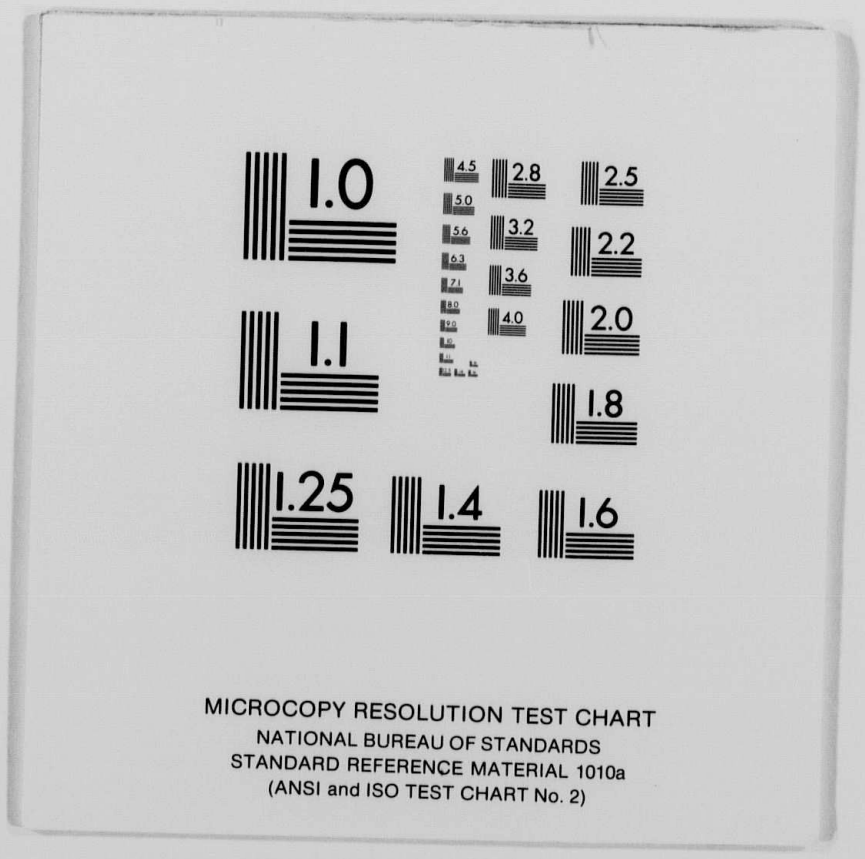

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MG 26
J

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

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

1996-02-02
7-2061

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

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

Access is Restricted.

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

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

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

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

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

Public Papers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Memoranda, notes and some correspondence are found in this series, arranged in subject files within four chronological periods (1887-1921, 1922-1932, 1933-1939 and 1940-1950), with additional material at the end. A complete file list is available in a separate bound finding aid, on microfiche and on the Prime Ministers CD-ROM.
Volumes 1-409 are also available on microfilm, reels C-1953 to C-1983, C-2475, C-2475A, C-2476 to C-2480, C-2575 to C-2576, C-2622 to C-2626, C-2693 to C-2731, C-4253 to C-4289, H-1471 to H-1562.

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

This series contains speech notes, drafts, printed copies, newspaper reports and comments. The material is arranged chronologically. A list giving subject, date and place of each speech is available in a separate bound finding aid and on microfiche.
The speeches from 1899-1932 are also available on microfilm, reels C-1984 to C-1988, C-2788 to C-2800

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

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

Personal Papers.

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

This series consists primarily of King's correspondence from members of his family. The letters are arranged chronologically up to the end of 1917 and after that by name of correspondent. A file list is available in the finding aid and on the Prime Ministers CD-ROM.
Also available on microfilm, reels H-2244 to H-2270

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Political Archives Section.

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MG 26
J

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

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

1996-02-02

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

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

Accès contrôlé.

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers publics. Original,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers personnels.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Section des archives politiques.

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
79		Price and Wage Control, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Jan. 1946	D 49911 - D 49920	
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79		Farewell Dinner to Duke of Athlone, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	28 Feb. 1946	D 49926 - D 50012	
79		Dinner for Governor General. Speeches outside Parliament	1 Mar. 1946	D 50013 - D 50014	
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79		Government Dinner in Honour of Governor General and Princess Alice, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	28 Mar. 1946	D 50020 - D 50043	
79		Tribute to Leon Blum, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 Apr. 1946	D 50044 - D 50045	

J.A.G.
12:ii:46

Government Dinner
in honour of
The Governor General and Princess Alice

Country Club
Thursday - March 28, 1946

This dinner - one of a number planned as a means of saying farewell to His Excellency and Her Royal Highness - is intended specially as a means of enabling the members of the Government of Canada (and myself) to bid "au revoir" to two distinguished and very staunch friends of Canada

Perhaps not easy to recall that more than 5 years have gone by since His Excellency was sworn in as Governor General - at Ottawa - on June 21, 1940.

That event, at a moment when the impact of war in Europe was beginning to be felt (Nazi invasion of Norway and Denmark, Nazi penetration into Belgium and Holland Military collapse of France)

-- must have recalled many memories of two earlier wars to His Excellency; most of his life a professional soldier

South Africa - campaign in Matabeleland 1896
returned as Governor General to the Union 1923-30

Canada - first visit 1901
- had been appointed Governor General in summer of 1914; but because of outbreak of World War I did not take up office

D 50020

Canada (continued)

Hope that at the end of five crowded and demanding years both H.E. and H.R.H. will feel that the "delayed acquaintance" with Canada will have been rewarding in many ways.

During the war years H.E. and H.R.H. have taken an active interest in so many good causes (-armed forces auxiliaries (-war production enter- that the people (-public health, prises of Canada have and youth training come to think of them as devoted friends.

Both of them represent strong and living links with the Crown; both of them have exemplified in full measure in Canada the devotion to the public welfare shown so magnificently by the King and Queen

- - - -

I would mention two directions in which H.E. and H.R.H. have been singularly helpful to my colleagues and myself

1) in the war effort of Canada both have given unsparingly of their time, not only in support of national appeals for (voluntary services (war savings (physical fitness, etc

but also in visiting many parts of Canada (some never before visitedbby any Governor General)

all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific; the Alaska Highway into the Yukon and N.W.T.

D50021

also to the Pacific Coast of U.S.A.;
to Alaska
to Newfoundland and Labrador

also to Washington as guests of the late President Roosevelt and Mrs. Roosevelt

2) in the hospitable entertainment of many distinguished visitors from abroad:
(see separate list

heads of states
Prime Ministers
Foreign Ministers
valiant men and women of many nations engaged in a common struggle for the world's freedom

in one sense a reflection of the place of Canada in the world community

in another a measure of the obligation which rests upon Canada to aid in the building of security, the establishing of peace, and the bringing of comfort and aid to a distressed but never-despairing humanity.

D50022

The office as Governor General

- not now what it was before 1926

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when H.E. came to Canada in 1940

were <u>then</u> 5 Ministers
4 High Commissioners

today 11 Ambassadors
8 Ministers
5 High Commissioners

Canadians are glad to think of the Gov.Gen. as the personal representative of the sovereign -

links in this case especially close:

H.E. uncle of the present King

H.R.H. a grand-daughter of Queen Victoria

D 50023

JAG/22.11.46

D 50024

Government Dinner in Honour of The Governor General and Princess Alice - Country Club, Thursday, March 28, 1946

Remarks by the Prime Minister:

Your Excellency, Your Royal Highness, Your Excellencies and Ladies and Gentlemen:

My colleagues in the Government and myself thought that we would like to have one evening on which we might invite representatives of the governmental and diplomatic and civic life of the national Capital to join with us in bidding farewell to two very staunch and delightful friends of Canada.

This dinner is one of a number of functions to enable people to say "au revoir" to His Excellency and Her Royal Highness, and I am personally delighted that so many have been able to accept our invitation this evening. Their presence here bespeaks an interest and a friendliness upon which I am able to draw in what might otherwise be an unusually difficult task.

It is not easy, indeed, to find words in which to express the appreciation and admiration which we feel in our hearts for the distinguished representative of the King, and for his most charming wife. This evening our minds go back, perhaps even now with difficulty, over the nearly six years which have elapsed since His Excellency was sworn in as Governor General on June 21, 1940.

I need not remind any of you here how trying and exacting those years, under the stress of war, have been. The Governor General, in fact, arrived in the midst of war; and there is some sense of relief in the certainty that he can,

D 50025

with the Princess Alice, take his departure under conditions of peace.

It will be spring when they reach England, and I suppose there is no lovelier season in their homeland. We hope that after the responsibilities, and the inumerable obligations, of their high office here have been laid down, they may each of them find a springtime of enjoyment in scenes familiar and dear to them. I am sure they will take away from Canada the heartfelt good wishes of many thousands of our citizens. In particular, they will carry with them the united good wishes of all who are present here this evening to greet them.

His Excellency's acquaintance with the office of Governor General was not entirely new, for in the summer of 1914 he had been appointed to this office by the late King George V. The onset of the first Great War prevented Lord Athlone's coming to Canada then; and the fortunes of time and circumstance brought him back to Canada, 26 years later, in the midst of a second and even more terrible war. The respect and admiration which has everywhere been aroused will I hope have been rewarding in its own way to His Excellency and Her Royal Highness; and I hope also their proper acquaintance with Canada through these last few years has not suffered by the delay.

Both of our chief guests this evening represent strong and living links with the Crown, and both of them have exemplified in full measure the devotion to the public welfare shown so magnificently by the King and Queen

The time and thought and active helpfulness which His Excellency and Her Royal Highness have given to so many good causes is well known. The auxiliaries to the armed forces, the war production industries, public health organizations and groups encouraging the training of youth have all benefited from this single-minded interest. All of Canada is grateful for it, and will continue to be so. The Governor General and the Princess Alice have taken so large and so remarkable a part in the life of Canada as a whole that we have come to think of them not so much as the distinguished holders of high office, but as trusted and devoted friends.

I would mention two directions in which His Excellency and Her Royal Highness have been singularly helpful to my colleagues and myself. In the war effort of Canada both have given unsparingly of their time, not only in support of national appeals for voluntary services and war savings, but also in visiting many parts of Canada (some never before visited by any Governor General). They have travelled all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and the Alaska Highway into the Yukon, and parts of the Northwest Territories have been embraced within their journies. They have visited also the Pacific Coast of the United States, Alaska, and Newfoundland and Labrador.

Secondly, in the hospitable entertainment of many distinguished visitors from abroad, both at Government House and at the Citadel in Quebec, they have welcomed heads of

D 50027

states, Prime Ministers, Foreign Ministers, and valiant men and women of many nations engaged in a common struggle for the world's freedom.

In one sense this has been a reflection of the place of Canada in the world community; in another, it has been a measure of the obligation which rests upon Canada to aid in the building of security, the establishing of peace, and the bringing of comfort and aid to a distressed but never-despairing humanity.

The company present this evening numbers the representatives of governments in our neighbour nations around the world. I am reminded that when His Excellency assumed office in 1940, there were then five Ministers accredited to the Government of Canada, and four High Commissioners representing nations of the British Commonwealth. The numbers of the diplomatic corps have since grown until today missions in Ottawa are headed eleven by Ambassadors, eight by Ministers, and five by High Commissioners. The Governor General has received the letters of credence by which many of these representatives have been accredited. We are all delighted that these representatives are able to join in bidding farewell to the Governor General and Princess Alice this evening.

His Excellency has had a lengthy career of public service in many forms. For half-a-century he has been a soldier, and before he came to Canada he had served for

D 50028

nearly eight years as Governor General of the Union of South Africa. We have known of his long connection with the University of London as its Chancellor; and his interest in public education has been demonstrated by his visits to Canadian Universities which have honoured him. We have known too of His Excellency's interest in many agencies for social service and the advancement of the public welfare. We do not doubt that with whatever leisure is afforded them on their return to Britain, His Excellency and Her Royal Highness will continue their unflagging and helpful word in these directions. They will both, I hope, find in the years ahead many satisfactions from the interest in these good causes which they showed in so practical and understanding a fashion during their residence in Canada.

We all wish His Excellency and Her Royal Highness a safe and pleasant journey homeward, and very many happy hours through all the years that lie ahead.

D 50029

To His Excellency

The Right Honourable The Earl of Athlone

etc., etc.

Governor General and Commander in Chief
of the Dominion of Canada

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY

We, His Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects the Commons of Canada in Parliament assembled, beg leave to convey to Your Excellency an expression of the general feeling of regret with which the people of Canada have learned of the approaching conclusion of your official relationship as the Representative of His Majesty the King.

It must be a source of gratification to Your Excellency on your retirement as Governor General, to realize that your period of office has covered the most eventful years in the history of the world. It has witnessed victory over the enemies of freedom, and the emergence of Canada as a world power with a foremost place among the United Nations.

We cannot bid Your Excellency farewell without expressing our grateful appreciation of your unfailing

co-operation in the tasks of government through these years of constant anxiety. Throughout these years Your Excellency gave unsparingly of your time and thought to sustain and strengthen the morale of the nation at war. By word and example, you brought courage and cheer to the armed forces, to the auxiliary services, to workers in war production in the factories and on the farms. You lent your support to every worthy national appeal, Universities, schools, hospitals and other agencies of health and welfare, have all benefited from your personal interest and concern. You have been warmly welcomed in all parts of Canada. You have seen Canada at work under the tragic stimulus of war. You have watched its industries converted to the purposes of peace. You have glimpsed the broad expanses of our country and found delight in its scenic grandeur.

At no time in Canada's history has our country been visited by so many of the leading personalities of the world. Both at Government House in Ottawa, and at The Citadel in Quebec, you have extended the warmest hospitality on the name of Canada.

Your extensive travels have given you an intimate knowledge of our country, its resources and its potential future.

In saying farewell to Your Excellency we wish most warmly to express our appreciation of the important and gracious part taken by Her Royal Highness The Princess Alice in the success which has marked the discharge of your high responsibilities. Her helpful, generous and sympathetic co-operation in the performance of your public and social duties has won for her an enduring place in the affection and respect of the Canadian people.

The presence of Your Excellency and Her Royal Highness in Canada has strengthendd the place which the Royal Family holds in the hearts of the Canadian people. We would ask Your Excellency to convey to Their Majesties the King and Queen the assurance of Canada's fidelity to the Crown and the devotion and affection of the Canadian people for Their Majesties.

D 50032

The presence of Your Excellency and Her Royal Highness in Canada has strengthened the place which the Royal Family holds in the hearts of the Canadian people. We would ask Your Excellencies, on your return to the United Kingdom, to convey to Their Majesties the King and Queen, the assurance of Canada's fidelity to the Crown, and the devotion and affection of the Canadian people for Their Majesties.

In saying farewell to Your Excellency we wish most warmly to express our appreciation of the gracious part taken by Her Royal Highness the Princess Alice in the unqualified success which has marked the discharge of Your Excellencies' high responsibilities.

Your Excellency and Her Royal Highness have been as one in all you have sought to foster of a high sense of public duty and have contributed to the elevation of the national character by highest standards in private and public life.

Your Excellency and Her Royal Highness will always have our warmest wishes for your future happiness.

D 50033

As my term of office as Governor General is now nearing its close, I cannot forbear to remark upon the privilege enjoyed by Her Royal Highness The Princess Alice and myself of residing in Canada through these momentous years of war and the first months of transition in a more peaceful atmosphere. There is an abiding satisfaction, which both of us will cherish throughout our lives, in having seen this nation shoulder the burdens imposed by world-wide conflict, and to see, as well, the emergence of Canada strong both in material resources and in the determination of her people to take their fair share in the tasks of peace-making and peace-keeping. I should like to assure you that all these memories will remain with Princess Alice and myself, and that our interest in all that pertains to Canada will be close and constant.

You will shortly be welcoming to Canada, to succeed me in the office of Governor General, Field Marshal the Viscount Alexander of ~~Thus~~ Tunis. I can express no higher hope for him, as he begins his duties as the Representative of the King, than that he should receive the same warmth of welcome which throughout the past six years has been accorded me throughout the length and breadth of Canada.

D50034

As you enter upon the second session of this post-war Parliament, I pray that Divine Providence may guide and bless all your deliberations and the humanitarian work of Canada and its people in the myriad tasks of peace.

J.A.G.
12:11:46

Government Dinner
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Country Club
Thursday - March 28, 1946

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D50035

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links in this case especially close:

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H.R.H. a grand-daughter of Queen Victoria

D50036

Recall quite well first acquaintanceship with His Excellency when he visited Canada in 1901 with Royal Tour of

Their Royal Highnesses The Duke and Duchess of Cornwall & York

(later King George V and Queen Mary

- was then a young Deputy Minister (Labour).

Recall associations with the Royal Party of Sir Wilfrid and Lady Laurier - (Quebec).

Acquaintanceship of 45 years certainly covers "a long stretch".

Fact is often stranger than fiction -

nearly 40 years later

His Exeellency returned to Canada as personal representative of the Sovereign;

I was Prime Minister in His Majesty's Government in Canada.

D 50037

JAG/22.ii.46

Government Dinner in Honour of The Governor General
and Princess Alice - Country Club, Thursday, March 28, 1946

D50038

Remarks by the Prime Minister:

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JAG/22.11.46

Government Dinner in Honour of The Governor General and Princess Alice - Country Club, Thursday, March 28, 1946

D 50039

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D 50040

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D50041

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D 50042

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We all wish His Excellency and Her Royal Highness a safe and pleasant journey homeward, and very many happy hours through all the years that lie ahead.

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79		Tribute to Leon Blum, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 Apr. 1946	D 50044 - D 50045	

J. A. C.

D 50044

~~Government~~ Dinner
in honour of
M. Léon Blum and Mme. Blum
~~Country Club~~ Laurier House
April 5, 1946

Great honour in welcoming to the capital of Canada one of the distinguished figures of contemporary France;

twice Prime Minister in the last year of peace (1938) before world war,

President of one of the principal political parties,

an author of distinction,

during the dark years of Nazi occupation one of the stalwart figures in the Resistance Movement,

which in France became a vibrant symbol of the character of a people whose history is eloquent in proclaiming the virtues of liberty.

During war years had pleasure of welcoming many valiant men of France to Canada on missions of importance in the winning of victory forthe United Nations;

visits helping to bring alive in our midst the spirit of France,

present mission of Mr.Blum to help in winning the peace and enabling France to have her full part in the upbuilding of a world community

J. A. G.

D 50045

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79		Statement to the Plenary Session of the Dominion-Provincial Conference of 1945-1946, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1946	D 50046 - D 50159	
79		Tribute to the Late W.R. MacDonald M.P. Speeches in Parliament	3 May 1946	D 50160 - D 50165	
79		Speeches outside Parliament	17 May 1946	D 50166 - D 50167	
79		London. Speeches outside Parliament	23 May 1946	D 50168 - D 50179	
79		Dinner at 10 Downing Street, London. Speeches outside Parliament	7 June 1946	D 50180 - D 50288	
79		Dinner in Honour of Mr. King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	18 June 1946	D 50289 - D 50292	
79		Welcome to Hon. Herbert Hoover, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	28 June 1946	D 50293 - D 50295	
79		The First Year of Peace, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	3 July 1946	D 50296 - D 50335	
79		Paris. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Aug. 1946	D 50336 - D 50417	
79		Dieppe. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Aug. 1946	D 50418 - D 50420	

Office copy

April 27, 1946

50046

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Dominion - Provincial Conference

Notes re statement to be made by The Prime Minister at plenary session - April 29, 1946.

The statement should begin by mentioning the circumstances which occasioned the calling of the Dominion-Provincial Conference, namely that, during the war, to meet a national emergency, the Provinces yielded up certain of their sources of revenue to the Dominion.

It should be frankly admitted that it was intended that these sources would be returned when the war was over. The statement should say that the war had lasted longer and occasioned greater expenditures than could possibly have been foreseen at the time.

The Japanese war had been added to the German war in the interval.

Be sure and say at beginning a clearer statement is made of the aim of the Dominion's proposals - to see that the Dominion government gets a chance to discharge its duties in the external field, and the provinces fully theirs. No desire to invade, etc. Also emphasize agreement is only for three years.

It was foreseen that the situation following the war would be more difficult to cope with than had been believed. Also that the period of transition from war to peace would be extremely difficult because of loss of markets, chaotic conditions in the world, etc.

Then bring in fact that war with Germany came to an end before Dominion-Provincial conference was arranged. (Give date). State when plenary conference met.

Bring in dramatic circumstances that before it had concluded announcement was made of the destruction wrought by the atomic bomb and cessation of hostilities against Japan.

Then bring out the circumstances of the appointment of the Co-ordinating Committee; show its relation to the Conference; decision to have a permanent Economic Committee reporting to its own government.

Then brief outline of further references to Co-ordinating Committee, and finally, decision on Thursday to adjourn at the conclusion of Friday's meeting, to have plenary session on Monday.

Make clear the purpose of the plenary session, by prefacing it making mention in a general way of the proposals submitted. Make clear first how the Dominion proposals had been submitted in open conference. Some of the provinces had not presented theirs immediately. Indicate if possible how they were presented.

Then make clear that at the Co-ordinating Committee modifications were made in the federal proposals in the light of discussions.

Then further clarification of these proposals, but bring out that it was felt by some of the provinces that while the Dominion position had been given prominence in the press, the position of some of the provinces have not gained the same publicity.

It was therefore felt that the time had come when the Dominion and provinces alike should have the opportunity to present in public their proposals or attitude toward the Dominion proposals.

The brief might make clear from the outset that the Dominion proposals had been the basis of the discussion.

Some of the provinces had not presented any proposals. Consider wisdom of stating that Ontario had not up to the present.

Make clear that the Co-ordinating Committee discussions had not been for the purpose of concealing anything from the public, but rather for the purpose of permitting a freer discussion of everything on its merits than might have been possible in an open forum.

Then make very clear that the present open plenary session is to see that each government has the opportunity to state very definitely its position.

I would then follow with the statement of the Dominion's proposals mentioning where the fuller statements would be found and making clear that this statement is a consolidation of the Dominion's position up to date and does not pretend to go into details.

D 50048

Then make the presentation in as balanced a form as possible. When the presentation has been made it should be followed by a statement that will admit quite freely that there have been continual modifications of the Dominion's original proposals; that nothing could better demonstrate the desire of the Dominion to go as far as possible toward meeting the wishes of the provinces.

The Dominion now felt it had gone as far as it possibly could in the light of its obligations. Here set forth what these obligations are in some particulars: re war veterans, social service, interest on public debt, cost of maintenance of army, international relations, etc.

Until agreements are signed there is room for some adjustments, but Dominions must state that any modifications would have to be on the basis of discovering financial equivalents.

The statement should speak of the value which the free discussion in camera had effected. Then take up the immediate situation which was that the Dominion would have to bring its budget in at once. The provinces had to know their position.

There were <u>three</u> alternatives:

<u>First</u>: acceptance of the proposals of the Dominion as now presented.

<u>Second</u>: what would follow a rejection of the Dominion proposals: namely a reversion to taxation in the different fields as existing prior to the war and what that would mean as compared with the Dominion's proposals. Some of the provinces seemed to feel they would be in a worse position than they now are.

<u>Third</u>: something as yet undisclosed might be proposed which would be further considered. This would have to be dealt with immediately.

The statement should then estimate the fact that this is a mere agreement for three years. At the end of that time we would hope that the period of transition would be more or less at an end and probable future more clearly seen. The present arrangement was all within the framework of the B.N.A.Act involving only one possible amendment, but it did not attempt constitutional changes, etc.

Three years from now the whole matter could be considered further in the light of developments and careful consideration in the years meanwhile.

(Need for immediate action as agreements run out and budgets have got to be prepared).

The federal government would be prepared to consider the best methods whereby studies could be made. It might be suggested that it had already been proposed that a body which would correspond to the Co-ordinating Committee of the Conference might be kept in existence, meeting one or twice a year, and also the economic committee of experts be a continuing body meanwhile.

At the end of the proposals a brief statement should summarize their merits and meet the arguments that might be suggested against them, as, for example, do not mean invasion of provincial rights; do not mean centralization, etc.

I would conclude the statement by saying that once the position of all parties has been made perfectly clear, if it appears that we have reached agreement on basic principles. we might then have the Co-ordinating Committee reconvene and the details worked out.

D 50050

DOMINION-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

(Plenary Session)

Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada

Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P.

April 29, 1946.

The normal relationship between the Dominion and the provinces ~~was~~ were materially affected by the war. In 1941, to enable the Dominion to mobilize the utmost financial resources of the nation for the prosecution of the war, the provinces withdrew from the income and corporation tax fields, in return for fixed annual payments, the amounts of which were set forth in war-time tax agreements. It was contemplated, at the time the tax agreements were entered into, that once the war was over and the tax agreements expired, the provinces would again be free to levy income and corporation taxes. At the time no one could possibly have foreseen how long hostilities would last, and, least of all perhaps, the full extent of the colossal expenditures ~~its~~ the prosecution of the war would involve, and the inevitable obligations and commitments it would occasion for years thereafter.

D 50051

The occasion of the Conference

As hostilities continued, it became obvious that the great changes the war was bringing about would make it difficult to revert to the financial relationships which had existed ~~at the time~~ when the war-time tax agreements had been entered into. That was the first and main reason which necessitated the calling of a Dominion-Provincial Conference. A second reason was that the relationships between the Dominion and the provinces before the war had been far from satisfactory. In fact, the problem of Dominion-Provincial relations was one to which serious and urgent attention was being given when the war itself broke out. For some time before the war ~~concluded~~ ended there was a growing appreciation of the complexity and difficulty of the situation through which the world would pass in the period of transition from war to peace. Chaotic conditions in the world, difficulties in the way of re-establishing ordinary peace-time markets and shortages of supplies of all kinds were to be anticipated. In the face of this prospect, Dominion and provincial governments alike recognized the need of finding practicable means of establishing a satisfactory basis of Dominion-Provincial co-operation, which, for the period of transition,

would place the Dominion government in a position to discharge effectively its international and national obligations, and at the same time, place the provincial governments in a position to carry out effectively their ~~own~~ obligations and responsibilities.

During the years of the war Canada achieved a higher level of employment and national income than ever before. Effective Dominion-Provincial co-operation is essential if we are to maintain a high level of employment and national income, and to extend social security in Canada.

Proceedings ~~after the~~ of the Conference

The present Dominion-Provincial Conference opened its proceedings on August 6th of last year. Prior to the opening of the conference and following months of co-operation with the provinces in the preparation of essential statistical material, a comprehensive set of proposals for a Dominion-Provincial ~~co-operation~~ agreement was worked out by the Dominion. These proposals were submitted to the conference at the opening of its proceedings.

D 50053

The provinces had been invited to make proposals of their own. At the opening meeting certain of the provinces submitted proposals, other provinces made informal statements. It was felt by the provinces that time would be required to study the Dominion proposals, to prepare comments and to suggest modifications, or, as they were invited to do, to make alternative proposals. To facilitate these ends, a Co-ordinating Committee was established, consisting of the premiers of the nine provinces, three Dominion ministers, and the Prime Minister of Canada. As stated in the report of the Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee, which was read this morning, the Committee has met from time to time. At the suggestion of some of the premiers, and with the approval of all, its meetings were held in camera. all formal submissions made by the provinces to the Coordinating Committee have, however, been made public.

I should like to make it perfectly clear that holding the meetings of the Co-ordinating Committee in camera was in no way due to a desire on the part of any of its members to conceal from the public matters which necessarily were of vital concern to the people of Canada as a whole. It was solely for the purpose of

making possible a freer discussion of all issues on their merits. Positions taken in open discussions are, as is well known, often difficult to change, though in the light of circumstances change may be advisable. Modifications of Dominion proposals ~~All formal submissions made by the provinces to the Co-ordinating Committee have been made public.~~ A number of revisions and modifications of the Dominion proposals have, in the light of ~~the~~ discussions, been made at the meetings of the Co-ordinating Committee. In the Committee, the Dominion has sought to clarify its proposals as fully as possible, and to answer as completely as possible ~~at~~ questions raised by the provincial governments. The Dominion government welcomes this opportunity to present, in summarized form, the complete Dominion proposals as they now stand.

Here I might point out that the fact that the Dominion has from time to time modified its proposals is in itself evidence of its desire to meet, as far as possible, the difficulties with which some of the provinces are faced, and its readiness to go as far as possible to reach a basis of agreement which ~~would~~ will be at once fair and satisfactory ~~to all.~~ to the provinces and the Dominion alike.

D 50055

It is, I believe, all to the good that the exact position of the several governments should now be made known to the public in the words of their own representatives.

I might say that the Dominion doubly welcomes this ~~opportunity~~ plenary session in that, while its ~~own~~ proposals and position are fully known to all the provinces, the Dominion has still to be informed of the position of some of the provinces, and of the full extent to which there is agreement in principle on the proposals which the Dominion has put forth.

I shall ~~now~~ at once give a summary of the Dominion proposals as they now stand.

D 50056

Occasion of the Conference.

The present Dominion-Provincial Conference opened its proceedings on August 6th of last year. The normal relationship between the Dominion and the provinces had been materially affected by the war. This was particularly true of financial relationships because of war-time tax agreements. During the war, to meet the national emergency, the provinces yielded up certain of their sources of revenue to the Dominion. It was contemplated, at the time the tax agreements were entered into, that the sources of revenue thus yielded up would be returned to the provinces when the war was over. At that time no one could possibly have foreseen the world-wide scope hostilities were to assume, how long hostilities were likely to last, and, least of all perhaps, the colossal expenditures involved by its prosecution, and for years thereafter, through the inevitable obligations and commitments due to a long period of war.

As hostilities continued, it became obvious that after their termination, whenever that might be, because of the duration of the war and the great change it brought about, it was not easy to contemplate a mere reversion to the relationship which had existed before 1941, the time at which war-time tax agreements had been entered into. That was the first and main reason which necessitated the conference.

D 50057

The second reason was that the relationship between the Dominion and the provinces had been far from satisfactory before the war. In fact, the problem of Dominion-Provincial relations was one to which serious and urgent attention wasbeing given before the war.

Proceedings Prior to Conference.

For some time previous, prior to the opening of the conference in August last, following several months of co-operation with the provinces in the preparation of statistical material, a comprehensive set of proposals for Dominion-Provincial co-operation had been worked out by the Dominion. These proposals were submitted to the conference when it opened its proceedings in August last. They were made public at the time.

The provinces had been invited to make proposals of their own. At the meeting in August, certain of the provinces submitted proposals, other provinces made informal statements. It was felt by the provinces that they would require time to study the Dominion proposals, to prepare comments or criticisms, and to suggest modifications, and to make alternative proposals, as they were invited to do.

To facilitate these ends, a Co-ordinating Committee, consisting of the premiers of the nine provinces, three Dominion ministers, and the Prime Minister of Canada, was established. As stated in the report of the Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee, read this morning, the Co-ordinating Committee has met from time to time. At the suggestion of some of the premiers, and with the approval of all, its meetings were held in camera.

I should like to make it perfectly clear that the meetings in camera of the Co-ordinating Committee was in no way due to a desire on the part of any of its members to conceal from the public matters which necessarily were of vital concern to the people of Camada as a whole. It was solely for the purpose of making possible a freer discussion of all points on their merits. Positions taken in open discussion are, as is well known, much more difficult to change in the light of circumstances than positions which are taken in the course of deliberations held in camera often merely to clarify discussion. All submissions received from the provinces have been made public. Revisions and modifications of the Dominion proposals have been made at the meetings of the Co-ordinating Committee, in the light of its discussions. At the request of certain premiers, the modifications of the Dominion proposals were not made

public at the time they were made. It was maintained that their consideration would be facilitated by this procedure.

In the Committee, the Dominion has sought to clarify its proposals as fully as possible, and to answer as completely as possible questions raised by the provincial governments, involving possible additional modifications. The Dominion Government welcomes this opportunity to present, in summarized form, the complete Dominion proposals as they now stand.

I should perhaps say that while, at the instance of the Dominion, no official statement of the Dominion's proposals as revised and modified, in the light of discussions in the Committee, has been made, it has been felt by some of the provinces that the Dominion's position has nevertheless been given prominence in the press, whereas an equal measure of publicity has not been accorded the proposals of some of the provinces. I should not wish to be the one responsible for assessing either the amount or the value of the publicity accorded the position or the proposals of the Dominion and the several provinces. This is something on which necessarily the public itself will have to form its own estimate. Since, however,

the question has been raised, it is, I believe, all to the good that all question as to the exact position and proposals of the several governments should be made known to the public in words of their own representatives. On behalf of the Dominion I may, therefore, say that we welcome no less than any of the provinces the opportunity which the present plenary session of the conference affords to have the clearest possible statement made of the position, proposals and views of all the governments.

I might say that the Dominion doubly welcomes this opportunity in that, while its own proposals and position are fully known to all the provinces, the Dominion itself has still to be informed of alternative proposals, if any, on the part of some of the provinces, and of the extent to which there is agreement in principle to the proposals which the Dominion has put forth.

D 50061

URGENCY OF PROBLEM

The Minister of Finance has been obliged to delay preparation of the Dominion budget pending the outcome of the present conference. The preparation of the Dominion budget cannot, however, be much longer delayed. The nature of the budget vitally affects plans for business expansion for years ahead. The wartime tax agreements expire within the coming year. The present uncertainty cannot be allowed to continue.

If agreement is reached, the Dominion budget proposals will be based on the terms of the agreement. If agreement is not reached, final preparation of the budget will have to be proceeded with forthwith. In such case full account will have to be taken of the termination of existing tax agreements with the provinces and the situation which will then result. The Dominion Government will have to use its constitutional powers to the full extent necessary to meet its heavy national and international financial obligations and commitments. There is, perhaps, a third alternative. It may be that at the present plenary session something as yet undisclosed might be proposed which would offer a better solution. In view of the urgency of preparing Dominion and provincial budgets, any such propbsal would necessarily have to be dealt with immediately.

D 50062

Let me emphasise again that the Dominion's proposals are for a period of three years. If any agreement is to be reached for the period of transition immediately ahead, it must be reached within the next few weeks. It is the hope of the Dominion Government, therefore, that once the position of the provinces has been made perfectly clear at this plenary session, if it appears that agreement is possible on basis principles, the Co-ordinating Committee might resume its sittings in order to work out the agreement itself.

Section of Prime Minister's speech to follow

Summary of Dominion proposal.

No Constitutional Change

In all its proposals, the ~~Dominion~~ government has assumed that Canada's federal system of government should be preserved and strengthened. I should like to repeat what I said at the plenary session on August 6th, last:

"We do not believe that unity is to be found in uniformity, in standardization or in centralization. We believe the unity and strength of Canada are equally dependent upon the soundness and strength of the provinces, and their capacity to discharge their functions effectively. We believe that only when the provinces are relatively secure in their own spheres can we achieve the co-operation among all governments so essential to our country's needs."

My colleagues and I have scrutinized every aspect of our proposals in the light of these general principles. The Dominion proposals will, we believe, strengthen the position of each government in its respective field.

The only constitutional change suggested is the proposal, already mentioned, for the delegation of powers. With this one exception under which the Dominion is prepared to enlarge the powers of the provinces, none of the Dominion proposals would require an amendment to the British North America Act, or involve any fundamental disturbance of the traditional pattern of Confederation. In this unsettled period of world transition, it would be unwise to seek constitutional change or to make irrevocable commitments. What we are now seeking is to meet urgent needs on a temporary basis by the simplest and most effective means.

Avoidance of Double Taxation

In formulating its proposals, the Dominion government has kept constantly in mind the desirability of double taxation being avoided, and of the best possible use being made of the major fields of direct taxation.

When we speak of the best possible use of tax fields we have in mind more than tax collection costs to governments and taxpayers. We are deeply concerned that Canada's tax system should be efficient in the sense that in this period of transition, it will impose the least

possible discouragement to the expansion of business activity and employment. This is one of the main reasons for the proposal that the Dominion alone should levy Income and Corporation Taxes and Succession Duties, and make in return unconditional payments to the provinces.

Forecast of Tax Policy

Here, may I indicate something of the tax policy the Dominion plans to follow should agreement be effected on the basis of the Dominion proposals.

In respect to the personal income tax, as now levied, the government is prepared to say that, once the Dominion proposals are accepted, and the risk of having Dominion policies nullified by provincial policies having contrary economic effects is thereby avoided, the government intends to make further reductions in the personal income tax. In the same circumstances, the government also intends to reduce the element of double taxation of corporate income with its tendency to discourage risk-taking enterprise. It is intended to meet a part of the Dominion's share of the cost of the broad extension of social security, included in the Dominion proposals, by means of direct personal contributions.

Urgency of Problem

The Minister of Finance has been obliged to delay preparation of the Dominion budget, pending the outcome of the present conference. The preparation of the Dominion budget cannot, however, be much longer delayed. The nature of the budget vitally affects plans for business expansion for years ahead. The provinces also have their budgetary problems. Within a year all the war-time tax agreements will have expired. The present uncertainty cannot be allowed to continue.

In its proposals as they now stand the Dominion government feels that it has gone as far as it possibly can in the light of its very heavy financial obligations. While we have not shut the door to possible alternatives or adjustments, any such modifications will have to be on the basis of financial equivalents.

If agreement is reached, the Dominion budget proposals will be based on the terms of the agreement. If agreement is not reached, final preparation of the Dominion budget will nevertheless have to be proceeded with immediately. In such case full account will have to be taken of the termination of existing tax agreements with the provinces, and the situation which will then

result. The Dominion government will have to use its constitutional powers to the full extent necessary to meet its heavy national and international financial obligations and commitments. There is, perhaps, a third alternative. It may be that at the present plenary session something as yet undisclosed ~~might~~ may be proposed which would offer a better solution. In view of the urgency of preparing Dominion and provincial budgets, a decision on any such proposal would necessarily have to be reached without delay.

Once the position of the provinces has been made perfectly clear at this plenary session, if it appears that agreement is possible on basic principles, it is our hope that the Co-ordinating Committee might resume its sittings in order to work out the agreement itself.

Continuing consultation

In conclusion, may I repeat that the Dominion proposals are for a period of only three years, and that they involve no permanent changes in our constitutional or financial relationships. In the event of agreement being reached at this time the Economic Committee might

D 50068

continue as presently established with a permanent secretariat, to facilitate Dominion-Provincial co-operation. The Committee might meet at least twice a year throughout the period of the agreement to exchange information at the technical level and to put its members in a position to advise their respective governments on ways and means of furthering the objectives of the agreement, and on other subjects of mutual and national interest.

The Co-ordinating Committee as presently constituted might remain formally in existence, and might meet whenever it appeared desirable in the general interest.

It would be our hope that further conference and consultation between the Dominion and the provinces, carried on in this or some similar way, would over the next three years bring us close to a permanent solution of the problems of Dominion-Provincial co-operation.

April 27, 1946 D 50069

Dominion - Provincial Conference

Notes re statement to be made by The Prime Minister at plenary session - April 29, 1946.

The statement should begin by mentioning the circumstances which occasioned the calling of the Dominion-Provincial Conference, namely that, during the war, to meet a national emergency, the Provinces yielded up certain of their sources of revenue to the Dominion.

It should be frankly admitted that it was intended that these sources would be returned when the war was over. The statement should say that the war had lasted longer and occasioned greater expenditures than could possibly have been foreseen at the time.

The Japanese war had been added to the German war in the interval.

Be sure and say at beginning a clearer statement is made of the aim of the Dominion's proposals - to see that the Dominion government gets a chance to discharge its duties in the external field, and the provinces fully theirs. No desire to invade, etc. Also emphasize agreement is only for three years.

It was foreseen that the situation following the war would be more difficult to cope with than had been believed. Also that the period of transition from war to peace would be extremely difficult because of loss of markets, chaotic conditions in the world, etc.

Then bring in fact that war with Germany came to an end before Dominion-Provincial conference was arranged. (Give date). State when plenary conference met.

Bring in dramatic circumstances that before it had concluded announcement was made of the destruction wrought by the atomic bomb and cessation of hostilities against Japan.

