two quite enormous pictures which otherwise couldn't be accommodated. That was an injustice to the architect who designed this great hall one hundred years ago. He must have anticipated what would happen. For, thanks now to the way in which Mr. Mackenzie King can leave his country one evening and arrive here the next morning, and other astonishing excursions by other Dominion Premiers, this great hall, lying as it were between

the House of Commons and the House of Lords, has become on great occasions such as these a piece of common ground where Members of the two Houses may safely meet and where they can listen to an address without any breach of the ancient and precisely preserved privileges of either Chamber.

We are greatly rejoiced that Mr. Mackenzie King has now been added to the list of those who have thus addressed us. And with all our hearts we thank him for his speech, and wish to express to him in the warmest terms our feeling that that speech and the spirit behind it are all contributing to the unity and the comradeship of the British Empire, which is the surest guarantee of ultimate victory and the best hope of a peaceful world in the future.

Mr. Churchill:

My Lords and gentlemen: It has been my experience over a great many years to await the call of Mr. Speaker, and I am now fully conscious that the tables are turned, and I mean to avail myself of this advantage to the full.

Mr. Speaker (Col. the Right Hon. D. Clifton Brown):

On this occasion, although it may be slightly out of order, I am pleased indeed to obey the call of the Prime Minister.

Now I second this vote of thanks to Mr. Mackenzie King with great warmth indeed. I am only going to utter two sentences to you. In one I want to echo the warm appreciation we have of all that our fellow Britishers have done in the Dominion of Canada, under the leadership of Mr. Mackenzie King. We stand lost in admiration of the effort which they have put forward in this war. That's my first sentence. My second is this: That I believe Canada is building up something even greater than action in this war. I speak now, if I may, for Members of the House of Commons, and I believe for the Members of the House of Lords too,—we are lost in admiration, it has struck our imagination, the Air Training scheme which Canada has set up. Therein you have the cream of all young men, not merely from Canada but from all the rest of the Dominions and from the free nations of the world, meeting together, training

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together, forming bonds and links which I think the Prime Minister of New Zealand described the other day as "invisible, yet stronger than steel." Those, I believe, are the links which are going to bind our Empire together in the future—of incalculable strength and incalculable value to the British Empire.

For all that work the Canadians and Mr. Mackenzie King are doing on our behalf, I thank him most warmly and for the speech which he has given to us, which I beg to second.

Mr. Churchill:

All in favour of the vote of thanks to Mr. Mackenzie King, say Aye.

Aye!

Mr. Mackenzie King:

Lord Chancellor, Mr. Speaker:

I thank you warmly for the exceedingly kind words which you have just spoken. May I thank you again, Prime Minister, for words that touched my heart very deeply, and which I believe will meet with warm response in the heart of Canada.

I again thank the Members of the House of Lords and the Members of the House of Commons for their great courtesy in being present this afternoon in such numbers. May I thank you especially for the "Aye" which I heard when the Prime Minister put the resolution to this gathering. "Ayes" are always pleasant to the ears of Government.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
96		New Year's Message, Ottawa, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Dec. 1943	D 61550 - D 61558	
97		Notes for Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1944	D 61559 - D 61575	
97		Mulock, Sir William, 100th Birthday Anniversary, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Jan. 1944	D 61576 - D 61609	
97		National Liberal Federation Dinner, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Feb. 1944	D 61610 - D 61613	
97		Sixth Victory Loan, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	22 Apr. 1944	D 61614 - D 61626	
97		Parliament of United Kingdom, Address to Members of Both Houses, London, England. Speeches outside Parliament	11 May 1944	D 61627 - D 61672	
97		Prime Minister' Conference, Closing of, London, England. Speeches outside Parliament	16 May 1944	D 61673 - D 61723	
97		Civic Reception for Prime Minister King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 May 1944	D 61724 - D 61727	

Copy for Mr. Churchill

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

File

MEMORANDUM

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

D 61724

Re Civic Reception

Attached are:

(1) A copy of the proposed remarks of the Mayor.

(2) A draft of notes suggested for the Prime Minister's remarks.