Then bring out the circumstances of the appointment of the Co-ordinating Committee; show its relation to the Conference; decision to have a permanent Economic Committee reporting to its own government.

D 50070

Then brief outline of further references to Co-ordinating Committee, and finally, decision on Thursday to adjourn at the conclusion of Friday's meeting, to have plenary session on Monday.

Make clear the purpose of the plenary session, by prefacing it making mention in a general way of the proposals submitted. Make clear first how the Dominion proposals had been submitted in open conference. Some of the provinces had not presented theirs immediately. Indicate if possible how they were presented.

Then make clear that at the Co-ordinating Committee modifications were made in the federal proposals in the light of discussions.

Then further clarification of these proposals, but bring out that it was felt by some of the provinces that while the Dominion position had been given prominence in the press, the position of some of the provinces have not gained the same publicity.

It was therefore felt that the time had come when the Dominion and provinces alike should have the opportunity to present in public their proposals or attitude toward the Dominion proposals.

The brief might make clear from the outset that the Dominion proposals had been the basis of the discussion.

Some of the provinces had not presented any proposals. Consider wisdom of stating that Ontario had not up to the present.

Make clear that the Co-ordinating Committee discussions had not been for the purpose of concealing anything from the public, but rather for the purpose of permitting a freer discussion of everything on its merits than might have been possible in an open forum.

Then make very clear that the present open plenary session is to see that each government has the opportunity to state very definitely its position.

I would then follow with the statement of the Dominion's proposals mentioning where the fuller statements would be found and making clear that this statement is a consolidation of the Dominion's position up to date and does not pretend to go into details.

D 50071

Then make the presentation in as balanced a form as possible. When the presentation has been made it should be followed by a statement that will admit quite freely that there have been continual modifications of the Dominion's original proposals; that nothing could better demonstrate the desire of the Dominion to go as far as possible toward meeting the wishes of the provinces.

The Dominion now felt it had gone as far as it possibly could in the light of its obligations. Here set forth what these obligations are in some particulars: re war veterans, social service, interest on public debt, cost of maintenance of army, international relations, etc.

Until agreements are signed there is room for some adjustments, but Dominions must state that any modifications would have to be on the basis of discovering financial equivalents.

The statement should speak of the value which the free discussion in camera had effected. Then take up the immediate situation which was that the Dominion would have to bring its budget in at once. The provinces had to know their position.

There were <u>three</u> alternatives:

<u>First</u>: acceptance of the proposals of the Dominion as now presented.

<u>Second</u>: what would follow a rejection of the Dominion proposals: namely a reversion to taxation in the different fields as existing prior to the war and what that would mean as compared with the Dominion's proposals. Some of the provinces seemed to feel they would be in a worse position than they now are.

<u>Third</u>: something as yet undisclosed might be proposed which would be further considered. This would have to be dealt with immediately.

The statement should then estimate the fact that this is a mere agreement for three years. At the end of that time we would hope that the period of transition would be more or less at an end and probable future more clearly seen. The present arrangement was all within the framework of the B.N.A.Act involving only one possible amendment, but it did not attempt constitutional changes, etc.

Three years from now the whole matter could be considered further in the light of developments and careful consideration in the years meanwhile.

(Need for immediate action as agreements run out and budgets have got to be prepared).

The federal government would be prepared to consider the best methods whereby studies could be made. It might be suggested that it had already been proposed that a body which would correspond to the Co-ordinating Committee of the Conference might be kept in existence, meeting one or twice a year, and also the economic committee of experts be a continuing body meanwhile.

At the end of the proposals a brief statement should summarize their merits and meet the arguments that might be suggested against them, as, for example, do not mean invasion of provincial rights; do not mean centralization, etc.

I would conclude the statement by saying that once the position of all parties has been made perfectly clear, if it appears that we have reached agreement on basic principles. we might then have the Co-ordinating Committee reconvene and the details worked out.

D 50073

CONCLUSION

No Constitutional Change

In all its proposals, the Dominion government has assumed that Canada's federal system of government should be preserved and strengthened. At the plenary session on August 6th last, I said:

"We do not believe that unity is to be found in uniformity, in standardization or in centralization. We believe the unity and strength of Canada are equally dependent upon the soundness and strength of the provinces, and their capacity to discharge their functions effectively. We believe that only when the provinces are relatively secure in their own spheres can we achieve the co-operation among all governments so essential to our country's needs."

My colleagues and I have scrutinized every aspect of our proposals in the light of these general principles. The Dominion proposals will, we believe, strengthen the position of each government in its respective field.

D 50074

The only constitutional change suggested is the proposal for the delegation of powers ~~already mentioned~~. With this one exception which ~~would~~ enlarge the powers of the provinces, none of the Dominion proposals would require an amendment to the B.N.A. Act, or involve any fundamental disturbance of the traditional pattern of Confederation. In this unsettled period of world transition, ~~the Dominion is neither proposing nor seeking~~ irrevocable commitments. ~~We are seeking rather~~ to meet urgent needs on a temporary basis by the simplest and most effective means.

D 50075

Avoidance of Double Taxation

In formulating its proposals, the Dominion government has kept constantly in mind the desirability of double taxation being avoided, and of the best possible use being made of the major fields of direct taxation.

When we speak of the best possible use of tax fields we have in mind more than tax collection costs to governments and taxpayers. We are ~~more~~ deeply concerned that Canada's tax system should be efficient in the sense that in this period of transition it ~~is~~ imposes the least possible discouragement to the expansion of business activity and employment. ~~On this basis, we propose~~ This is one of the main reasons for the proposal that the Dominion alone should levy Income and Corporation Taxes and Succession Duties, and, in return ~~more~~ unconditional payments to the provinces. ~~I~~ might add just a word as to the tax policy the Dominion plans to follow ~~under the proposed agreement.~~ under this limited Dominion proposal.

D 50076

Forecast of Tax Policy

The Dominion proposals include a broad extension of social security, the cost of which will be met in part by direct personal contributions. In respect to the ~~general~~ personal income tax, the government is prepared to say that, once the Dominion proposals are accepted and the risk of having Dominion policies nullified by provincial policies having contrary economic effects is thereby avoided, the government intends to make further reductions ~~in the personal income tax~~. In the same circumstances, the government also intends to reduce the element of double taxation of corporate income with its tendency to discourage risk-taking enterprise.

D 50077

URGENCY OF PROBLEM

The Minister of Finance has been obliged to delay preparation of the Dominion budget pending the outcome of the present conference. The preparation of the Dominion budget cannot, however, be much longer delayed. The nature of the budget vitally affects plans for business expansion for years ahead. The wartime tax agreements ~~expire within the coming year~~ within a year or two will have expired. The provinces also have their budgetary problems. The present uncertainty cannot be allowed to continue. [In the proposals as they now stand the Dominion Government has gone as far as it properly can in the light of its very heavy financial obligations]

If agreement is reached, the Dominion budget proposals will be based on the terms of the agreement. If agreement is not reached, final preparation of the Dominion budget will nevertheless have to be proceeded with ~~forthwith~~ immediately. In such case full account will have to be taken of the termination of existing tax agreements with the provinces, and the situation which will then result. The Dominion Government will have to use its constitutional powers to the full extent necessary to meet its heavy national and international financial obligations and commitments. There is, perhaps, a third alternative. It may be that at the present plenary session something as yet undisclosed might be proposed which would offer a better solution. In view of the urgency of preparing Dominion and provincial budgets, a decision on any such proposal would necessarily have to be ~~dealt with immediately~~ reached without delay.

While the home govt should also be considering alternatives or adjustments, any such modifications will have to be on the basis of financial equivalents

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D 50078

Let me emphasise again that the Dominion's proposals are for a period of three years. If any agreement is to be reached for the period of transition immediately ahead, it must be reached within the next few weeks. ~~It is the hope of the Dominion Government, therefore, that~~ Once the position of the provinces has been made perfectly clear at this plenary session, if it appears that agreement is possible on basic principles, it is our hope that the Co-ordinating Committee might resume its sittings in order to work out the agreement itself.

PART VI. Coordination

In order to facilitate Dominion-Provincial cooperation the Dominion proposes that the Dominion-Provincial Economic Committee might continue as presently established with a permanent secretariat to facilitate Dominion Provincial Cooperation. The Committee might meet at least twice a year throughout the period of the agreement to exchange information at the technical level and to put its members in a position to advise their respective governments on ways and means of furthering the objectives of the agreement, and on other subjects of mutual and national interest.

The Dominion-Provincial Co-ordinating Committee as presently constituted might remain formally in existence, and would meet whenever it appeared desirable in the general interest.

D 50079

D 50080

continuing consultation

In conclusion, may I repeat that the Dominion proposals and that they involve no permanent changes in our constitutional or financial relationships. ~~The Dominion proposals are designed to be applied~~ are for a period of only three years. on a temporary basis, and in conformity with the fundamental plan of Confederation. ~~It is~~ In the event of agreement being reached at this time it is our hope that during the ~~next~~ three years, ~~while the proposed~~ agreement is in operation, further conference and consultation between the Dominion and the provinces ~~would~~ carried on in this or some similar way, would ~~will~~ bring us close to a permanent solution of the problems of Dominion-Provincial co-operation.

REVISED DRAFT April 27, 1946. D 50081

DOMINION-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

(Plenary Session)

Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada

Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P.

April 29, 1946.

Introduction:

The Dominion-Provincial Conference opened on August 6th of last year. The Dominion's proposals for Dominion-Provincial co-operation were immediately submitted to the Conference. After a few days of deliberation the provinces felt they would need more time to prepare comments or make alternative proposals. A Co-ordinating Committee was established, consisting of the Prime Minister as chairman, and other representatives of the Dominion Government and the premiers of all the provinces.

During the eight months since the Co-ordinating Committee was set up the Dominion's proposals have been exhaustively considered, as well as various proposals and views of the provinces. As a result important modifications have been made in the Dominion proposals in order to meet the views of the provinces.

As the report of the Co-ordinating Committee has indicated, it was found that the time had come to have another

D 50082

plenary session. The Dominion Government welcomes this opportunity to present a Summary of the complete Dominion proposal as it now stands. The Dominion is prepared to make an agreement with the provinces on the basis set out in this summary.

D 50083

Summary of Dominion Proposals

~~to Dominion-Provincial Conference~~

~~April 29, 1946.~~

With a view to ~~achieving~~ the achievement of high and expanding production, employment and national income, greater social security and a less burdensome over-all tax system, the Dominion is seeking ~~the cooperation of~~ agreement with the provincial governments ~~in implementing~~ on the basis of the following proposals. They proposals are interdependent, and should be considered as an integrated whole.

Part I. Financial Arrangements

The Dominion's main financial proposal is that in ~~return for~~ ~~the Provinces~~ unconditional payments to the provinces, as proposed, the Dominion be ~~given~~ Parliament accorded the exclusive right to levy income, corporation and succession duty taxation for the next three years with an appropriate reduction in the payment to any province which wishes to continue to levy succession duties, on condition that any province which wishes

1. The Dominion will, for the duration of the agreement, pay each province a guaranteed minimum annual amount equal to $15.00 per capita. The minimum payment will be based on the 1941 or 1942 population of the province, whichever is the greater. The payment to the province will be raised in proportion to increases both in per capita gross national production ~~and~~ in population. The actual payments to be made in 1947 will be substantially greater than the guaranteed minimum. ~~as is shown~~ The 1947 payments are set forth in the table which is included in this

of the Dominion payment being appropriately reduced

Estimated

this statement, but which unless specially requested shall not be attempted to read. In no case will Dominion payments to a province be less than 150% of that province's annual Wartime Tax Agreement receipts or be less than two million dollars. This is a description in general terms of the way in which the payments are calculated. The precise method of calculation is outlined in an appendix to this statement, which is not printed herewith.

D 50084

D 50085

duties, the amounts ~~paid~~ collected in succession duties ~~to~~ by that province will be treated as a credit to the Estate against the Dominion the amounts due succession duty; ~~up to the amount~~ the credit will be accounted, however, to the Government which would have been payable to that province under its 1946 succession duty rates and conditions of liability. The total annual payments to the province, by the Dominion, under the agreement, would be reduced by the amount of such credits.

4. The statutory Dominion subsidies ~~would~~ will continue to be paid ~~as such~~, but the amount of statutory subsidies will be deducted from the Dominion payments under the agreement as provided by the Constitution.

5. The provinces may tax mining and logging operations either through royalties or taxes on the net profits from such operations. For the duration of the agreement, the Dominion will recognize such levies as a cost of doing business, and, therefore, as an expense deductible from income for Dominion tax purposes.

6. The Dominion is prepared to seek a constitutional amendment permitting delegation of powers from the Dominion Parliament to the provincial ~~governments~~ legislatures or vice versa. Once an amendment is made, the Dominion ~~will~~ government will request Parliament to delegate to the provinces, for the duration of the agreement, the right to levy ~~fiscally defined~~ retail sales taxes within limits to be specifically defined.

7. The Dominion will undertake, for the duration of the agreement, not to enter the fields of real estate and auto-

D 50086

mobile license taxation.

8. The Dominion will also undertake, for the duration of the agreement, not to increase its special excise taxes on gasoline, amusements or pari-mutuel betting.

9. The Dominion will, in the case of companies whose main business is generating for distribution or distributing electrical energy, gas and steam, pay to the province concerned one-half net corporation income tax collections from such companies, in respect to sales thereof to or for the public. This payment to a provincial government will be reduced by an amount equal to any taxes which the government of that province levies on such companies.

10. If a provincial government or one of its municipalities takes over a tax-paying corporation, the payments to that province will be reduced by the amount of the tax loss sustained by the Dominion. This provision would not apply to the companies referred to in the preceding paragraph.

Insert II

Part II. Public Investment

1. Planning grants: The Dominion will pay any provincial government which so desires one-half the cost, not exceeding 7½% of the cost of the project, of planning provincial and, through the provincial government, municipal public investment projects accepted by the Dominion as subject to timing. This offer will be effective as from a date to be set by the Dom-

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inion, and will be limited up to the amount of an equal to $1.00 per capita of the population in the province in the first year after that date.

2. Timing grants: The Dominion will contribute to provincial and, through the provincial government, to municipal public investment projects on a scale and to an amount to be determined by the Dominion and to be announced in January of any year in which the Dominion considers such assistance to be desirable in the light of the general employment and economic situation.

3. Dominion programme: The Dominion will extend its natural resources development and conservation projects, and research programme, as soon as the situation ~~in regard to~~ respecting labour and materials will permit. These activities, where possible, will be varied in execution in accordance with the general employment and economic situation.

4. Joint Dominion-provincial programmes: The Dominion will discuss with provincial governments the formulation of agreements for Dominion assistance to provincial services and projects in the categories outlined in the August 1945 proposals.

New Page (?)

PART III. Health

1. Planning grant: The Dominion will pay to any provincial government, which so desires, immediately upon completion of the agreement, $5,000 plus 5 cents per capita of its 1941 population (but not less than $15,000) to be spent within two years on studies of the requirements of the province

D 50088

in the field of essential medical, hospital and related services. Quarterly reports would be submitted by the provincial governments.

2. Health insurance: The Dominion is prepared to contribute up to 60% of the cost of specific services in any provincial health insurance programme approved by the Dominion. Upon conclusion of ~~this~~ an agreement, the Dominion is prepared to proceed with discussions on ~~the~~ a technical level with any provincial government which wishes to take advantage of this assistance.

3. Health grants:

For preventive medicine and for the improvement of public health services the Dominion will pay conditional grants to the provincial governments for the following purposes: ~~(a)~~ The promotion [illegible] of general ~~a~~ public health; the prevention, assistance for treatment facilities

(a) General public health grant - 35¢ per capita annually, increased at the end of two years by 5¢ per capita per year until the grant totals 50¢ per capita. The purposes for which this grant may be used would include research, education and treatment related to cancer and arthritis.

(b) Tuberculosis grant - $3,000,000 annually to all provincial governments, with a minimum of $25,000 to each province and the remainder distributed 50 per cent according to the average number of deaths from tuberculosis in each province over the

The prevention, assistance in the provision of treatment facilities and treatment

D 50089

previous five years. At the end of two years a supplementary grant of $1,000,000 annually would be made available for ten years to provincial governments able to make effective use of it.

(c) Mental health grant - $4,000,000 annually to all provincial governments with a minimum of $25,000 to each province and the remainder distributed according to population. This total grant would be increased to $5,000,000 at the end of two years, $6,000,000 at the end of four years and $7,000,000 at the end of six years, if the provincial governments demonstrated they could make effective use of such amounts.

(d) Venereal disease grant - $500,000 annually to all provincial governments, with a minimum of $4,000 to each province, the remainder to be distributed 50 per cent according to the number of new cases of syphilis reported in the previous year.

(e) The Professional training of public health personnel - The Dominion will spend up to $250,000 annually in assisting the training of public health personnel.

(f) Public health research - The Dominion will spend up to $100,000 annually in assisting public health services.

(g) Civilian blind - The Dominion will contribute 50 per cent of the cost of paying pensions up to $30

D 50090

per month to blind persons from the age of 21. The Dominion will also contribute 50 per cent of expenditures for the prevention and cure of blindness.

4. Hospital construction: The Dominion will assist provinces entering a health insurance agreement to meet the need for additional hospitals by lending money at or slightly above cost, secured by the various health grants payable to the provinces.

Separate page

PART IV. Old Age Pensions

1. ~~Aged 70 and over:~~ 70 and over The Dominion will institute a system of national old age pensions of $30 a month payable to everyone at ~~age~~ 70 / means of age. The Dominion ~~It~~ will be solely responsible for administering these pensions ~~and will finance~~ Old age pensions and Dominion assistance to health insurance / when established will be financed by such modifications of taxation or such contributions as ~~in the opinion of~~ Parliament may authorize ~~would be justified.~~

2. ~~Aged 65 to 69:~~ 65 to 69 The Dominion is prepared to enter into an agreement with any provincial government to pay 50 per cent of the cost (excluding administration) of pensions up to $30 a month to those persons between the ages 65 and 69 who need them. The provincial governments would administer these pensions on terms substantially similar to the present Old Age Pension system. the proposals would be withdrawn ~~In the event of provinces~~ provinces accepting the alternative proposals respecting taxes on ~~cost~~ sharing

D 50091

PART V. Unemployment Assistance

In addition to unemployment insurance, the Dominion will set up a system of unemployment assistance under which it will pay benefits equal to 85% of unemployment insurance benefits, to employable unemployed persons who are not or who have ceased to be entitled to unemployment insurance benefits. This assistance will be subject to the recipient taking any job offered, and will be limited to two years of continuous assistance, but a person will again become eligible for this assistance following an approved period of employment.

PART VI. Coordination

1. In order to facilitate Dominion-Provincial cooperation the Dominion proposes that the Dominion-Provincial Economic Committee continue as presently established with a permanent secretariat. The Committee might meet at least twice a year throughout the period of the agreement to exchange information at the technical level and to put its members in a position to advise their respective governments on ways and means of furthering the objectives of the agreement, and on other subjects of mutual and national interest.

2. The Dominion-Provincial Co-ordinating Committee as presently constituted would remain formally in existence, and would meet whenever it appeared desirable in the general interest to do so.

~~7.~~ In the event of a general expression of intention to conclude ~~a~~ definitive agreement~~s now~~ in accordance with the general terms here set forth, the Dominion ~~would~~ will undertake to make every effort to have ~~the~~ agreements completed and the necessary legislation ~~implemented~~ to implement ~~an~~ the agreements enacted before September 1 ~~1947~~ of the present year.

~~8.~~ The new agreements ~~would~~ will come into force on the day following the termination of the Wartime Tax Agreements between the Dominion and the Provincial governments concerned (unless an alternative ~~is~~ were mutually agreed upon) and the agreements will ~~be last~~ for three years, subject to extension for a further period by mutual agreement.

D 50092

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Doms - P.M.O.

Conference

Papers read to the Conf. at its 1st mtg. Aug 29-1946

The Co-ordinating Committee

The provinces ~~quite properly~~ felt that they would need time to study the Dominion proposals and prepare comments or criticisms or make alternative proposals. At the meeting last August a Co-ordinating Committee was accordingly established, consisting of the Prime Minister as Chairman with three ~~and other~~ representatives of the Dominion and the premiers of all the provinces. It was agreed that the Co-ordinating Committee would meet again on November 26th.

The Co-ordinating Committee met from November 26th until the 30th. At the suggestion of some of the ~~provinces~~ premiers, its meetings were held in camera. After a useful exchange of views, the Co-ordinating Committee set up an Economic Committee which held meetings between December 4th and 14th and again between January 8th and 17th. By its terms of reference the Economic Committee was a fact-finding body which made no collective report. Its members reported to their respective governments.

D 50094

The Economic Committee discussed in detail the Dominion's financial, social security and public investment proposals together with certain modifications suggested by the provinces. The governments of Ontario and Saskatchewan submitted briefs which were considered by the Committee. The financial proposals of the Ontario government were examined in detail on the same basis as the financial proposals of the Dominion.

The Co-ordinating Committee resumed its sessions on January 28th and continued its deliberations in the light of the information and clarification provided by the detailed examination made by the Economic Committee, as well as of further views submitted by the provinces.

At the meeting of the Co-ordinating Committee the Dominion submitted in January, certain modifications of its proposals. These modifications were not made public at the time, despite the fact that all formal presentations by the provinces to the Co-ordinating Committee were published. Publication of the modified Dominion proposals was withheld at the request of certain premiers ~~provinces~~ who maintained that this procedure would facilitate consideration.

After ~~consideration~~ discussion of the modified Dominion proposals, it became apparent that detailed and careful consideration must be given to a number of questions raised by the provincial governments involving possible additional modifications. In order to provide time for consideration of these questions, and to permit the provincial representatives to return home for their legislative sessions, the Co-ordinating Committee adjourned on February 1st until April 25th.

When the Co-ordinating Committee resumed its sessions on April 25th, answers to these questions were immediately submitted by the Dominion government. A memorandum consolidating all the modifications in the original Dominion proposals of August last has been prepared. This memorandum ~~also summarizes briefly the original Dominion proposals as so modified.~~ summarizes the complete Dominion proposal as it now stands.* It will be distributed at the conclusion of this statement. The Dominion is prepared to make an agreement with the provinces on the basis set out in the memorandum.

D 50096

Since meeting on Thursday last the Co-ordinating Committee has been giving consideration to the answers submitted by the Dominion and the brief submitted by the government of Quebec. The Co-ordinating Committee decided the time had come to resume plenary sessions of the Conference. The Dominion government welcomes the opportunity afforded by plenary sessions to make its ~~modified~~ complete proposals public. We believe that the proposals as modified after deliberations extending over more than eight months constitute a comprehensive, workable and essentially fair arrangement which is in the interests of the people of Canada.

D 50097

The Constitution

In all its proposals ~~and throughout the discussions~~ the Dominion government has assumed that Canada's ~~our~~ federal system of government should be preserved and strengthened. At the plenary session on August 6th last, I said:

"We do not believe that unity is to be found in uniformity, in standardization or in centralization. We believe the unity and strength of Canada are equally dependent upon the soundness and strength of the provinces, and their capacity to discharge their functions effectively. We believe that only when the provinces are relatively secure in their own spheres can we achieve the co-operation among all governments so essential to our country's needs."

My colleagues and I have scrutinized every aspect of our proposals in the light of these general principles. ~~The changes we have suggested will~~ The Dominion government believes that its proposals will, we believe, strengthen the position of each government in its respective field.

With ~~one~~ the exception of the proposal for the delegation of powers already mentioned which would enlarge the powers of the provinces, none of the original proposals, and none of the changes suggested in the main Dominion proposals, involve constitutional amendments or any fundamental disturbance of the traditional pattern of Confederation. In this unsettled period of world transition, we are neither proposing nor seeking irrevocable commitments. We are seeking rather to meet urgent needs by the simplest and most effective means.

In its proposals, the Dominion government has not sought to encroach on provincial fields of administration. We have offered to make certain specific payments to employable unemployed and to persons over seventy years of age. These are obligations which the provincial governments wish the Dominion to assume. The Dominion feels, however, that it should not become involved in the complex administrative problems of providing welfare services to these and other groups. Such services, we believe, can be provided better by the provinces and local authorities.

D 50099

Tax Proposal Consistent with Scheme of Confederation

The Dominion government has proposed that the provinces should rent to the Dominion the exclusive possession of the fields of ~~provincial~~ income and corporation taxes and succession duties for a period of three years in return for substantial payments from the Dominion which would vary with population and gross national production, but with a guaranteed minimum for each province. This is a proposal which is wholly in line with the original scheme of Confederation.

One of the most essential features of Confederation - and one without which Confederation could never have been achieved - was the exclusive occupancy of the major sources of tax revenues by the Dominion, and the payment of subsidies by the Dominion to the provinces, in accordance with a specific formula. At the time of Confederation, the provinces received about 60 per cent of their total revenue in the form of payments from the Dominion.

Since Confederation the inevitable and proper increases in the functions of government and the varying taxable capacitites of the provinces have increased the

need for transfer payments from the Dominion to the provinces. The heavy unemployment of the 1930's necessitated greatly increased Dominion financial support of the provinces, although the ad hoc arrangements then made were most unsatisfactory to both. To meet the tremendous financial demands of war, it was necessary to place income and corporation taxes at the disposal of the Dominion. The provinces were compensated by specified payments from the Dominion.

Post-war Financial Problem

Our wartime taxation and compensation arrangements have worked well. That is recognized by all. But the financial problem has not vanished with the war. The financial burden of two world wars in a generation has fallen entirely on the Dominion and left it with very heavy financial obligations. I need only mention, as illustrations, interest on the war debt, war service gratuities and credits, veterans rehabilitation and pensions, heavier defence expenditures than we had before the war, and the financing of our exports in the period of world transition. While there is no doubt the Dominion can meet these financial obligations out of its unlimited tax field, it has a duty to seek to keep to a minimum the total tax burden on the country. In meeting its own fiscal needs the Dominion government felt it should also consider the financial requirements of the provinces.

In formulating and modifying its proposals, the Dominion government has kept constantly in mind the desirability of double taxation being avoided and

the best possible use being made of the major fields of direct taxation. By the best possible use is meant securing the greatest possible revenue from the lowest possible rates of taxation. We believe wartime experience has shown this can best be attained by the Dominion alone raising these taxes and providing unconditional payments to the provinces in exchange.

The Dominion's proposals for large unconditional payments to the provinces should not introduce any element of irresponsibility in provincial expenditures. The provincial governments will have to continue to raise the major part of their revenues from other fields of taxation. Each province will, therefore, continue to have the responsibility for weighing the desirability of any proposed expenditure against the undesirability of increased taxation.

Effects of Tax Policy

The Dominion government believes sole occupancy of the income corporation and succession duty tax fields are of utmost importance to the attainment of the economic and social objectives set forth in the Dominion proposals. All the plans, both Dominion and provincial, for social security, for an improvement in standards of nutrition and of health, for a general betterment in the living conditions of our people, for the development of our natural resources, depend, for their success, on a high level of national production and national income. Only with a high level of production and national income can the real costs be met.

The rates and character of income taxation vitally affect consumption, production and the national income. The tax system may either encourage or discourage initiative and new investment. It influences wages as well as employment. If the level of employment and national income is to be kept stable, at a high level, taxes must be capable of adjustment in the light of changing conditions.

Consider omitting

Consider omitting

It is obviously much more difficult for a provincial government, and particularly for all provincial governments at the same time, to make such changes than it is for the Dominion government.

The Dominion proposals are designed to give the country an efficient tax system. When we speak of efficiency of taxation, we have in mind more than tax collection costs to governments and taxpayers. We are no less concerned that our Canadian income and corporation tax system should be efficient in the sense that it imposes the least possible discouragement to the incentives to expand business activity and increase employment.

D 50105

Forecast of Tax Policy

The Dominion proposals include a broad extension of social security, the cost of which will be met in part by direct personal contributions. In respect to the general personal income tax, the Government is prepared to say that, once the Dominion proposals are accepted and the risk of having Dominion policies nullified by provincial policies having contrary economic effects is thereby avoided, the Government intends to make further reductions in the personal income tax. In the same circumstances, the Government also intends to reduce the element of double taxation of corporate income with its tendency to discourage risk-taking enterprise.

Urgency of Problem

This problem is now urgent. We cannot much longer delay the presentation of the next Dominion budget. If an agreement is to be reached, taxpayers will want to know what the new tax structure is going to be. If an agreement is not going to be made, we must consider what steps can be taken to meet the chaotic situation which will develop when the wartime agreements expire.

Failure of the Dominion-Provincial Conference would react as unfavourably on provincial governments as on the Dominion. Although it would not relieve the Dominion Government of its responsibility to do whatever it can to carry out policies it believes essential in the national interest, it would limit its ability to do so effectively. The Dominion proposals for positive action to maintain employment and expand social security are, in other words, to a large degree, dependent upon the conclusion of a satisfactory tax agreement with the provinces.

The problem is urgent for another reason. The Dominion government has other responsibilities no less pressing than the settlement of Dominion-Provincial relations. It will be recalled that on the/day opening of the Dominion-Provincial Conference in August last, we learned of the first use of the atomic bomb. At that time I took occasion to speak of the extraordinarily serious problems facing the world. I see no reason to believe that I over-estimated the complexities and dangers of the situation. Actual hostilities are over but peace has still to be made with the enemy countries. World trade has to be restored. In North America to-day - and probably in other countries not directly ravaged by war - there tends to be a spirit of false security and of optimism based on favourable immediate business prospects. Looking further into the future, it may well be doubted whether such complacency necessarily rests on particularly strong foundations. How the future will develop depends upon the measures which we in Canada and those in other lands adopt. Our problems will not solve themselves. The problem of Dominion-Provincial co-operation is only one among many.

D 50108

One must indeed be optimistic to believe that the problem of continued prosperity will be solved without periods during which there are serious threats to national income and employment. Even with the best possible arrangements for operation of our public affairs in this country, we shall still need all the intelligence, efficiency and good will we possess to maintain and improve the living condition of our people. The consequence of failure to effect such arrangements would be very serious indeed.

It is in the light of these prospects that the Dominion government has formulated its proposals. We believe they provide the most practical means of meeting the immediate transitional problem. As ~~modified~~ now presented, they represent the utmost financial obligation to the provinces which the Dominion can undertake. We are asking for no permanent changes. The Dominion proposals can be applied on a temporary basis without amending the constitution or altering the fundamental basis of Confederation. We believe they are framed no less in the interest of the provinces individually than in those of the Dominion as a whole. Above all, we believe their adoption

will contribute to the welfare of the people of Canada.

(I will now ask the Secretary to have the memorandum of modified Dominion Proposals distributed.)

REVISED DRAFT April 27, 1946.

D 50110

DOMINION-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

(Plenary Session)

Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada

Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P.

April 29, 1946.

Introduction:

The Dominion-Provincial Conference opened on August 6th of last year. The Dominion's proposals for Dominion-Provincial co-operation were immediately submitted to the Conference. After a few days of deliberation the provinces felt they would need more time to prepare comments or make alternative proposals. A Co-ordinating Committee was established, consisting of the Prime Minister as chairman, and other representatives of the Dominion Government and the premiers of all the provinces.

During the eight months since the Co-ordinating Committee was set up the Dominion's proposals have been exhaustively considered, as well as various proposals and views of the provinces. As a result important modifications have been made in the Dominion proposals in order to meet the views of the provinces.

As the report of the Co-ordinating Committee has indicated, it was found that the time had come to have another

plenary session. The Dominion Government welcomes this opportunity to present a Summary of the complete Dominion proposal as it now stands. The Dominion is prepared to make an agreement with the provinces on the basis set out in this summary.

(11)

The Dominion has given further consideration to the request of some Provinces that it withdraw from certain tax fields. The most important of these, in terms of revenue, is the gasoline tax, which currently yields the Dominion about $30,000,000. The Dominion has made it clear that it could only consider withdrawing from any tax field in return for adequate financial compensation, in view of the financial burdens and responsibilities which it must bear. One of the ~~principal responsibilities is~~ the proposal made in August that the Dominion would contribute one half the cost of provincially administered Old Age assistance schemes ~~up to one half of $30 per month~~ for persons aged 65 to 69. The cost of this proposal to the Dominion is estimated at $17,000,000 to $20,000,000 a year. The Dominion ~~would~~ be prepared to remove the special 3% excise tax on gasoline, imposed in 1941, if in exchange provincial governments ~~would be~~ prepared to ~~carry out~~, on their own responsibility, ~~the suggested provision for persons in need~~ of assistance in the age group 65 to 69.

should withdraw from the amusement tax ~~in consideration of its not paying the~~ public health grants. ~~The Dominion does not believe that this would be in the national interest and it also points out that any such changes that might be suggested~~ would have widely ~~diverted~~ effects on the ~~positions of the~~ different provinces. While the Dominion government is prepared to consider any financial equivalent, the consideration it has so far given and the observations and suggestions that have so far been made to it, ~~make~~ the government believe that the Dominion's proposals are more in the interests of the provinces than any alternatives that have been suggested, ~~or could be devised~~. ~~But~~, Nevertheless, the Dominion government is prepared to consider any suggestion ~~along these lines~~ that will not increase its total obligations. ~~In any event~~, if matters stand as they are, the Dominion is prepared to give its undertaking not to increase the rates of these taxes during the agreement, except in the event of a national emergency.

D 50114

Suggested paragraph regarding Gasoline Taxes, etc.

The Dominion government believes that the extent of its ~~responsibilities~~ financial obligations requires it to retain the right to collect gasoline, ~~amusement and pari-mutuel taxes~~, unless it is possible for the provinces to agree on a financial equivalent which would either bring approximately the same tax revenue to the Dominion or reduce the Dominion's commitments by an equivalent amount. Such an equivalent might be for the Dominion to reduce the per capita ~~subsidy~~ payment by the amount required to make up the amounts collected in ~~those~~ the provinces mentioned, ~~or~~ alternatively, for the Dominion to ~~get out of~~ withdraw from the gasoline tax field altogether ~~in consideration of the Dominion~~ withdrawing at the same time its offer to contribute fifty per cent. ~~to~~ to the provinces old age the cost of assistance for those between the ages of sixty-five and sixty-nine. If the provinces generally are prepared to accept ~~this or any other~~ either of these as financial equivalents, the Dominion would be prepared to ~~meet them if it were possible to do so.~~ modify its proposals accordingly. ~~Similarly with the amusement tax, it might be suggested that the Dominion~~

another suggestion
another ~~alternative~~ proposal ~~for~~ alternative which would leave a field of taxation exclusively to the provinces would be for the Dominion

D 50115

Summary of Dominion Proposals to Dominion-Provincial Conference

April 29, 1946.

With a view to achieving high and expanding production, employment and income, greater social security and a less burdensome over-all tax system, the Dominion is seeking the cooperation of provincial governments in implementing the following proposals. They are interdependent, and should be considered as an integrated whole.

Part I. Financial Arrangements

The Dominion's main financial proposal is that in return for unconditional payments to the provinces, the Dominion be given the exclusive right to levy income, corporation and succession duty taxation for the next three years with an appropriate reduction in the payment to any province which wishes to continue to levy succession duties.

1. The Dominion will, for the duration of the agreement, pay each province a guaranteed minimum annual amount equal to $15.00 per capita. The minimum payment will be based on the 1941 or 1942 population of the province, whichever is greater. The payment to the province will be raised in proportion to increases both in per capita gross national production and in population. The actual payments to be made in 1947 will be substantially greater than the guaranteed minimum, as is shown in the table which is included in this

this statement. In no case will Dominion payments to a province be less than 150% of that province's annual Wartime Tax Agreement be less than two million dollars. This is a description in general terms of the way in which the payments are calculated. The precise method of calculation is outlined in an appendix to this statement.

D 50116

D 50117

duties, the amounts ~~paid~~ collected in succession duties ~~to~~ by that province will be treated as a credit against the Dominion succession duty, ~~up~~ to the amount which would have been payable to that province under its 1946 succession duty rates and conditions of liability. The total annual payments to the province, by the Dominion, under the agreement, would be reduced by the amount of such credits.

4. The statutory Dominion subsidies would continue to be paid as ~~such~~, but the amount of statutory subsidies will be deducted from the Dominion payments under the agreements.

5. The provinces may tax mining and logging operations either through royalties or taxes on the net profits from such operations. For the duration of the agreement, the Dominion will recognize such levies as a cost of doing business, and, therefore, as an expense deductible from income for Dominion tax purposes.

6. The Dominion is prepared to seek a constitutional amendment permitting delegation of powers from the Dominion to the provincial ~~governments~~ legislatures or vice versa. Once an amendment is made, the Dominion ~~will~~ delegate to the provinces, for the duration of the agreement, the right to levy ~~specifically defined~~ retail sales taxes.

7. The Dominion will undertake, for the duration of the agreement, not to enter the fields of real estate and auto-

D 50118

mobile license taxation.

8. The Dominion will also undertake, for the duration of the agreement, not to increase its special excise taxes on gasoline, amusements or pari-mutuel betting.

9. The Dominion will, in the case of companies whose main business is generating for distribution or distributing electrical energy, gas and steam, pay one-half ~~its~~ net corporation income tax collections from ~~them~~ in respect to sales thereof to or for the public. This payment to a provincial government will be reduced by an amount equal to any taxes which the government of that province levies on such companies.

10. If a provincial government or one of its municipalities takes over a tax-paying corporation, the payments to that province will be reduced by the amount of the tax loss sustained by the Dominion. This provision would not apply to the companies referred to in the preceding paragraph.

Part II. Public Investment

1. Planning grants: The Dominion will pay any provincial government which so desires one-half the cost, not exceeding 7½% of the cost of the project, of planning provincial and, through the provincial government, municipal public investment projects accepted by the Dominion as subject to timing. This offer will be effective as from a date to be set by the Dom-

D 50119

inion, ~~up to the amount of~~ and need be limited to an amount equal to $1.00 per capita in the province in the first year after that date.

2. Timing grants: The Dominion will contribute to provincial and, through the provincial government, to municipal public investment projects on a scale and to an amount to be determined by the Dominion and to be announced in January of any year the Dominion considered such assistance to be desirable in the light of the general employment and economic situation.

3. Dominion programme: The Dominion will extend its natural resource development and conservation projects, and research programme, as soon as the situation ~~in regard to~~ labour and materials will permit. These activities, where possible, will be varied in execution in accordance with the general employment and economic situation.

4. Joint Dominion-provincial programmes: The Dominion will discuss with provincial governments the formulation of agreements for Dominion assistance to provincial services and projects in the categories outlined in the August 1945 proposals.

PART III. Health

1. Planning grant: The Dominion will pay to any provincial government, which so desires, immediately upon completion of the agreement, $5,000 plus 5 cents per capita of its 1941 population (but not less than $15,000) to be spent within two years on studies of the requirements of the province

D 50120

in the field of essential medical, hospital and related services. Quarterly reports would be submitted by the provincial governments.

2. Health insurance: The Dominion is prepared to contribute up to 60% of the cost of specific services in any provincial health insurance programme approved by the Dominion. Upon conclusion of ~~this~~ an agreement the Dominion is prepared to proceed with discussions on ~~the~~ a technical level with any provincial government which wishes to take advantage of this assistance.

3. Health grants: (substitute

For preventive medicine and for the improvement of public health services the Dominion will pay conditional grants to the provincial governments for the following purposes:

~~(a)~~ General public health grant - 35¢ per capita annually, increased at the end of two years by 5¢ per capita per year until the grant totals 50¢ per capita. The purposes for which this grant may be used would include research, education and treatment related to cancer and arthritis.

~~(b)~~ ~~Tuberculosis grant~~ The prevention, assistance in the provision of treatment facilities and treatment of tuberculosis, mental disorders and venereal disease. - $3,000,000 annually to all provincial governments, with a minimum of $25,000 to each province and the remainder distributed 50 per cent according to the average number of deaths from tuberculosis in each province over the

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previous five years. At the end of two years a supplementary grant of $1,000,000 annually would be made available for ten years to provincial governments able to make effective use of it.

(c) Mental health grant - $4,000,000 annually to all provincial governments with a minimum of $25,000 to each province and the remainder distributed according to population. This total grant would be increased to $5,000,000 at the end of two years, $6,000,000 at the end of four years and $7,000,000 at the end of six years, if the provincial governments demonstrated they could make effective use of such amounts.

(d) Venereal disease grant - $500,000 annually to all provincial governments, with a minimum of $4,000 to each province, the remainder to be distributed 50 per cent according to the number of new cases of syphilis reported in the previous year.

(e) Professional training - The Dominion will spend up to $250,000 annually in assisting the training of public health personnel.

(f) Public health research - The Dominion will spend up to $100,000 annually in assisting public health services.

(g) Civilian blind - The Dominion will contribute 50 per cent of the cost of paying pensions up to $30

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per month to blind persons from the age of 21. The Dominion will also contribute 50 per cent of expenditures for the prevention and cure of blindness.

4. Hospital construction: The Dominion will assist provinces entering a health insurance agreement to meet the need for additional hospitals by lending money at or slightly above cost, secured by the various health grants payable to the provinces.

PART IV. Old Age Pensions

1. ~~Aged~~ 70 and over: The Dominion will institute a system of national old age pensions of $30 a month payable to everyone at age ~~70~~. ~~It~~ will be solely responsible for administering these pensions, ~~and will finance~~ old age pensions and health insurance by such modifications of taxation or such contributions ~~as in the opinion of~~ Parliament ~~would be justified.~~

2. ~~Aged~~ 65 to 69: The Dominion is prepared to enter into an agreement with any provincial government to pay 50 per cent of the cost (excluding administration) of pensions up to $30 a month to those persons between the ages 65 and 69 who need them. The provincial governments would administer these pensions on terms substantially similar to the present Old Age Pension system.

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PART V. Unemployment Assistance

In addition to unemployment insurance, the Dominion will set up a system of unemployment assistance under which it will pay benefits equal to 85% of unemployment insurance benefits, to employable unemployed persons who are not or who have ceased to be entitled to unemployment insurance benefits. This assistance will be subject to the recipient taking any job offered, and will be limited to two years of continuous assistance, but a person will again become eligible for this assistance following an approved period of employment.

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Part VI. Conclusion of New Agreement

3. In the event of a general expression of intention to conclude ~~a~~ definitive agreements ~~were~~ in accordance with the general terms here set forth, the Dominion ~~would~~ undertake to make every effort to have ~~the~~ agreements completed and the necessary legislation ~~implemented~~ to implement ~~an~~ agreements enacted before September 1, ~~1946~~. of the present year.

4. ~~This~~ The new agreements will come into force on the day following the termination of the Wartime Tax Agreements between the Dominion and the Provincial governments concerned (unless an alternative ~~is~~ were mutually agreed upon) and will ~~last~~ the agreements remain in force for three years, subject to extension for a further period by mutual agreement.

D 50125

Suggested paragraph respecting Health Grants.

For preventive medicine, increased hospital facilities and the development of public health services, the Dominion will pay the provinces conditional grants in relation to: General Public Health, Tuberculosis, Mental Health, Venereal Disease, Crippled Children, and will make additional provision for Professional Training and Public Health Research, as well as contributing fifty per cent. to the cost of pensions not exceeding $30.00 a month to the blind at twenty-one years of age and a like contribution to the cost of preventing and curing blindness. These grants and payments are described at greater length in an appendix to this statement.

D50126

Occasion of the Conference.

The present Dominion-Provincial Conference opened its proceedings on August 6th of last year. The normal relationship between the Dominion and the provinces had been materially affected by the war. This was particularly true of financial relationships because of war-time tax agreements. During the war, to meet the national emergency, the provinces yielded up certain of their sources of revenue to the Dominion. It was contemplated, at the time the tax agreements were entered into, that the sources of revenue thus yielded up would be returned to the provinces when the war was over. At that time no one could possibly have foreseen the world-wide scope hostilities were to assume, how long hostilities were likely to last, and, least of all perhaps, the colossal expenditures involved by its prosecution, and for years thereafter, through the inevitable obligations and commitments due to a long period of war.

As hostilities continued, it became obvious that after their termination, whenever that might be, because of the duration of the war and the great change it brought about, it was not easy to contemplate a more reversion to the relationships which had existed before 1941, the time at which war-time tax agreements had been entered into. That was the first and main reason which necessitated the conference.

~~The~~ a second reason was that the relationships between the Dominion and the provinces had been far from satisfactory ~~before the war~~ before the war. In fact, the problem of Dominion-Provincial relations was one to which serious and urgent attention was ~~being~~ given ~~before the war.~~ when the war broke out. For some time before the war concluded there was a growing opinion (later on A)

D 50128

position in which many of the provinces would find themselves, when the Wartime Tax Agreements expired, gave them no less interest in the problem.

There has, as well, been a growing appreciation of the complexity and difficulty of the situation through which the world would pass in the period of transition from war to peace, because of the chaotic condition of the world, the disappearance of ordinary peace-time markets and shortages of supplies of all kinds. In the face of this prospect, the Dominion government felt that it should, at the earliest possible moment, meet with the provinces to attempt to work out a temporary basis of co-operation which would place the Dominion in a position to discharge effectively its international and national obligations while, and at the same time, placing the provinces in a position to carry out effectively their own important responsibilities.

(3)

Proceedings Prior to Conference.

~~For some time prior~~ the present Dominion-Provincial conference opened its proceedings on August 16 last, prior to the opening of the conference ~~in August last~~, following ~~several~~ months of co-operation with the provinces in the preparation of ~~material~~ statistical material, a comprehensive set of proposals for Dominion-Provincial co-operation ~~had been~~ worked out by the Dominion. These proposals were submitted to the conference ~~when it opened~~ at its opening its proceedings, ~~in August last.~~ ~~They were made public at the time~~.

D 50129

The provinces had been invited to make proposals of their own. At the ~~August~~ meeting ~~in August~~, certain of the provinces submitted proposals, other provinces made informal statements. It was felt by the provinces that ~~they~~ would ~~be~~ require ~~a time~~ to study the Dominion proposals, to prepare comments ~~or criticisms,~~ and ~~to~~ suggest modifications, ~~and~~ to make alternative proposals as they were invited to do.

D 50130

To facilitate these ends, a Co-ordinating Committee, ~~was established~~ consisting of the premiers of the nine provinces, three Dominion ministers, and the Prime Minister of Canada, ~~was established.~~ As stated in the report of the Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee, ~~which was~~ read this morning, the ~~Co-ordinating~~ Committee has met from time to time. At the suggestion of some of the premiers, and with the approval of all, its meetings were held in camera.

I should like to make it perfectly clear that ~~holding~~ the meetings ~~in camera~~ of the Co-ordinating Committee ~~in camera~~ was in no way due to a desire on the part of any of its members to conceal from the public matters which necessarily were of vital concern to the people of Camada as a whole. It was solely for the purpose of making possible a freer discussion of all ~~points~~ issues on their merits. Positions taken in open discussion are, as is well known, ~~much more~~ often difficult to change in the light of circumstances, ~~than positions which are taken in the course of deliberations held in camera often~~ merely to clarify discussion. All formal submissions ~~received from~~ made by the provinces have been made public. A number of revisions and modifications of the Dominion proposals have been made at the meetings of the Co-ordinating Committee, in the light of its discussions. ~~At the request of certain premiers, the modifications of the Dominion proposals were not made~~

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public at the time they were made. It was maintained that their consideration would be facilitated by this procedure.

In the Committee, the Dominion has sought to clarify its proposals as fully as possible, and to answer as completely as possible questions raised by the provincial governments, involving possible additional modifications. The Dominion Government welcomes this opportunity to present, in summarized form, the complete Dominion proposals as they now stand.

I should perhaps say that while, at the instance of the Dominion, no official statement of the Dominion's proposals as revised and modified, in the light of discussions in the Committee, has been made, it has been felt by some of the provinces that the Dominion's position has nevertheless been given prominence in the press, whereas an equal measure of publicity has not been accorded the proposals of some of the provinces. I should not wish to be the one responsible for assessing either the amount or the value of the publicity accorded the position or the proposals of the Dominion and the several provinces. This is something on which necessarily the public itself will have to form its own estimate. Since, however,

the question has been raised, it is, I believe, all to the good that all question as to the exact position and proposals of the several governments should be made known to the public in words of their own representatives. On behalf of the Dominion I may, therefore, say that we welcome no less than any of the provinces the opportunity which the present plenary session of the conference affords to have the clearest possible statement made of the position, proposals and views of all the governments.

I might say that the Dominion doubly welcomes this opportunity in that, while its own proposals and position are fully known to all the provinces, the Dominion itself has still to be informed of alternative proposals, if any, on the part of some of the provinces, and of the extent to which there is agreement in principle to the proposals which the Dominion has put forth.

I shall now give a summary of the Dominion proposals as they now stand.

REVISED DRAFT April 27, 1946.

D 50133

DOMINION-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

(Plenary Session)

Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada

Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P.

April 29, 1946.

Introduction:

The Dominion-Provincial Conference opened on August 6th of last year. The Dominion's proposals for Dominion-Provincial co-operation were immediately submitted to the Conference. After a few days of deliberation the provinces felt they would need more time to prepare comments or make alternative proposals. A Co-ordinating Committee was established, consisting of the Prime Minister as chairman, and other representatives of the Dominion Government and the premiers of all the provinces.

During the eight months since the Co-ordinating Committee was set up the Dominion's proposals have been exhaustively considered, as well as various proposals and views of the provinces. As a result important modifications have been made in the Dominion proposals in order to meet the views of the provinces.

As the report of the Co-ordinating Committee has indicated, it was found that the time had come to have another

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plenary session. The Dominion Government welcomes this opportunity to present a Summary of the complete Dominion proposal as it now stands. The Dominion is prepared to make an agreement with the provinces on the basis set out in this summary.

D 50135

Summary of Dominion Proposals
to Dominion-Provincial Conference
April 29, 1946.

With a view to achieving high and expanding production, employment and income, greater social security and a less burdensome over-all tax system, the Dominion is seeking the cooperation of provincial governments in implementing the following proposals. They are interdependent, and should be considered as an integrated whole.

Part I. Financial Arrangements

The Dominion's main financial proposal is that in return for unconditional payments to the provinces, the Dominion be given the exclusive right to levy income, corporation and succession duty taxation for the next three years with an appropriate reduction in the payment to any province which wishes to continue to levy succession duties.

1. The Dominion will, for the duration of the agreement, pay each province a guaranteed minimum annual amount equal to $15.00 per capita. The minimum payment will be based on the 1941 or 1942 population of the province, whichever is greater. The payment to the province will be raised in proportion to increases both in per capita gross national production and in population. The actual payments to be made in 1947 will be substantially greater than the guaranteed minimum, as is shown in the table which is included in this

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this statement. In no case will Dominion payments to a province be less than 150% of that province's annual Wartime Tax Agreement receipts or be less than two million dollars. This is a description in general terms of the way in which the payments are calculated. The precise method of calculation is outlined in an appendix to this statement.

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(Millions of Dollars)

	Present Provincial Receipts from:-				Proposed Dominion Payments to Provinces	
	Wartime Tax Agreements	Statutory Subsidies	Succession Duties*	Total of Foregoing	Guaranteed Minimum	Estimated 1947
P.E.I.	.7	.4	.1	1.2	2.0	2.0
N.S.	2.9	.7	.6	4.2	8.9	10.0
N.B.	3.7	.7	.4	4.8	7.0	7.5
Que.	20.6	2.9	7.3	30.8	50.9	57.3
Ont.	29.0	3.2	12.1	44.3	58.3	64.6
Man.	5.7	1.7	.6	8.0	10.9	11.8
Sask.	5.8	2.1	.4	8.3	13.4	13.5
Alta.	5.8	1.8	.6	8.2	11.9	13.3
B.C.	12.0	1.0	1.3	14.3	18.1	18.1
TOTAL	86.2	14.5	23.4	124.1	181.4	198.1

* Average collections over 5 years 1940-4.

The annual payments to the provinces will be subject to certain necessary adjustments referred to below

2. In return for the annual payments there would be an undertaking by the provinces not to levy income, corporation or succession duty taxation for the duration of the agreement, or to permit municipalities to do so.

3. If a province wishes to continue to levy succession

D 50138

duties, the amounts paid in succession duties to that province will be treated as a credit against the Dominion succession duty, up to the amount which would have been payable to that province under its 1946 succession duty rates and conditions of liability. The total annual payments to the province, by the Dominion, under the agreement, would be reduced by the amount of such credits.

4. The statutory Dominion subsidies would continue to be paid as such, but the amount of statutory subsidies will be deducted from the Dominion payments under the agreement.

5. The provinces may tax mining and logging operations either through royalties or taxes on the net profits from such operations. For the duration of the agreement the Dominion will recognize such levies as a cost of doing business and, therefore, as an expense, deductible from income for Dominion tax purposes.

6. The Dominion is prepared to seek a constitutional amendment permitting delegation of powers from the Dominion to the provincial governments or vice versa. Once an amendment is made, the Dominion will delegate to the provinces, for the duration of the agreement, the right to levy specifically defined retail sales taxes.

7. The Dominion will undertake, for the duration of the agreement, not to enter the fields of real estate and auto-

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mobile license taxation.

8. The Dominion will also undertake, for the duration of the agreement, not to increase its special excise taxes on gasoline, amusements or pari-mutuel betting.

9. The Dominion will, in the case of companies whose main business is generating for distribution or distributing electrical energy, gas and steam, pay one-half its net corporation income tax collections from them in respect to sales thereof to or for the public. This payment to a provincial government will be reduced by an amount equal to any taxes which the government of that province levies on such companies.

10. If a provincial government or one of its municipalities takes over a tax-paying corporation, the payments to that province will be reduced by the amount of the tax loss sustained by the Dominion. This provision would not apply to the companies referred to in the preceding paragraph.

Part II. Public Investment

1. Planning grants: The Dominion will pay any provincial government which so desired one-half the cost, not exceeding 7½% of the cost of the project, of planning provincial and, through the provincial government, municipal public investment projects accepted by the Dominion as subject to timing. This offer will be effective as from a date to be set by the Dom-

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inion, up to the amount of $1.00 per capita in the province in the first year after that date.

2. Timing grants: The Dominion will contribute to provincial and, through the provincial government, to municipal public investment projects on a scale and to an amount to be determined by the Dominion and to be announced in January of any year the Dominion considered such assistance to be desirable in the light of the general employment and economic situation.

3. Dominion programme: The Dominion will extend its natural resource development and conservation projects, and research programme as soon as the situation in regard to labour and materials will permit. These activities, where possible, will be varied in execution in accordance with the general employment and economic situation.

4. Joint Dominion-provincial programmes: The Dominion will discuss with provincial governments the formulation of agreements for Dominion assistance to provincial services and projects in the categories outlined in the August 1945 proposals.

PART III. Health

1. Planning grant: The Dominion will pay to any provincial government, which so desires, immediately upon completion of the agreement, $5,00 plus 5 cents per capita of its 1941 population (but not less than $15,000) to be spent within two years on studies of the requirements of the province

D 50141

in the field of essential medical, hospital and related services. Quarterly reports would be submitted by the provincial governments.

2. Health insurance: The Dominion is prepared to contribute up to 60% of the cost of specific services in any provincial health insurance programme approved by the Dominion. Upon conclusion of this agreement the Dominion is prepared to proceed with discussions on the technical level with any provincial government which wishes to take advantage of this assistance.

3. Health grants:

For preventive medicine and for the improvement of public health services the Dominion will pay conditional grants to the provincial governments for the following purposes:

(a) General public health grant - 35¢ per capita annually, increased at the end of two years by 5¢ per capita per year until the grant totals 50¢ per capita. The purposes for which this grant may be used would include research, education and treatment related to cancer and arthritis.

(b) Tuberculosis grant - $3,000,000 annually to all provincial governments, with a minimum of $25,000 to each province and the remainder distributed 50 per cent according to the average number of deaths from tuberculosis in each province over the

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previous five years. At the end of two years a supplementary grant of $1,000,000 annually would be made available for ten years to provincial governments able to make effective use of it.

(c) Mental health grant - $4,000,000 annually to all provincial governments with a minimum of $25,000 to each province and the remainder distributed according to population. This total grant would be increased to $5,000,000 at the end of two years, $6,000,000 at the end of four years and $7,000,000 at the end of six years, if the provincial governments demonstrated they could make effective use of such amounts.

(d) Venereal disease grant - $500,000 annually to all provincial governments, with a minimum of $4,000 to each province, the remainder to be distributed 50 per cent according to the number of new cases of syphilis reported in the previous year.

(e) Professional training - The Dominion will spend up to $250,000 annually in assisting the training of public health personnel.

(f) Public health research - The Dominion will spend up to $100,000 annually in assisting public health services.

(g) Civilian blind - The Dominion will contribute 50 per cent of the cost of paying pensions up to $30

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per month to blind persons from the age of 21. The Dominion will also contribute 50 per cent of expenditures for the prevention and cure of blindness.

4. Hospital construction: The Dominion will assist provinces entering a health insurance agreement to meet the need for additional hospitals by lending money at or slightly above cost, secured by the various health grants payable to the provinces.

PART IV. Old Age Pensions

1. Aged 70 and over: The Dominion will institute a system of national old age pensions of $30 a month payable to everyone at age 70. It will be solely responsible for administering these pensions and will finance old age pensions and health insurance by such modifications of taxation or such contributions as in the opinion of Parliament would be justified.

2. Aged 65 to 69: The Dominion is prepared to enter into an agreement with any provincial government to pay 50 per cent of the cost (excluding administration) of pensions up to $30 a month to those persons between the ages 65 and 69 who need them. The provincial governments would administer these pensions on terms substantially similar to the present Old Age Pension system.

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PART V. Unemployment Assistance

In addition to unemployment insurance, the Dominion will set up a system of unemployment assistance under which it will pay benefits equal to 85% of unemployment insurance benefits, to employable unemployed who are not or have ceased to be entitled to unemployment insurance benefits. This assistance will be subject to the recipient taking any job offered, and will be limited to two years of continuous assistance, but a person will again become eligible for this assistance following an approved period of employment.

PART VI. Coordination

1. In order to facilitate Dominion-Provincial cooperation the Dominion proposes that the Dominion-Provincial Economic Committee continue as presently established with a permanent secretariat. The Committee might meet at least twice a year throughout the period of the agreement to exchange information at the technical level and to put its members in a position to advise their respective governments on ways and means of furthering the objectives of the agreement, and on other subjects of mutual and national interest.

2. The Dominion-Provincial Co-ordinating Committee as presently constituted would remain formally in existence, and would meet whenever it appeared desirable in the general interest to do so.

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3. In the event of a general expression of intention to conclude a definitive agreement now in accordance with the general terms here set forth, the Dominion would undertake to make every effort to have the agreement completed and the necessary legislation implemented to implement an agreement enacted before September 1, 1946.

4. This agreement will come into force on the day following the termination of the Wartime Tax Agreement between the Dominion and the Provincial government concerned (unless an alternative is mutually agreed upon) and will last for three years, subject to extension for a further period by mutual agreement.

D 50146

DOMINION-PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

(Plenary Session)

Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada
Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
April 29, 1946.

The normal relationships between the Dominion and the provinces were materially affected by the war. In 1941, to enable the Dominion to mobilize the utmost financial resources of the nation for the prosecution of the war, the provinces withdrew from the income and corporation tax fields, in return for fixed annual payments, the amounts of which were set forth in war-time tax agreements. It was contemplated, at the time the tax agreements were entered into, that once the war was over and the tax agreements expired, the provinces would again be free to levy income and corporation taxes. At the time no one could possibly have foreseen how long hostilities would last, and, least of all perhaps, the full extent of the colossal expenditures the prosecution of the war would involve, and the inevitable obligations and commitments it would occasion for years thereafter.

The occasion of the Conference

As hostilities continued, it became obvious that the great changes the war was bringing about would make it difficult to revert to the financial relationships which had existed when the war-time tax agreements had been entered into. That was the first and main reason which necessitated the calling of a Dominion-Provincial Conference. A second reason was that the relationships between the Dominion and the provinces before the war had been far from satisfactory. In fact, the problem of Dominion-Provincial relations was one to which serious and urgent attention was being given when the war itself broke out.

For some time before the war ended, there was a growing appreciation of the complexity and difficulty of the situation through which the world would pass in the period of transition from war to peace. Chaotic conditions in the world, difficulties in the way of re-establishing ordinary peace-time markets and shortages of supplies of all kinds were to be anticipated. In the face of this prospect,

Dominion and provincial governments alike recognized the need of finding practicable means of establishing a satisfactory basis of Dominion-Provincial co-operation, which, for the period of transition, would place the Dominion government in a position to discharge effectively its international and national obligations, and at the same time, place the provincial governments in a position to carry out effectively their obligations and responsibilities.

During the years of the war Canada achieved a higher level of employment and national income than ever before. Effective Dominion-Provincial co-operation is essential if we are to maintain a high level of employment and national income, and to extend social security in Canada.

Proceedings of the Conference

The present Dominion-Provincial Conference opened its proceedings on August 6th of last year. Prior to the opening of the conference, and following months of co-operation with the provinces in the preparation of essential statistical material, a comprehensive set of proposals for a Dominion-Provincial agreement was worked out by the Dominion. These proposals were submitted to the conference at the opening of its proceedings.

The provinces had been invited to make proposals of their own. At the opening meeting certain of the provinces submitted proposals, other provinces made informal statements. It was felt by the provinces that time would be required to study the Dominion proposals, to prepare comments and to suggest modifications, or, as they were invited to do, to make alternative proposals. To facilitate these ends, a Co-ordinating Committee was established, consisting of the premiers of the nine provinces, three Dominion ministers, and the Prime Minister of Canada. As stated in the report of the Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee, which was read this morning, the Committee has met from time to time. At the suggestion of some of the premiers, and with the approval of all, its meetings were held in camera. All formal submissions made by the provinces to the Co-ordinating Committee have, however been made public.

I should like to make it perfectly clear that holding the meetings of the Co-ordinating Committee in camera was in no way due to a desire on the part of any of its members to conceal from the public ...

matters which necessarily were of vital concern to the people of Canada as a whole. It was solely for the purpose of making possible a freer discussion of all issues on their merits. Positions taken in open discussions are, as is well known, often difficult to change though in the light of circumstances change may be advisable.

Modifications of Dominion Proposals

A number of revisions and modifications of the Dominion proposals have, in the light of discussion, been made at the meetings of the Co-ordinating Committee. In the Committee, the Dominion has sought to clarify its proposals as fully as possible, and to answer as completely as possible questions raised by the provincial governments. The Dominion government welcomes this opportunity to present, in summarized form, the complete Dominion proposals as they now stand.

Here I might point out that the fact that the Dominion has from time to time modified its proposals is in itself evidence of its desire to meet, as far as possible, the difficulties with which some of the provinces are faced, and its readiness to go as far as possible to reach a basis of agreement which will be at once fair and satisfactory to the provinces and the Dominion alike.

It is, I believe, all to the good that the exact position of the several governments should now be made known to the public in the words of their own representatives.

I might say that the Dominion doubly welcomes this plenary session in that, while its proposals and position are fully known to all the provinces, the Dominion has still to be informed of the position of some of the provinces, and of the full extent to which there is agreement in principle on the proposals which the Dominion has put forth.

I shall at once give a summary of the Dominion proposals as they now stand.

D 50149

SUMMARY OF DOMINION PROPOSALS

With a view to achieving high and expanding production, employment and national income, greater social security and a less burdensome over-all tax system, the Dominion is seeking agreement with the provincial governments on the basis of the following proposals. The proposals are interdependent, and should be considered as an integrated whole.

PART I. Financial Arrangements

The Dominion's main financial proposal is that in return for specified unconditional payments to the provinces the provinces will undertake, for the next three years, not to levy income, corporation and succession duty taxation with the proviso that any province which wishes to continue to levy succession duties may do so on condition of the Dominion payment being appropriately reduced.

1. The Dominion will, for the duration of the agreement, pay each province a guaranteed minimum annual amount equal to $15.00 per capita. The minimum payment will be based on the 1941 actual or 1942 estimated population of the province, whichever is the greater. The actual payments to be made in 1947 will be substantially greater than the guaranteed minimum since the annual payments will be raised in proportion to increases both in population and in per capita gross national production based on the average of the last three years. The estimated 1947 payments are set forth in a table which is included in this statement, but which, unless specially requested, I shall not attempt to read. In no case will Dominion payments to a province be less than 150% of that province's annual receipts under its Wartime Tax Agreement. For no province will they be less than two million dollars. The description I have just given of the way in which the payments are calculated is in general terms. The precise method of calculation is outlined in an appendix to this statement.

The table does not take account of the relief which would be afforded to provincial budgets by implementation of the Dominion proposals with respect to unemployment assistance, old age pensions, health grants, and public investment.

Dominion Payments to the Provinces

(In millions of dollars)

	Present Provincial Receipts from:-				Proposed Dominion Payments to Provinces	
	Wartime Tax Agreements	Statutory Subsidies	Provincial Succession Duties(x)	Total of Foregoing	Guaranteed Minimum **	1947 As Presently Estimated **
P.E.I.	.7	.4*	.1	1.2	2.0	2.0
N.S.	2.9	.7*	.6	4.2	8.9	10.0
N.B.	3.7	.7*	.4	4.8	7.0	7.5
Que.	20.6	2.9	7.8	31.3	50.9	57.3
Ont.	29.0	3.2	12.1	44.3	58.3	64.5
Man.	5.7	1.7	.6	8.0	10.9	11.8
Sask.	5.8	2.0	.4	8.2	13.4	13.7
Alta.	5.8	1.8	.6	8.2	11.9	13.3
B.C.	12.0	1.0	1.3	14.3	18.1	18.1
TOTAL	86.2	14.4	23.9	124.5	181.4	198.2

(x) Average collections in latest five-year period for which data is available, viz:- 1940 to 1944 inclusive.

* Excludes interim subsidies of $275,000 (P.E.I.), $1,300,000 (N.S.), and $900,000 (N.B.) which are included in the previous column under Wartime Tax Agreement receipts and which will become statutory upon expiration of the Wartime Tax Agreements.

** These amounts do not include provincial receipts from the 50% share of Dominion corporation income tax on specified public utilities, or from the provincial taxes on mining and logging profits which are referred to below

The specified annual payments to the provinces set out in the table will be subject to certain necessary adjustments referred to below.

2. In return for the specified annual payments there would be an undertaking by the provinces not to levy income, corporation or succession duty taxation for the duration of the agreement, or to permit municipalities to do so.

3. If a province wishes to continue to levy succession duties, the succession duty amounts payable by a taxpayer to that province will be treated as a credit to the taxpayer against amounts due under the Dominion succession duty; the credit will be limited, however, to the amount which would have been payable to that province under its 1946 succession duty rates and conditions of liability. The total annual payments to the province, by the Dominion, under the agreement would be reduced by the amount of such credits.

4. The statutory Dominion subsidies will continue to be paid but will be included as part of the specified annual payments to be made by the Dominion under the agreement.

5. The provinces may tax mining and logging operations either through royalties or taxes on the net profits from such operations. For the duration of the agreement, the Dominion will recognize such levies as an expense deductible from income for Dominion tax purposes.

6. The Dominion is prepared to seek a constitutional amendment permitting delegation of powers from the Dominion Parliament to provincial legislatures, or vice versa. Once an amendment is made, the Dominion Government will request Parliament to delegate to the provinces, for the duration of the agreement, the right to levy retail sales taxes within limits to be specifically defined.

7. The Dominion will undertake, for the duration of the agreement, not to enter the fields of real estate taxation and automobile licenses now exclusively occupied by the provinces.

8. The Dominion will also undertake, for the duration of the agreement, not to increase its special excise taxes on gasoline, amusements or pari-mutuel betting, provided that in the event of a national emergency the Dominion will be free to take whatever steps are necessary to meet the emergency.

9. The Dominion will, in the case of companies whose main business is generating for distribution to the public or distributing electrical energy, gas and steam, pay to the province concerned one-half the Dominion's net corporation income tax collections from such companies, in respect to such business. This payment to a provincial government will be reduced by an amount equal to any taxes which the government of that province levies on such companies.

10. If a provincial government or one of its municipalities takes over a tax-paying corporation, the specified annual payments to that province will be reduced by the amount of the tax loss sustained by the Dominion. This provision would not apply to the companies referred to in the preceding paragraph.

11. Since the Co-ordinating Committee adjourned its proceedings on Friday last the Dominion Government has given further consideration to the suggestion of some of the provinces that the Dominion should withdraw from certain tax fields.

The most important of these, in terms of revenue, is the special 3 cent a gallon excise tax on gasoline imposed in 1941 which currently yields the Dominion about $30,000,000 a year. The Dominion has made it clear that in view of the financial burdens and responsibilities which it must bear it could only consider withdrawing from any tax field in return for an adequate financial equivalent. In the case of gasoline such an equivalent might be a reduction in the specified annual payments to the provinces equal to the annual amount now being collected by the Dominion from this tax. An alternative equivalent could be withdrawal of the Dominion offer to pay the provinces 50 per cent of the cost of old age assistance for those between the ages of 65 and 69 estimated to cost the Dominion up to $20 million a year.

If the provinces generally are prepared to offer either of these alternatives, the Dominion would be prepared to modify its proposals accordingly.

Another example of such an alternative might be for the Dominion to withdraw from the amusement tax field in consideration of its not paying the public health grants. The Dominion Government does not suggest this or the other alternatives as in the national interest or in the interest of the provinces; but nevertheless the Dominion would be prepared to consider any proposal along these lines which was desired by the provinces generally and which would not leave the Dominion worse off financially.

PART II. Public Investment

1. Planning grants: The Dominion will pay any provincial government which so desires one-half the cost, not exceeding 7½% of the cost of the project, of planning provincial and, through the provincial government, municipal public investment projects accepted by the Dominion as subject to timing. This offer will be effective as from a date to be set by the Dominion, and will be limited in the first year after that date to an amount equal to $1.00 per capita of the population of the province.

2. Timing grants: The Dominion will contribute to provincial and, through the provincial government, to municipal public investment projects on a scale and to an amount to be determined by the Dominion and to be announced in January of any year in which in the light of the general employment and economic situation the Dominion considers such assistance to be desirable.

3. Dominion programme: The Dominion will extend its natural resources development and conservation projects, and research programme, as soon as the situation respecting labour and materials will permit. These activities, where possible, will be varied in execution in accordance with the general employment and economic situation.

4. Joint Dominion-provincial programmes: The Dominion will discuss with provincial governments the formulation of agreements for Dominion assistance to provincial services and projects in the categories outlined in the August 1945 proposals.

PART III. Health

1. Planning grant: The Dominion will pay to any provincial government, which so desires, immediately upon completion of the agreement, $5,000 plus 5 cents per capita of its 1941 population (but not less than $15,000) to be spent within two years on studies of the requirements of the province in the field of essential medical, hospital and related services. Quarterly reports would be submitted by the provincial governments.

2. Health insurance: The Dominion is prepared to contribute up to 60% of the cost of specific services in any provincial health insurance programme approved by the Dominion. Upon conclusion of an agreement, the Dominion is prepared to proceed with discussions on a technical level with any provincial government which wishes to take advantage of this assistance.

3. Health grants: For preventive medicine, increased hospital facilities and the development of public health services, the Dominion will pay the provinces conditional grants in relation to General Public Health, Tuberculosis, Mental Health, Venereal Disease, Crippled Children, and will make additional provision for Professional Training and Public Health Research. The Dominion will contribute 50 per cent to the amounts required to permit the pension age for blind persons to be lowered from 40 to 21 years and the maximum amount paid to pensioners to be increased to $30 per month and to provide for treatment to prevent or cure blindness. These grants and payments are described at greater length in an appendix to this statement.

4. Hospital construction: The Dominion will assist provinces entering a health insurance agreement to meet the need for additional hospitals by lending money at or slightly above cost, secured by the various health grants payable to the provinces.

D 50154

PART IV. Old Age Pensions

1. Aged 70 and over: The Dominion will institute a system of national old age pensions of $30. a month payable to everyone at 70 years of age. The Dominion will be solely responsible for administering these pensions. Old age pensions and the other parts of the Dominion social security programme when established will be financed by such modifications of taxation, or by such contributions, as Parliament may authorize.

2. Aged 65 to 69: The Dominion is prepared to enter into an agreement with any provincial government to pay 50 per cent of the cost (excluding administration) of pensions up to $30 a month to those persons between the ages 65 and 69 who need them. The provincial governments would administer these pensions on terms substantially similar to the present Old Age Pension system. In the event of the provinces accepting the alternative proposal respecting taxes on gasoline, this proposal would be withdrawn.

PART V. Unemployment Assistance

In addition to unemployment insurance, the Dominion will set up a system of unemployment assistance under which it will pay benefits equal to 85% of unemployment insurance benefits, to unemployed persons able and willing to work who are not entitled, or who have ceased to be entitled, to unemployment insurance benefits. This assistance will be limited to two years of continuous assistance, but a person will again become eligible for this assistance following an approved period of employment.

PART VI. Conclusion of New Agreements

In the event of a general expression of intention to conclude definitive agreements in accordance with the general terms here set forth, the Dominion will undertake to make every effort to have agreements completed and the necessary legislation to implement the agreements enacted before September 1 of the present year.

The new agreements would come into force on the day following the termination of the Wartime Tax Agreements between the Dominion and the Provincial governments concerned (unless an alternative date were mutually agreed upon). The agreements would be for three years, subject to extension for a further period by mutual agreement.

The Dominion will pay the provincial governments the hold-back of income and corporation taxes under the Wartime Tax Agreements within thirty days of the commencement of the new agreement. The Dominion will make the specified payments annually in four equal quarterly installments during the life of the agreement, the first installment to be paid six months after the commencement of the agreement, and the last installment to be paid three months after the expiration of the agreement.

D 50155

Appendix A

Definition of the Specified Annual Payment
to be made by the Dominion to a Province
under the Proposed Agreement

1. The Dominion undertakes to pay the Province for the duration of the agreement a guaranteed minimum annual amount equal to Fifteen dollars multiplied by the number of the population of the Province in 1942 as estimated by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (or at the option of the Province the number of the population in 1941 as shown by the census of Canada). This guaranteed minimum, however, shall in no case be less than 150% of the annual payments made to the Province under the Wartime Tax Agreement (excluding gasoline tax guarantee payments) or less than Two Million dollars.

2. In any year in which the amount arrived at by the following formula exceeds the guaranteed minimum, the amount so arrived at shall be paid in lieu of the guaranteed minimum. The formula: Divide 'the Gross National Product per capita' for each of the three preceding years by the 'Gross National Product per capita for 1942'. Multiply the quotient in each case by $15.00. Multiply the product in each case by the number of the population of the Province for the year in question. If the result in any of the three years is less than the guaranteed minimum, substitute the amount of the guaranteed minimum. Average the three amounts so arrived at.

3. The calculations referred to in paragraph 2 will be made on the basis of the current Dominion Bureau of Statistics estimates of population and Gross National Product and will be adjusted, when necessary, on the basis of the final Dominion Bureau of Statistics report.

D 50156

Appendix B

Health Grants

For preventive medicine, increased hospital facilities and the development of public health services the Dominion will pay conditional grants to the provincial governments for the following purposes:

(a) General public health grant - 35¢ per capita annually, increased at the end of two years by 5¢ per capita per year until the grant totals 50¢ per capita. The purposes for which this grant may be used would include research, education and treatment related to cancer and arthritis.

(b) Tuberculosis grant - $3,000,000 annually to all provincial governments, with a minimum of $25,000 to each province and the remainder distributed 50 per cent according to population and 50 per cent according to the average number of deaths from tuberculosis in each province over the previous five years. At the end of two years a supplementary grant of $1,000,000 annually would be made available for ten years to provincial governments able to make effective use of it.

(c) Mental health grant - $4,000,000 annually to all provincial governments, with a minimum of $25,000 to each province and the remainder distributed according to population. This total grant would be increased to $5,000,000 at the end of two years, $6,000,000 at the end of four years and $7,000,000 at the end of six years, if the provincial governments demonstrated they could make effective use of such amounts.

(d) Venereal disease grant - $500,000 annually to all provincial governments, with a minimum of $4,000 to each province, the remainder to be distributed 50 per cent according to the number of new cases of syphilis reported in the previous year.

(e) Professional training - The Dominion will spend up to $250,000 annually in assisting the training of public health personnel.

(f) Public health research - The Dominion will spend up to $100,000 annually in assisting public health services.

(g) Civilian blind - The Dominion will contribute 50 per cent to the amounts required to permit the pension age for blind persons to be lowered from 40 to 21 years and the maximum amount paid to pensioners to be increased to $30 per month and to provide for treatment to prevent or cure blindness.

D 50157

No Constitutional Change

In all its proposals, the Dominion has assumed that Canada's federal system of government should be preserved and strengthened. I should like to repeat what I said at the plenary session on August 6th, last:

"We do not believe that unity is to be found in uniformity, in standardization, or in centralization. We believe the unity and strength of Canada are equally dependent upon the soundness and strength of the provinces, and their capacity to discharge their functions effectively. We believe that only when the provinces are relatively secure in their own spheres can we achieve the co-operation among all governments so essential to our country's needs."

My colleagues and I have scrutinized every aspect of our proposals in the light of these general principles. The Dominion proposals will, we believe, strengthen the position of each government in its respective field.

The only constitutional change suggested is the proposal, already mentioned, for the delegation of powers, and with this one exception under which the Dominion is prepared to enlarge the powers of the provinces, none of the Dominion proposals would require an amendment to the British North America Act, or involve any fundamental disturbance of the traditional pattern of Confederation. In this unsettled period of world transition, it would be unwise to seek constitutional change, or to make irrevocable commitments. What we are now seeking is to meet urgent needs, on a temporary basis, by the simplest and most effective means.

Avoidance of Double Taxation

In formulating its proposals, the Dominion government has kept constantly in mind the desirability of double taxation being avoided, and of the best possible use being made of the major fields of direct taxation.

When we speak of the best possible use of tax fields we have in mind more than tax collection costs to governments and taxpayers. We are deeply concerned that Canada's tax system should be efficient in the sense that, in this period of transition, it will impose the least possible discouragement to the expansion of business activity and employment. This is one of the main reasons for the proposal that the Dominion alone should levy income and Corporation Taxes and Succession Duties, and make in return unconditional payments to the provinces.

Forecast of Tax Policy

Here, may I indicate something of the tax policy the Dominion plans to follow should agreement be effected on the basis of the Dominion proposals.

In respect to the personal income tax, as now levied, the government is prepared to say that, once the Dominion proposals are accepted, and the risk of having Dominion policies nullified by provincial policies having contrary economic effects is thereby avoided, the government intends to make further reductions in the personal income tax. In the same circumstances, the government also intends to reduce the ~~elimi~~ment of double taxation of corporate income with its tendency to discourage risk-taking enterprise. It is intended to meet a part of the Dominion's share of the cost of the broad extension of social security, included in the Dominion proposals, by means of direct personal contributions.

Urgency of Problem

The Minister of Finance has been obliged to delay preparation of the Dominion budget, pending the outcome of the present conference. The preparation of the Dominion budget cannot, however, be much longer delayed. The nature of the budget vitally affects plans for business expansion for years ahead. The provinces also have their budgetary problems. Within a year, all the war-time tax agreements will have expired. The present uncertainty cannot be allowed to continue.

In its proposals, as they now stand, the Dominion government feels that it has gone as far as it possibly can in the light of its very heavy financial obligations. While we have not shut the door to possible alternatives or adjustments, any such modifications will have to be on the basis of financial equivalents.

Insert (?)