J.W.P.

May 23, 1944.

JWP/MP

DRAFT

D 61725

Ottawa Civic Welcome

to the

Prime Minister

May 25, 1944

Notes for Remarks

In recent visit to Britain, had privilege of speaking for all Canada, regardless of party or other divisions.

National character of visit recognized in non-partisan NATIONAL WELCOME given by House of Commons on Monday afternoon.

Welcome today is intimate and local: a kindly gesture from fellow-citizens of Ottawa.

A citizen of Ottawa for an unbroken period of 44 years: amid demands and responsibilities of national affairs, have sought to find a little time to be a "good citizen" of my own city.

Active local citizenship essential to give roots and vitality to wider citizenship in the nation, the Commonwealth and the world.

Recent visit to Britain provided an opportunity to recognize Canada's new and larger place in world affairs.

The larger opportunities and responsibilities being won for Canada by her fighting men are paralleled by larger opportunities and responsibilities of Ottawa as the capital city of Canada.

Tribute to friendly co-operation between Ottawa civic authorities and Federal government - especially valued in wartime.

Grateful for the evidence of the personal good-will of neighbours and friends towards a fellow-citizen: one of the happiest occasions of my career to receive a welcome from those who see me most often and know me best.

One of my greatest desires to contribute as much as I can to the worthy development of this beautiful city and to help make Ottawa the pride of all Canada.

The finest of our young men are facing the <u>greatest ordeal of battle in history</u>: our first thought at home must ever be to keep ourselves worthy of their service and their sacrifice.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
97		Invasion of Western Europe, Radio, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	6 June 1944	D 61728 - D 61733	
97		Iceland, Establishment of Republic of, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	17 June 1944	D 61734 - D 61737	
97		De Gaulle, General, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11 July 1944	D 61738 - D 61768	
97		King, Rt. Hon. W.L.M. Twenty-Fifth Anniversary as Liberal Leader, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 Aug. 1944	D 61769 - D 61770	
97		Fighting Forces, Canada's Provision for, August 16, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Aug. 1944	D 61771 - D 61852	
97		Five Years of War, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1944	D 61853 - D 61876	
97		UNRRA Meeting, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Sept. 1944	D 61877 - D 61887	
97		Seventh Victory Loan, Opening Ceremony, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	21 Oct. 1944	D 61888 - D 61902	

Statement by Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King, June 6, 1944

D 61728

At half past three o'clock this morning the Government received official word that the invasion of Western Europe had begun. Word was also received that Canadian troops were among the Allied Forces who landed this morning on the northern coast of France. Canada will be proud to learn that our troops are being supported by units of the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force.

The great landing in Western Europe is the opening of what we hope and believe will be the decisive phase of the war against Germany. The fighting is certain to be heavy, bitter and costly. We must not expect early results. We should be prepared for local reverses as well as successes. No one can say how long this phase of the war may last, but we have every reason for confidence in the final outcome.

I cannot better express to the people of Canada the Government's feelings at this moment than by giving to you the words of General Crerar, the Canadian Army Commander, as conveyed to the Canadian assault forces on the eve of their embarkation: "I have," said General Crerar, "complete confidence in our ability to meet the tests which lie ahead. We are excellently trained and equipped. The quality of both the senior and junior leadership is of the highest. As Canadians, we inherit military characteristics which were feared by the enemy in the last Great War. They will be still more feared before this war terminates." I should like to add this word: Let the hearts of all in Canada today be filled with silent prayer for the success of our own and Allied Forces and for the early liberation of the peoples of Europe.

Statement by Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King, June 6, 1944

D 61729

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D 61730

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Statement by Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King, June 6, 1944 D61731

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Statement by Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King, June 6, 1944

D 61732

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Broadcast at 8a.m

D61733

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97		Invasion of Western Europe, Radio, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	6 June 1944	D 61728 - D 61733	
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97		Fighting Forces, Canada's Provision for, August 16, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	16 Aug. 1944	D 61771 - D 61852	
97		Five Years of War, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1944	D 61853 - D 61876	
97		UNRRA Meeting, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Sept. 1944	D 61877 - D 61887	
97		Seventh Victory Loan, Opening Ceremony, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	21 Oct. 1944	D 61888 - D 61902	

D 61734

Broadcast by the Prime Minister of Canada
on the occasion of the Establishment of
The Republic of Iceland - June 17, 1944.