If agreement is reached, the Dominion budget proposals will be based on the terms of the agreement. If agreement is not reached, final preparation of the Dominion budget will nevertheless have to be proceeded with immediately. In such case full account will have to be taken of the termination of existing tax agreements with the provinces, and the situation which will then result. The Dominion government will have to use its constitutional powers to the full extent necessary to meet its heavy national and international financial obligations and commitments. There is, perhaps, a third alternative. It may be that at the present plenary session something as yet undisclosed may be proposed which would offer a better solution. In view of the urgency of preparing Dominion and provincial budgets, a decision on any such proposal would necessarily have to be reached without delay.

Once the position of the provinces has been made perfectly clear at this plenary session, if it appears that agreement is possible on basic principles, it is our hope that the Co-ordinating Committee might resume its sittings in order to work out the agreement itself.

Continuing consultation

In conclusion, may I repeat that the Dominion proposals are for a period of only three years, and that they involve no permanent changes in our constitutional or financial relationships. In the event of agreement being reached at this time the Economic Committee might continue as presently established with a permanent secretariat, to facilitate Dominion-Provincial co-operation. The Committee might meet at least twice a year throughout the period of the agreement to exchange information at the technical level and to put its members in a position to advise their respective governments on ways and means of furthering the objectives of the agreement, and on other subjects of mutual and national interest.

The Co-ordinating Committee as presently constituted might remain formally in existence, and might meet whenever it appeared desirable in the general interest.

It would be our hope that further conference and consultation between the Dominion and the provinces, carried on in this or some similar way, would over the next three years bring us close to a permanent solution of the problems of Dominion-Provincial co-operation.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
79		Statement to the Plenary Session of the Dominion-Provincial Conference of 1945-1946, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1946	D 50046 - D 50159	
79		Tribute to the Late W.R. MacDonald M.P. Speeches in Parliament	3 May 1946	D 50160 - D 50165	
79		Speeches outside Parliament	17 May 1946	D 50166 - D 50167	
79		London. Speeches outside Parliament	23 May 1946	D 50168 - D 50179	
79		Dinner at 10 Downing Street, London. Speeches outside Parliament	7 June 1946	D 50180 - D 50288	
79		Dinner in Honour of Mr. King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	18 June 1946	D 50289 - D 50292	
79		Welcome to Hon. Herbert Hoover, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	28 June 1946	D 50293 - D 50295	
79		The First Year of Peace, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	3 July 1946	D 50296 - D 50335	
79		Paris. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Aug. 1946	D 50336 - D 50417	
79		Dieppe. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Aug. 1946	D 50418 - D 50420	

S/1946/p 3/V/46

50160

The late W. R. McDonald, M.P. (Pontiac) died at Chapeau, Que., May 2, 1946, in 70th year.

Serious nature of illness absent from House whole of present session.

Comforted in knowledge he had been able to leave hospital (April 11) and to return home.

First death in membership of present House since convening after general elections 1945.

Educated University of Ottawa.

Leading general merchant - well known and greatly respected in all parts of County of Pontiac.

Public service bagan as:

Mayor of Chapeau

Warden of Pontiac County

1919 - elected to Quebec Legislature; re-elected on 3 subsequent occasions.

1935 - elected to House of Commons

re-elected General Elections 1940 and 1945.

Faithful discharge of public duties.

Regular in attenance.

Active member of Committees.

Equally fluent in both official language

Outstanding qualities -

moderation and toleration;

sterling loyalty to friends,
party,
principles,
policies.

He was one on whose support the Leader of the Party could absolutely rely.

Views of his own -
fearless in expressing both in Cauc
and on floor of House.

Co-operation necessary if any principle or policy is to prevail.

It was as a member of a party no less than as an individual that he owed his success in public life.

Kind disposition -

friends in all parties,

particularly beloved on Liberal sid

D50162

House will greatly miss his loyal and helpful companionship; no one will feel a greater sense of loss than myself.

Wish of all hon. members that you, Mr. Speaker, should, on behalf of this House of Commons, extend to Mrs. McDonald, and through her to other members of the family, the expression of our sympathy in her great bereavement.

May 3, 1946

D50163

Tribute to the late W. R. McDonald, M.P.

Members of all parties in this House of Commons will have been pained to learn of the death last night of one of our number, Mr. Wallace R. McDonald, Member for the Constituency of Pontiac, Quebec.

We with whom Mr. McDonald was most closely associated, knew of the serious nature of the illness which had necessitated his absence from this House over the whole of the present session the past (seven) weeks. We were comforted, however, by the knowledge that within the past fortnight he had been able to leave the hospital where he had undergone an operation, and had been able to return to his home at Chapeau, Quebec. His is the first death which has occurred in the membership of this House since it convened after the General Election of last year.

Mr. McDonald was in his seventieth year. Like many members of Canada's Parliament, he had received a part of his education in the University of Ottawa in this City. As a leading general merchant, he was well known and greatly respected, in all parts of the County of Pontiac. He gave freely of his time and talents to public affairs. He began his life of public service by filling the office of Mayor of Chapeau and Warden of Pontiac County. In 1919 he was

elected to the Quebec Legislature and was re-elected at three subsequent General Elections. In 1935 he was elected to this House of Commons and was re-elected at the General Elections of 1940 and 1945.

During the years he sat in this Parliament, Mr. McDonald was very faithful in the discharge of his public duties. He was regular in his attendance at the proceedings of the House. He was an active member of the Committees on which he served, and on frequent occasions participated actively in its debates. He was equally fluent in both official languages.

If I were asked what I regarded as Mr. McDonald's outstanding qualities, I should say they were his moderation and broad tolerance in all things and his sterling loyalty to his friends, his party and to its principles and policies. He was one on whose support the Leader of the Party could absolutely rely. Not that he did not possess views of his own, and was wholly fearless in expressing them, for this he did both in Party caucus and on the floor of the House. He realized, however, that it is only through co-operation with others that any principle or policy can be made to prevail, and that it was as a member of a party, no less than as an

individual that he owed his success in public life. He was of an exceedingly kind disposition. He had friends in all parties, but was particularly beloved by the members of his own Party on this side of the House. We shall all greatly miss his loyal and helpful companionship, and in this no one will feel a greater sense of loss than myself.

Mr. McDonald leaves a widow, and a large number of children mourn his loss. I am sure it will be the wish of all honourable members that you, Mr. Speaker, should, on behalf of this House of Commons, extend to Mrs. McDonald and through her to the other members of the family, the expression of our sympathy in her great bereavement.

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D 50166

May 17, 1946

Meeting with officers of No. 1 Ship Staff
(including 8 Nursing Sisters)

Pleasure of meeting Colonel Sutherland -
son of Senator Sutherland, (Oxford County

War has helped to soften political
asperities.

Differences of party lost in the wider
interest in common and
magnitude of problems.

Delighted to learn Nursing Sisters aboard
were all Canadians.
Re: No.1 Ship Staff - oldest unit.
Re Memorial in Hall of Fame, Ottawa,
to Sisters in the First War.

Symbolical of women's work in the
international sphere.

Early sisters of religious orders coming
to Canada - and Canadian Nursing
Sisters going to Belgium -
figure of Humanity between.

Re book being issued by Dr. Murray Gibbon
- placing picture of Memorial in
front of book.

Talk with Lady Reading of Canadian
Nurses' uniform, etc.

My own experience in relation to
Toronto General Hospital and
Nursing Sisters in politics.

D 50167

Services of armed forces of Canada -
a wonderful record.

Provision made by government for veterans.

Present problems:
new democratic trends.

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D 50168 JAG/
21:v:46

LUNCHEON given by His Majesty's Government
in the United Kingdom in honour of the
Prime Minister of Canada
Thursday, 23 May,
1946

Expression of appreciation for hospitality
extended by the United Kingdom Government

express also great pleasure at being present today with so many members of the Government circle.

Present visit is 4th since 1941; and the 2nd in past seven months.

first two visits in wartime (1941, 1944)
- the example of Britain under fire and organizing for the mounting offensive for victory

last previous visit (1945) and present visit (1946)
- the example of Britain tackling urgent tasks of reconstruction and the work of rebuilding after nearly 6 years of war.

In expressing admiration for the resolute way in which the people of Britain are dealing with these problems

am pleased to be able to recall the ways in which Canada has been able to help towards the assuring of necessary food supplies, and

to extend financial credits to enable Britain to regain her place among the principal industrial nations of the world.

D 50169

Canadian loan to Britain (recently passed through both Houses of Parliament

providing some immediate advantages, also a symbol of needs and hopes shared in common.

Present meetings those of OLD friends facing NEW problems;

always has been marked advantage in holding, from time to time, informal consultations on matters of common interest and concern

Believe there is general appreciation of need to carry into period of world reconstruction the effective co-operation which applied during years of war -

the good of each bound up with the welfare of all

There is no question about or long-term interests on the side of peace and prosperity

one of the lessons of the war -

peace, security and prosperity are all indivisible

In dealing with the problems of rebuilding we are realizing more than ever before how much

national security depends on world security

the spirit of mutual trust and mutual aid linked with the everyday needs of all our people

D 50170

U.K. GOVERNMENT LUNCHEON
Lancaster House, May 23rd, 1946.

Notes for reply by Prime Minister of Canada.

Acknowledgment of greetings by Lord Addison.

First meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers since Lord Addison became Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

Change of Government makes no change in Commonwealth Relations - continuance of same cordial personal relations and same constant and continuous co-operation.

Between Canada and United Kingdom, as between other Commonwealth nations, Offices of High Commissioners provide one of the principal links.

Not an inappropriate time to refer to services rendered both countries in years of war by Rt.Hon.Malcolm MacDonald and Rt.Hon.Vincent Massey- both of whose terms of office have so recently ended.

/While

While emphasis needed from time to time of the comprehensive and continuous machinery for consultation within the Commonwealth, all are agreed as to the great value of personal and informal talks between Prime Ministers and other leading Ministers of State.

Especially useful <u>at a time of world crisis</u> when the future of mankind is being shaped for generations and perhaps for centuries, that utmost of wisdom and experience be brought effectively to bear upon world problems.

Each Government in Commonwealth makes its own decisions, but all can <u>contribute to</u> and <u>share in</u> a <u>commonwealth of knowledge</u>.

Real purpose of meetings such as the present is to enlarge <u>the commonwealth of knowledge</u> on which <u>wise decisions</u> and <u>sane action</u> can be based.

Recall mission of British Commonwealth to serve the wider interests of all humanity.

Express appreciation of wide measure of identity of view and of interest

/of

of the nations of the Commonwealth - firm agreement among all that survival itself depends upon understanding, good-will and co-operation among leading nations of the world.

The "One World" we all seek can be built solidly only if it is founded upon the principles of freedom and justice - it is only in this large sense that we can truly speak of Commonwealth interests and Commonwealth policies.

D 50173

Self evidence, [illegible]
[illegible]

Lord addison - personal
Leader of the House
- as former Staff

Staff conference
Inter Commonwealth
Conference - Administrative

Officials -
Location - Country

Common interest Greater

Commonwealth - Extension of Preference

Canada & Britain
Between Canada mostly
Mutual help

D 50174

Sir Alexander
Cuthbert

D 50175

THE DORCHESTER HOTEL
LONDON
TELEPHONE MAYFAIR 8888

[illegible]
a great occasion
Sr Commn of England (US)
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

D 50176

THE DORCHESTER HOTEL
LONDON
TELEPHONE MAYFAIR 8888

Before Abrogation of horticultural
priority of sending by wire before
booking

Abrogation of conferences.
bringing together all friends and
enemies - members of Lucas's
service (Sept. 1919.

Abrogation of PMs - failure
& abuse postage
Lord addition, arranging
arbitrage. Sound ~~Gentlemen~~
Judgment
of Foreign Secretary
Personal regret was able to be present at
all
all functions. ~~everything~~
"Mining Town company"
when a fellow meets a
friend.
common Political topics
home or Government and education of
freedom
a thing of the mind of the heart.

hearing all night - in which Samuel Storrow
contains
men of different ~~talents~~ different parties
and Liberal together
Need for Lucas Volume
Final Cornerstone &
explanation of

PRIME MINISTER

10, Downing Street,
Whitehall.

D 50177

Smuts is back
in his old roles as
a member of the UK
War Cabinet.

JAG/
21:v:46

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last previous visit (1945) and present visit (1946)
- the example of Britain tackling urgent tasks of reconstruction and the work of rebuilding after nearly 6 years of war.

In expressing admiration for the resolute way in which the people of Britain are dealing with these problems

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to extend financial credits to enable Britain to regain her place among the principal industrial nations of the world.

D50178

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21:v:46

LUNCHEON given by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in honour of the Prime Minister of Canada
Thursday, 23 May,
1946

Expression of appreciation for hospitality extended by the United Kingdom Governmen

express also great pleasure at being present today with so many members of the Government circle.

Present visit is 4th since 1941 and the 2nd in past seven months.

first two visits in wartime (1941, 1944)
- the example of Britain under fire and organizing for the mounting offensive for victory

last previous visit (1945) and present visit (1946)
- the example of Britain tackling urgent tasks of reconstruction and the work of rebuilding after nearly 6 years of war.

In expressing admiration for the resolute way in which the people of Britain are dealing with these problems

am pleased to be able to recall the ways in which Canada has been able to help towards the assuring of necessary food supplies, and

to extend financial credits to enable Britain to regain her place among the principal indistrial nations of the world.

D50178

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 50179

Canadian loan to Britain (recently passed through both Houses of Parliament

providing some immediate advantages, also a symbol of needs and hopes shared in common.

Present meetings those of OLD friends facing NEW problems;

always has been marked advantage in holding, from time to time, informal consultations on matters of common interest and concern

Believe there is general appreciation of need to carry into period of world reconstruction the effective co-operation which applied during years of war -

the good of each bound up with the welfare of all

There is no question about or long-term interests on the side of peace and prosperity

one of the lessons of the war -

peace, security and prosperity are all indivisible

In dealing with the problems of rebuilding we are realizing more than ever before how much

national security depends on world security

the spirit of mutual trust and mutual aid linked with the everyday needs of all our people

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
79		Statement to the Plenary Session of the Dominion-Provincial Conference of 1945-1946, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1946	D 50046 - D 50159	
79		Tribute to the Late W.R. MacDonald M.P. Speeches in Parliament	3 May 1946	D 50160 - D 50165	
79		Speeches outside Parliament	17 May 1946	D 50166 - D 50167	
79		London. Speeches outside Parliament	23 May 1946	D 50168 - D 50179	
79		Dinner at 10 Downing Street, London. Speeches outside Parliament	7 June 1946	D 50180 - D 50288	
79		Dinner in Honour of Mr. King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	18 June 1946	D 50289 - D 50292	
79		Welcome to Hon. Herbert Hoover, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	28 June 1946	D 50293 - D 50295	
79		The First Year of Peace, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	3 July 1946	D 50296 - D 50335	
79		Paris. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Aug. 1946	D 50336 - D 50417	
79		Dieppe. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Aug. 1946	D 50418 - D 50420	

NUMK

7.VI.46
London

D 50180

Thanks for toast - deeply moved
Crowning event in public life;
more shares of honours;
past expressions of confidence.

Difficulty of acknowledging honour;
gathering an expression of
unparallelled political inheritanc
borne of centuries of struggle.

3 journeys:

(1) our common political inheritance;
experienced in art of govt.
accumulated over a long journ

table symbolical of unity and
liberty;

milestones on journey;

charters, etc.

expansion of England -
seeds of British liberty.

(2) path which has led me to milestone
reached today;

Sir John A. Macdonald;
Pitt;
Walpole.

(3) Canada's rugged road to nationhood;
Canada to Downing Street.

Story of Mackenzie.

What meeting tonight signifies.

No grievances;

executive and Governor-General -
contributions of Governors-General.

Proud to belong to British Commonwealth
How to strengthen and maintain.

Conference just concluded.

Commonwealth and the U.S.

fear of blocs vanish.

British community of nations -

greatest agency for peace,
justice and good-will.

Combined with Anglo-American friendshi

Look forward with confidence
to development -

good-will among nations.

Thanks to government.

D 50182

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D 50183

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D 50184

DINNER at 10, DOWNING STREET

Friday, June 7, 1946

to honour Rt. Hon.W.L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada.

Notes for acknowledgment of toast.

PRIME MINISTER, MY LORDS and GENTLEMEN:

Thanks for moving words of Prime Minister's toast.

Crowning
Crowning event in career as Prime Minister.

Years of service have just exceeded those of any other Prime Minister of Canada.

Only surpassed in Parliamentary annals by the length of service of Walpole (who might be called the inventor of the office of Prime Minister).

To receive acknowledgment of service in Walpole's own dining room from Walpole's successor in office, the crowning honour among many received over the years.

Within the walls of this historic building the office of Prime Minister evolved: in Walpole's day "Prime Minister" was a term of reproach - office considered unconstitutional; today the Prime Minister is the very focus of the constitution; might be likened to the balance-wheel.

For me the occasion marks the final stage in the long, slow and often painful development and evolution from Empire to Commonwealth: the logical outgrowth of the most fruitful of all constitutional conceptions: the great idea of responsible government.

/Not

Not merely a personal satisfaction, though it would be less than human not to feel it so - but also a complete vindication of family roots and traditions - pride in reaping the rich harvest from the seed sown by my grandfather.

Event of more than personal significance - symbolic of unique structure built of our political inheritance in the British family of nations.

Each of nations of the Commonwealth inspired by the same passion for self-government and free government issued from the same roots.

Each has travelled by a long, uphill journey to the same goal - all political parties in all the free nations of the Commonwealth are agreed on political fundamentals - all can sit together at a family table - symbolic at once of unity and freedom.

Personal aspects -

Destiny gave to my family and myself a large part in that long journey towards political maturity in Canada.

We, in Canada, believe that as senior overseas nation of the Commonwealth, we have given an example to our sister nations and helped to shape their development.

Like to feel that key to my career in public life to be found in career of my grandfather.

In my lifetime have worked for and witnessed the achievement of the complete political liberty under the Crown which he believed to be the heritage of every British subject.

He was driven to take up arms to vindicate that heritage.

/Happily

Happily where he met hostility and tyranny,
I have found understanding and co-operation.

Milestones in vindication of ideals of Mackenzie:

Imperial Conference, 1923 - dispelled notion of a centralised Empire.

Canadian political crisis, 1926 - completely vindicated principles of ultimate responsibility of government to the people.

Imperial Conference, 1926 - recognised equality of status of nations of Commonwealth.

Statute of Westminster - translated equality into legal terms.

Free and separate declaration of war, 1939.- demonstrated to the world that complete unity could only be achieved in complete freedom.

(Suggest each of these points be developed in as personal a way as possible)

Length of service - real significance.

Cannot fail to be proud of confidence extended by one's own people so many times over so long a period.

To have surpassed the record of the younger Pitt - your first truly responsible Prime Minister in the modern sense - and to have surpassed the long record of our own first Prime Minister are both great landmarks.

But it is not length alone but also quality of service which counts.

/Lord

Lord Liverpool was Prime Minister nearly as long as Pitt - yet for what else is he remembered.

For me, real significance has been opportunity to achieve certain ends - symbolised by my presence here tonight in the very house where my grandfather came from Canada as a suppliant for political liberty, and to be honoured here as the Prime Minister of a land fully free, completely equal and living in the utmost harmony with this land whence our freedom sprang -

That to me, Prime Minister and Gentlemen, is the true significance of this occasion.

D 50188

POLITICAL JOURNEY

Grandfather emigrating to Canada
- early activity in political journalism
- experience of some kinds of mob violence
(destroying his printing press) etc.

First returned to Parliament in 1828
served until fled into exile 1837
five times expelled (and five times returned

- unusual experience of being declared
incapable of sitting (highly illegally)

Visit to Britain 1832

interviews with Colonial Secretary of that day

Seventh Report on Grievances (Lord Goderick)
Disallowance of Bank Act (Upper Canada)
a severe blow against Family Compact.

Refusal of offer of Postmaster Generalship for Upper Canada (a post then worth about £1500 annually)
- characteristically - would only aggravate the exile it was intended to cure.

Rebellion as the last resource of men who were men of principle and conviction - frustration and bitterness of narrowness of one political group.

D 50189

REBELLION TO RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

Actual disturbances short-lived

leaders into exile in United States

(Mackenzie pardoned 1849:
later served in Parliament of
Canada)

but the consciences of the people were aroused

the Home Government was finally convinced how deeply-seated were the evils complained of;

Lord Durham's Mission and his Report -

the solution was responsible Government on the well-accepted usages of Britain

the mechanics involved trusting the men on the spot to conduct their government on a responsible basis.

The principle vindicated in Canada by Lord Elgin's action in 1849.

D 50190

FROM RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT TO FEDERATION

- problems of government overseas on an increasing scale.

- working out of some of these problems was definitely a Canadian responsibility and was so regarded.

  e.g. fiscal autonomy (in taxation) proclaimed by Galt in 1859.

- relations with the United States.

- concern for the effective defence of Canada (Civil War in U.S.A.)

- the idea of a Canada which should extend from sea to sea (expansion after 1867 to complete the political framework; expansion still going on in 1948 because of the ever advancing frontier northward)

In this space of years from 1849 - 1867 there was also a transformation of the "executive authority" of the British Empire

the federation of Canada really was a Canadian achievement.

D50191

MILESTONES IN JOURNEY TO POLITICAL FREEDOM

1. The rule of law established by Magna Carta

2. The principle of representation established in the parliaments of

   Simon de Montfort
   and Edward I

3. The power of the purse and the safeguarding of personal liberty in the Petition of Right.

4. The right of Habeas Corpus confirmed under Charles II.

5. The control of the Executive by Parliament in the Bill of Rights.

6. Freedom of the press under George III.

7. Representation of the People in the successive Reform Bills of the nineteenth century.

D 50192

8. The supremacy of the House of Commons in the Parliament Act of 1911.

9. Political Rights for Women in the 20th century.

D 50193

FROM FEDERATION TO AUTONOMOUS STATURE WITHIN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.

A common sharing in the mature constitutional inheritance of Britain -

Canada the senior in the group of new nations beyond the seas.

The outward symbols were impressive

taking up arms in first World War in defence of the world's freedom;

separate representation at Peace Conference and individual signature of Treaty of Versailles;

original membership in League of Nations;

separate negotiation and signature of treaties;

appointment of own diplomatic officers to other governments.

The inward conviction was a demonstration of the strength of common purpose which through all subsequent development of Commonwealth relationships has given reassurance and constant hope.

D 50194

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D 50195

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The inward conviction was a demonstration of the strength of common purpose which through all subsequent development of Commonwealth relationships has given reassurance and constant hope.

DRAFT (1+2) D 50200 31.V.46

This is a memorable and, may I say, a heart-warming day of my life, and I confess that in the presence of this company, and in this setting so charged with the associations of more than two centuries in the political life of the British race, I find any words inadequate to convey my sense of appreciation to all of you who have here assembled to do honour to me.

It is an honour which touches me personally, as a representative of the people of Canada, through whose confidence I have held the office of Prime Minister for now very nearly 19 years. It is an honour which ~~regards~~ surrounds the office of Prime Minister of Canada with a crowning touch, both of hospitality, as on this immediate occasion, and of a kind of fraternal regard which must ever remain one of the proudest possessions of any man's experience. It is also, if I may say so, an honour which encompasses and surpasses the dignity and worthiness with which the office of the King's Prime Minister — in the United Kingdom and in the several nations of the Commonwealth — has for long been invested. On all of these grounds, and in the fullness of time which has brought me to the threshold of the twentieth year I have held my present office, I am more deeply grateful than I can well express.

There is, too, within this stately and historic room, much of the urbane spirit of that first among the King's Prime Ministers, Sir Robert Walpole. It is true, I believe, that when he succeeded to the leadership in the House of Commons in Eighteenth Century England, and when he began the development of the system which we know and recognize as Cabinet Government, his conduct and motives did not pass unchallenged. The very title of the office which latterly attached to him as First Lord of the Treasury — I mean the title of Prime Minister, carried

r/ with it an implied reproach. It is of record that in February, 1741, the House of Lords protested that Walpole had so far arrogated to himself the conduct of the public business as to have become "the Sole and Prime Minister"

D 50201

new page

It is the genius of the British race (in both hemispheres) to be concerned with the government of themselves

space

We ask for no more than as British subjects we are entitled to, but we shall be content with nothing less.

space

I admit, wrote Durham, that the system I propose would in fact place the government of these provinces in the hands of the colonists themselves. But I know not in what way ...

space

Let the forms and the substance of the British constitution come to maturity in this part of America. ... They (the British North American provinces) should stand in conscious strength and in the full enjoyment of self-government as a free people bound by the ties of gratitude & affection

3.

D 50202

But at least his long terms of office did establish ~~who~~ the basic usages of responsible government, which in this country, have only rarely been challenged in over 200 years, and in no essential have they been overruled for over a century and a half.

In the King's Dominions overseas the processes of government have arrived at the same ultimate end of responsible ~~government~~ and ~~an~~ autonomous status within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The course was neither swift nor smooth. In Canada, indeed, responsible government appeared as a solution only after men of principle and understanding, driven virtually to desperation in the struggle against privilege and political stagnation, had taken up arms to urge what they believed to be right. In consequence, My grandfather spent many years in exile, and my mother was born into the poverty which that exile involved. It was armed insurrection, which finally awakened government to these issues to the political needs and aspirations of Canadians.

Even men of more moderate views — men who had parted company with those who advocated violence — were urging forward the requirements of an orderly and responsible government. How much of hope and conviction was summed up by Robert Baldwin, when he exclaimed to Lord Durham that it was the genius of the British race in both hemispheres to be concerned with the Government of themselves! How much of shrewd and native patriotism was bound up with Joseph Howe's statement of the case: "We ask for no more than as British subjects we are entitled

4/

D 50203

to, but we shall be content with nothing less." And how sober and imaginative were the studied conclusions of Lord Durham's Report, which was to become the new handbook of political persuasion across the seas. Speaking of the situation in Canada in 1837, at a moment when the permanency of what he called "the ~~connection~~ connexion" was by no means certain, he said:

"To conduct their government harmoniously, in accordance with its established principles, is now the business of its rulers; and I know not how it is possible to secure that harmony in any other way, than by administering the Government on those principles which have been found perfectly efficacious in G.B. I would not impair a single prerogative of the Crown ——→

on the contrary I believe that the interests of the people of these Colonies require the protection of prerogatives which have not hitherto been exercised. But the Crown must, on the other hand, submit to the necessary consequences of representative institutions; and if it has to carry on the Govt in unison with a representative body it must carry it on by means of those in whom that representative body has confidence.

In England this principle has been so long considered an indisputable and essential part of our constitution that it has really hardly ever been found necessary to inquire into the means by which its observance is enforced

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 50205

Elsewhere in the Report, Durham wrote: which

"I admit, ~~wrote Durham,~~ that the system I propose would in fact

D 50204

place the government of these provinces in the hands of the

colonists themselves. ~~But I know not in what way.....~~ ... I know not in what respect (B)

(B) it can be desirable that we should interfere in their internal legislation in matters which do not affect their relations with the Mother country."

We need not now stop to enquire into Durham's philosophy of a relationship which admitted of an exact division. Lord Elgin — in some respects the most understanding of all the Representatives who have served the Crown in Canada — found that a hard and fast dividing line was not necessary to the useful conduct of government. Even so, of all the ~~at~~ them — new notions of "Radical Jack"; history has justified all save one. The ideas which were accepted — responsible government, the deepening friendship of Canada with the United States, the "permanency of the connection" — are now so widely appreciated that it is with a feeling of strangeness that we go back to an age in which they did not exist — that is, as recently as 1837. It was a supreme service of Durham's career that in Canada he was prepared to trust the man on the spot. And so long as that trust remains mutual, there need be no fear for new relations as people and governments one with another.

50206

D

~~are~~ have become part of

On occasion such as the present recalls how many of these achievements now enshrined in history ~~in imperial words~~ / the political inheritance of the British race, within this room are men who have seen during their lifetime the transformation of the political structure which has become the British Commonwealth of Nations; men who have had a part in the shaping and the working of the system of consultation and co-operation which is one of the marks of our collective political achievement. In commenting upon the usefulness of the ~~present~~ series of consultations which have lately concluded here, I cannot perhaps do better than allude to a strikingly prophetic judgment of a distinguished Governor General of Canada. Ninety-five years ago, he set down his views upon ~~in setting up~~ the desirability of some form of federal union of the British provinces in ~~the~~ North America.

" Let the forms and the substance of the British constitution (he wrote) / come to maturity in this part of America..... They (the British North American provinces) should stand in conscious strength and in the full equipment of self-government as a free people bound by the ties of gratitude and affection. "

We have very lately had good reason to rejoice in the conscious strength which enabled us to take our part in the titanic struggle for the world's freedom. It has been a part of our heritage as a nation of free people to have enjoyed for many years what we recognize as the equipment of self-government; and the passing of the years has had the happy consequence of making that equipment full and at the same time flexible enough

7/ and adaptable enough to meet the extraordinary 50207
demands of war. We must, by every means in our power,
strive to keep it so. In all our history ~~of the nation~~, what
I may call a progressive decentralization of function has
been accompanied by a strengthening of the central purpose
of our political association. We of ourselves are living
witnesses to the truth which Burbank and his successors
proclaimed; that the ties which link us together must be firm

s/ as gossamer, but strong as steel.

D 50208

10
new Page

D 50209

The honour which you do me this evening is one which the people of Canada have borne share. It is through them, and through the confidence expressed in ___ general elections since 1921, that I have been entrusted with the office of Prime Minister for now almost 19 years. No one would, I think, lightly value the associations of those years, which are by this evening's gathering brought to a crowning peak. Over those years there have been sunshine and shadow. There have been uneasy years - years of economic depression and of uncertain peace. There have been years of war - years of the upbuilding of our strength, ~~and~~ the pouring out of great stores to meet material needs, and the marks of sacrifice in the high calling of the world's freedom. There may now be anxious years - years in which we may ask ourselves at what price victory has been attained, and at what charges peace in our time may be made secure.

But in all these years, as my presence in London on this day well attests, there has been friendship and kindliness and understanding, all of which spring from the resolute and sturdy hearts of the people of Britain. It is now nearly 50 years since I first visited England, and nearly 40 years since I was first in this country on an official mission. At meetings of Commonwealth Governments I have been in London on five main occasions since 1923. To supplement the values of

D

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DRAFT 31.V.46 D 50211

This is a memorable and, may I say, a heart-warming day of my life, and I confess that in the pleasure of this company, and in this setting so charged with the associations of more than two centuries in the political life of the British Isles, I find any words inadequate to convey my sense of appreciation to all of you who have here assembled to do honour to me.

It is an honour which touches me personally, as a representative of the people of Canada, through whose confidence I have held the office of Prime Minister for now very nearly nineteen years. It is an honour which surrounds the office of Prime Minister of Canada with a crowning touch, both of hospitality, as on this immediate occasion, and of a kind of fraternal regard which must ever remain one of the proudest possessions of any man's experience. It is also, if I may say so, an honour which encompasses and surpasses even the dignity and worthiness with which the office of the King's Prime Minister - in the United Kingdom and in the several nations of the Commonwealth has for long been invested. On all of these grounds, and in the fullness of time which has brought me to the threshold of the twentieth year I have held my present office, I am more deeply grateful than I can well express.

D 50 2. 212

There is today, within this stately and historic room, much of the urbane spirit of that first among the King's Prime Ministers, Sir Robert Walpole. It is true, I believe, that when he succeeded to the leadership in the House of Commons in Eighteenth Century England, and when he began the development of the system which we know and recognise as Cabinet Government, his conduct and motives did not pass unchallenged. The very title of the office which latterly attached to him as First Lord of the Treasury - I mean the title of Prime Minister,- carried with it an implied reproach. It is of record that in February, 1741, the House of Lord protested that Walpole had so far arrogated to himself the conduct of the public business as to have become "the sole and Prime Minister".

But at least his long term of office did establish the basic usages of responsible government, which in this country, have only rarely been challenged in over 200 years, and in no essential have they been overruled for over a century and a half.

In the King's Dominions overseas the processes of government have arrived at the same ultimate ends of responsibility and autonomous status within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The course was neither swift nor smooth. In Canada, indeed, responsible government appeared as a solution only after men of principle and understanding, driven virtually to desperation in the struggle against privilege and political stagnation, had taken up arms to urge what they believed to be right. In consequence, my grandfather spent many years in exile, and my mother was born into the poverty which that exile involved. It was armed insurrection which finally awakened government in these islands to the political needs and aspirations of Canadians.

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representative institutions; and if it has to carry on the Government in unison with a representative body, it must carry it on by means of those in whom that representative body has confidence.

In England this principle has been so long considered an indispensable and essential part of our constitution that it has really hardly ever been found necessary to enquire into the means by which its observance is enforced.

Elsewhere in the Report, Durham wrote: "I admit that the system which I propose would in fact place the internal government of the colonies in the hands of the colonists themselves.....I know not in what respect it can be desirable that we should interfere in their internal legislation in matters which do not affect their relations with the Mother Country." We need not now stop to enquire into Durham's philosophy of a relationship which admitted of an exact division. Lord Elgin - in some respects the most understanding of all the Representatives who have served the Crown in Canada - found that a hard and fast dividing line was not necessary to the useful conduct of Government. Even so, of all the then-new nations of "Radical Jack", history has

/justified

D 50216

justified all save one. The ideas which were accepted - responsible government, the deepening friendship of Canada with the United States, the "permanency of the connexion" - are now so widely appreciated that it is with a feeling of strangeness that we go back to an age in which they did not exist - that is, as recently as 1837. It was a supreme service of Durham's career that in Canada he was prepared to trust the man on the spot. And so long as that trust remains mutual, there need be no fear for our relations as people and governments one with another.

An occasion such as the present recalls how many of these achievements now enshrined in history have become part of the political inheritances of the British race. Within this room are men who have seen during their lifetime the transformation of the political structure which has become the British Commonwealth of Nations; men who have had a part in the shaping and the working of the system of consultation and co-operation which is one of the marks of our collective political achievement. In commenting upon the usefulness of the series of consultations which have lately concluded here, I cannot perhaps do better than allude to a strikingly prophetic judgment by a distinguished Governor-General of Canada.

/Ninety-five

D 50217

Ninety-five years ago, he set down his views upon the desirability of some form of federation of the British provinces in North America.

"Let the forms and the substance of the British constitution, (he wrote), come to maturity in this part of America.....They (The British North American Provinces) should stand in conscious strength and in the full equipment of self-government as a free people bound by the ties of gratitude and affection."

We have very lately had good reason to rejoice in the conscious strength which enabled us to take out part in the titanic struggle for the world's freedom. It has been a part of our heritage as a nation of free people to have enjoyed for many years what we recognise as the equipment of self-government; and the passing of the years has had the happy consequence of making that equipment full and at the same time flexible enough and adaptable enough to meet the extraordinary demands of war. We must, by every means in our power, strive to keep it so. In all our history as a nation, what I may call a progressive decentralisation of function has been accompanied by a strengthening of the central purpose of our political association. We of ourselves are living witnesses to

/the

the truth which Durham and his successors proclaimed;

that the ties which link us together may be thin as gossamer, but strong as steel.

The honour which you do me this evening is one in which the people of Canada have some share. It is through them, and through the confidence expressed in general elections since 1921, that I have been entrusted with the office of Prime Minister for now almost nineteen years. No one would, I think, lightly value the associations of those years, which are by this evening's gathering brought to a crowning peak. Over those years there have been sunshine and shadow. There have been uneasy years - years of economic depression and of uncertain peace. There have been years of war - years of the upbuilding of our strength, the pouring out of great stores to meet material needs, and the marks of sacrifice in the high calling of the world's freedom. There may now be anxious years - years in which we may ask ourselves at what price victory has been attained, and at what charges peace in our time may be made secure.

But in all these years, as my presence in London on this day well attests, there has been friendship and kindliness and understanding, all of which spring from the resolute and sturdy hearts of the people of Britain. It is now nearly fifty years since I first visited England and nearly forty years since I was first in this country on an official mission.

/At

D 50220

It is the genius of the British race in both hemispheres to be concerned with the government of themselves.

We ask for no more than as British subjects we are entitled to, but we shall be content with nothing less.

I admit, wrote Durham, that the system I propose would in fact place the government of these provinces in the hands of the colonists themselves. But I know not in what way.....

Let the forms and the substance of the British constitution come to maturity in this part of America..... They (the British North American provinces) should stand in conscious strength and in the full equipment of self-government as a free people bound by the ties of gratitude and affection.

(5.VI.46)

DINNER AT 10 DOWNING STREET - JUNE 7, 1946

D 50221

Prime Minister,
My Lords and Gentlemen:

Introductory - Thanks for moving words of Prime Minister's toast

You will not be surprised that I should be deeply moved by the words of the Prime Minister to which you have just listened, and by the exceedingly generous and friendly manner in which you have responded to the toast which he has proposed.

Crowning event in public life.

In the course of my public life, which you have been reminded is beginning to be a fairly long one, I have received many honours - many more than I deserved - and many marks of recognition. May I say at once that excepting a few expressions of confidence, without which I should not be here tonight, this occasion will always hold in my heart a place second to none.

There has been, along the way, the confidence expressed from time to time by the electors in the constituencies I have represented in the Parliament of Canada. After my first election came the confidence shown by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1909 when he made me a member of his Cabinet. That was 37 years ago.

Then came the expressed confidence of my own party when I was chosen its leader in 1919. That was 27 years ago. Above all has been the confidence expressed by the people of Canada who have returned my party to office in all but one of the seven general elections which we have fought. Following all this, to receive in the home of the first Prime Minister of Great Britain, from the latest of the great distinguished statesmen who have succeeded him in office, the expression of his high regard and confidence in the presence of so many of those who have been most prominent in the public life of our times, is, indeed, a crowning honour of one's public life.

Difficulty of acknowledging so personal an honour.

You, Prime Minister, and the other distinguished gentlemen gathered around this table will be the first to recognise wherein I find it very difficult even to attempt to acknowledge so signal an honour. Especially is this true amid surroundings which hold, I believe, more in the way of historical association with parliamentary government than those of any other official residence in the world. My embarrassment is the greater in that the acknowledgment I am called upon to make relates to something so personal to myself.

Gathering an expression of our unparalleled political inheritance.

I should be at a loss for words altogether did I not recognise in this gathering one more expression of the political inheritance, we, who compose the free nations of the British Commonwealth, have come to enjoy. This unparalleled inheritance has been born of centuries of struggle for freedom; - the development, the expansion, the defence, the preservation of freedom, in these islands, and throughout the world. What we enjoy in the way of recognition and opportunity, we owe in no small measure to those who have gone before us; those who, in one way or another, like most of our own generation, have made great sacrifices in the cause of liberty.

Experience accumulated on a long journey.

This political inheritance, in itself, is the experience in the art of government, accumulated on a long journey. It is that long journey which has brought all of us: - of different political parties, and of different nations of the Commonwealth, - to assemble as one family at a table symbolic of unity and liberty.

D 50224

Milestones on long journey - Charters of freedom.

I need not recall to any who are here tonight the milestones which mark out that long journey. They are the great charters and Guarantees of freedom which record the struggles of the peoples of these islands for the rights which today we have come so proudly to claim as those of British subjects: - Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, the Bill of Rights, trial by jury, habeas corpus, free assembly, freedom of worship, free speech, and a free press. One might suppose to hear men speak of the four freedoms of the Atlantic Charter that they were all something new: - freedoms yet to be won. In part they may be, but, in far greater part, they are a portion of our common political inheritance.

"The Expansion of England" - the fundamental basis of our political inheritance

Few, if any, words could express more accurately what I would consider as fundamental, in speaking of the inheritance held in common by the nations of the Commonwealth than what is implied by Seeley in the title of his great work: "The Expansion of England". Where the seeds of British liberty have been sown, there have sprung up the free political institutions, the conceptions of justice, and the art of

D 50225

co-operation between nations in matters of government.

Twice, in the lives of all present, the world has witnessed the flowering of this inheritance as the glory of the British Commonwealth.and Empire.

Canada's rugged road to Nationhood.

I have spoken of the long journey which has brought the assembled company together as members of one great family. May I be pardoned if, for a moment, I venture to speak of the somewhat rugged road by which Canada began her journey towards nationhood, and of the path which, in my own life, has since served to bring me to the milestone which I have passed today. Perhaps I may speak of the shorter journey first.

As has been mentioned, I reached this morning, and by this hour have now passed, a milestone of significance in Canadian political history. It happens to be also a milestone in British history.

D 50226

My own milestone - Sir John A. Macdonald - Pitt - Walpole

Sir John A. Macdonald who was Canada's First Prime Minister was the leader of the Conservative party in Canada from the day that Canada became a Dominion on July 1st, 1867, until the day of his death on June 6, 1891 - a period of nearly 24 years in all. Until a very short time ago, I had never realized that in that period of time, Sir John Macdonald had, in Canada, held the office of Prime Minister for a longer period than the younger Pitt./ It was equally a surprise to discover that Sir John Macdonald had held, in Canada, the office of Prime Minister for a longer period of time than any other Prime Minister except Sir Robert Walpole, in whose residence we are assembled tonight, and who happens also to be the first British Statesman to be called "Prime Minister".

This morning, in distance measured by time, I reached the milestone which, in years and days, marked the record achieved by Sir John A. Macdonald. That milestone I have now begun to outdistance, and on Monday next, will, D.V., enter upon my twentieth year in the office of Prime Minister of Canada.

That this long distance record, of some significance in political life, so undreamt of as related to my own political career, should be marked, of all times and places in the world, by my presence in this room, and in this company, on this particular day, is, to me, and must be to others, amazing indeed. How it has ever come about is wholly beyond my comprehension.

Mackenzie's journey from Canada to Downing Street - 1832.

What, at this hour, I have most in my thoughts about this memorable occasion is, however, that it marks, in a manner which delights my heart, the rounding out of ~~another~~ a significant journey between Canada and Downing Street. It was a journey begun a little over a century ago by my mother's father, William Lyon Mackenzie. That journey, I feel, reaches its ~~completion~~ summit tonight.

It was in 1832, as a believer in British freedom, and a lover of British institutions, that Mackenzie crossed from Canada to Britain to lay personally before the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, a petition of grievances which had been drafted by a Committee of the Assembly of Upper Canada. Of this Committee, Mackenzie was the Chairman. The report had been approved by the Assembly itself. The petition, in a word, was one which

D 50228

aimed at the establishment of responsible government in Canada substantially as it had come to be established in Great Britain between the days of Walpole and those of Lord Grey who was the Prime Minister of that day. It asked that the representative of the Crown in Canada should choose his advisers from those who enjoyed the confidence of a majority of the elected members of the Legislature and that he should be guided by their advice.

Rebellion and Responsible Government,

On his return to Canada, Mackenzie spoke well of the manner in which he had been received by Lord Goderich, the Colonial Secretary of the day. He gave his followers reason to believe that the reforms which they advocated, together with a change in the method of government might speedily be effected. When, however, his and their hopes were repeatedly shattered, and when redress by constitutional means seemed no longer possible, we had, in Canada, in the very year of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne, what Goldwin Smith has called "a spurt of civil war". It flared into rebellion.

D 50229

The rebellion was subsequently suppressed but the outcome was to hasten the establishment in Canada of responsible government. Responsible government, I believe, may rightly be regarded as the corner-stone of that political system which unites in free association the nations of the British Commonwealth.

The rebellion, as I have said, was suppressed. The tie with Britain was not severed, as had been the case with the thirteen colonies under George III at the time of the American revolution. Were it necessary for me to plead loyalty to the Crown, I might find grounds therefore by recalling that, in the Canadian rebellion of 1837-38, my father's father commanded a detachment of a Highland regiment serving with the Royal Garrison Artillery. With all honour to his name, my thoughts tonight are nevertheless much more of the turn of events which led to the period of exile which Mackenzie was called upon to endure, of my mother being born amid the privations of those years; of the pardon subsequently granted Mackenzie, and of his return not only to Canada, but also to her halls of Parliament.

Do you wonder that I am profoundly moved by the significance of this occasion. Do you wonder, as I reflect upon those years, that I see in the honour being done me tonight something more than chance or coincidence. Do you wonder that my thoughts are of those covenants of old which, as

D 50230

generation succeeds generation, link, sacrifice ~~with~~ and reward, and of those laws of righteousness ~~and justice~~ which, sooner or later, determine the fate of nations as well as of men?

generation succeeds generation, link sacrifice and reward, that I see in all this something in the nature of poetic justice to the memory of one who sacrificed his all to uphold ~~the best of~~ British traditions on British soil in the new world and that my thoughts are of those laws of righteousness which sooner or later determine the fate of nations as well as of men.

Prime Minister: I am here tonight to say that we, in Canada, have no grievances to present either to the Secretary of State for the Dominions or to yourself. In Canada, the executive is no longer the choice of the Governor or Governor General, either directly or indirectly. The executive today ~~advises~~ recommends His Majesty the King, ~~whom he wishes to have as his~~ representative in Canada.

And here may I pause to speak of the great contribution made to our political inheritance by the Governors General who from the day of Confederation to this hour, have helped to bring much of the culture of this old world to the new, and to establish in Canada the best of British traditions. May I speak in particular of ~~my friend~~ Lord Athlone who has honoured this occasion with his presence tonight and who along with H.R.H. Princess Alice was ever close at the side of our administration in helping us to meet each and every problem as they arose through the terrible years of war.

May I speak also of Field Marshal, Viscount Alexander who is now with us and who, along with Lady Alexander, wherever

D 50232

they have gone, have received a warmth of welcome second to none accorded any representative of the King.

I have said that I am here tonight to say that Canada has no grievances. But I wish to say more than that. I wish to say that we are prouder today than we have ever been to be one of that community of free nations which comprise the British Commonwealth and Empire; that we wish to do all that lies in our power to strengthen and maintain the unity of the Commonwealth and to further friendship and good-will between the Commonwealth and all the nations of the world.

How is that increased strength and unity best to be maintained? To ascertain the means has been the underlying purpose of the conference of Prime Ministers and their representatives which, within the past few days, has concluded its meetings in London. My answer, in a word, is to make as clear as is possible to all, that the path to follow is not the one which seeks centralization of Commonwealth affairs in any one part of the Commonwealth, but seeks rather the most effective methods of co-operation between all parts.

Holding this belief so strongly, I naturally rejoice at the agreement there has been, at this conference, by those representing the several governments concerned,

D

The policy I have just stated is the one to be pursued, and the clear declaration that has been made of that policy. In the agency of communication between Prime Minister and Prime Minister, between the Secretary of State for the Dominions in London and the Secretary of State for External Affairs in the several Dominions, supplemented, as these methods of communication are by the representation of the several governments of the several countries by the High Commissioners resident in the others, all of which demonstrated their effectiveness under the acid test of war years, we have established a system for effecting consultation and furthering co-operation ~~as effective, I believe, as any that can be devised and which,~~ leading as it does, into the Council Chambers of the several nations of the Commonwealth, is as effective as anything can be devised.

We have under this system a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the Commonwealth with all the advantages which consultation with colleagues in Cabinet rather than individual decision by the Prime Minister or other Minister, necessarily affords. Much better to have more in the way of reality, and less in the way of appearances. This system, too, enables Ministers to attend to their own affairs, and avoids ~~adding to some of~~ the confusion arising from the endless conferences of our day. I think we have seen enough of the dangers of having differences exploited in public.

~~[illegible]~~

Conferences in Cabinet Council may not always avoid this ~~danger~~ but they, at least, serve to minimize the danger.

Let it never be forgotten that what, more than all else, we have ~~gotten out of~~ saved from our common political inheritance is that we speak a common political language, using the word "political" in its broader sense.

Before I conclude, I should like to add one word in regard to the relations of the Commonwealth and the United States. I think I know something of both countries and of the heart of each. In their unseen depths, it is, I believe, the same heart. Once between the nations of the Commonwealth, co-operation and co-ordination of policy is substituted for centralization as the controlling method of maintaining unity, the fear of blocs vanishes both toward the United States and toward other nations.

Canada can do more for the Commonwealth in the future, as she has in the past, by continuing to be an interpreter and a liaison between the United States and the United Kingdom. At all costs, we must work for the utmost of friendship and good-will ~~and also~~ co-operation and co-ordination of effort between the English-speaking peoples of the world.

D 50235

Of itself, a common peril helps to keep nations together. Let us each become as strong as we can. By all means, let us keep united.

Over and above all else, ~~however,~~ let us at all times remember that the British Community of nations has been in the past, stands today and will, I believe, continue through years, to be the greatest agency this world has known for the furtherance of peace, justice and good-will.

~~A word of thanks to the British government.~~

With Anglo-American friendship firmly established, we may look, I believe, with confidence to the ~~continued~~ growth of friendship between all the nations of the world.

50236

DINNER AT 10 DOWNING STREET - JUNE 7, 1946

Prime Minister,
My Lords and Gentlemen:

Introductory - Thanks for moving words of Prime Minister's toast

You will not be surprised that I should be deeply moved by the words of the Prime Minister to which you have just listened, and by the exceedingly generous and friendly manner in which you have responded to the toast which he has just proposed.

Crowning event in public life

In the course of my public life, which you have just been reminded is beginning to be a fairly long one, I have received many honours - many more than I deserved - and many marks of recognition. May I say, however, that excepting ~~four~~ a few significant marks of confidence, without which I should not be here tonight, this occasion will hold in my heart a place second to none in my public life. ~~The~~ ~~marks~~ of confidence to which I refer was when Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in 1908, made me a member of his Cabinet. That was 38 years ago. The next was when my own party chose me as its leader in 1919. That was 27 years ago. There has been, along the way, the confidence expressed by the electors in the constituencies I have represented in the Parliament of Canada.

Above all has been the confidnnce expressed by the people of Canada who have returned my party to office in six all but one general elections ~~out of the seven~~ which we have contested ~~since I became its leader.~~ The expression of confidence you are extending It would be strange indeed if in all that this occasion signifies tonight, I did not feel it to be the crowning event of my public life.

D 50238

Difficulty of acknowledging so personal an honour

You, Prime Minister, and the other distinguished gentlemen gathered around this table will be the first to recognise wherein I find it very difficult even to attempt to acknowledge so signal an honour, especially so distinguished a company, and amid surroundings which hold, I believe, more in the way of historical association in relation to parliamentary government than those of any other official residence in the world. My embarrassment is the greater in that the acknowledgment I am called upon to make relates to ~~an honour so personal to myself and where it relates, as it does, to something so peculiarly~~ personal to myself.

I should be at a loss for words altogether did I not recognize in this gathering one more expression of the political inheritance, we, who compose the free nations of the British Commonwealth, have come to enjoy. This inheritance has been borne of centuries of struggle for freedom; - the development, the expansion, the defence, the preservation of freedom, in these islands, and throughout the world. What we enjoy in the way of opportunity and recognition, we owe to those who have gone before us, all of whom in one way or another have made great sacrifice in the cause of liberty. That political inheritance, in itself, is the experience accumulated on a long journey.

D 50239

It is that long journey which has brought all of us: - of different political parties, and of different nations of the Commonwealth, to assemble as one family at a table symbolic of unity and liberty.

(Insert here journey which has led to responsible govt. in Britain and throughout the Empire.)

Personal Path

I have spoken of the long journey which had brought the assembled company together as members of one great family. May I be pardoned if I venture to make mention of the path which, in my life, has served to bring me to the milestone which I have passed today.

As has been mentioned, I reached this morning, and by this hour have now passed, a milestone of significance in Canadian political history. Since it has its relation also to the milestones of British history, it turns out to be a milestone also in the political history of the group of nations which comprise the British Commonwealth.

Sir John A. Macdonald who was Canada's First Prime Minister was the leader of the Conservative party in Canada from the day that Canada became a Dominion on July 1st, 1867, until the day of his death on June 6, 1891 - a period of nearly 24 years in all. Until a very short time ago, I had never realized that in that period of time, Sir John Macdonald had, in Canada, held the office of Prime Minister for a longer period than the younger Pitt had been Prime Minister of this country. That, indeed, Sir John had held the office of Prime Minister longer than any other Prime Minister Sir Robert Walpole in whose residence we are assembled tonight, and who happened to be the first British Statesman

This morning, in distance, measured by time, I reached the milestone which marked in years and days, the record achieved by Sir John A. Macdonald. That milestone I have now begun to outdistance and on Monday next, will enter upon my twentieth year in the office of Prime Minister of Canada.

That this distance record of some significance in itself, so extraordinary as related to my own political career should be marked, of all places in the world, by my presence in this room, and in this company, on this particular day, is, to me, amazing indeed. May I add that how it has ever come about is wholly beyond my comprehension.

What I have most in my thoughts about it, at this hour, is that it marks, in a manner which delights my heart, the rounding out of another journey between the seat of government in Canada and No. 10 Downing Street begun a little over a century ago by my mother's father when in 1832, as a lover of British freedom and of British institutions, he crossed from Canada to Britain to lay personally before the Secretary of State for the Colonies the grievances of the Canadian people.

DINNER AT 10 DOWNING STREET - JUNE 7, 1946 D 50242

Prime Minister,
My Lords and Gentlemen:

Introductory - Thanks for moving words of Prime Minister's toast

You will not be surprised that I should be deeply moved by the words of the Prime Minister to which you have just listened, and by the exceedingly generous and friendly manner in which you have responded to the toast which he has just proposed.

Crowning event in public life

In the course of my public life, which you have just been reminded is beginning to be a fairly long one, I have received many honours - many more than I deserved - and many marks of recognition. May I say, however, that excepting four significant marks of confidence, without which I should not be here tonight, this occasion will hold in my heart a place second to none in my public life. The first of the marks of confidence to which I refer was when Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in 1908, made me a member of his Cabinet. That was 38 years ago. The next was when my own party chose me as its leader in 1919. That was 27 years ago. There has been, along the way, the confidence expressed by the electors in the constituencies I have represented in the Parliament of Canada.

Above all has been the confidnnce expressed by the people of Canada who have returned my party to office in ~~six~~ all but one general elections out of the seven which we have contested since I became its leader. by the seven

The expression of confidence you are receiving

It would be strange indeed if in all that this occasion signifies tonight, I did not feel ~~it~~ to be the crowning event of my public life.

D 50244

Difficulty of acknowledging so personal an honour

You, Prime Minister, and the other distinguished gentlemen gathered around this table will be the first to recognise wherein I find it very difficult even to attempt to acknowledge so signal an honour, especially in the presence of so distinguished a company, and amid surroundings which hold, I believe, more in the way of historical association in relation to parliamentary government than those of any other official residence in the world. My embarrassment is the greater in that the acknowledgment I am called upon to make relates to something so personal to myself and where it relates, as it does, to something so peculiarly personal to myself.

I should be at a loss for words altogether did I not recognize in this gathering one more expression of the political inheritance, which we, who compose the free nations of the British Commonwealth, have come to enjoy. This inheritance has been grown out of centuries of struggle for freedom; - the development, the expansion, the defence, the preservation of freedom, in these islands, and throughout the world. What we enjoy in the way of opportunity and recognition, we owe to those who have gone before us, all ~~of~~ whom in one way or another have made great sacrifice in the cause of liberty. That political inheritance, in itself, is the experience accumulated on a long journey.

D50245

It is that long journey which has brought all of us: - of different political parties, and of different nations of the Commonwealth, to assemble as one family at a table symbolic of unity and liberty.

(Insert here journey which has led to responsible govt. in Britain and throughout the Empire.)

DINNER AT 10 DOWNING STREET - JUNE 7, 1946

D 50246

Prime Minister,
My Lords and Gentlemen:

Intrpductory - Thanks for moving words of Prime Minister's toast

You will not be surprised that I should be deeply moved by the words of the Prime Minister to which you have just listened, and by the exceedingly generous and friendly manner in which you have responded to the toast which he has just proposed.

Crowning event in public life.

In the course of my public life, which you have just been reminded is beginning to be a fairly long one, I have received many honours - many more than I deserved - ~~and like all present here this evening,~~ and many marks of recognition. May I say at once that excepting a few expressions of confidence, without which I should not be here tonight, this occasion will always hold in my heart a place second to none. There has been, along the way, the confidence expressed from time to time by the electors in the constituencies I have represented in the Parliament of Canada. After my first election came the ~~marks of confidence~~ which Sir Wilfrid Laurier shown by expressed in 1909 when he made me a member of his Cabinet. That was 37 years ago. Then came expressed the confidence ~~that~~ of my own party when I was chosen as its leader in 1919. That was 27 years ago. Above all has been the confidence expressed by the people of Canada who have returned my party to office in all but one of the seven general elections which

D 50247

we have fought. Following all this, to receive ~~recognition of services~~ in ~~this~~ the home of the first Prime Minister of Great Britain, from the latest of the great and distinguished statesmen who have succeeded him in office, ~~to receive~~ the expression of ~~this~~ his regard and confidence in the presence of so many ~~who~~ those who have been most prominent in the public life of ~~their~~ our times is, indeed, a crowning honour of one's public life.

Difficulty of acknowledging so personal an honour.

You, Prime Minister, and the other distinguished gentlemen gathered around this table will be the first to recognise wherein I find it very difficult even to attempt to acknowledge so signal an honour, ~~especially in the presence of so distinguished a company, and~~ amid surroundings which hold, I believe, more [in the way] of historical association ~~in relation to~~ with parliamentary government than those of any other official residence in the world. My embarrassment is the greater in that the acknowledgment I am called upon to make relates to something so personal to myself.

Gathering an expression of our unparalleled political inheritance.

I should be at a loss for words altogether did I not recognise in this gathering one more expression of the political inheritance which we, who compose the free nations of the British Commonwealth, have come to enjoy. This unparalleled inheritance has been born of centuries of struggle for freedom; the development, the expansion, the defence, the preservation of freedom in these islands, and

D 50248

throughout the world. What we enjoy in the way of recognition and opportunity we owe to those who have gone before us, all of whom in one way or another have made great sacrifice in the cause of liberty.

This political inheritance, in itself, is the accumulated experience in the art of government of a long journey. It is that long journey which has brought all of us - of different political parties, and of different nations of the Commonwealth - to assemble as one family at a table symbolic of unity and liberty.

I need not remind any present of the milestones of that long journey. They are the great charters of freedom which record the struggles of the peoples of these islands for the rights which we have come to claim today as those of British subjects: The Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, the Bill of Rights, the right to trial by jury, the right of habeas corpus, the right of free assembly, the right of freedom of worship, of movement, the right of free speech. One might think to hear men speak of the four freedoms that they were something new; freedoms yet to be won. They may be such in part, but they are in far greater part a portion of our common political inheritance.

D 50249

"The Expansion of England" the fundamental basis of political structure which is what it

~~Just here may I say that few~~, if any, words could express more accurately what I would ~~include~~ consider as fundamental ~~when I~~ in my speak of the inheritance held in common by all the ~~outlying~~ nations of the Commonwealth - Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada - than those ~~expressed~~ elements of free government illustrated by Seeley in the title of his great work ~~words~~ "The Expansion of England". Where the seeds of British liberty have been sown, there have sprung up the free political institutions, the conceptions of justice, and the art of co-operation, ~~which, twice in the lives of all present,~~ repeatedly, the world has witnessed as the glory of the British Commonwealth and had occasion to witness ~~Empire.~~ between nations with matters of government

Canada's rugged road to nationhood

I have spoken of the long journey which has brought the assembled company together as members of one great family. May I be pardoned if I venture to speak for a moment of the somewhat rugged road by which Canada Perhaps I may her ancestor to the full stature proved herself to be ~~a chip of the old block~~ and of the ~~much~~ less arduous path which, began her journey towards nationhood in my own life, has quite served to bring me to the milestone which I have passed today. Perhaps I may speak of the shorter journey first

(A) Mackenzie's journey from Canada to Downing Street, 1832 (A)

What, at this hour, I have most in my thoughts about this memorable occasion is, however, that it marks, in a manner which delights my heart, the rounding out of another journey between ~~the seat of government in~~ Canada and ~~New~~ Downing Street. That journey ~~was~~ begun, a little over a century ago by my mother's father, William Lyon Mackenzie. It was in 1832 as

It was a journey which reached its completion in our own time

while in the lives of all present the world has witnessed the flowering of this inheritance as the glory of the British Commonwealth and Empire

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Personal Path

My own milestone

I have spoken of the long journey which had brought the assembled company together as members of one great family. May I be pardoned if I venture to make mention of the path which, in my life, has served to bring me to the milestone which I have passed today.

(A) to p. 4

As has been mentioned, I reached this morning, and by this hour have now passed, a milestone of significance in Canadian political history. ~~Since it has its relation also to the milestones of British history, it turns out to be a milestone also in the political history of the group of nations which comprise the British Commonwealth.~~ It happens to be also a milestone in British history*

Sir John A Macdonald, ~~Walpole~~ Pitt and Walpole

Sir John A. Macdonald, who was Canada's First Prime Minister, was the leader of the Conservative party in Canada from the day that Canada became a Dominion on July 1st, 1867, until the day of his death on June 6, 1891 - a period of nearly 24 years in all. Until a very short time ago, I had never realized that in that period of time, Sir John Macdonald had, in Canada, held the office of Prime Minister for a longer period than the younger Pitt, ~~had been Prime Minister of this country. That, indeed,~~ Sir John had held the office of Prime Minister for a longer period of time than any other Prime Minister except Sir Robert Walpole, in whose residence we are assembled tonight, and who has been called "Prime Minister" by British historians to be the first

D 50251

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This morning, in distance, measured by time, I reached the milestone which marked in years and days, the record achieved by Sir John A. Macdonald. That milestone I have now begun to outdistance and on Monday next, will enter upon my twentieth year in the office of Prime Minister of Canada.

That this long-distance record of some significance in ~~itself, so extraordinary~~ as related to my own political career should be marked, of all places in the world, by my presence in this room, and in this company, on this particular day, is, to me, amazing indeed. ~~May I add that~~ How ~~it~~ it has ever come about is ~~wholly~~ beyond my comprehension.

What I have most in my thoughts about it, at this hour, is that it marks, in a manner which delights my heart, the rounding out of another journey between the seat of government in Canada and No. 10 Downing Street begun a little over a century ago by my mother's father, ~~when~~ in 1832, as a lover of British freedom and of British institutions, ~~he~~ crossed from Canada to Britain to lay personally before the Secretary of State for the Colonies the grievances of the Canadian people.

D 50252

a believer in British freedom and a lover of British institutions that Mackenzie crossed from Canada to Britain to lay personally before the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, a petition of grievances which had been drafted by a Committee ~~of which Mackenzie was the Chairman~~ of the Assembly of ~~what was then~~ Upper Canada and approved by the Assembly itself. In a word, the petition was one for the establishment of responsible government in Canada, as it had come to be established in Great Britain between the days of Walpole and those of Lord Grey, who was the Prime Minister of that day. It asked that the representative of the Crown in Canada should choose as his advisers those who enjoyed the confidence of the elected members of the Legislature and be guided by their advice.

Mackenzie spoke well, on his return to Canada, of the manner in which he had been received by the Colonial Secretary of the day, and gave his followers reason to believe that a change in the method of government might speedily be effected. When, however, his hopes were repeatedly shattered, and redress by constitutional means seemed no longer possible, we had, in Canada, what Goldwin Smith has called "a spurt of civil war", ~~which~~ flared into rebellion - a rebellion but subsequently suppressed, the outcome ~~of which~~ was to ~~bring into being the boon of responsible government in Canada which~~ I believe may rightly be regarded as the

D 50253

corner-stone of ~~a~~ that political system which ~~lies at the basis of, and~~ unites in free association the nations of the British Commonwealth.

The rebellion, as I have said, was suppressed. But the tie with Britain was not severed as had been the case with the thirteen colonies ~~in what was British America~~ under George III at the time of the American revolution. Were it necessary for me to plead loyalty to the Crown, I might found grounds to seek justification of the acts of my ancestors, I ~~might~~ recall that, in ~~that~~ the Canadian rebellion of 1837-38, my father's father commanded a detachment of a Highland regiment serving with the Royal Garrison Artillery. With all honour to his name, my thoughts tonight are much more of the turn of events which led to my mother's ~~birth during~~ the period of exile ~~which her father~~ imposed upon Mackenzie was called upon to endure, of the pardon subsequently granted Mackenzie ~~and~~ of his ~~subsequent~~ return ~~not only~~ to Canada, ~~but~~ and also ~~to~~ her halls of Parliament. ~~(He never hesitated again to espouse the rights and liberties which flowed from centuries of struggle in the British Isles and which he believed were the one sure basis of enduring citizenship.)~~

Do you wonder that I am profoundly moved by the significance of this occasion? ~~and~~ Do you wonder as I reflect upon the honour being done me tonight that ~~it~~ I see in ~~it~~ something more than chance or coincidence ~~something that reminds~~ my thoughts ~~turn~~ are of the covenants of ~~old with Israel or rewarded speaks of the law of righteousness and justice which, sooner or later~~ a generation succeeds a generation with reward or punishment, determines the fate of nations as well as of men?

June 3, 1946 50254

Prime Minister,
My Lords and ~~Ministers and~~ Gentlemen:

You will not be surprised that I should be deeply moved by the words of the Prime Minister to which you have just listened and by the exceedingly generous and friendly manner in which you have responded to the toast which he has just proposed.

In the course of my public life which you have just been reminded is beginning to be a fairly long one, I have received many honours - many more than I deserved - and many marks of recognition, ~~recognition much more merited by others than myself saving only what I received from Sir Wilfrid Laurier when he made me a member of his Cabinet in 1908 - 38 years ago;~~ from my own party which chose me as its leader 27 years ago; the confidence expressed by the electors in the constituencies I have represented in the Parliament of Canada; the confidence expressed by the people of Canada who have returned ~~me and~~ my party to office in six general elections out of the seven which we have contested since I became its leader.

~~This~~ occasion will hold in my heart for my remaining days a place second to none in the whole of my life. Indeed it would be strange if, in all that it signifies, I did not feel it were its crowning event.

You, Prime Minister, and the other distinguished gentlemen gathered around this table in this historic room ~~tonight~~ will be the first to recognise wherein in the presence

of so distinguished a company, amid surroundings of ~~an~~ historical association in relation to Parliamentary Government ~~significance greater, I believe,~~ than ~~those of~~ any other official residence in the world, ~~it should be very difficult for me to speak at all,~~ and doubly so having in mind the exceptional honour being paid me tonight by the government of the United Kingdom and the presence of those who have accepted its invitation to meet here on an occasion that should have significance at all in relation to incidents worthy of record in the history of British parliamentary institutions and that in a manner so peculiarly personal to my ~~own political career.~~

~~Let me say at once that if I~~ did not recognize as all present must that it is but one more expression of the political inheritance, we who compose the free nations of the British Commonwealth ~~and Empire~~ have come to enjoy, ~~out of the~~ centuries of struggle for freedom; the development, the expansion, the ~~preservation,~~ and the ~~defence~~ of freedom in these islands and throughout the world, I should find it difficult indeed to acknowledge in any word the honour which is being paid tonight to my country and to myself.

Perhaps you will allow me by way of expressing, on behalf of Canada and on my own behalf, something of the gratitude I feel tonight by just a word in reference to that political inheritance ~~which in the nature of~~ a long journey has brought us all of different political parties and different nations of

D 50256

the Commonwealth, to assemble as one family at a table symbolical of unity and liberty.

I have spoken of the long journey. May I be pardoned if I refer to the path which has, in my life, helped to bring me to the milestone which I have passed today. Here I must be very personal and I know you will not misunderstand.

Paragraph on evolution of government
the journey which has led to RG in Britain
& throughout the Commonwealth

As Has been mentioned, in my own political carrer, I reached today and by this hour have now passed a milestone of significance in Canadian political history and indeed in the political history of a group of nations which comprise the British Commonwealth and Empire under the system of government by Cabinets as we know it today.

Until a very short time ago, it was a surprise to me to learn that Sir John A. Macdonald who had been the leader of the Conservative party from the day that Canada became a Dominion on July 1st, 1867 until the day of his death on June 6, 1891 - a period of nearly 24 years in all, had in that period of time held the office of Prime Minister for a longer period than the younger Pitt had held that office in the United Kingdom. According to the account by years and days, the younger Pitt was in office altogether 6911 days. 6911 Sir John Macdonald held the office of Prime Minister over a period of 6937 days. This morning, ~~with a surprise much too great to ever have imagined, I found that~~ in distance measured by time, I ~~have~~ reached the milestone which marked in years and days, the record achieved by Sir John A. Macdonald. That milestone I have now begun to outdistance and on Monday next, ~~should I be spared,~~ will enter upon my twentieth year in the office of Prime Minister of Canada. That this event so

significant in itself, so extraordinary as related to my own life, should be of all places in the world marked by my presence in this room and in this company, at this hour, is, to me, amazing indeed and, may I add, how it has ever come about, wholly beyond my comprehension. What, however, makes it dearest of all to my heart, if I may so express what appeals most to me about it, is that it marks in a manner which delights my heart the rounding out of another journey between the place of government in Canada and No. 10 Downing Street begun by my mother's father when in 1832, as a lover of British freedom and of British institutions, he crossed from Canada to Britain to lay personally before the Secretary of State for the Colonies the grievances of the Canadian people.

-4- 11.

50259

~~And here may I speak of an historic gathering~~ a few days ago
~~at which~~ I had the honour of being present ~~a night or two~~
~~ago. I refer to~~ at the dinner given in honour of Mr. Harriman,
the ~~new~~ Ambassador of the United States at the Court of
St. James, and to Lord Halifax ~~after~~ at the end of the meeting
~~his noble~~ service ~~to~~ ~~King and country alike which~~ he ~~rendered~~ gave in America
throughout most of the period of the war.

Lord Greenwood - an old college friend and a member of my own class at the University of Toronto - presided. Field Marshal Smuts of South Africa spoke. What a contrast in backgrounds, and what a reassuring demonstration of the virtues of freedom under the British Crown. Mr Harriman represents this country whose forbears a century & a half ago took up arms against the Sovereign and watch a new government in the new United States of America. ~~Field Marshal~~ Lord Greenwood and myself have connections with the men of '37 who in Canada rebelled against privilege & oppression. Field Marshal Smuts once fought for all he was worth against the forces of the Queen; yet today in his loyalty to British ideals of tolerance and fairness he has no superior. Lord Halifax well knows the history of the constitutional struggles and the civil strife by which, in these islands, free government was won.

In fact it has been a genius of ~~British~~ Britain that freedom has broadened with the years; that each

Journey into The Future

D 50260

successive relinquishing of authority at the centre has been rewarded with ever fuller loyalty at the edges of the circle; that the progressive devolution of responsibility has led to more closely and more efficacious methods of consultation and co-operation. In this sense the discussions but lately concluded here in London have, as I believe, reached a new high level of confidence and assurance.

It is with this confidence and assurance that we here — all of us in our several relationships — set about our journey into the future. It is a journey of many uncertainties; a journey that will require moral courage and leadership of the highest order. Newer nations, emerging vigorous and strong into the councils of peace-making and peace-keeping, may very well cherish aspirations which are different from ours — different in emphasis, differentiated by the different means by which these aspirations may be realized. But we need make no apology for the honourable tradition of freedom, attained by many a victory over prejudice and obstructionism, maintained in all ages by the noblest instincts of a virile ~~race~~ people. We have come to believe, as we have often been reminded, that peace is indivisible, ~~And with that~~ and we must make it strong and just and enduring. With all our matchless inheritance of freedom in the stout hearts and free souls of men and women around this globe, we may march forward into the sunlight of the opening day of peace and happiness for all mankind.

A few days ago I had the honour of being present at the dinner given in honour of Mr. Harriman, the Ambassador of the United States at the Court of St. James, and of Lord Halifax at the end of the untiring service he gave in America throughout most of the period of the war.

Lord Greenwood - an old college friend and a member of my own class at the University of Toronto - presided. Field Marshal Smuts of South Africa spoke. What a contrast in backgrounds, and what a reassuring demonstration of the virtues of freedom under the British Crown. Mr. Harriman represents the country whose forebears a century and a half ago took up arms against the Sovereign and created a new government in the new United States of America. Lord Greenwood and myself have connections with the men of '37 who in Canada rebelled against privilege and oppression. Field Marshal Smuts once fought for all he was worth against the forces of the Queen; yet today in his loyalty to British ideals of tolerance and fairness he has no superior. Lord Halifax well knows the history of the constitutional struggles and the civil strife by which, in these islands, free government was won.

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Journey into the future.

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D 50263

and happiness for all mankind.

(5.VI.46)

DINNER AT 10 DOWNING STREET - JUNE 7, 1946 D 50264

Prime Minister,
My Lords and Gentlemen:

Introductory - Thanks for moving words of Prime Minister's toast

You will not be surprised that I should be deeply moved by the words of the Prime Minister to which you have just listened, and by the exceedingly generous and friendly manner in which you have responded to the toast which he has proposed.

Crowning event in public life.

In the course of my public life, which you have been reminded is beginning to be a fairly long one, I have received many honours - many more than I deserved - and many marks of recognition. May I say at once that excepting a few expressions of confidence, without which I should not be here tonight, this occasion will always hold in my heart a place second to none. There has been, along the way, the confidence expressed from time to time by the electors in the constituencies I have represented in the Parliament of Canada. After my first election came the confidence shown by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1909 when he made me a member of his Cabinet. That was 37 years ago.

Then came the expressed confidence of my own party when I was chosen its leader in 1919. That was 27 years ago. Above all has been the confidence expressed by the people of Canada who have returned my party to office in all but one of the seven general elections which we have fought. Following all this, to receive in the home of the first Prime Minister of Great Britain, from the latest of the great distinguished statesmen who have succeeded him in office, in the presence of so many of those who have been most prominent in the public life of our times, is, indeed, a crowning honour of one's public life.

Difficulty of acknowledging so personal an honour.

You, Prime Minister, and the other distinguished gentlemen gathered around this table will be the first to recognise wherein I find it very difficult even to attempt to acknowledge so signal an honour. Especially is this true amid surroundings which hold, I believe, more in the way of historical association with parliamentary government than those of any other official residence in the world. My embarrassment is the greater in that the acknowledgment I am called upon to make relates to something so personal to myself.

D 50266

Gathering an expression of our unparalleled political inheritance.

I should be at a loss for words altogether did I not recognise in this gathering one more expression of the political inheritance, we, who compose the free nations of the British Commonwealth, have come to enjoy. This unparalleled inheritance has been born of centuries of struggle for freedom; - the development, the expansion, the defence, the preservation of freedom, in these islands, and throughout the world. What ee enjoy in the way of recognition and opportunity, we owe in no small measure to those who have gone before us; those who, in one way or another, like most of our own generation, have made great sacrifices in the cause of liberty.

Experience accumulated on a long journey.

This political inheritance, in itself, is the experience in the art of government, accumulated on a long journey. It is that long journey which has brought all of us: - of different political parties, and of different nations of the Commonwealth, - to assemble as one family at a table symbolic of unity and liberty.

D 50267

Milestones on long journey - Charters of freedom.

I need not recall to any who are here tonight the milestones which mark out that long journey. They are the great charters of freedom which record the struggles of the peoples of these islands for the rights which today we have come so proudly to claim as those of British subjects: - Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, the Bill of Rights, trial by jury, habeas corpus, free assembly, freedom of worship, free speech, and a free press. One might suppose to hear men speak of the four freedoms of the Atlantic Charter that they were all something new: - freedoms yet to be won. In part they may be, but, in far greater part, they are a portion of our common political inheritance.

"The Expansion of England" - the fundamental basis of our political inheritance

Few, if any, words could express more accurately what I would consider as fundamental, in speaking of the inheritance held in common by the nations of the Commonwealth than what is implied by Seeley in the title of his great work: "The Expansion of England". Where the seeds of British liberty have been sown, there have sprung up the free political institutions, the conceptions of justice, and the art of

D 50268

co-operation between nations in matters of government. Twice, in the lives of all present, the world has witnessed the flowering of this inheritance as the glory of the British Commonwealth.and Empire.

Canada's rugged road to Nationhood.

I have spoken of the long journey which has brought the assembled company together as members of one great family. May I be pardoned if, for a moment, I venture to speak of the somewhat rugged road by which Canada began her journey towards nationhood, and of the path which, in my own life, has since served to bring me to the milestone which I have passed today. Perhaps I may speak of the shorter journey first.

As has been mentioned, I reached this morning, and by this hour have now passed, a milestone of significance in Canadian political history. It happens to be also a milestone in British history.

D 50269

My own milestone - Sir John A. Macdonald - Pitt - Walpole

Sir John A. Macdonald who was Canada's First Prime Minister was the leader of the Conservative party in Canada from the day that Canada became a Dominion on July 1st, 1867, until the day of his death on June 6, 1891 - a period of nearly 24 years in all. Until a very short time ago, I had never realized that in that period of time, Sir John Macdonald had, in Canada, held the office of Prime Minister for a longer period than the younger Pitt. It was equally a surprise to discover that Sir John Macdnnald had held, in Canada, the office of Prime Minister for a longer period of time than any other Prime Minister except Sir Robert Walpole, in whose residence we are assembled tonight, and who happens also to be the first British Statesman to be called "Prime Minister".

This morning, in distance measured by time, I reached the milestone which, in years and days, marked the record achieved by Sir John A. Macdonald. That milestone I have now begun to outdistance, and on Monday next, will, D.V., enter upon my twentieth year in the office of Prime Minister of Canada.

That this long distance record, of some significance in political life, so undreamt of as related to my own political career, should be marked, of all times and places in the world, by my presence in this room, and in this company, on this particular day, is, to me, and must be to others, amazing indeed. How it has ever come about is wholly beyond my comprehension.

Mackenzie's journey from Canada to Downing Street - 1832.

What, at this hour, I have most in my thoughts about this memorable occasion is, however, that it marks, in a manner which delights my heart, the rounding out of another journey between Canada and Downing Street. It was a journey begun a little over a century ago by my mother's father, William Lyon Mackenzie. That journey, I feel, reaches its completion tonight.

It was in 1832, as a believer in British freedom, and a lover of British institutions, that Mackenzie crossed from Canada to Britain to lay personally before the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, a petition of grievances which had been drafted by a Committee of the Assembly of Upper Canada. Of this Committee, Mackenzie was the Chairman. The report had been approved by the Assembly itself. The petition, in a word, was one which

aimed at the establishment of responsible government in Canada substantially as it had come to be established in Great Britain between the days of Walpole and those of Lord Grey who wasthe Prime Minister of that day. It asked that the representative of the Crown in Canada should choose as his advisers those who enjoyed the confidence of a majority of the elected members of the Legislature and that he should be guided by their advice.

Rebellion and Responsible Government.

On his return to Canada, Mackenzie spoke well of the manner in which he had been received by Lord Goderich, the Colonial Secretary of the day. He gave his followers reason to believe that the reforms which they advocated, together with a change in the method of government might speed ly be effected. When, however, his and their hopes were repeatedly shattered, and when redress by constitutional means seemed no longer possible, we had, in Canada, in the very year of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne, what Goldwin Smith has called "a spurt of civil war". It flared into rebellion.

The rebellion was subsequently suppressed but the outcome was to hasten the establishment in Canada of responsible government. Responsible government, I believe, may rightly be regarded as the corner-stone of that political system which unites in free association the nations of the British Commonwealth.

The rebellion, as I have said, was suppressed. The tie with Britain was not severed, as had been the case with the thirteen colonies under George III at the time of the American revolution. Were it necessary for me to plead loyalty to the Crown, I might find grounds therefore by recalling that, in the Canadian rebellion of 1837-38, my father's father commanded a detachment of a Highland regiment serving with the Royal Garrison Artillery. With all honour to his name, my thoughts tonight are nevertheless much more of the turn of events which led to the period of exile which Mackenzie was called upon to endure, of my mother being born amid the privations of those years; of the pardon subsequently granted Mackenzie, and of his return not only to Canada, but also to her halls of Parliament.