The formal establishment, today, of the Republic of Iceland is of special interest to many homes in Canada.

It is more than seventy years since a small group of Icelanders came to settle in Canada. They first took up land in the old province of Ontario. The largest settlement was made in the newer province of Manitoba. They were of a hardy race. Their descendants have proved exemplary citizens. They have made important contributions to the public and professional life of Canada. Schooled in an ancient heritage of free government, they have added to the cultural wealth of Canada's national life.

Free institutions of government served to create a strong tie of friendship between Canada and Iceland. The war has strengthened this friendship. Today we are pleased to recall that in the early months of the present world-wide conflict, units of Canada's army were in Iceland. They were there to help guard this vital link in the chain of freedom between the old world and the new.

D 61735

Canada welcomes the final act which today determines the international status of Iceland. On behalf of the citizens of Canada I send to the citizens of Iceland every good wish for the future of the new Republic.

Mr Bissett
Foreign
files

D 61736

Broadcast by the Prime Minister of Canada
on the occasion of the Establishment of
The Republic of Iceland - June 17, 1944

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97		UNRRA Meeting, Montreal. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Sept. 1944	D 61877 - D 61887	
97		Seventh Victory Loan, Opening Ceremony, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	21 Oct. 1944	D 61888 - D 61902	

D 61738

Allocution à publier une fois prononcée

Colline du Parlement, Ottawa, 11 juillet 1944.

Présentation du général de Gaulle par le premier ministre, M. Mackenzie King.

Votre Excellence,

Votre Altesse royale,

Mesdames et messieurs,

Nous sommes réunis aujourd'hui pour souhaiter au général de Gaulle la plus cordiale bienvenue en notre pays.

Mon général, je rends hommage à vos titres de soldat français, de chef combattant pour la liberté mondiale et d'incarnation de l'esprit invincible de la France, et je suis fier de vous souhaiter la bienvenue au nom du Gouvernement et du peuple canadiens.

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D61740

Allocution à publier une fois prononcée

Colline du Parlement, Ottawa, 11 juillet 1944.

Présentation du général de Gaulle par le premier ministre, M. Mackenzie King.

Votre Excellence,

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D61741

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D 61742

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Votre Altesse royale,

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D61743

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D 61744

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D 61746

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D 61747

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D 61748

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La France n'est pas seulement le foyer ancestral de nombreux Canadiens; il se trouve en France des monuments qui sont chers au coeur du Canadien. La Somme, Arras, Cambrai, Vimy et une foule d'autres champs de bataille, d'il y a une génération, sont autant de noms qui demeureront à jamais gravés dans notre histoire. En combattant pour la libération de la France, c'est vraiment pour une partie de lui-même qu'il combat.

D 61749

En France, l'esprit de résistance s'est manifesté par d'innombrables actes d'héroïsme et de sacrifice. Derrière les lignes ennemies, la résistance française a sapé la puissance allemande. Depuis les débarquements en Normandie les forces souterraines ont promptement profité de l'occasion pour attaquer. De tous les côtés on voit des preuves que dans le coeur du peuple de France brûle encore une flamme inextinguible de "Liberté, Egalité et Fraternité" qu'aucune lâche trahison intérieure, ni aucune torture diabolique de la part des envahisseurs, n'a réussi à éteindre.

Dans la renaissance du pouvoir militaire de la France, à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur du pays, le Général de Gaulle a joué un rôle d'incomparable importance.

Pendant ces années de guerre, ici au Canada, nous avons contribué dans la mesure de nos moyens à entretenir le flambeau de la civilisation française. Nous avons continué à admirer la France et tout ce qu'elle a fait pour la cause de la liberté. Nous n'avons jamais désespéré de voir renaître la grandeur de la France. Le peuple du Canada est fier de prendre part aux événements mémorables qui effectuent la libération du sol français.