Do you wonder that I am profoundly moved by the significance of this occasion. Do you wonder, as I reflect upon those years, that I see in the honour being done me tonight something more than chance or coincidence. Do you wonder that my thoughts are of those covenants of old which, as

generation succeeds generation, link sacrifice with reward, and of those laws of righteousness and justice which, sooner or later, determine the fate of nations as well as of men?

Mr Gibson (5.VI.46)

DINNER AT 10 DOWNING STREET - JUNE 7, 1946 D 50274

Prime Minister,
My Lords and Gentlemen:

Introductory - Thanks for moving words of Prime Minister's toast

You will not be surprised that I should be deeply moved by the words of the Prime Minister to which you have just listened, and by the exceedingly generous and friendly manner in which you have responded to the toast which he has proposed.

Crowning event in public life.

In the course of my public life, which you have been reminded is beginning to be a fairly long one, I have received many honours - many more than I deserved - and many marks of recognition. May I say at once that excepting a few expressions of confidence, without which I should not be here tonight, this occasion will always hold in my heart a place second to none. There has been, along the way, the confidence expressed from time to time by the electors in the constituencies I have represented in the Parliament of Canada. After my first election came the confidence shown by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1909 when he made me a member of his Cabinet. That was 37 years ago.

D 50275

Then came the expressed confidence of my own party when I was chosen its leader in 1919. That was 27 years ago. Above all has been the confidence expressed by the people of Canada who have returned my party to office in all but one of the seven general elections which we have fought. Following all this, to receive in the home of the first Prime Minister of Great Britain, from the latest of the great distinguished statesmen who have succeeded him in office, the expression of his regard and confidence in the presence of so many of those who have been most prominent in the public life of our times, is, indeed, a crowning honour of one's public life.

Difficulty of acknowledging so personal an honour.

You, Prime Minister, and the other distinguished gentlemen gathered around this table will be the first to recognise wherein I find it very difficult even to attempt to acknowledge so signal an honour. Especially is this true amid surroundings which hold, I believe, more in the way of historical association with parliamentary government than those of any other official residence in the world. My embarrassment is the greater in that the acknowledgment I am called upon to make relates to something so personal to myself.

D 50276

Gathering an expression of our unparalleled political inheritance.

I should be at a loss for words altogether did I not recognise in this gathering one more expression of the political inheritance which we, who compose the free nations of the British Commonwealth, have come to enjoy. This unparalleled inheritance has been born of centuries of struggle for freedom; the development, the expansion, the defence, the preservation of freedom, in these islands, and throughout the world. What we enjoy in the way of recognition and opportunity, we owe in no small measure to those who have gone before us; those who, in one way or another, like most of our own generation, have made great sacrifices in the cause of liberty.

~~Experience accumulated~~ heritance on a long journey.

This political inheritance, in itself, is the experience in the art of government, accumulated on a long journey. It is that long journey which has brought all of us - of different political parties, and of different nations of the Commonwealth - to assemble as one family at a table symbolic of unity and liberty.

Milestones on long journey - Charters of freedom.

I need not recall to any who are here tonight the milestones which mark out that long journey. They are the great charters of freedom which record the struggles of the peoples of these islands for the rights which today we have come so proudly to claim as those of British subjects: Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, the Bill of Rights, trial by jury, habeas corpus, free assembly, freedom of worship, free speech, and a free press. One might suppose to hear men speak of the four freedoms of the Atlantic Charter that they were all something new; freedoms yet to be won. In part they may be, but, in far greater part, they are a portion of our common political inheritance.

"The Expansion of England" - the fundamental basis of our political inheritance

Few, if any, words could express more accurately what I would consider as fundamental, in speaking of the inheritance held in common by the nations of the Commonwealth, than what is implied by Seeley in the title of his great work: , "The Expansion of England". Where the seeds of British liberty have been sown, there have sprung up the free political institutions, the conceptions of justice, and the art of

co-operation between nations in matters of government. Twice, in the lives of all present, the world has witnessed the flowering of this inheritance as the glory of the British Commonwealth and Empire.

Canada's rugged road to Nationhood.

I have spoken of the long journey which has brought the assembled company together as members of one great family. May I be pardoned if, for a moment, I venture to speak of the somewhat rugged road by which Canada began her journey towards nationhood, and of the path which, in my own life, has since served to bring me to the milestone which I have passed today. Perhaps I may speak of the shorter journey first.

As has been mentioned, I reached this morning, and by this hour have now passed, a milestone of significance in Canadian political history. It happens to be also a milestone in British history.

D 50279

My own milestone - Sir John A. Macdonald - Pitt - Walpole

Sir John A. Macdonald who was Canada's First Prime Minister was the leader of the Conservative party in Canada from the day that Canada became a Dominion on July 1st, 1867, until the day of his death on June 6, 1891 - a period of nearly 24 years in all. Until a very short time ago, I had never realized that in that period of time, Sir John Macdonald had, in Canada, held the office of Prime Minister for a longer period than the younger Pitt. It was equally a surprise to discover that Sir John Macdnnald had held, in Canada, the office of Prime Minister for a longer period of time than any other Prime Minister except Sir Robert Walpole, in whose residence we are assembled tonight, and who happens also to be the first British Statesman to be called "Prime Minister".

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D 50280

That this long distance record, of some significance in political life, so undreamt of as related to my own political career, should be marked, of all times and places in the world, by my presence in this room, and in this company, on this particular day, is, to me, and must be to others, amazing indeed. How it has ever come about is wholly beyond my comprehension.

Mackenzie's journey from Canada to Downing Street - 1832.

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It was in 1832, as a believer in British freedom, and a lover of British institutions, that Mackenzie crossed from Canada to Britain to lay personally before the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, a petition of grievances which had been drafted by a Committee of the Assembly of Upper Canada. Of this Committee, Mackenzie was the Chairman. The report had been approved by the Assembly itself. The petition, in a word, was one which

aimed at the establishment of responsible government in Canada substantially as it had come to be established in Great Britain between the days of Walpole and those of Lord Grey who was the Prime Minister of that day. It asked that the representative of the Crown in Canada should choose as his advisers those who enjoyed the confidence of a majority of the elected members of the Legislature, and that he should be guided by their advice.

Rebellion and Responsible Government.

On his return to Canada, Mackenzie spoke well of the manner in which he had been received by Lord Goderich, the Colonial Secretary of the day. He gave his followers reason to believe that the reforms which they advocated, together with a change in the method of government, might speedily be effected. When, however, his and their hopes were repeatedly shattered, and when redress by constitutional means seemed no longer possible, we had, in Canada, in the very year of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne, what Goldwin Smith has called "a spurt of civil war". It flared into rebellion.

The rebellion was subsequently suppressed but the outcome was to hasten the establishment in Canada of responsible government. Responsible government, I believe, may rightly be regarded as the corner-stone of that political system which unites in free association the nations of the British Commonwealth.

The rebellion, as I have said, was suppressed. The tie with Britain was not severed, as had been the case with the thirteen colonies under George III at the time of the American revolution. Were it necessary for me to plead loyalty to the Crown, I might find grounds therefore by recalling that, in the Canadian rebellion of 1837-38, my father's father commanded a detachment of a Highland regiment serving with the Royal Garrison Artillery. With all honour to his name, my thoughts tonight are nevertheless much more of the turn of events which led to the period of exile which Mackenzie was called upon to endure; of my mother being born amid the privations of those years; of the pardon subsequently granted Mackenzie; and of his return not only to Canada, but also to her halls of Parliament.

Do you wonder that I am profoundly moved by the significance of this occasion? Do you wonder, as I reflect upon those years, that I see in the honour being done me tonight something more than chance or coincidence? Do you wonder that my thoughts are of those covenants of old which, as

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Mr Gibson

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generation succeeds generation, link sacrifice and reward, that I see in all this something in the nature of poetic justice to the memory of one who sacrificed his all to uphold the best of British traditions / of ~~Briti~~ justice on British soil in the new world and that my thoughts are of those laws of righteousness which sooner or later determine the fate of nations as well as of men.

Prime Minister: I ~~am here tonight to say~~ / should perhaps make it clear that we, in Canada, have no grievances to present either to the Secretary of State for the Dominions or to yourself. In Canada, the executive is no longer the choice of the Governor or Governor General, either directly or indirectly. The executive today advises / His Majesty / ~~the King whom he wishes to have as his~~ recommends to the Crown it would be pleased to have considered by His King to be considered for appointment as H.M.'s representative in Canada.

And here may I pause to speak of the great contribution made to our political inheritance by the Governors General who from the day of Confederation to this hour, have helped to bring much of the culture of this old world to the new, and to establish in Canada the best of British traditions. May I speak in particular of ~~my friend~~ Lord Athlone who has honoured this occasion with his presence tonight and who along with H.R.H. Princess Alice / was ever close at the side / of our administration in helping us to meet ~~each and~~ every problem as ~~they~~ it arose through out the terrible years of war.

May I speak also of Field Marshal, Viscount Alexander (or Field Marshal Lord Alexander of Tunis) who is now with us and who, along with Lady Alexander, wherever

they have gone, have received a warmth of welcome second to none accorded any representative of the King.

I ~~have said that I am here~~ are happy tonight to say that Canada has no grievances. But I wish to say more than that. I wish to say that we are prouder today than we have ever been to be one of that community of free nations which comprise the British Commonwealth and Empire; that we wish to do all that lies in our power to strengthen and maintain the unity of the Commonwealth and to further friendship and good-will between the Commonwealth and all the nations of the world.

How is ~~that~~ this increased strength and unity best to be maintained? To ascertain the most effective means has been the underlying purpose of the series of meetings conference of Prime Ministers and their representatives which, within the past few days, have ~~has~~ concluded ~~its meetings~~ in London. My answer, in a word, is to make as clear as is possible to all that the path to follow is not the one which seeks centralization of Commonwealth affairs in any one part of the Commonwealth, but seeks rather the most effective methods of co-operation and co-ordination of effort between all parts.

Holding this belief so strongly, I naturally rejoice at the agreement ~~on that~~ there has been at this conference by those representing the several governments concerned,

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~~The~~ that the policy I have just stated is the one to be pursued and the clear declaration that has been made of that policy. In the agency ~~y~~ of communication between Prime Minister and Prime Minister, between the Secretary of State for the Dominions in London and the Secretary of State for External Affairs in the several Dominions, supplemented, as these methods of communication are by the representation of the several governments of the several countries by the High Commissioners resident in the others, all of which demonstrated their effectiveness under the acid test of the years of war, we have established a system for effecting consultation and furthering co-operation ~~as effective, I believe, as any that can be devised and~~ which, leading as it does into the Council Chambers of the several nations of the Commonwealth, is as effective as anything that can be devised.

We have under this system a continuing conference of the Cabinets of the Commonwealth with all the advantages which consultation with colleagues in Cabinet rather than individual decision by the Prime Minister or other Minister, necessarily affords. Much better if there must be a choice between the two, it is to have more in the way of reality and less in the way of appearances than to ~~sacrifice~~ trust too much to appearances. This system, too, enables Ministers to attend to their own affairs and avoids ~~adding to some of~~ increasing the confusion arising from the endless conferences of our day. I think we have seen enough of the dangers of having differences exploited in public.

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Conferences in Cabinet Council may not always avoid this happening, but they, at least, serve to minimize the danger.

Let it never be forgotten that what more than all else we have gained from ~~gotten~~ out of our common political inheritance is that we speak a common political language using the word "political" in its broader sense.

Before I conclude, I should like to add one word in regard to the relations of the Commonwealth and the United States. I think I know something of both countries and of the heart of each. In their unseen depths, it is I believe the same heart. Once between the nations of the Commonwealth, co-operation and co-ordination of policy is substituted for centralization as the controlling method of maintaining unity, the fear of blocs vanishes both toward the United States and toward other nations.

Canada can do more for the Commonwealth in the future, as she has in the past, by continuing to be an interpreter and a liaison between the United States and the United Kingdom. At all costs, we must work for the utmost of friendship and good-will and also co-operation and co-ordination of effort between the English-speaking peoples of the world.

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Of itself, a common peril helps to keep nations together. Let us each become as strong as we can. By all means, let us keep united.

Over and above all else, ~~however,~~ let us at all times remember that the British Community of nations has been in the past, stands today and will, I believe, continue through the years, to be the greatest agency this world has known for the furtherance of peace, justice and good-will.

~~A word of thanks to the British government.~~

With Anglo-American friendship firmly established, we may look, I believe, with confidence to the ~~continued growth~~ development of friendship between all the nations of the world.

Yet

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79		Statement to the Plenary Session of the Dominion-Provincial Conference of 1945-1946, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1946	D 50046 - D 50159	
79		Tribute to the Late W.R. MacDonald M.P. Speeches in Parliament	3 May 1946	D 50160 - D 50165	
79		Speeches outside Parliament	17 May 1946	D 50166 - D 50167	
79		London. Speeches outside Parliament	23 May 1946	D 50168 - D 50179	
79		Dinner at 10 Downing Street, London. Speeches outside Parliament	7 June 1946	D 50180 - D 50288	
79		Dinner in Honour of Mr. King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	18 June 1946	D 50289 - D 50292	
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79		The First Year of Peace, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	3 July 1946	D 50296 - D 50335	
79		Paris. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Aug. 1946	D 50336 - D 50417	
79		Dieppe. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Aug. 1946	D 50418 - D 50420	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE 5172/46

Date JUN 19 1946 D 50289

Subject

King Reiterates Pledge Decision Not to Contest Another Election

(Gazette Staff Correspondent)

Ottawa, June 18.—Acknowledging his desire to remain in the political arena for only "a little while longer," Prime Minister King tonight reiterated his decision not to contest another election. He was speaking at a dinner tendered in his honor and attended by members of all political parties, held in the parliamentary restaurant.

The Liberal leader expressed his gratitude for the congratulatory addresses which had been delivered earlier by John Bracken, leader of the Progressive Conservative official opposition; M. J. Coldwell, C.C.F. leader, and Solon Low, head of the Social Credit group, as well as those of his own cabinet members.

He could not forget, he said, that he had seen every member of the present House of Commons take his seat for the first time, nor could he overlook the fact that many men whom he had known well during the earlier years of his political life were missing from tonight's dinner.

It had been remarked, during the course of the dinner, that his trip to Britain had made him appear more fit than for some considerable time. He knew that this was true, because he felt fit. But it could not be denied that much time had passed away and that he was nearing the end of his career.

Perhaps, Mr. King chuckled, he might not disappear from the scene as quickly "as some of those who are here tonight might hope." It was his wish to spend a little while longer in an active political role.

He then said emphatically, however, that he had no intention of running as a candidate in another election. Looking about the head table, at which some of his cabinet members and other party leaders were seated he wondered who would be the man to whom would fall the task of doing "some of those things which I haven't had time to do."

It had been suggested by Mr. Bracken, he recalled, that upon his retirement he could render a great public service by setting down a history of Canadian politics during his period of leadership. He believed, the Prime Minister admitted, that there was much truth in this thought. It had occurred to him on many occasions that Canada had been the loser through the failure of Sir John A. Macdonald to set down in his own hand details of the political conditions and decisions of his time, as only he really knew them. The same had been true also, he regretted, of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Sir Robert Borden, however, enjoyed the gratitude of Canada for his contribution.

Thus, the idea of writing a work of that kind appealed to him very much. He did not know whether he would be able to achieve his wish, but should it prove possible, he would be very happy to attempt it.

He paid tribute to the spirit of true Canadianism which had enabled members of Parliament of all parties to meet together tonight, and suggested that in some countries, such meetings would scarcely be possible. He knew that others disagreed with some or many of his views on certain issues. That they could still attend a dinner with members of his party and subordinate differences to the common bonds which held them together as Canadians, augured well for the Dominion's future.

Many Pay Tribute

Ottawa, June 18.—(CP)—Prime Minister King heard tributes tonight from the leaders of all parties on the occasion of his attainment of the record of having served as Prime Minister longer than any other Canadian.

Some expressed the hope Mr. King would find time and leisure to write his chapter of the Canadian story.

And visibly moved by the tribute, Mr. King spoke of his future plans. He would like to stay in Parliament a few years longer. But he was not going to run in another election. He hoped to find the leisure to give the Canadian people some of the inside information, some of the things that would be of value to the country's history.

Rising amid a stormy and standing ovation, Mr. King smiled and nervously adjusted his glasses. Senators, members of Parliament and members of the parliamentary press gallery said "see him smiling" and he obliged with another wide grin and rubbed his nose.

Mr. King recalled the inheritance of his grandparent — William Lyon Mackenzie who had gone to London with a petition of grievances for responsible government. He had returned to Canada and, Canadians, disillusioned at the failure of his mission, had participated in rebellion.

His mother had been born while his grandfather was in exile. The wheel of history had turned full circle and the law of eternal justice had been confirmed.

The other day he had stood at a dinner in his honor at No. 10 Downing street where his grandfather had delivered the petition more than a century ago.

And he had taken pride in being able to report that Canada now had no grievances. His grandfather had complained that the colonial governors surrounded themselves with their own hand-picked executive.

Mr. King had been able to point to two guests at the dinner—the Earl of Athlone and Viscount Alexander—and say that not only had the day passed when governors chose their own government in Canada, but in fact the day had arrived when the Canadian government advised His Majesty what governor to appoint. And the former governor and present governor at the dinner were examples on how well the Canadian government could choose.

Veterans Minister Mackenzie, chairman of the gathering, drew attention to the fact that one of the guests was Rt. Hon. John Strachy, British Minister of Agriculture. Introduced by Agriculture Minister Gardiner, Mr. Strachy said he was delighted to participate in the tribute to Mr. King.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

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D 50290 inches outside 42 Parl.

Sub

WON'T GO TO POLLS AGAIN WRITE MEMOIRS, KING'S AIM

By H. R. ARMSTRONG

Ottawa, June 19 — Premier King plans to write the inside story of his more than 19 years as prime minister of Canada, he told a great gathering in his honor here last night.

At the same time Mr. King informed M.P.'s and Senators of all parties that, though he hopes to remain a few more years in parliament, he will not contest another election. This confirms the prime minister's announcement last August, on the occasion of his 25th anniversary as Liberal leader, that he will not be a candidate in the next federal voting.

Mr. King expressed pleasure at the friendly spirit between members of various parties. He translated this into another reflection of his fears regarding the world situation. Too much was being made of the differences between nations and too little stress being placed on matters on which they agreed, he said.

He appealed to all to emphasize to a greater extent the things which nations and various parties within Canada hold in common. In this way, he said, harmony could best be attained not only in this dominion but internationally.

After 40 years in public life and more than 25 years as Liberal leader —of which for 19 he has been prime minister—Premier King last night was accorded what was perhaps the crowning tribute of his whole career.

Leaders of all parties in the Commons and the Senate and members of both houses of all political shades, gathered at a complimentary dinner to the prime minister to mark his attaining a record in the length of time as government leader. All spoke in glowing terms of Mr. King's personal characteristics and public service.

M. J. Coldwell, C.C.F. leader, referred to the occasion as one "quite unique in Canadian history." John Bracken, Progressive Conservative leader, said he wanted "as a Canadian to pay tribute to another Canadian whose long career will fill a notable page in Canadian history." All praised Mr. King for his "unfailing courtesy" to leaders and members of opposing political groups.

Not Here as Party Members

"We are not here as Liberals, Progressive Conservatives or members of the C.C.F.," said Hon. Ian Mackenzie, chairman. "We are here as parliamentarians and Canadians to honor the greatest Canadian public leader of all time. Mr. King personifies the spirit of real Canadianism."

Parliament tendered the dinner last night because on June 10, when he outdistanced Sir John A. Macdonald's record as premier, Mr. King was in Britain attending the conference of commonwealth prime ministers. Last night's gathering here was the Canadian counterpart of one tendered the Canadian prime minister at No. 10 Downing St., in London, by all parties of the British Commons and House of Lords and the premiers of the other commonwealth nations.

Mr. King was obviously affected by the warmth and sincerity of the praise which all parties showered on him. He said, when he rose to acknowledge the tributes, that he could scarcely find words to express his feelings. So many thoughts crowded into his mind that he scarcely knew where to begin.

He had entered public life, he said, to further the cause of responsible government and Canada's status as a nation. He had no idea when he started his public service 40 years ago, of entering into a long distance derby with Macdonald and Laurier. His public life had been full of surprises, and greatest of all to himself was the length of time he had remained prime minister.

Hopes to Write Memoirs

Recent years, he stated, had been a period of continuous strain. After his retirement he hoped to be spared leisure to write the inside story of events during his term of office, especially those of the years of the recent world war.

Mr. King said he and many others had greatly regretted that neither Sir John Macdonald nor Sir Wilfrid Laurier had written their memoirs, telling a first hand story of events of their careers. He felt their memoirs would have been a valuable contribution to Canadian history. Sir Robert Borden, he recalled, had left behind him a personal record of the years of the world war. It was widely agreed that Sir Robert's work was most interesting and valuable.

Mr. King said his life was a continuation of the efforts of his maternal grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie, on behalf of responsible government. When ordinary means failed to gain the beginnings of responsible government, his grandfather had led a revolt and had been exiled and imprisoned in the United States. Mr. King's mother was born, he said, while Mackenzie was in exile. This family history of struggle for political and personal liberty had left an indelible mark on his own life, the premier said.

Referring to his recent visit to No. 10 Downing St. in London, Mr. King said that at the dinner tendered him there he had told the assemblage that in 1832 his grandfather had come to the same place with a petition of grievances from a Canadian legislature. In 1946, Mr. King was able to go there and say that Canada had no grievances against Britain. This, said the premier, was a complete turn of the wheel and illustrated the constitutional and political evolution within the span of three lives.

Another illustration of this was his reminder to his hearers at Downing St., that in the old days the colonial office appointed the governors of Canada. Today, Mr. King had told the overseas gathering, he was able to point at two guests, the Earl of Athlone and Viscount Alexander, and say that Canada now not only chooses its own governors, but that the Dominion had turned out to be a pretty good picker.

Mr. King said he did not feel old except when he realized that he had seen every other member of parliament come into the House of Commons and that every Liberal Senator in the Upper House had been appointed on his recommendation. Members had spoken of his good health. Mr. King said he felt well and was well but realized the passage of time when he looked back on his public career. Only one other M.P., Hon. P. J.A. Cardin, equalled his term of service in the Commons, the prime minister stated.

Share British Heritage

His recent visit to Britain had impressed upon him that Canadians were enjoying the benefits of a great political heritage peculiar to the British Commonwealth of Nations. This ran all through the

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struggle for responsible government in Britain and in Canada, dating back to Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights and Habeas Corpus.

Through the years, he said, the greatest driving force in him had not been personal ambition, but a wish to carry on the traditions of William Lyon Mackenzie to strengthen the doctrine of representative government and bring Canada back to full nationhood.

The prime minister expected his remarks to be "off the record," and said he was speaking from what was deepest in his heart. By a mistake, the chairman omitted to announce that the premier's speech was not to be published. As a result, after the dinner, it was decided to permit publication of the speech, so long as Mr. King was not directly quoted.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Globe-Mail

Date June 19/46

50292 5172/46

Will Not Contest Next Election, Mr. King Affirms

By KENNETH C. CRAGG

Ottawa, June 18 (Staff).—Prime Minister King, tonight with abrupt finality at an all-party gathering held on Parliament Hill in his honor, declared he would not run in another election.

His statement chilled any hopes Liberals had that he might change his mind from the retirement position he took before a Prince Albert audience during the national campaign last year. Quietly he advised the members of Senate and Commons, in what was probably the first all-party gathering of its kind in Canadian Parliamentary history, that he wished to devote time to his books and to transcribing his memoirs.

The declaration, with members of his own party and leaders and members of the Progressive Conservatives, the C.C.F. and the Social Credit Party as witnesses, came almost naturally at the end of felicitations from John Bracken, M. J. Coldwell and Solon Low, and expressions which suggested with kindly interest that they wished Mr. King long life, if not longer life at the head of his party.

Successor Indefinite

It fell short of advising when the Prime Minister would give way to a successor or when he would allow, the call to be sent out for a Liberal convention and the selection of his successor.

If Mr. King has consulted any of his colleagues on his plans in that direction, there has been no suggestion of it. It is generally believed that 1947 is a likely convention year, now that it is clear beyond all question that Mr. King will retire before the next election —that he would wish to give his successor opportunity of choosing his election time.

The tribute to Mr. King had its inception last week in the desire of some of the Liberals to celebrate his reaching his 20th year as Prime Minister. The anniversary date itself came while he was at the London talks on Commonwealth affairs and it was marked with a dinner given by Prime Minister Attlee at No. 10 Downing St. The movement grew to include members of all parties — became possible through the Commons adjourning tonight from 6 to 9 o'clock to afford time for the dinner and the speeches.

The Prime Minister's position in Parliament in point of years in public life, was measured by himself. He told his audience that he had seen every member of the Commons present, of every party, come into the House; that he had made the recommendation which in the end "summonsed" every Liberal member into the Senate.

Hard to Express Self

He told them that it was impossible to acknowledge in words his feelings in thanks for the expressions from those with whom he had worked and with those he had opposed.

In the very dining-room, in which party members habitually huddle together with their kind, he advised they would be all the better for meeting men of different parties.

On personal creed, he advised that he had had no particular ambition in public life—sought simply to help to further and establish strongly the doctrines of responsible government.

As he did yesterday in formal address to the House, Mr. King spoke of the privilege of belonging to the British Commonwealth with its inheritance of the principles of liberty and of free government.

To Write His Chapter

Some speakers expressed the hope Mr. King would find time and leisure to write his chapter of the Canadian story.

Mr. Kink said he would like to stay in Parliament for a few years longer, then he hoped to find the leisure to give the Canadian people some of the inside information, some of the things that would be of value to the country's history.

He always felt that it was too bad that Sir John A. MacDonald and Sir Wilfrid Lauries had not found time to write the history of their time. Sir Robert Borden had been able to leave behind some valuable writing and he hoped he would be able to write some records that would be of interest to the Canadian people.

Mr. King recalled the inheritance of his grandparent—William Lyon Mackenzie, who had gone to London wi th a petition of grievances for responsible government. He had returned to Canada and, Canadians, disillusioned at the failure of his mission, had participated in rebellion.

His mother had been born while his grandfather was in exile. The wheel of history had turied full circle and the la wof eternal justice had been conformed.

Proud of Selections

At a dinner in his honor at No. 10 Downing Street, Mr. King had been able to point to two guests at the dinner—the Earl of Athlone and Viscount Alexander—and say that not only had the day passed when Governors chose their own Government in Canada, but in fact the day had arrived when the Canadian Government advised His Majesty what Governor to apopint, and the former Governor and present Governor were examples of how well the Government could chose.

Mr. King's statement tonight on his plan not to run in another election was a reiteration of his remarks at a dinner here Aug. 8, 1944, commemorating his 25 years of leadership of the Liberal Party.

Justice Minister St. Laurent reported on the progress of the House since Mr. King's departure and said any fears he had ever made that Cabinet leakages were occurring were dispelled when he read press reports on the various reasons why Mr. King had returned to Canada.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
79		Statement to the Plenary Session of the Dominion-Provincial Conference of 1945-1946, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1946	D 50046 - D 50159	
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79		Speeches outside Parliament	17 May 1946	D 50166 - D 50167	
79		London. Speeches outside Parliament	23 May 1946	D 50168 - D 50179	
79		Dinner at 10 Downing Street, London. Speeches outside Parliament	7 June 1946	D 50180 - D 50288	
79		Dinner in Honour of Mr. King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	18 June 1946	D 50289 - D 50292	
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79		Paris. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Aug. 1946	D 50336 - D 50417	
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Not to be released before delivery at 8:30 p.m. E.D.T., June 28, 1946.

D 50293

Address of Welcome
to Hon. Herbert Hoover
by
Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Chateau Laurier, Ottawa,
June 28, 1946.

On behalf of the Government and the people of Canada, I am delighted to welcome to Ottawa this evening, the Honourable Herbert Hoover.

We welcome Mr. Hoover as one of the long line of distinguished statesmen who have filled the high office of President of the United States. Tonight, we welcome him, even more, as one of that great company of humanitarians whose service, to their day and generation, numbers them among "the helpers and friends of mankind". Of that company it may be truly said:

"Yours is the praise, if mankind
Hath not as yet in its march
Fainted, and fallen, and died."

From the days of the first World War, Mr. Hoover's name has been inseparably linked with international cooperation in the relief of starving peoples. There is no one who can speak with greater authority on the world's needs and the world's food resources.

D 50294

During recent months, on behalf of the Famine Emergency Committee, appointed by President Truman, Mr. Hoover has been to see for himself the actual food situation in many parts of Europe, Africa, Asia and in North and South America. He has been facing a problem of famine on a scale unprecedented in human history. His mission has been one of helping to rescue from mass starvation, vast numbers of the human race.

Tonight Mr. Hoover is to report on his findings to an international listening audience. I venture to say that, no one among his listeners will have heard, since the ending of hostilities, an account of comparable human interest and concern.

Mr. Hoover speaks in the name of Humanity. In the world picture which he will present tonight, we shall all see how true it is no less of nations than of individuals, that we are members one of another. We shall realize, as well, how completely the building of peace depends upon the immediate assistance we may be able to give towards meeting the needs of millions less fortunate than ourselves.

I should like to thank Mr. Hoover for accepting our invitation to make Canada's Capital, the centre from which to report on his world encircling mission. Mr. Hoover has confided in me that his readiness to come to Ottawa was

due to a desire to accord special recognition to the assistance Canada has given by way of relief to war-ravaged countries. This is a high compliment which the people of Canada will much appreciate, and for which they will be deeply grateful. May I say to Mr. Hoover, we in Canada equally recognize the great contribution which the United States is making to the feeding of mankind.

Mr. Hoover's acceptance of our invitation, will be, to the Canadian people, even more an earnest of the task which still confronts us. It will take the combined effort of the nations, each seeking to do its utmost, to banish from the world community the gnawing spectre of hunger, and the devastating menace of starvation.

You may be assured, Mr. Hoover, that, in the privileged company of food supplying nations, Canada will find, in your words, a fresh incentive to the opportunity of world service that you have come to proclaim.

Ladies and gentlemen: it is with exceptional pleasure that I now call upon the Honourable Herbert Hoover.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
79		Statement to the Plenary Session of the Dominion-Provincial Conference of 1945-1946, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1946	D 50046 - D 50159	
79		Tribute to the Late W.R. MacDonald M.P. Speeches in Parliament	3 May 1946	D 50160 - D 50165	
79		Speeches outside Parliament	17 May 1946	D 50166 - D 50167	
79		London. Speeches outside Parliament	23 May 1946	D 50168 - D 50179	
79		Dinner at 10 Downing Street, London. Speeches outside Parliament	7 June 1946	D 50180 - D 50288	
79		Dinner in Honour of Mr. King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	18 June 1946	D 50289 - D 50292	
79		Welcome to Hon. Herbert Hoover, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	28 June 1946	D 50293 - D 50295	
79		The First Year of Peace, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	3 July 1946	D 50296 - D 50335	
79		Paris. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Aug. 1946	D 50336 - D 50417	
79		Dieppe. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Aug. 1946	D 50418 - D 50420	

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister:

D 50296

Re: Liberal Broadcast, July 3rd.

I am returning your manuscript. I have added a sentence re atomic energy on page 6 and a brief reference to tax reductions on page 15.

One other subject which you might wish to mention is the development of the National Capital. Presumably any reference would come either in the section on veterans or perhaps better near the conclusion.

Since the broadcast is 15 minutes in length and, under the arrangement regarding political broadcasting, must be fitted into the 15 minutes, since the same rule applies to all Parties, the text will have to be reduced to about two-thirds of its present length in order to fit comfortably into the time.

I am looking over it carefully so as to be prepared with suggestions for omissions when you have an opportunity to go over it with me.

J.W.P.

25th June, 1946

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

Top secret Terms

D 50297

Prime Minister

re. Liberal Broadcast

3.9077 July 3rd

This is my first draft of a possible broadcast. I am venturing to send it in all its crudity; so you will have it available this week-end to consider, in case you might wish to give a second thought to doing the broadcast yourself.

J.W.P.

PM / Statements 516

First Draft

D 50298

The First Year of Peace

The Record of the Mackenzie King Administration.

Fellow Canadians:

This is the opening broadcast of a series in which an opportunity is afforded to place the viewpoints of the different national political parties before the people of Canada. The time is made available by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in accordance with a policy laid down by a Parliamentary Committee on which all parties are represented.

Under our Parliamentary system, the final decision as to who shall govern rests with the people themselves. In order to make the wisest decision, the people must be informed. It is not enough to provide information a few weeks before an election; it is essential that information about the policies and conduct of our political parties should be continuously available.

This broadcast is being given on behalf of the Liberal party. Just over a year ago, at a general

D 50299

election, the Liberal party was entrusted anew by the people of Canada with the duty of carrying on the government. It is my purpose tonight to report to you on the events and achievements of that year. I shall seek to give an account of the stewardship of the Liberal government since the general election.

D 50300

Atmosphere of General Election

To appreciate what has been accomplished in the past year, we must turn our minds back to the events of a year ago.

When the general election was called, the war against Germany was still being waged in all its fury and the end of the war against Japan appeared to most observers still to be years away. Instead of embarking at once upon the election campaign, leading members of the three largest political parties joined together in attending the conference at San Francisco called to bring into being the Charter of the United Nations.* The election campaign itself was happily short, and, for the Liberal party, happily decisive. The administration, which had been in office for ten years and which had guided Canada safely through the greatest war in history, was entrusted with the task of guiding our country through the period of transition.

For that, already, was the main task of government. The unconditional surrender of Germany on

* I should like to remember that the decision to form parties other than the Conservative party represented Canada at the San Francisco conference was the decision of the Conservative party. It was a part of Liberal policy, which aims at the co-operation of ... in Canada.

D 50301

May 8th had, of necessity, resulted in a great shift in the activity of government. True, the war was still going on in the Far East. But, in that struggle, distances and shipping alone prevented the United Nations from concentrating their whole strength. After the surrender of Germany, every nation had to give a large and growing share of its attention to the problems of returning to conditions of peace, not only within its own borders, but also in the world at large.

D 50302

The International Scene

The war removed the last shadow of the illusion that any nation could live of itself. In the troubled year since the election, the attention and energy of the government has had to be devoted in large part to external affairs. The election itself was scarcely over before it became necessary for me to return to San Francisco with my colleague, the Minister of Justice, to sign the United Nations Charter. Then, in August, came the sudden and unexpected end of hostilities against Japan. The atomic bombs which brought about the surrender of Japan plunged the whole world into a new and terrible age of potential destruction. The need of effective action to ensure a lasting peace - and a peace of good-will - became far more urgent than ever. At the same time, the removal of the immediate danger of the common enemy removed the greatest of all the bonds of unity among the allies. All the difficult problems, postponed while the war was on, began to cry out for attention. I felt that, even though Parliament was in session, I could not postpone the discussion of some of these questions with Canada's closest associates

D 50303

in the war, Britain and the United States. In October, I accordingly visited London where I had frequent and fruitful consultations with the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, and his principal colleagues. Later, at the invitation of President Truman, Mr. Attlee and I visited Washington where all three of us, as representatives of the countries associated in its development, agreed upon and signed the Declaration on Atomic Energy.* Mr. Attlee subsequently visited Canada for conferences with my colleagues in the government.

More recently, I have again had occasion to visit Great Britain for conferences with the Prime Ministers or their representatives from other nations of the British Commonwealth on a host of matters of common concern. It had been my hope that this recent visit would coincide with the Conference planned to be held in Paris in May to conclude peace treaties with Italy and the European satellites of Germany. Unfortunately differences have appeared between the great powers which have not yet been reconciled. Until greater progress has been made in bridging these gaps, there would be ~~little or~~ no purpose in ~~holding~~ calling a peace conference.

The policy agreed to at Washington was designed to prevent the use of atomic energy for destructive purpose and to promote its use for the benefit of mankind.

*

D 50304

International Economic Developments.

In all the efforts to restore peace to the world, Canada I am proud to say, has added nothing to the difficulties and has sought to take every effective means to help in removing obstacles and misunderstandings. Parliament was virtually unanimous in its approval of the Charter of the United Nations and the Canadian delegations have taken a useful and distinguished part in the deliberations of all the organs of the United Nations of which our country is a member.

The action of our country has, I believe, been particularly constructive in international economic affairs. Canada is a leading supplier and a firm supporter of UNRRA. Including the large loan to the United Kingdom, Canada's export credits are unparalleled in their magnitude in relation to the wealth and population of our country. Canada has become a Member of the Food and Agriculture Organization, of the International Monetary Fund and of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. The government warmly welcomed the United States proposals for an international conference

D 50305

to work for free trade among the nations of the world.

In other words, the government has sought by every possible means, to help to restore the economies of other nations because, in doing so, we believed we were restoring the world markets for Canada's export. Without world markets the Liberal party is convinced Canada can have no enduring prosperity. We equally believe that the restoration of a world economy will be a major contribution to lasting peace.

D 50306

Repatriation and Demobilization -

Veterans Charter

The surrender of Germany brought us immediately many difficult domestic problems; most of these became still more urgent with the surrender of Japan. The most immediate, and, in human terms, the greatest of these was the task of bringing home our fighting forces and demobilizing the army, navy and air force. All this we sought to do speedily and efficiently, and at the same time, without unnecessary dislocation of employment in the country.

Since May 8th ..... men and women in the three services have been repatriated; and ..... have been discharged and returned to civil life. The vast majority have been quickly absorbed into employment. Many thousands have taken advantage of the opportunity afforded to continue or complete their education or training. The whole process has been the greatest credit to Canada and particularly those immediately responsible for its operation.

Meanwhile, the various orders relating to the care and re-establishment of our veterans are being

D 50307

consolidated by Parliament into a series of statutes which taken together will constitute a Veterans Charter unsurpassed anywhere.

D 50308

Reconversion of Industry-Labour Relations

While we have been bringing home our veterans and helping them to return to civil life, we have also been faced with the immense task of changing industry over from war to peacetime production. For this task, as for repatriation and demobilization, the government had made careful plans long in advance. But we never dared to hope it could be accomplished so smoothly, so speedily and with so little dislocation of employment as has been the case. Moreover, thanks to our foresight in starting unemployment insurance in 1940, the individual hardships of the change-over have been vastly reduced.

Canada has not been entirely spared the labour disputes and strikes which seem almost inevitable in a period of sudden and rapid transition. So far, at least, we have every reason to have that in this field our record compares favourably with that of almost any other country. This has not been a matter of mere good fortune or chance.

Part of the explanation lies, we believe, to be found in the success of our wartime battle against

D 50309

inflation and in the orderly and systematic way in which the economic controls of wartime are being removed. The ~~gradual~~ easing of price controls, even when gradual and orderly, is particularly disturbing to labour and, indeed, to all with low incomes. Some price rises cannot be avoided, but the government is seeking to avoid sudden and sharp rises which cannot be anticipated and provided for. In removing controls as in imposing them, our primary aim is always the welfare of the people as a whole.

D 50310

Housing

One of the acute problems of the closing years of the war which we knew would be more serious when the fighting stopped was the shortage of houses. We sought, as far as possible, to prepare both a short term and a long term policy to meet this problem. While we have still a long way to go to overtake the demand for housing - a large part of which has been created by conditions of full employment and steady family incomes - it is a fact which is little realized that more houses were built in Canada in 1945 than ever before in our history. Over 47,000 new dwelling units were created. This is a remarkable record when we recall that we were still at war for more than half the year. We believe, moreover, that our long term housing policy will be one of the major sources of employment in Canada for many years to come.

D 50311

Dominion-Provincial Relations

The goal of the Liberal government for the period of reconstruction and the future was placed before the people in the general election. That goal is the maintenance in peacetime of the high levels of employment and national income attained in wartime; and the use of our productive capacity to bring about a rapid advance in the social security and the standard of living of the Canadian people.

To attain that goal, harmonious and co-operative relations are needed between the Dominion and Provincial governments. Once the election was over, we lost no time in seeking to establish such relations. The government prepared a comprehensive set of proposals which the provincial governments were invited to consider at a conference which opened in August of last year - less than two months after the election. Since that time, we have sought with the utmost patience and forbearance, and with every desire to compromise, where compromise seemed likely to achieve our aim, to reach an agreement. We shall continue to seek to establish such relationships

D 50312

that both the Dominion government and the government of every province will find themselves in a position to contribute fully and enjoy to the maintenance of conditions which make for employment, prosperity and social security throughout Canada.

Tax Reductions

In addition to its efforts to reach agreements with the provinces, the Dominion government has sought, by appropriate reductions in the burden of wartime taxation, to encourage initiative and enterprise and to free a larger portion of personal incomes for individual saving or consumption.

D 50313

National Consciousness

The government, amid its other pre-occupations, has found time to carry out its pledges to clarify the definition of Canadian citizenship and to take the first steps to give our country a national flag. I am pleased to report that the principle of having a distinctive Canadian flag was approved all but unanimously by Parliament and that the measure which defined our citizenship received equally wide approval. These symbols of our unity as a nation are, we believe, of growing significance to the vast majority of Canadians.

I am pleased, also, to report that a resolution has been approved which will have the effect of restoring, in the representation of the people in the House of Commons, the historic principle of representation by population and thereby removing a just grievance of certain sections of our country.

D 50314

Canada's Place in the World

In all our policies and in all our activities we have sought to maintain the unity and strength, both economic and spiritual, which our country displayed so magnificently in war.

Happily, the young men of Canada are no longer being called upon to sacrifice their lives in mortal combat. We want so to shape our course that, so far as lies in our power, they will never be called upon to do so again. In the atomic age, there is only one way to do that. ~~That~~ is to prevent war altogether. Whatever influence Canada may have in world affairs will depend upon our own unity and our own strength - as a nation. To preserve our unity and strength at home, and to use them abroad to work for peace, these are our highest aims.

Let us not be ~~too~~ discouraged by the trouble and turmoil in the world. What more could ~~we~~ have expected as the aftermath of the hatred and the strife of

D 50315

the past years. The world today might be likened to the sea after a great storm - all is fury and confusion. But just as calm comes to the sea, so a great calm may some day come in the affairs of men and nations if we but strive patiently and tirelessly to replace ill-will with good-will and strife with co-operation. That, so long as I remain at its head, will be the supreme purpose of the government of Canada in our relations with other nations.

PM / Statements 5/6 ~~Not corrected~~ Corrected

The First Year of Peace

~~The Record of the Mackenzie King Administration~~ P 50316

Broadcast by

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
Leader of the Liberal Party
Ottawa, July 3, 1946

~~Introductory~~

It is just a little over a year since the Liberal party was entrusted anew with the duty of carrying on the government of Canada. It is my purpose tonight to report to you on some of the government's activities in the first year of peace.

When the election was called, Canada was still at war with both Germany and Japan. The San Francisco Conference was about to meet. While the Conference was on, Germany surrendered. Because of the Conference, the election campaign was fortunately short. It was happily decisive.

The election itself was scarcely over, before it became necessary for me to return to San Francisco with my colleague, the Minister of Justice, to sign the United Nations Charter. In August, came the sudden and unexpected end of hostilities against Japan. Problems of reconstruction, at home and throughout the world, had become the main concern of government.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 50317

Preparatory Stages in the Making of Peace

The atomic bomb, which brought about the surrender of Japan, plunged the whole world into a new and terrible era of potential destruction. The need of effective action to ensure a lasting peace - and a peace of good-will - became far more urgent than ever. At the same time, the removal of immediate danger from a common enemy severed the strongest of the bonds of common action among the allies. Difficult problems, postponed while the war was on, began instantly to cry out for attention. New problems, hitherto unthought of, made their presence felt.

On some pressing questions, it was not possible to postpone consultation with Britain and the United States. Accordingly, in October, although the first session of our new parliament had just commenced its proceedings, I visited London, where I had frequent and fruitful consultations with the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, and his principal colleagues. Later, at the invitation of President Truman, Mr. Attlee and I visited Washington. While there we agreed upon and signed the Declaration on Atomic Energy. The policy agreed to at Washington was designed to prevent the use of atomic energy for destructive

purposes, and to promote its use for the benefit of mankind. Mr. Attlee subsequently visited Canada for conferences at Ottawa with my colleagues and myself.

Quite recently, I have again had occasion to visit Great Britain for purposes of conference. The meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was characterized by a remarkable unanimity of view on matters of common concern.

It had been my hope that this recent visit would coincide with the Peace Conference which was originally planned to be held in Paris in May. Differences between the Great Powers, unfortunately not yet wholly reconciled, occasioned delays. In bridging the gaps, considerable progress has recently been made. There is now a prospect of a peace conference being called in the near future.

The Restoration of a World Community

In the efforts to restore peace to the world, Canada, I am proud to say, has been much to the fore. We have created no difficulties. We have sought, wherever possible, to help in removing obstacles and misunderstandings.

D 50319

Parliament was virtually unanimous in its approval of the United Nations Charter. In all the deliberations of the various conferences of the United Nations, the Canadian delegations have taken an active and useful part.

Our country has spared no effort to help bind up the wounds, and to rescue from starvation and disease, the stricken peoples of war ravaged lands. You must have been deeply impressed to hear the Hon. Herbert Hoover say in his broadcast from our capital on Friday last, "To Canada flows the gratitude of hundreds of millions of human beings who have been saved from starvation through the efforts of this great commonwealth of the North". We were told that Canada had provided over one-fifth of the supply of food to relieve the greatest famine in all human history. Since October of last year, ~~is~~ two national voluntary collections ~~we~~ will have provided about 25 million pounds of clothing for relief. These figures take no account of what has been done to relieve suffering by the Red Cross and many other voluntary agencies.

Canada is a leading supplier and a firm supporter of U.N.R.R.A. Canada is a Member of the Food and Agriculture Organization, of the International Monetary Fund and of the International Bank of Reconstruction and

Development. We warmly welcomed the United States proposals for an international conference to work for freer trade among the nations of the world. In relation to the wealth and population of our country, Canada's export credits, including the large loan to the United Kingdom, are unparalleled in their magnitude.

In other words, our government has sought to have Canada help to rebuild the economies of other nations, as well as to develop our own. In so doing, we are restoring world markets for Canada's export. The Liberal party is convinced that, without world markets, our country can enjoy no enduring prosperity. We equally believe that a world economy is essential to lasting peace.

Repatriation and Demobilization - Veterans Charter

The surrender of Germany brought to the fore many immediate and difficult domestic problems. Most of these problems became still more urgent with the surrender of Japan. The greatest of all has been the task of bringing home our fighting forces, and demobilizing the army, navy and air force.

Since Germany surrendered on May 8th, 1945, over three hundred and thirty thousand (330,000) men and women in the three services have been repatriated; over six hundred and fifty-seven thousand (657,000) have been discharged and returned to civil life. The vast majority have been quickly absorbed into employment. Many thousands have taken advantage of the special opportunity afforded them to continue their eduction or training. The whole process has been speedy and efficient. It reflects the greatest credit upon those immediately responsible.

The many provisions relating to the care and re-establishment of our veterans are being consolidated by Parliament. They constitute a Veterans Charter not anywhere surpassed.

Reconversion of Industry

While we have been bringing home our veterans and assisting their return to civil life, we have, at the same time, been faced with the immense task of changing industry over from war production to peacetime production. For this task, the government had fortunately made careful

plans long in advance. But we never dared to hope it could be accomplished so smoothly, so speedily, and with so little dislocation of employment as has been the case. Thanks to our foresight in starting unemployment insurance in 1940, individual hardships resulting from ~~the change-over~~ reconversion have been kept at a minimum.

In any period of sudden and rapid transition, involving adjustments in industrial relations, labour disputes and strikes seem to be all but inevitable. So far, Canada's record in this field compares favourably with that of almost any other country. This has not been a matter of chance, or of mere good fortune. In large part, the explanation is to be found in the success of our battle against inflation, and in the orderly and systematic way in which the economic controls of wartime are being removed. In no country have inflationary tendencies been held more effectively in check.

Housing and Family Allowances

In Canada, as in all other countries, the housing problem has grown more acute since the end of the war. We are all aware of existing shortages. What is not so generally known is that over forty-seven thousand (47,000) new dwelling

D 50323

units were created in 1946. This is more houses than were ever built before in one year in Canada.

A large part of the demand for houses is the result of conditions of full employment and steady family incomes. Family allowances have also made it possible for many families to pay for proper housing. This is but one of the ways in which family allowances - first paid in July of last year - will keep up demand which, in turn, will keep up employment.

Dominion-Provincial Relations

The goal of Liberal government policy is the maintenance, in peacetime, of the high levels of employment and national income attained in wartime, and the use of Canada's productive capacity to bring about a rapid advance in social security, and in the standard of living of the people.

To attain that goal, harmonious and co-operative relations are needed between the Dominion and Provincial governments. At repeated meetings with the provinces, we have earnestly sought to reach agreement sufficiently comprehensive not only to cover financial arrangements, but, as well, to further policies of health and social well-being

D 50324

It is now apparent that this large objective will take longer to attain than we had originally hoped. Pending a general agreement with all provinces, proposals for financial agreements with individual provinces were made in the budget brought down on Thursday last. The proposed agreements will, it is believed, assist effectively in meeting the problems of the provinces as well as those of the Dominion.

Tax Reductions.

Since our return to office, a year ago, we have made substantial reductions inthe burden of wartime taxation. In the first post-war budget, there was an immediate flat percentage reduction in the personal income tax; the present budget has included further reductions, on a graduated scale, and with higher exemptions, which are to go into effect on January 1, 1947. To encourage enterprise and to assist in maintaining a high level of employment, corporation taxes have also been reduced.

To ensure continuing success in the battle against inflation, it is obvious that the reduction of taxes must proceed in the same gradual and orderly way as the removal of war-time controls.

Conclusion

In all our policies, and in all our activities as a government, we have sought to maintain the unity and strength, both economic and spiritual, which our country displayed so magnificently in war. To preserve our unity at home, and to exert our strength abroad, in the promotion alike of peace and prosperity: these are our highest aims.

Let us not be unduly dismayed by the trouble and turmoil in the world of today. What else could be expected as the aftermath of the appalling hatred and strife of recent years? Having been taught to believe in force, it will take time for men and nations to learn the widdom of substituting Reason for Force in the settlement of their differences.

The unrest of the world today may well be likened to the unrest of the sea which follows a great storm. For some time much remains of fury and confusion. But just as calm comes to the sea, so a great calm may some day come to the world if we but strive patiently and tirelessly to replace ill-will with good-will, and conflict with co-operation. Such, at all times, will, I believe, be the supreme purpose of the Canadian people in their relations with all other nations.

If, Humanity is to survive, international understanding and friendship must replace what remains of suspicion and distrust. How important that is would be apparent to all of us, as mankind, on its onward march, pauses today at the crossroads of the world.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date JUL 4 1946

D 50326

Subject

Mr. King Hints He May Attend Paris Conference

In a review of the first year of peace and a year after the Liberal party was returned to office, Prime Minister King last night gave what might be a hint of a plan to go to the delayed Paris Peace Conference in the near future.

Opening a series of political free-time broadcasts Mr. King, in a speech prepared for delivery over the CBC Trans-Canada network, referred to his recent visit to Britain. He added:

"It had been my hope that this recent visit would coincide with the Peace Conference which was originally planned to be held in Paris in May. Differences between the great powers, unfortunately not yet wholly reconciled, occasioned delays. In bridging the gaps, considerable progress has recently been made. There now is a prospect of a peace conference being called in the near future."

Of talks with Commonwealth and Empire leaders in London, he said they were characterized "by a remarkable unanimity of view on matters of common concern."

His review touched post-war problems as widely separated as demobilization and housing. Since VE-day, May 8, 1945, more than 330,000 members of the armed forces had been repatriated to Canada and more than 657,000 had been returned to civil life. The vast majority had been absorbed into employment.

During 1945 more than 47,000 new dwelling units were built to aid in the housing shortage.

Refers to Conference.

Referring to the unsuccessful Dominion-Provincial Conference, Mr. King declared:

"We shall, however, continue to seek to establish relationships which will place, not only the Dominion Government but the governments of all the provinces, in a position to promote employment, prosperity and social security throughout Canada."

Meanwhile, until general agreement was reached, budget proposals were provided that would assist effectively in meeting the problems of individual provinces.

The budget also had announced a reduction in taxes and it was obvious that this reduction must proceed in the same gradual and orderly way as the removal of wartime controls to ensure continuing success in the battle against inflation.

Of the future he said:

"Let us not be unduly dismayed by the trouble and turmoil in the world of today. What else could be expected as the aftermath of the appalling hatred and strife of recent years? It will take time for men and nations to learn the wisdom of substituting reason for force in the settlement of their differences . . .

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date July 4/46

50327

Subject

World-Wide Goodwill Urged by Premier King

Taxes Cut Substantially, But Slashes Gradual to Curb Inflation, He Says

OTTAWA, July 4—(C.P.)—Premier Mackenzie King in a C.B.C. trans-Canada network broadcast last night saw mankind at the cross-roads of the world and asked for goodwill to replace ill-will and co-operation to replace conflict.

His speech—part of the C.B.C.'s political free time program which will bring other party leaders to the microphone in succeeding weeks—touched on the international scene and gave a possible hint that he might be going to the delayed Paris peace conference soon.

He also touched on problems in the domestic scene ranging from demobilization and housing to Dominion-provincial relations.

In regard to taxation, the Premier declared substantial reductions in the war-time burden had already been achieved, but these reductions "must proceed in the same gradual and orderly way as the removal of war-time controls to ensure continuing success in the battle against inflation."

Text of Address

The text of Mr. King's address follows:

"It is just a little over a year since the Liberal party was entrusted anew with the duty of carrying on the government of Canada. It is my purpose tonight to report to you on some of the Government's activities in the first year of peace.

"When the election was called, Canada was still at war with both Germany and Japan. The San Francisco conference was about to meet. While the conference was on, Germany surrendered. Because of the conference, the election campaign was fortunately short. It was happily decisive.

The election itself was scarcely over, before it became necessary for me to return to San Francisco with my colleague, the Minister of Justice, to sign the United Nations Charter. In August, came the sudden and unexpected end of hostilities against Japan. Problems of reconstruction, at home and throughout the world had become the main concern of government.

Atom Age Problems Press

"The atomic bomb, which brought about the surrender of Japan, plunged the whole world into a new and terrible era of potential destruction. The need of effective action to ensure a lasting peace—and a peace of goodwill — became far more urgent than ever. At the same time, the removal of immediate danger from a common enemy served the strongest of the bonds of common action among the Allies. Difficult problems, postponed while the war was on, began instantly to cry out for attention. New problems, hitherto unthought of, made their presence felt.

"On some pressing questions, it was not possible to postpone consultation with Britain and the United States. Accordingly, in October, although the first session of our new Parliament had just commenced its proceedings, I visited London, where I had frequent and fruitful consultations with the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, and his principal colleagues. Later, at the invitation of President Truman, Mr. Attlee and I visited Washington. While there we agreed upon and signed the Declaration on Atomic Energy. The policy agreed to at Washington was designed to prevent the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, and to promote its use for the benefit of mankind. Mr. Attlee subsequently visited Canada for conferences at Ottawa with my colleagues and myself.

Unanimity Stressed

"Quite recently, I have again had occsaion to visit Great Britain for conferences with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and his colleagues, and with the Prime Ministers or their representatives from other nations of the British Commonwealth. The meeting of Prime Ministers was characterized by a remarkable unanimity of view on matters of common concern.

"It had been my hope that this recent visit would coincide with the Peace Conference which was originally planned to be held in Paris in May. Differences between the Great Powers, unfortunately not yet wholly reconciled, occasioned delays. In bridging the gaps, considerable progress has recently been made. There is now a prospect of a peace conference being called in the near future.

"In the efforts to restore peace to the world, Canada, I am proud to say, has been much to the fore. We have created no difficulties. We have sought, wherever possible, to help in removing obstacles and misunderstandings. Parliament was virtually unanimous in its approval of the United Nations Charter. In all the deliberations of the various conferences of the United Nations, the Canadian delegations have taken an active and useful part.

No Effort Spared

"Our country has spared no effort to help bind up the wounds, and to rescue from starvation and disease, the stricken peoples of war-ravaged lands. You must have been deeply impressed to hear the Hon. Herbert Hoover say in his broadcast from our capital on Friday last, "To Canada flows the gratitude of hundreds of millions of human beings who have been saved from starvation through the efforts of this great Commonwealth of the North." We were told that Canada had provided over one-fifth of the supply of food to relieve the greatest famine in all human history. Since October of last year, two national voluntary collections will have provided about 25 millions pounds of clothing for relief. These figures take no account of what has been done to relieve suffering by the Red Cross and many other voluntary agencies.

"Canada is a leading supplier and a firm supporter of U.N.R.R.A. Canada is a member of the Food and Agriculture Organization, of the International Monetary Fund, and of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. We warmly welcomed the United States proposals for an international conference to work for freer trade among the nations of the world.

"Canada's export credits, including the large loan to the United Kingdom, in relation to the wealth and population of our country, are unparalled in their magnitude.

"In other words, our Government has sought to have Canada help to rebuild the economies of other nations, as well as to develop our own. In so doing, we are restoring world markets for Canada's exports. The Liberal party is convinced that, without world markets, our country can enjoy no enduring prosperity. We equally believe that a world economy is essential to lasting peace.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 50328

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

Subject .....

Demobilization Reviewed

"The surrender of Germany brought to the fore many immediate and difficult domestic problems. Most of these problems became still more urgent with the surrender of Japan. The greatest of all has been the task of bringing home our fighting forces and demobilizing the Army, Navy and Air Force.

"Since Germany surrendered on May 8th, 1945, over 330,000 men and women in the three services have been repatriated; over 657,000 have been discharged and returned to civil life. The vast majority have been quickly absorbed into employment. Many thousands have taken advantage of the special opportunity afforded them to continue their education or training. The whole process has been speedy and efficient. It reflects the greatest credit upon those immediately responsible.

"The many provisions relating to the care and re-establishment of our veterans are being consolidated by Parliament. They constitute a Veterans Charter not anywhere surpassed.

Reconversion Smooth

"While we have been bringing home our veterans and assisting their return to civil life, we have, at the same time, been faced with the immense task of changing industry over from war productionto peace time production. For this task, the Government had fortunately made careful plans long in advance. But we never dared to hope it could be accomplished so smoothly, so speedily, and with so little dislocation of employment as has been the case. Thanks to our foresight in starting unemployment insurance in 1940, individual hardships resulting from reconversion have been kept at a minimum.

"In any period of sudden and rapid transition, involving adjustments in industrial relations, labor disputes and strikes seem to be all but inevitable. So far, Canada's record in this field compare favorably with that of almost any other country. This has not been a matter of chance, or mere good fortun. In large part, the explanation is to be found in the success of our battle against inflation, and in the orderly and systematic way in which the economic controls of wartime are being removed. In no country have inflationary tendencies been held more effectively in check.

Housing Record Set

"In Canada, as in other countries, the housing problem has grown more acute since the end of the war. We are all aware of existing shortages. What is not so generally known is that over 47,000 new dwelling units were created in 1945. This is more houses than were ever built before in one year in Canada.

"A large part of the demand for houses is the result of conditions of full employment and steady family incomes. Family allowances have also made it possible for many families to pay for proper housing. This is but one of the ways in which family allowances —first paid in July of last year— will keep up demand which, in turn, will keep up employment.

"The goal of Liberal Government policy is the maintenance, in peacetime, of the high levels of employment and national income attained in wartime, and the use of Canada's productive capacity to bring about a rapid advance in social security, and in the standard of living of the people.

Amity with Provinces Goal

"To attain that goal, harmonious and co-operative relations are needed between the Dominion and Provincial Governments. At repeated meetings with the provinces, we have earnestly sought to reach agreement sufficiently comprehensive not only to cover financial arrangements, but, as well, to further policies of health and social well-being in all parts of our country.

"It is now apparent that this large objective will take longer to attain than we had originally hoped. We shall, however, continue to seek to establish relationships which will place, not only the Dominion Government, but the governments of all the provinces. in a position to promote employment, prosperity and social security throughout Canada. Pending a general agreement with all provinces, proposals were made in the budget brought down on Thursday last, for financial agreeemnts with individual provinces, which it is believed will assist effectively in meeting their problems as well as those of the Dominion.

Tax Policy Outlined

"Since its return to office a year ago, the Government has made substantial reductions in the burden of wartime taxation. In the first post-war budget, there was an immediate flat percentage reduction in the personal income tax; the present budget has included further reductions, on a graduated scale, and with higher exemptions, which are to go into effect on January 1, 1947. To encourage enterprise and to assist in maintaining a high level of employment, corporation taxes have also been reduced.

"It is obvious that the reduction of taxes must proceed in the same gradual and orderly way as the removal of war-time controls to ensure continuing success in the battle against inflation.

"In all our policies, and in all our activities, the Government has sought to maintain the unity and strength, both economic and spiritual, which our country displayed so magnificently in war. To preserve our unity at home, and to exert our strength abroad, in the promotion alike of peace and prosperity: these are our highest aims.

"Let us not be unduly dismayed by the trouble and turmoil in the world of today. What else could be expected as the aftermath of the appalling hatred and strife of recent years? It will take time for men and nations to learn the wisdom of substituting Reason for Force in the settlement of their differences.

The unrest of the world today may well be likened to the unrest of the sea which follows a great storm. For some time much remains of fury and confusion. But just as calm comes to the sea, so a great calm may some day come to the world if we but strive patiently and tirelessly to replace ill-will with goodwill, and conflict with co-operation. Such, at all times, will I believe, be the supreme purpose of the Canadian people in their relations with all other nations.

"If humanity is to survive, international understanding and friendship must replace what remains of suspicion and distrust. How important that is should be apparent to all of us as mankind, on its onward march, pauses today at the crossroads of the world."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister
50329

Name of Publication Windsor Star

Date July 4/46

Subject

Orderly Tax Cuts King's Aim

Defends Budget, Answers Critics

From The Star's Ottawa Bureau

OTTAWA—"It is obvious that the reduction of taxes must proceed in the same gradual and orderly way as the removal of wartime controls to ensure continuing success in the battle against inflation," Prime Minister King told Canadians in a nationwide broadcast from Ottawa last night.

REDUCTIONS NEXT YEAR

In answer to critics of the budget brought down by Rt. Hon. J. L. Ilsley last Thursday, Mr. King issued the reminder that the budget of last October brought an immediate flat percentage reduction in personal income tax, and that the present budget "has included further reductions, on a graduated scale, and with higher exemptions, which are to go into effect on January 1, 1947."

Mr. King's speech was in effect a report to the nation on the activities of his government during the past year. He dealt with international problems of the peace, with the veterans' charter, reconversion of industry, housing and family allowances, and Dominion-provincial relations, as well as taxation.

PEACE CONFERENCE

Mr. King gave what might be a hint of a plan to go to the delayed Paris peace conference in the near future.

He referred to his recent visit to Britain, and added:

"It had been my hope that this recent visit would coincide with the peace conference which was originally planned to be held in Paris in May. Differences between the great powers, unfortunately not yet wholly reconciled, occasioned delays. In bridging the gaps, considerable progress has recently been made. There now is a prospect of a peace conference being called in the near future."

Of talks with Commonwealth and Empire leaders in London, he said they were characterized "by a remarkable unanimity of view on matters of common concern."

POSTWAR PROBLEMS

His review touched postwar problems as widely separated as demobilization and housing. Since V-E Day, May 8, 1945, more than 330,000 members of the armed forces had been repatriated to Canada and more than 657,000 had been returned to civil life. The vast majority had been absorbed into employment.

During 1945 more than 47,000 new dwelling units were built to aid in the housing shortage.

Referring to the unsuccessful Dominion-Provincial conference, Mr. King declared:

"We shall, however, continue to seek to establish relationships which will place, not only the Dominion government, but the governments of all the provinces, in a position to promote employment, prosperity and social security throughout Canada."

Meanwhile, until general agreement was reached, budget proposals were provided that would assist effectively in meeting the problems of individual provinces.

TURMOIL EXPECTED

Of the future he said:

"Let us not be unduly dismayed by the trouble and turmoil in the world of today. What else could be expected as the aftermath of the appalling hatred and strife of recent years? It will take time for men and nations to learn the wisdom of substituting reason for force in the settlement of their differences. . . .

"If humanity is to survive, international understanding and friendship must replace what remains of suspicion and distrust. How important this is should be apparent to all of us as mankind, on its onward march, pauses today at the crossroads of the world."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 50330

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date July 4/46

Subject

To Continue Efforts With Provinces-King

By CHESTER BLOOM

OTTAWA, Ont., July 4 (Special) —The dominion government intends to keep right on trying to get general agreements with all the provinces to maintain the high levels of employment and national income reached in wartime and bring about national social security, Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King told Canadians over a national radio network Wednesday night.

Addressing the people of Canada under the title, "the first year of peace," the prime minister also reiterated the government's program of attempting to help rebuild the economies of other nations and re-establish world trade.

"The Liberal party", he said, "is convinced that, without world markets, our country can enjoy no lasting prosperity. We equally believe that a world economy is essential to lasting peace."

Mr. King's radio address dealt largely with a review of Canada's transition from a war to a peace economy. He described how, since Germany capitulated May 8, 1945, more than 330,000 Canadian men and women in the three services have been repatriated; and how more than 657,000 have been discharged and returned to civil life.

"The vast majority have been absorbed into employment," he said, besides those taking advantage of the opportunity to continue their education and training. Provisions for the care and re-establishment of veterans now being consolidated by parliament constitutes a veterans' charter not anywhere surpassed," declared the prime minister.

Will Take Longer

Describing the earnest efforts of the government to attain harmonious and cooperative efforts between the federal and the provincial governments covering not only financial but further policies of health and well being throughout Canada, Mr. King said:

"It is now apparent that this large objective will take longer to attain than we originally hoped. We shall, however, continue to seek to establish relationships which will place, not only the dominion government but the governments of all the provinces in a position to promote employment, prosperity and social security throughout Canada.

"Pending a general agreement with all provinces, proposals were made in the budget brought down on Thursday last for financial agreements with the individual provinces, which it is believed will assist effectively in meeting their problems as well as those of the dominion."

On tax reduction, Rt. Hon. Mr. King referred to the "immediate flat percentage reduction in the personal income tax in the first post-war budget."

"The present budget," he said, "has included further reductions on a graduated scale and with higher exemptions which are to go into effect on January 1, 1947." Corporation taxes have also been reduced to encourage enterprise and assist in maintaining a high level of employment. But, the prime minister said, that reduction of taxes must proceed "in the same gradual and orderly way as the removal of war-time controls" in order to battle inflation.

The prime minister said the government had made plans long in advance for changing industry over from war to peace time production but had never hoped it could be accomplished so smoothly, so speedily and with so little dislocation of employment as had been the case. Individual hardships had been kept at a minimum.

Canada's record in the field of labor disputes and strikes inevitable to readjustment compared favorably with that of almost any other country. That was due in large part to the successful battle against inflation, the orderly and systematic manner in which wartime controls were being removed.

"In no country," he said, "have inflationary tendencies been held more effectively in check."

Despite existing shortages in housing, it was not generally known that over 47,000 new dwelling units were created in 1945, more houses than were ever built before in one year in Canada. Family allowances had made it possible for many families to pay for proper housing.

The prime minister also recited his conferences with Prime Minister Attlee of Great Britain, and President Truman of the United States out of which grew the declaration on atomic energy control to prevent its use for destructive purposes and promote its use for the benefit of mankind.

Mr. King also described his meeting in London with representatives of the British Commonwealth as "characterized by remarkable unanimity of view on matters of common concern. He expressed hope also that a peace conference in Paris would be called in the near future.

The prime minister also said Canadians must have been impressed by ex-President Herbert Hoover of the United States when he told how hundreds of millions of human beings had been saved from starvation by the efforts of Canada which had provided more than one-fifth of all the supply of food to relieve the greatest famine in all human history.

"Since October of last year," said the prime minister, "two national voluntary collections will have provided about 25,000,000 pounds of clothing for relief. These figures take no account of what has been done to relieve suffering by the Red Cross and many other voluntary agencies."

Mr. King also recalled that Canada is a leading supplier and firm supporter of U.N.R.R.A., a member of the world food and agriculture organization, of the international monetary fund, and the international bank of reconstruction and development. Canada had "warmly welcomed" United States proposal for an international conference to work for freer world trade, and Canada's export credits, "including the large loan to the United Kingdom in relation to the wealth and population of our country," he said, "are unparalleled in their magnitude."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister
50331

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date JUL 5 1946

Subject

The Government and Housing.

In his report to the Canadian people on the Government's housing accomplishments, Prime Minister KING was more historical than contemporary.

Mr. KING said that 47,000 "new dwelling units" were built—in 1945.

This happens to be 1946.

What is happening to housing in 1946, not touched on by Mr. KING, is told in the monthly summary of construction by the MacLean Building Reports. The summary shows that residential building in June was approximately ten million dollars below May, also about ten million dollars below June of last year.

In April Reconstruction Minister HOWE set the housing target for the year ending March, 1947, at 60,000 new dwellings. With the building season far advanced, only 20,535 houses have been begun.

Admit labor trouble; admit also a shortage of materials. The question remains: What is the Government doing to remove such bottlenecks? In its handling of the labor problem the Government has been timid, confused. There is no sign of any implementation of Mr. HOWE's promise, given months ago, that the housing shortage would be treated as a "national emergency".

Mr. HOWE made such a promise before the Toronto Canadian Club; said that wartime methods of expanding plant capacity would be taken, that building materials industries would be put under "forced draft".

What has happened to that policy? If it is in force, which we doubt, how comes it that house construction increasingly bogs down—that building in June was ten million dollars below May?

One course the Government could have taken would have helped housing. The course of eliminating the excess profits tax. Mr. ILSLEY admitted that when, apologizing for his budget of October last, he said:

> "During the war there has been built up a system of taxation which is discouraging to investment, to enterprise and to consumer expenditures. . . . I recognize that in the course of six years wartime taxation has begun to blunt incentives, and if continued indefinitely, will paralyze the development of industry and trade."

The wartime taxation which "blunts incentives" and which threatens to "paralyze development of industry and trade", has been continued. The consequences are in a housing program bogged down, in the promise of a des-perate housing crisis. And the wartime taxation which Mr. ILSLEY deplored, which blunts incentives and paralyzes industry, including the industry providing materials for houses, has not been kept because Mr. ILSLEY needs its revenue to pay for the war or for demobilization; it is being kept to meet reckless commitments and expenditures which have nothing to do with the war. Our veterans need houses; they are being given baby bonuses.

Housing shortage in Canada today is a national scandal. Next Winter it will be a crisis. Let no one be in doubt as to the blame.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister
D 50332

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date JUN 5 1946

POURING OIL ON BUDGET BLAZE

Prime Minister King evidently felt it necessary, in his radio address earlier this week, to make some effort to allay the widespread sense of let-down and exasperation which resulted from last week's disclosure of federal budget proposals. In any event he inserted into his broad discussion — of everything from international goodwill to the lack of housing — a passage seemingly designed to soothe prevalent dissatisfaction with limited and post-dated tax reductions, and to justify the Government's fiscal program.

The reaction to this of the average taxpaying citizen, it may be anticipated, will be one of intensified annoyance and disappointment over the withholding of even nominal tax relief this year. There will be many who will undoubtedly feel that Mr. King has added casual and indifferent insult to the injury inflicted by the stubborn inadequacies of the budget program. Rather than having abated or extinguished the flames of resentment at the budget, it is to be feared that Mr. King has actually poured the oil of paternalistic condescension on the blaze.

The Prime Minister's approach was, first, to magnify politically the tax reductions (both already effected and promised for next January) with a bold description of them as "substantial." Secondly he took refuge in the argument that the further tax shavings now dangled before the public, like a carrot before a donkey, must be deferred because of the danger of inflation. Reduction of taxes must proceed, he insisted, "in the same gradual and orderly way as the removal of wartime controls, to ensure continuing success in the battle against inflation."

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It will prove little consolation to the ordinary citizen, who had been encouraged to look for immediate reductions of appreciable extent, to be told that the Government will not let him keep any more of the income he earns because it is afraid he might spend it foolishly and swell inflation. He would have been far more convinced and reassured if the Government had given more tangible evidence of determination to reduce unnecessary and war-inflated expenditures, which in themselves are a not inconsiderable addition to inflationary pressures.

Actually Mr. King's indulgent thesis that immediate tax cuts would have aggravated inflation is open to dispute; it can be argued on the contrary that, coupled with other Government policies, deferment of tax relief may itself be inflationary. Certainly it has yet to be shown that the modest tax adjustments of last October have had an inflationary influence as much as the sustained level of economic activity — largely government-financed — and the attempt to integrate war-swollen costs of labor, supplies and operating overhead into a peacetime basis of operation.

A further relief now in taxation would have at least partly been absorbed by the limited but noticeable rise in the price level which has occurred since the turn of the year, in line with the Government's decontrol policy of allowing a "moderate and gradual" increase in prices. But Mr. King insists that these added costs of commodities must come out of the same net income left to the taxpayer.

Immediate relief would have also been offset, with particular reference to the proposed cuts in business taxes, by a stimulus to greater production and to the pace of economic activity. This in itself would be a counterbalance against any additional spending power created by tax reductions—an effect just as valuable and needed now as next January, if not more so.

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Tax abatement now would have probably eased to some extent the rising pressure of demands for wage increases, since more spendable income would have been left in everybody's pockets. Instead, this pressure now threatens to be applied with renewed vigor, and if successful will have the obvious effect of both adding to the difficulties of business and in itself sapping inflationary controls.

Rather than cutting taxes by curbing its war-acquired spending habits, and thus leaving the taxpayer more of his own money to meet his needs, the Government has reached out for new tax revenues and devised fresh ways of swelling the total of expenditures. Succession duties, for example, are to be doubled to bring in extra millions annually, simultaneously discouraging thrifty accumulation of a competence (for protection of a man's dependents) and further invading what was exclusively a provincial tax field before the war. On the outlay side, the Government insists that all citizens must in future apply for and take family allowances, regardless of need or desire, thus adding another $12 millions to the already huge bill for this social measure.

The budget news was hard enough to take as it was. Mr. King might have spared us the irritation of rubbing it in with questionable theorizing.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D 50333

Name of Publication Le Canada

Date July 5/46

Subject

La mission du Canada

Les nombreux Canadiens qui ont écouté leur premier ministre exposer les lignes directrices de la politique canadienne, mercredi soir à la radio, ont été agréablement surpris en constatant que ce discours, qui devait être celui du chef du parti libéral, ne contenait même pas une allusion à la politique pratique et qu'il traitait simplement et uniquement des plus hautes affaires de l'Etat, de celles qui engagent la nation tout entière.

C'est donc une revue des positions canadiennes qu'a fait M. King. Il est, sans aucun doute, celui qui peut le mieux faire ces revues puisque chacune de ses déclarations et de ses attitudes du temps de guerre a vraiment servi de mot d'ordre à tout le pays. Aujourd'hui, M. King est toujours à la barre. Le grand pilote de guerre est devenu le pilote nécessaire de la paix. Il a fort justement rappelé que notre effort de guerre, aussi bien au point de vue diplomatique qu'au point de vue économique, avait été élaboré et mené à bien en tenant compte toujours des exigences immédiates de la reconversion qui suivrait la victoire. Tout était un jalon vers plus de prospérité et de bien-être.

En travaillant ainsi à longue portée à la stabilité chez soi le Canada a prêché d'exemple et surtout il s'est mis dans la position d'un peuple sur lequel les nations démunies peuvent compter. Il a accepté en somme d'être l'un des grands pays pacificateurs de l'heure. Il est excellent que la voix de M. King, mercredi soir, ait été la voix de nos devoirs collectifs et particuliers.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication La Presse

Date July 5/46

D 50334

Subject .....

KING ET LA PAIX

Le Canada a fait peut-être plus qu'aucune autre nation pour assurer la restauration de la paix dans le monde, a souligné le très hon. Mackenzie King, dans le message radiophonique qu'il vient d'adresser à tous les Canadiens et dans lequel il donnait les grandes lignes de l'oeuvre accomplie par le gouvernement d'Ottawa depuis la fin des hostilités.

Notre pays n'a suscité aucune difficulté internationale. Il a cherché, au contraire, à écarter autant que cela lui était possible, les obstacles et les malentendus. Il n'a rien épargné pour sauver de la famine les peuples ravagés par la guerre. Il a accordé des crédits d'exportation pour faciliter le rétablissement de l'économie normale à l'extérieur.

Dans les réunions des organisations internationales dont il fait partie le Canada a constamment utilisé le prestige qu'il s'est acquis durant le grand conflit militaire pour travailler à assurer la sécurité à tous les peuples, pour faire triompher l'harmonie entre les représentants des diverses nations, pour éloigner toute possibilité d'une autre guerre semblable à celle qui se terminait l'été dernier.

Le gouvernement et la population du Dominion accueilleront avec plaisir la nouvelle que la conférence de la paix aura lieu dans le courant de ce mois-ci, que les grandes puissances se sont entendues pour en fixer l'ouverture au 29 juillet prochain. Nos délégués poursuivront dans ces délibérations l'oeuvre éminemment chère à nos gouvernants.

En même temps le cabinet fédéral devait se préoccuper d'écarter, à l'intérieur du Dominion, les heurts qui risquaient d'accompagner la transition de la production du temps de guerre à celle du temps de paix. On a réussi à empêcher les crises. La réadaptation se poursuit dans d'excellentes conditions.

M. King a noté que la restauration de l'économie mondiale est essentielle à la stabilité de la paix. Il a déclaré encore que le Canada ne peut jouir d'une prospérité durable dans un monde où règnerait la misère. Ce sont là deux principes qui inspirent la politique pratiquée par le gouvernement d'Ottawa. Tout indique qu'ils apporteront à notre pays une situation extrêmement avantageuse pendant les années qui suivront la victoire des Nations unies.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Halifax Chronicle

Date July 5/46

D 50335

Subject

Honoring Theory In Practice

The Prime Minister, in his radio address Wednesday, said in reference to the unsuccessful Dominion-Provincial Conference, "We shall, however, continue to seek to establish relationships which will place not only the Dominion government but the governments of all the provinces in a position to promote employment, prosperity and social security throughout Canada."

The statement is one with which no one could possibly disagree. The question, as the Conference must have shown, is not whether or not we want these things, but how we propose to get them. Mr. King says in effect that the federal government is prepared, through the Budget proposals, to act open-handedly with those provinces that display reason. Conversely, the implication is that those provinces that refuse to toe the federal line will have only themselves to blame for any consequences.

This has been the consistent stand of the Ottawa Government, ever since the latest Dominion-Provincial Conference began. It is taken for granted the only relationships to be considered or revised are the financial ones. Why Ottawa stubbornly persists in this attitude is hard to see, unless it is felt that once finance is sufficiently tied up the centralization of all government will follow easily.

There are only three fundamental phases of government—the power of the purse, the power to make the laws and the power to regulate general policy. In the whole of British constitutional history, winning the power of the purse has preceded the acquisition of the other two.

Because this is so it is right and necessary to insist that a fundamental duty of those who undertake to revise Dominion-Provincial relations is to give proper attention to the constitutional question.

We have had strange doctrine preached and practiced in Canada in recent months. We have been told the Cabinet is not responsible to Parliament but only to the King. We have witnessed a Minister of Justice maintaining that Parliament may recommend to Westminster changes in the British North America Act without reference to the Provinces, so long as sections 91 and 92, referring specifically to provincial rights, are left untouched. We have seen unique suspension of ordinary legal processes on the arbitrary judgments of one or two Ministers, without regard for the time-honored rights of the individual.