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D 61750

Allocution à publier une fois prononcée

Colline du Parlement, Ottawa, 11 juillet 1944.

Présentation du général de Gaulle par le premier ministre, M. Mackenzie King.

Votre Excellence,

Votre Altesse royale,

Mesdames et messieurs,

Nous sommes réunis aujourd'hui pour souhaiter au général de Gaulle la plus cordiale bienvenue en notre pays.

Mon général, je rends hommage à vos titres de soldat français, de chef combattant pour la liberté mondiale et d'incarnation de l'esprit invincible de la France, et je suis fier de vous souhaiter la bienvenue au nom du Gouvernement et du peuple canadiens.

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D 61751

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Dans la renaissance du pouvoir militaire de la France, à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur du pays, le Général de Gaulle a joué un rôle d'incomparable importance.

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D 61752

Allocution à publier une fois prononcée

Colline du Parlement, Ottawa, 11 juillet 1944.

Présentation du général de Gaulle par le premier ministre, M. Mackenzie King.

Votre Excellence,

Votre Altesse royale,

Mesdames et messieurs,

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Mon général, je rends hommage à vos titres de soldat français, de chef combattant pour la liberté mondiale et d'incarnation de l'esprit invincible de la France, et je suis fier de vous souhaiter la bienvenue au nom du Gouvernement et du peuple canadiens.

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D 61754

Allocution à publier une fois prononcée

Colline du Parlement, Ottawa, 11 juillet 1944.

Présentation du général de Gaulle par le premier ministre, M. Mackenzie King.

Votre Excellence,

Votre Altesse royale,

Mesdames et messieurs,

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~~Dept Translation~~
Mr Bissett & file

For release when delivered

Parliament Hill, July 11, 1944

Introduction by Prime Minister Mackenzie King of General de Gaulle

D 61756

Your Excellency, Your Royal Highness,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

We are met this morning to extend to General Charles de Gaulle a hearty welcome to Canada.

To you, General de Gaulle, as a French soldier, as a leader in the fight for world freedom, and as representing the unconquerable spirit of France, I am proud to offer this welcome in the name of the government and people of Canada.

Here, in the presence of the representative of the Crown, are assembled before you the reprosentatives in Parliament of the Canadian people. Here also are assembled residents of our Capital City. All are proud to honour the man who, in the darkest days of this war, rallied the forces of Free France, and who today is the symbol of the determination of the French nation to restore its freedom and greatness.

In welcoming General de Gaulle to our country, I can speak for the whole of Canada. In no country has the sympathy for France in her agony been deeper than in our own; in none have the prayers for her liberation been more fervent; in none has the growth of French resistance been watched with greater pride and admiration.

For the visit to Canada of General de Gaulle, the hour could not have been more happily chosen. At this moment, French and Canadian soldiers are fighting side by side in Italy. On the battle fields of Normandy, Canadian fighting men form part of the great Allied striking force. Amidst these scenes of conflict and triumph, there has been a proud renewal of the historic association between the peoples of France and Canada.

General de Gaulle comes to us fresh from his visit to Normandy. What emotion he must have felt as he set foot once more on the soil of France! What a thrill of pride was felt in many Canadian homes when we learned that the first troops he met in Normandy were men of Canada's army! It was from Normandy that the first Canadians came to make a new home, and found a new nation, in the new world. We rejoice that Canada's fighting men are helping today to free the ancestral home of so many of our people.

France is not only the ancestral home of many Canadians; in France are many shrines sacred to all Canadians. The Somme, Arras, Cambrai, Vimy and a host of scenes of battle, a generation ago, are names that will live forever in our history. In fighting for the liberation of France, Canada is fighting for what is truly a part of herself.

Within France, a living spirit of resistance has revealed itself in countless acts of heroism and sacrifice. Behind the enemy's lines, the French resistance has been undermining German power. Since the landings in Normandy, underground forces have been quick to strike. On all sides there is evidence that in the hearts of the French people, there still burns an unquenchable fire of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" which no dishonourable betrayal within, or fiendish tortures from without, have been able to extinguish.

In the revival of French military power, inside and outside of France, General de Gaulle's role has been of incom arable importance.

In these years of war, we in Canada have sought to do our part to keep alive the flame of French civilization. We have continued to cherish our admiration for France, and all she has meant to Freedom. We have never lost our faith that the greatness of France would be restored. The people of Canada are proud to have their part in the memorable events in which the liberation of France is being accomplished.

In thanking you for your visit and in wishing you all that is best in your valourous leadership, I ask you, General de Gaulle, to take back with you an assurance from the Canadian people to the people of France.

Tell them that all Canada is united in support of the determination of the Allied Nations to drive the enemy from the soil of France.

Tell them we are not less united in the determination to destroy the power of Germany to terrorize Europe, and to end, once and for all, Germany's capacity to disturb the peace of the world. Tell them that we are with them heart and soul, XXXX

D 61760 JAG/C 7.7.44

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VISIT OF GENERAL DEGAULLE

I.

There is, I believe, one reason above all others for welcoming General deGaulle to the capital of Canada today. General deGaulle has been a soldier all his life. When the Government of his native France wavered and collapsed in the black and anxious days of 1940, it was he who first rallied the forces of France still able to fight against the enemy. From London, from Brazzaville, from Algiers, he has been tireless in the unremitting task of organizing the efforts of the Fighting French to hasten the day of allied victory and the liberation of his homeland. It required courage of a superlative kind, four years ago, to uphold the battered name of France. For General deGaulle there was no surrender; neither was there then, or will there ever be, for the brave men he gathered about him to wage war against the Nazi invaders of France.

The fighting men of the Cross of Lorraine have now fought on many Allied battlefronts. We recall today, with pride in our hearts, the unquenchable spirit of those French soldiers who, under a valiant general, marched from Lake Chad across much of Africa to join in the battles of the Western Desert. We recall the valour of French arms in subsequent campaigns: in North Africa, in Tunisia, in Sicily, and, at this very day, in the battle for the liberation of Italy.

D 61761

As the man who organized this resistance, as the man who kept bright and alive the spirit of the splendor of France as a free nation, we salute General deGaulle today.

II.

The spirit of France has come alive on Parliament Hill today. More than three hundred years ago, Samuel de Champlain, the founder of New France, passed within sight of this place on the broad waters of the Ottawa River. In his train came other intrepid Frenchmen, penetrating far into the wilderness of a then-unknown land. Along the newly dissovered waterways came priests of the Roman Catholic faith - devout men who were explorers as well as teachers of Christianity. New France became British North America, and British North America was expanded into the Canada of today, stretching from sea to sea. But its broad expanse still bears the impress of the life of many a saintly figure, many a chivalrous spirit, not a few women of character and devotion, who raised up in the New World a new nation.

In our country of two official languages and of many racial stocks, we welcome today with full hearts and with a revived sense of the history of our nation, a stalwart man who speaks to us of France - the Fighting France of today.

III.

What a thrill of pride was evoked in many Canadian homes when it was announced, not many days since, that General deGaulle had made a visit to Normandy! How great was that pride when it was learned that the first Allied troops which General deGaulle had met were men of Canada's Army. I should not like to let this occasion pass without saying to General deGaulle that the people of Canada appreciated the significance of this meeting; nor do I doubt that the Canadians who had this opportunity to meet General deGaulle on French soil would be cheered and inspried for whatever tasks might lie ahead of them. It is not necessary for me to remind General deGaulle with what feelings of interest and attachment the people of Canada have entertained for the liberation of France. On that day honour was done to Canada's fighting men; on this day when we here in Ottawa honour General deGaulle and his associates, our wishes for liberation are combined with hopes for a restoration of France to a position of respect, and may I say, of affection, among all the free nations of the world.

D 61764

July 7, 1944.

We are happy to welcome to Canada today a French soldier and leader of great distinction, General Charles de Gaulle. At a moment of great peril both to his own country and to the civilized world, General de Gaulle had the courage and the faith to raise in exile the standard of resistance which the enemy had battered down in France. Through this decision, taken by him and his companions in an hour of terrible crisis, Frenchmen were able, under the Cross of Lorraine, to continue as partners in the great enterprise which they had undertaken in common with their Allies in 1939. The new beginning, made in the Call to Fight issued by General de Gaulle to Frenchmen on June 18th, 1940, was small in scale. Since that time the size and strength of French forces engaged against the enemy have grown steadily and impressively. Today, the great traditions of French military power are once again being upheld and strengthened in actions by land, by sea and in the air, and in the secret armies which strike at the enemy even within his most formidable strongholds.

In the revival of French military power, General de Gaulle has played a role of incomparable importance. In the years since 1940 his persistence and his devotion to the cause of France have made him both a symbol of the determination of the

French nation to live once more, and an active leader through whom the French might bring their aid to the common effort.

The weight of renewed French military strength has long since begun to count in the balance of forces which is posed against the enemy. At Bir Hacheim a gallant band of French defenders helped to stem the tide of German military power at a moment of great danger in North Africa. Since that time, in the victorious surge which has carried the Allied Armies across Africa and Sicily and into the heart of Italy, French forces have played a courageous part.

~~Meanwhile~~, Within France ~~herself~~, a living spirit of resistance has ~~been~~ revealed in countless acts of heroism and sacrifice. Throughout ~~the whole of~~ the struggle, ~~the gradually increasing strength of~~ the French resistance movement has been undermining German power behind the enemy's ~~own~~ lines. ~~Long and careful preparations for even greater actions have been made by these underground forces.~~ ~~They~~ have been quick to ~~seize the opportunity~~ to strike at the enemy, ~~created by the allied~~ landings on the beaches of Normandy. Organized and disciplined action, initiated by the resistance movement within France, has been of inestimable aid to the allied armies as they penetrated the Norman peninsula. On every hand there ~~has been~~ is evidence of the determination of the French people ~~as a whole~~ to make ~~its~~ them

~~full~~ contribution to the cause of victory.

The people of Canada are proud to have their part in the great events in which the revival of France is being revealed, and to share with the soldiers and the people of France the sufferings which attend the struggle for freedom. Through the Mutual Aid Agreement which has been concluded between the French authorities in Algiers and the Canadian Government, supplies of vital war materials manufactured in Canada are being made available for the immediate use of the French Armies. At this moment French and Canadian soldiers are fighting side by side in the Italian Peninsula. On the battlefields of Normandy, Canadian forces form part of the great striking force which is there engaged in battle. Amidst these scenes of conflict and triumph, there has taken place a proud renewal of the long and honourable associations which have existed between the peoples of France and Canada. As we welcome General de Gaulle, we are confident that the partnership between French and Canadian soldiers, in the mighty coalition of force which has been ranged against the enemy, will be strengthened by continued victory. We are hopeful too, that this companionship in arms will be the prelude to long years of fruitful cooperation between our two nations.

D 61767

France and Canada alike belong to the small group of nations who went to war in 1939 of their own free will in a determination to put an end to Nazi aggression. Since 1940, the resistance of France has been carried on by brave men in exile from their homeland and by resolute men and women within France. The men and women of the resistance, inside and outside France, have risked not only their own lives but their homes and families in carrying on the fight for freedom. Their sacrifice is incomparably greater than any which the peoples who have not been overrun, have been called upon to make.

After the long years of preparation, the forces of freedom from the outside are joining with the forces of resistance on the inside in the struggle to drive the enemy from the soil of France and to destroy forever his capacity for aggression.

D 61768

Canada is proud of her membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations. But that partnership is not an exclusive association. Canada cherishes her close friendship with the United States. That friendship, too, is one in which other free nations may share. The foundation of our association with Britain and the other British Nations; the cement of our friendship with the United States is a comon love of freedom and a common sense of justice. The same love of freedom and sense of justice have joined Canada and France in two great wars in one generation. For both Canada and France, our common ideals are more significant even than our historic bonds, because they point the way to co-operation between our two peoples and all free peoples in the future.

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