It is strange that subjects such as these have escaped severe criticism in the House of Commons. Only the Senate has definitely taken them up.

On the matter of the Redistribution Bill, the Senate has proved more alive to provincial rights than the Lower House. It has been declared in the Red Chamber that the representatives of provincial governments should be consulted before the new proposals are enacted, or that at least they should be brought before a new Dominion-Provincial Conference.

Here the Senate shows a more truly liberal tradition than seems to animate the Commons or the Cabinet. The question today is not so much what the federal government is empowered by law to do, but what custom and tradition in Canada demands. Liberal tradition is that a people shall be ruled by its own consent, and that individual rights are sacred. Let us honor the theory in practice.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
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79		Tribute to the Late W.R. MacDonald M.P. Speeches in Parliament	3 May 1946	D 50160 - D 50165	
79		Speeches outside Parliament	17 May 1946	D 50166 - D 50167	
79		London. Speeches outside Parliament	23 May 1946	D 50168 - D 50179	
79		Dinner at 10 Downing Street, London. Speeches outside Parliament	7 June 1946	D 50180 - D 50288	
79		Dinner in Honour of Mr. King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	18 June 1946	D 50289 - D 50292	
79		Welcome to Hon. Herbert Hoover, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	28 June 1946	D 50293 - D 50295	
79		The First Year of Peace, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	3 July 1946	D 50296 - D 50335	
79		Paris. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Aug. 1946	D 50336 - D 50417	
79		Dieppe. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Aug. 1946	D 50418 - D 50420	

PRESS CLIPPINGS D 50336 Office of The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Aug 2/46

Subject

5172/42
Speeches outside Parl.
Dept 3

King Advises Big 4 Talks At Peace Parley

Believes Agreement More Quickly Reached

Russian Delegates Walk Out As Canadian Premier Speaks

PARIS, Aug. 2 — (C.P. Cable) — Foreign Minister Molotov arose from his seat and walked from the Senate chamber in Luxembourg Palace today as Prime Minister MacKenzie King was summoned by President Georges Bidault of France to address the peace conference.

The Soviet Foreign Minister was followed a few seconds later by two Russian generals and a civilian—all members of the Soviet delegation.

Their departure left Fedor Gusev, Soviet Ambassador to Britain and former Ambassador to Canada, as the only senior member of the Russian delegation in the chamber.

By Ross Munro

PARIS, Aug. 2—(C.P. Cable)—Prime Minister Mackenzie King, in his first speech as chief of Canada's delegation to the 21-power peace conference, said today the Dominion felt that the measure of her participation in the World War would have warranted a similar measure in participation in peace decisions.

"In the event, these hopes are not being realized," said Mr. King, "we have, however, the limited opportunity afforded by our participation in this conference not only to assist in shaping the first of the peace treaties, but also to make known our views on certain instalments of the general peace settlement."

The Prime Minister made the reference to Canada's "limited opportunity" for participation in peace decisions in an address before the full peace conference in the Senate Chamber of Luxembourg Palace, in which he formally proposed on behalf of Canada that the Big Four foreign ministers meet as the conference progresses to discuss proposals arising from plenary sessions of the conference.

Since early this week when the conference opened the Canadian delegation has been advocating these parallel Big Four meetings but today marked the first time the suggestion has been publicly proposed to the conference. Under the Moscow declaration which is the charter of this conference the foreign ministers would meet only after the conference ended to draft final texts of five peace treaties and consider recommendations from the conference.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

Date .....

D 50337

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CONCURRENT SITTING OF TWO BODIES URGED

The Canadian proposal is that the Big Four consider such recommendations while the conference progresses.

"I would like to see the four great powers willing to consider promptly any changes in the foreign ministers' proposals which are seriously suggested by strong arguments," said Mr. King.

"I should like to see any suggested changes considered by them before the vote is taken. In other words I would venture to suggest —and I believe the suggestion to be important—that the council of the foreign ministers should not wait until the conference ends to examine these recommendations.

"I would suggest the council of foreign ministers, all of whom will be attending this conference, should meet from time to time during the conference, to review and discuss proposals as they arise out of our deliberations.

WOULD SPEED ACTION ON DRAFT ALTERATIONS

"This course would facilitate immediate acceptance of any agreed modifications of the draft treaties. It would tend to avoid the necessity of votes and divisions."

Mr. King said it was "of highest importance" that everything possible should be done to minimize divisions. In that regard, he said, "I believe I can speak for everyone here, indeed for the peoples of an anxious world."

If the Big Four met as he suggested, it would not require any change in the formal position of the powers.

"The final stage provided for under the Moscow declaration would still take place and the foreign ministers would convene for the purpose of approving the final draft treaties.

"But if there is merit in this proposal they would, I believe, find at that time that many problems of the final stage had been resolved. Indeed, it might not be too much to hope that final agreement would rapidly ensue. Furthermore this course would have the advantage of emphasizing our common partnership in the making of the peace."

CONFERENCE PROBLEMS DISCUSSED GENERALLY

This was the most important feature of Mr. King's speech which also treated in general terms the problems before the conference and the over-all question of the peace.

Opening his address, awaited with wide interest by all delegations because Mr. King is recognized as the most experienced Commonwealth leader here, the Prime Minister mentioned the "special ties" between Canada and France during the last 400 years.

Referring to the treaties before the conference, he said Canada has no specific national interest in adoption of any particular formula for solution of individual conflicts and differences.

"But we have a vital and compelling interest in the kind of settlement that results from these deliberations. Our principal duty and interest lie, it seems to me, in helping countries more directly concerned in working out agreed solutions which are fair and likely to endure.

CANADA'S ONLY CONCERN JUST AND LASTING TREATIES

"Our concern as a nation is to see that as far as we can help make them so, peace treaties will be based upon broad and enduring principles of justice and equity. Canada seeks no territory; no reparations, no special concessions of any kind, but we seek you build a lasting peace."

Mr. King said Canada made an all-out war effort. There were two reasons: "We wanted to help bring the war to a victorious close on the earliest possible day. We also wanted Canada's contribution to be of an order which would entitle us to share effectively in the making of the peace."

He mentioned the contribution that people from Italy, Finland, Hungary and Romania had made the building of Canada through immigration.

"Canada has from these close associations of blood and history a particular interest in hoping that out of the peace treaties will come settlements which will be definite because they will be recognized as fair and equitable."

REGRETS DISPUTES OVER POINTS OF PRESTIGE

Leading into his proposal for concurrent meetings of the Big Four ministers, Mr. King said:

"It would be unfortunate if in this conference the real issues were to be obscured by any false antithesis between the interests of the larger and smaller nations. The determining factor in the making of the peace should not be the size or the power of the participants, nor their relative contributions to victory.

"The final test is what is right and what is just."

He referred to sharp differences which had arisen in meetings on rules procedure. It was not difficult for him to sympathize with the opposing positions stated by Dr. Herbert Evatt of Australia and Foreign Minister Molotov of Russia in regard to a simple majority vote as opposed to a two-thirds majority.

"I have learned however that even better than a majority is unanimity and common consent."

The Prime Minister said too much significance cannot be attached to the present conference. If it succeeded, the success of future conferences would be commensurately assured.

"If it should fail, what hope would be left of any future success in the making of the peace?

"To fail to bring this conference to a successful conclusion, or to prolong it indefinitely, would be to discourage the nations and to hold them back in their onward march."

WARNS AGAINST SERVING NARROW INTERESTS

Nearing the end of his speech he sounded a solemn warning.

"Henceforth, in the interests of its own people, no nation can afford to serve selfish national ends whether these ends be isolated self-defence or world domination. It is for every nation to remember 'over all nations is humanity.'

"What our world needs today is the hand of the physician. By peace, work and health, obeying the laws of humanity, we in the words of Louis Pasteur shall seek with the aid of science to extend the frontiers of life.

Mr. King said his reference to humanity was taken from Pasteur, great French scientist whom he quoted as saying:

" 'Two contrary laws seem to be wrestling with each other nowadays, one a law of blood and of death, ever imagining new means of destruction, and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefield, and the other a law of peace, work and health, ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him.

"The one seeks violent conquests, the other the relief of humanity.

"The latter places one human life above any victory, while the former would sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to the ambition of one."

That "profound analysis" of the nature of international conflict, said Mr. King, was made more than 50 years ago. It had not received the attention it merited.

WAS MANIFESTATION OF CONFLICTING FORCES

"Wars the world has witnessed have been no matter of chance or dreds d etaoin shrdlu etaoin mh of circumstances, they are hideous manifestations of contrary laws wrestling in human society and working the destruction of civilization from within.

"Years of war have surely taught us that no man liveth to himself and no nation liveth to itself . . . we have had enough of the mailed fist."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
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Name of Publication .....

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Subject .....

D 50338

When he finished speaking Mr. King received the longest ovation so far accorded any speaker in a plenary session.

(Reuters News Agency described Mr. King's speech as a "powerful appeal to the moral sense of the world, made in a impassioned voice and with all the authority of a veteran statesman." The agency said delegates were "visibly impressed.")

RULES COMMITTEE TANGLED IN FUTILE WRANGLING

The rules committee spent most of its fifth session wrangling over who should be permanent chairman of the full conference, and recessed without deciding the question.

Many of the smaller nations, led by New Zealand and including Canada, lined up against a decision of the foreign ministers of the four principal powers — Britain, the United States, France and Soviet Russia -- to rotate the chairmanship among themselves, but the issue did not reach a vote.

When Hector MacNeil, speaking for the British delegation, called on the proponents of a single chairman to offer a proposal which would specifically call for the election by acclamation of President Georges Bidault of France as permanent chairman, Foreign Minister Molotov pointedly remarked, "In this very room the foreign ministers made the decision to have a rotating chairmanship."

Looking over his nose-pincher glasses in the direction of the British delegation, Mr. Molotov said, "I cannot understand those who voted for it in the foreign ministers council now coming here to vote against it."

Mr. MacNeil had said:

"We want to get on with our work . . and quit making speeches. I hope as we go along we will be able to throw aside our suspicions and prejudices and get on with our job."

BIDAULT UNWILLING TO SERVE PERMANENTLY

The Brazilians, Australians, Dutch and Canadians were among those supporting the New Zealand move in the debate amid indications that M. Bidault himself did not want the post, inasmuch as he has a difficult domestic task as well as France's foreign affairs to handle.

Hon. Brooke Claxton, speaking for the Canadian delegation, supported M. Bidault as permanent chairman, saying "Canada for more than 400 years has had a special relationship to France."

Mr. Claxton said the special relationship between the two countries had been consecrated in the Canadian raid on Dieppe Aug. 19, 1942, also in the Great War Canadians had assisted in the liberation of France.

Britain appeared disconcerted when Maurice Couve de Murville of France expressed embarrassment over the division on a permanent chairman, deplored the time spent on discussion and urged withdrawal of the New Zealand proposal.

State Secretary Byrnes of the United States also announced he would go along with procedure already outlined in the provisional rules by the foreign ministers council for a rotating chairmanship.

Earlier Poland finally withdrew her motion for representation on the commission for Hungary, declaring the debate "had proved its point that it (Poland) was at war with Hungary and was satisfied with that."

Byrnes, speaking out in the rules committee for the first time against a Russian proposal, supported Dr. H. G. Evatt's view that the motion voted down yesterday —which would have allowed every delegation to be represented on every commission—should have no specific exception such as Poland now seeks.

The Polish proposal, presented by Dr. W. Bramson, argued that Poland had been invaded and occupied by Hungarian troops fighting alongside German soldiers and that even though a state of war never was formally declared, Poland had suffered at Hungary's hands.

Therefore, he said, Poland should sit on commissions dealing with political, territorial and economic phases of Hungary's peace treaty.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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5/72/46 Speeches outside Parl.

Share in War Warranted More Conference Told

PARIS, Aug. 2. — (CP) — Prime Minister Mackenzie King, in his first speech as chief of Canada's delegation to the 21-power Peace Conference, said today the Dominion felt that the measure of her participation in the Second Great War would have warranted a similar measure in participation in peace decisions.

"In the event, these hopes are not being realized," said Mr. King.

"We have, however, the limited opportunity afforded by our participation in this conference not only to assist in shaping the first of the peace treaties but also to make known our views on certain instalments of the general peace settlement."

Urge Separate Meetings.

The Prime Minister made the opportunity" for participation in peace decisions in an address before the full Peace Conference reference to Canada's "limited in the Senate Chamber of Luxembourg Palace, in which he formally proposed on behalf of Canada that the Big Four Foreign Ministers meet as the Conference progresses to discuss proposals arising from plenary sessions of the Conference.

Since early this week when the conference opened the Canadian delegation has been advocating these parallel Big Four meetings, but today marked the first time the suggestion has been publicly proposed to the conference. Under the Moscow Declaration which is the charter of this conference the Foreign Ministers would meet only after the conference ended to draft final texts of five peace treaties and consider recommendations from the conference.

The Canadian proposal is that the Big Four consider such recommendations while the conference progresses.

"I would like to see the four Great Powers willing to consider and consider promptly any changes in the Foreign Ministers' proposals which are seriously suggested by strong arguments", said Mr. King.

Urges Early Action.

"I should like to see any suggested changes considered by them before the vote is taken. In other words I would venture to suggest—and I believe the suggestion to be important—that the Council of the Foreign Ministers should not wait until the Conference ends to examine these recommendations.

"I would suggest the Council of Foreign Ministers, all of whom will be attending this conference, should meet from time to time during the conference to review and discuss proposals as they arise out of our deliberations.

"This course would facilitate immediately acceptance of any agreed modifications of the draft treaties. It would tend to avoid the necessity of votes and divisions."

Would Minimize Divisions.

Mr. King said it was "of highest importance" that everything possible should be done to minimize divisions. In that regard, he said, "I believe I can speak for everyone here, indeed for the peoples of an anxious world".

If the Big Four met as he suggested it would not require any change in the formal position of the powers.

"The final stage provided for under the Moscow Declaration would still take place and the Foreign Ministers would convene for the purpose of approving the final draft treaties.

"But if there is merit in this proposal they would I believe find at that time that many problems of the final stage had been resolved. Indeed it might not be too much to hope that final agreement would rapidly ensue. Furthermore this course would have the advantage of emphasizing our common partnership in the making of the peace."

This was the most important feature of Mr. King's speech, which also treated in general terms the problems before the Conference and the over-all question of the peace.

Opening his address, awaited with wide interest by all delegations because Mr. King is recognized as the most experienced Commonwealth leader here, the Prime Minister mentioned the "special ties" between Canada and France during the last 400 years.

Referring to the treaties before the Conference, he said Canada has no specific national interest in adoption of any particular formula for solution of individual conflicts and differences.

"But we have a vital and compelling interest in the kind of settlement that results from these deliberations. Our principal duty and interest lie, it seems to me, in helping countries more directly concerned in working out agreed solutions which are fair and likely to endure.

Want Lasting Peace.

"Our concern as a nation is to see that as far as we can help make them so, peace treaties will be based upon broad and enduring principles of justice and equality. **Canada seeks no territory, no reparations, no special concessions of any kind, but we seek to build a lasting peace."**

Mr. King said Canada made an all-out effort. There were two reasons: "We wanted to help bring the war to a victorious close on the earliest possible day. We also wanted Canada's contribution to be of an order which would entitle us to share effectively in the making of the peace."

D 50340

Speech by Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King

at the Plenary Session of the

Peace Conference, Paris.

August 2, 1946.

The nations represented at this conference have willingly accepted the invitation of the great powers to be associated with them in the task of making peace with Italy and the eastern European belligerents. It was with particular pleasure that the government of Canada received this invitation at the hands of the government of France.

The special ties between Canada and France reach back for more than 400 years. During two centuries our countries shared a common history. Twice in the past 30 years in the defence of civilization French and Canadian fighting men have been valiant comrades on the battlefields of Europe.

Canada is happy today to be associated with France in rebuilding the peace of Europe. Canada's interest in the successful outcome of the deliberations of thisconference is obviously less immediate and direct than that of some of the participating countries. Clearly there are many countries represented here that will be more closely and directly concerned with the specific solutions of questionsof territorial boundaries, population transfers, war damage, indemnities and so on.

I can truly say that Canada has no specific national interest in the adoption of any particular formula for the solution of individual conflicts and differences which, in the aggregate, will constitute the general settlement, but we have a vital and compelling interest in the kind of settlement that results from these deliberations.

Our principal duty and interest lies, it seems to me, in helping the countries more directly concerned to work out agreed solutions which are fair and likely to endure. Our concern as a nation is to see that, as far as we can help to make them so, the peace treaties will be based upon broad and enduring principles of justice and equity.

Canada seeks no territory, no reparations, no special concessions of any kind, but we do seek to build a lasting peace. Canada's interest in the peace springs from deep within the heart of Canada's nationhood.

It might have been thought from our geographical position that we were remote from and had no concern with Central Europe. But the fact that we were early in the struggle and that Canada entered the war by the deliberate decision of the Canadian parliament was evidence of our immediate realization that the peace of the world was one and indivisible. If the peace and security of Europe were threatened so also were the peace and security of Canada. No one could say where the aggressor might strike.

The war effort of Canada was an all out effort. It was planned, and carried out to the limit of our ability, for two main reasons. We wanted to help to bring the war to a victorious close at the earliest possible day. We also wanted Canada's contribution to be an order which would entitle us to share effectively in the making of the peace.

May I say a word in reference to the nations of Europe against which Canada, in common with her allies, declared the existence of a state of war and with whose future the present conference is immediately concerned. Italy and Finland, Hungary and Roumania have, like other nations of Europe, each made their contribution to the up-building of the Canadian people. Many thousands of our citizens whose parents came to Canada as humble immigrants not so very long ago returned to fight in Europe as Canadian soldiers - volunteers in the war to preserve democracy from Fascist aggression.

D50342

We welcome the opportunity, which the making of peace affords, for the emergence, in the lands of their forefathers, of new governments and institutions dedicated to the realization of those ideals of right and justice for which we believe the war was fought.

Of the countries in the world taking part in this conference, Canada has from these close associations of blood and history, a particular interest in hoping that out of the peace treaties will come settlements which will be definitive because they will be recognized as fair and just. The process of peacemaking is seldom an easy process. Let us frankly admit, that the course which has been followed has not in all respects been that which some of us had hoped for. That perhaps, may be said of all the countries represented here. We in Canada felt that the measure of our participation in the war against aggression would have warranted a similar measure of participation in the decisions of peace. In the event, these hopes are not being realized. We have, however, the limited opportunity afforded by our participation in this conference, not only to assist in shaping the first of the peace treaties, but also to make known our views on certain instalments of the general peace settlement.

We all have a stake in helping as best we can to bring about wise and agreed solutions to the problems which the war has left in its wake.

If our opportunity to shape decisions is limited, unfortunately we cannot, if peace should not be secured, place a similar limit on our liabilities. For this reason I hope that the conference arrangements will permit of each member nation making its maximum contribution to the solution of the problems confronting us. It would be unfortunate if, in this conference, the real issues were to be obscured by any false antithesis between the interests of the larger and smaller nations.

The determining factor in the making of peace should not be the size or power of the participants, nor of their relative contributions to victory. The final test is what is right and what is just. Already difficulties

have arisen and divisions have appeared in relation to procedure. Views strongly held have given emphatic expression within these walls and without, in opposition to and in support of some of the proposals of the Council of Foreign Ministers. I have been in public life a long time, perhaps longer than anyone here. It certainly cannot be said of me that I underestimate the importance of being in the majority. It has not, therefore, been difficult for me to sympathize with the positions stated by both Dr. Evatt and Mr. Molotov.

I have learned, however, that even better than a majority is unanimity and common consent. With this in mind I would like to see the four great powers willing to consider, and consider promptly, any changes in the Foreign Ministers' proposals which are seriously suggested and supported by strong arguments. I should like to see any suggested changes considered by them before a vote is taken. In other words, I would venture to suggest, and I believe the suggestion to be important, that the Council of Foreign Ministers should not wait until the conference has ended to examine recommendations. I would suggest that the Council of Foreign Ministers, all of whom will be attending the conference, should meet from time to time during the conference to review and discuss proposals as they arise out of our deliberations.

This course would facilitate the immediate acceptance of any agreed modifications of the draft treaties. It would tend to avoid the necessity of votes and divisions. Saying that it is of the highest importance that we should at this time do everything possible to minimize divisions, I believe that I can speak for everyone here, - indeed, for the peoples of an anxious world.

Then there is the question of time. For many reasons it would be unfortunate were the conference to be unduly prolonged. It is certainly our duty to see that our work is done thoroughly. It is of almost equal importance that it be done quickly.

D 50344

Were the council of foreign ministers to meet during the conference in the way I have suggested, it would require no change in the formal position. The final stage, provided for under the Moscow agreement, would still take place and the foreign ministers would convene for the purpose of approving the final draft treaties. But, if there is merit in this proposal they would, I believe, find at that time that many problems of the final stage had been resolved. Indeed it might not be too much to hope that final agreement would rapidly ensue. Furthermore this course would have the advantage of emphasizing our common partnership in the making of peace.

Too great significance cannot be attached to the present conference if for no reason other than that it is the first of the conferences concerned with the treaties of peace. It must pave the way for future conferences. If it succeeds the success of future conferences will be commensurately ensured. Should it fail what hope would be left of future success in the making of peace? If we succeed we shall [illegible] lighten Humanity's load as it seeks to be relieved of its heaviest burdens. To lighten a man's spirit by giving him fresh hope is to increase his strength and his ability to pursue his way. It is the same with nations as with men.

To fail to bring this conference to a successful conclusion, or to prolong it indefinitely would be to discourage the nations and to hold them back in their onward march.

I would be untrue to my deepest convictions were I not to give to this gathering of nations a statement of the magnitude of the task with which as I see it, our world is faced today. Fortunately for what I have to say I have high scientific authority. Ours is an age in which there has been much of scientific progress and in which great store is placed upon scientific discovery. High honor is paid to Science itself. Of her many contributions to the advancement of Science and to the betterment of the human race, France has bestowed no

gift comparable to that of the researches of her great scientist Louis Pasteur.

On the occasion of the inauguration of the Pasteur Institute in the city in which we are assembled today Louis Pasteur, in whose honour the institute was founded, enlarged upon the significance of scientific research. Overcome at the reception accorded him by the scholars and statesmen of France, this great benefactor of mankind asked his son to read for him from a manuscript he had prepared. In that notable document there appeared the following epoch marking paragraph:

"Two contrary laws seem to be wrestling with each other nowadays, the one a law of blood and of death ever imagining new means of destruction and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefield; the other a law of peace, work and health ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. The one seeks violent conquests, the other the relief of Humanity. The latter places one human life above any victory, while the former would sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to the ambition of one."

This profound analysis of the nature of international conflict was made a little over half a century ago. It has not yet received the attention it merits. We would do well to recognize that, beneath all else and stronger than all else, are unseen forces which are very powerful and which have operated not in our day only but from the beginning of recorded time.

The wars the world has witnessed have been no matter of chance or of circumstance. They are the hideous manifestations of contrary laws wrestling in human society and working the destruction of civilization from within. The years of war have surely taught us that no man liveth to himself and that no nation liveth to itself. We are all members, one of another.

Henceforth, in the interest of its own people, no nation can afford to serve selfish national ends whether

these ends be isolated self defence or world domination. It is for every nation to remember that "Over all nations is Humanity".

32

We have had enough of the mailed fist. What our world needs today is the hand of the physician. By Blood and by Death, forces of aggression have sought to extend the frontiers of their already vast domains. By Peace, Work and Health obeying the laws of Humanity, we, in the words of Louis Pasteur, shall seek with the aid of Science, to extend the frontiers of life.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

D 50347

PUBLICATION New York Herald Tribune, Paris. DATE 3 August 1946

Canada's Premier Speaks

W. L. Mackenzie King, Canada's Prime Minister, in the longest address of the day, told his audience that it would be unfortunate if the real conference isues were obscured "by any false antithesis" between the interests of the large and small nations. He sought to calm the stormy air which had marked not only yesterday morning's session of the Rules Committee, but which had been hovering over the conference since its opening last Monday.

"The determining factor in the making of peace should not be the size or power of the participants nor of their relative contributions to the victory," he said. "The final test is what is right and what is just.

"Already, difficulties have arisen and divisions have appeared in relation to procedure. Views strongly held have given emphatic expression, within these walls and without, in opposition to and in support of some of the proposals of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

"I have been in public life a long time, perhaps longer than any one here. It certainly cannot be said of me that I underestimate the importance of being in the majority. It has not, therefore, been difficult for me to sympathize with the positions taken by both Dr. Herbert V. Evatt, Australian Minister for External Affairs, and Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Soviet Foreign Minister. I have learned, however, that even better than a majority is unanimity and common consent."

Asks Action on Changes

The Prime Minister suggested that the four great powers consider "and consider promptly" any changes in the Foreign Ministers' proposals which are seriously put forward and supported by strong arguments. He asked that this be done before any vote is taken.

He proposed that the Big Four ministers meet during the conference from time to time to review and discuss matters that arise in the deliberations of the twenty-one governments.

"This would facilitate the immediate acceptance of any agreed modifications of the draft treaties," he said. "It would tend to avoid the necessity of votes and divisions.

DRAFT

Revised draft used

D 50348

Remarks by the Prime Minister of Canada at the Paris Conference, July 1946.

It is with deep emotion and a sense of the historic past that I find myself again in Paris after an absence of nine years. This is the first time I have set foot upon the soil of France since the conclusion of hostilities in the world-wide fight for freedom. To me, as head of the Canadian Delegation to the Paris Conference, it is a matter of the highest satisfaction to find here, in the capital of France, so much of the spirit and of the heritage of liberty and of free institutions which speaks to all the world.

Canada has, of course, special ties with France - ties which were renewed in the stirring and tragic days during which the fighting men of Canada's army, navy and air force have once more fought on the soil of France. It was from the same fruitful soil ~~from which~~ that more than four hundred years ago, sons of this great nation set forth to bring to a new world the imperishable cultural traditions of this nation. Mention has frequently been made ~~to~~ of the mingling of the two great races in the Canadian nation. It is appropriate to repeat, once again, how largely this mingling has contributed to the upbuilding of

D 50349

the Canadian nation, and to the place which Canada has come to occupy in the world community of free peoples. From all of this it follows that it is a special pleasure for Canada to have accepted from the hands of France the invitation to be present at this Conference.

2. Canadian point of view in approaching the problems of the Paris Conference.

In approaching the problems of peace we must bear in mind that only a little over a year has elapsed since the overthrow of Nazi Germany. There is still a great sense of unrest in the world today, an unrest which may be likened to the unrest which follows a great storm. Added to the unrest are the shocks of the greatest conflict that has ever been waged. Many of the problems and difficulties which loom so large today are the direct result of the ravages of war upon the economic, political and social structure of the nations of the world. In the tasks of peace-making and peace-keeping, perhaps the virtue which is most required is the virtue of patience and the ability to take a long view. Twelve months is but a short period in the life of nations. In our deliberations at this Conference it seems to me that our central problem will be to disentangle the long-term issues from the atmosphere of immediate issues which are still charged with emotion and uncertainty.

D 50350

The world is, as it were, in a state of convalescence from a long and terrible illness. It must therefore be our main task to provide conditions which will allow for a healthy recovery. The convalescence of a war-sick world cannot be dependent upon a purely political foundation, any more than the continuance of a stable and peaceful world community can be built upon a political foundation alone. In Canada, we have long believed that prosperity, like peace, is indivisible. The economic bases of peace have a particular significance to Canada. Over the years, we have sought to play a full part in raising the standards of those who, from a material point of view, have been less fortunate than ourselves. Our country has spared no effort to help bind up the wounds, and to rescue from starvation and disease, the stricken peoples of war-ravaged lands. We have lately been told, by Hon. Herbert Hoover, that Canada had provided over one-fifth of the supply of food to relieve the greatest famine in all human history.

We in Canada have, in many ways, been very fortunate. We have escaped the direct ravages of war. We have no problems of frontier. We come to Paris with nothing to demand for ourselves. We hold no direct interest nor any vested position in respect of territorial changes or material adjustments. But our general interest is very intimate and real, and it springs from deep within the hearts of the Canadian people.

Of this record we are proud, for it is of itself the essence of the spirit in which our delegation comes to this Paris Conference. Twice within one generation the people of Canada have taken up arms to vindicate the great cause of the world's freedom. Today, more than ever before, they are united in a consciousness that the world has become one and indivisible. They are accordingly resolved that their best efforts shall go towards the building of a stable, equitable and durable world community.

I remember that the first ~~visit~~ time I ever came to Paris, now nearly half a century ago, I made a visit to the tomb of Louis Pasteur. I have vividly in mind today a striking passage from his writings, in which he said:

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

Can we here today, representing the nations who worked for victory over tyranny and aggression, have any doubt in our minds which of these two laws we must seek to have prevail? Can we have any nobler mission than to see that our combined efforts lead to this end? Dare we imagine what the consequences of our

failure would be? Are we not answerable to an expectant humanity which need never despair if men and women of all lands will be but animated by friendship and understanding and good-will?

These are the questions for which we must seek today, and throughout the Conference, to provide realistic and re-assuring answers.

a.f. - R-W.

D 50353

In expressing to the French Government, on behalf of the Canadian delegation, our warm thanks for the welcome which we have all received, I should like to add that we appreciate it the more because of the difficulties which have had to be surmounted in calling this Conference together in Paris.

It is with deep emotion that I find myself again in Paris after an absence of nine years. Canada has, of course, special ties with France - ties of history which have been once more renewed upon the battlefields of Europe.

D 50354

In approaching the problems of peace, we must bear in mind that only a little over a year has elapsed since the overthrow of Nazi Germany. This being so, it is only natural that we should still be suffering from the unrest which inevitably follows a conflict of such unprecedented magnitude.

Many of the problems and difficulties which loom so large before us today are the result of these abnormal conditions. Over the years in which it has been my lot to be engaged in public affairs, I have come to value above all the virtue of patience and the ability to take the long view. Twelve months is but a short period in the life of nations. In our deliberations at this Conference it will be our task to disentangle the long-term issues from the immediate problems still charged with emotion.

D 50355

We in Canada have, in many ways, been very fortunate. We have escaped the direct ravages of war. In consequence, we are able to come to Paris with no demands for ourselves. We have no direct national interest in any of the territorial problems which have inevitably arisen with the ending of hostilities. Our interest, as a nation, is in the creation of the conditions upon which a just and enduring peace can be founded.

Twice in a generation Canadians have, by their deeds, shown their devotion to the cause of world peace.

Canada was one of the few countries which, though not herself attacked, saw the danger from the outset and met the need. ~~We are willing to make our contribution for peace as we did in war. With victory we have continued to give aid to other nations with loans and credits, the materials of reconstruction and, above all, food.~~

—

We have had enough of the market place. What the world needs today is the healing hand of the physician

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D 50356

The countries represented at this Conference have been glad to accept the invitation from the Great Powers to be associated with them in the task of making peace with Italy and the Eastern European belligerents. The process of peace-making, of which this Conference is a part, has not, let us frankly admit, followed in all respects the course which some of us had hoped it would. We felt that the measure of our participation in the war against aggression perhaps warranted a similar measure of participation in the decisions of the peace. In the event these hopes are not being realized. We have, however, the limited opportunity afforded by our participation in this Conference to state our views on certain important instalments of the general peace settlement. We know, from bitter experience, that no nation can, by contracting out, ensure itself against the consequences of a bad or unjust peace settlement. Out of bad settlements in the past has come friction between nations and ultimately war. And so all of us have a stake in helping, as best we can, to bring about wise and agreed solutions to these problems which the war has left in its wake. If our opportunity to shape decisions is limited, we cannot un-

fortunately place a similar limit on our liabilities, if things go wrong. For this reason I hope that our procedural difficulties, which are irritating but unlikely to be fatal, will soon be straightened out and that the Conference arrangements will permit each member to make what contribution is within its powers to the solution of the problems confronting us.

Italy and Yugoslavia, Hungary and Greece, and Finland and Poland, former enemies and present Allies, have each made their contribution to the up-building of the Canadian people. Many thousands of our citizens, whose parents came to Canada as humble immigrants not so very long ago, returned to fight in Europe as Canadian soldiers - volunteers in the war to preserve democracy from Fascist aggression. We welcomed their services and their loyal support, and we welcome the opportunity which the war has given for the emergence in the lands of their forefathers of new governments and institutions dedicated to the realization of those ideas of right and justice for which we believe the war was fought. Of the countries

in the new world taking part in this Conference, Canada has from these close associations of blood and history a particular interest in hoping that, out of these peace treaties, will come fair and just settlements which will be definitive because they will be recognized to be just.

The bitter years of the struggle against Hitlerite Germany showed conclusively that we cannot afford to underestimate the strength and vitality of national and ethnic loyalties. It is true that we live in one world in which peace is indivisible, but that world is made up of races and peoples and language-groups attached by long history and deep affections to the small corner which each regards as rightfully its own. These claims are often inconsistent, one with the other, and their realization is often impeded or prevented by other equally valid considerations of an economic or political order which have also to be taken into account in attempting to make a durable settlement. What I should like to suggest, for the consideration of the Conference is that, in attempting to weigh and balance the elements which must be fitted together in these settlements, we should give full weight to the implications of the principle of nationality, not indeed as a sole or controlling

consideration, but as one that can only be ignored at our peril.

Another truism which cannot be affirmed too frequently is that it is even more important to build for the future than to settle our accounts with the past. Retribution is an aspect of justice, but it is not the whole or the greater part of justice. I know it may be asking too much of the people of our wartime generation to abandon the pursuit of private and national vengeance, but, if a long life of political experience gives one any privilege, I should like to use it in making a plea on this occasion for justice tempered with mercy and generosity; and I would put this plea, not simply on ethical grounds, but as a measure of calculated political prudence looking towards a future which we must try to set free from the passions and prejudices and overweening ambitions which have been the curse of our generation.

I do not think that this Conference should commence its own study of the draft treaties of peace without acknowledging its obligation to the members of the Council of Foreign Ministers, whose patient negotiations

have resulted in the wide measure of agreement between them recorded in the drafts which have now been published. These preliminary studies will, I am sure, prove an indispensible aid to the speedy organization and prosecution of the work of the Conference. They have already performed an extremely valuable service in educating the public opinion of the world to the desperate complexities of the situations for which solutions are being sought.

D50361

29/7/46

Really - it is impossible to insist that the peace terms must be fixed by the "victors" in accordance with their contributions to victory".

We must look to the future as much as to the past - and judge the peace by its probable results. I see no objection to ultimate reference to the United Nations Assembly - because all nations to be reactivated or not are concerned with a durable peace

D 50362 29/7/46

It will be very difficult for other countries to sign peace treaties - if there is an obvious & overlapping calendar between Conference & preparation of texts for signature -

Surely the big powers as members of this conference must associate themselves with the discussion of its recommendations & make up their minds before the conference ends

D 50363

I do not think that this Conference should commence its own study of the draft treaties of peace without acknowledging its obligation to the members of the Council of Foreign Ministers. Their patient negotiations have resulted in the wide measure of agreement between them recorded in the drafts which are now before us. These preliminary drafts will, I am sure, prove an indispensable aid to the speedy organization and prosecution of the work of the Conference. Their preliminary discussion and the publicity they have received have already performed an extremely valuable service in educating the opinion of the world to the complexities and difficulties of the situations for which solutions are being sought.

10.oo p.m.
1.VIII.46 - WLMK

D 50364

The objective - an enduring peace.

As other speakers have stressed, the objective we have in common is not merely the concluding of a series of treaties but a series of treaties so concluded that they will assist in effecting an enduring peace. The foundation of enduring peace is justice. Justice is the common concern of mankind. In seeking to attain this objective, it may be unfortunate that all nations have not equal opportunities but that, in the actual state of the world in which we are living are realities of which account must be taken. To my mind, the important thing is the place at which we arrive and the time at which we arrive rather than the routes by which these ends are reached. We must look to the best possible solution but that, not for today only but for the long run. This, not in reference to the settlement to be reached at this Paris Conference, but to treaties still to be negotiated.

It has been said that we must aim, above all else, at preventing another war. Another war will not be prevented by merely reaching an agreement. Everything will depend on the nature and essense of its terms.

Much that we seek may not be attainable at once. Fortunately we have, as guiding factors, the principles set forth in the Atlantic Charter and in the United Nations Charter which aim at an improvement of political, social

and economic conditions within the countries immediately concerned and anxious to bring into being a happier human race.

D 50366

Re Canada's interests.

At first glance, it might seem that Canada had no immediate interest in Europe, particularly in those countries of Europe with which the Paris Peace Conference is more immediately concerned.

It is true that we are not seeking new territories nor reparations nor are we interested in the boundaries o_f countries as such. It is true, too, that we, of the new world, are remote from Europe and also from Asia. This at least has the advantage of enabling us to view the European situation objectively and disinterestedly. On the other hand, it has not made us immune from the consequences of wars in Europe. In common with some other countries, our men have died on the battlefields of Europe in two wars. In the last war, they fought from the Straits of Sicily to the English Channel. We have mortgaged the future of generations unborn to meet the contributions we have sought to make to preserve the world's liberty. We recognize, too, that peace and prosperity alike are one and indivisible; that the world is shrinking, and that every country is in a sense an immediate neighbour of every other country.

From the relations we have enjoyed for a century and a half with our immediate neighbour, the United States, we are anxious that the good neighbour policy which has meant so

D 50367

much to both our countries, should become a common possession of all.

We have shown our determination to contribute to the preservation of freedom by material sacrifices of money and resources; by human sacrifices of individual lives. We have not hesitated to apply force where force was the only means to overcome force. We are determined now to see that Reason and not Force is made to prevail. In order that Reason may be afforded its amplest opportunity, we are doing what lies within our power to relieve starvation and famine in the war-torn and devastated areas of Europe. We seek to see the end from the beginning to effect not merely a peace for today or tomorrow but to lay the foundations of an enduring peace.

D 50368

Length of time of treaty making.

Some impatience has ~~natural ly~~ been expressed at the length of time it has taken to bring this Conference into being. In the process of treaty making, we do well not to be discouraged at the time it may take to arrive ~~at any~~ agreed settlement. It must not be forgotten that, simultaneously with the process of treaty making, we have been bringing into being a vast new agency for the building and maintenance of peace - the United Nations Organization. Many of the problems and difficulties which loom so large before us today are the result of abnormal conditions, political uncertainty, and economic dislocation.

We may be helped to a true sense of proportion by considering the length of the war, and the extent of the war. Having been taught to believe in Force, it will take time for men and nations, in the settlement of their differences, to learn the wisdom of substituting Reason for Force.

Over the years in which I have been engaged in public affairs, I have come to ~~value highly~~ the virtue of patience, and the ability to take the long view. In approaching the problems of peace, we should not lose sight of the fact that only a little over a year has elapsed since the overthrow of Nazi Germany. Twelve months is

D 50369

but a short period in the life of nations. It is, in fact, a brief interval in which to moderate passions engendered by a global conflict of several years. The unrest of the world today may well be likened to the unrest of the sea which follows a great storm. For some time, much remains of fury and confusion. Just as calm comes to the sea, so a great calm may, some day, come to the world if we but strive patiently and tirelessly to replace ill-will with good-will, and conflict with co-operation. There must be a Supreme aim of the present conference.

Follow me Canada.

D 50370

<u>The process of peace making a difficult process.</u>

The process of peace making is seldom an easy process. It is apt to be beset with difficulties from many sides. The process of peace making of which this conference is a part has not, let us frankly admit, followed in all respects the course which some of us had hoped it would. That perhaps may be said of all the countries represented here.

We felt that the measure of our participation in the war against aggression perhaps warranted a similar measure of participation in the decisions of peace. In the event, these hopes are not realized.

We have, however, the limited opportunity afforded by our participation in this conference not only to assist in shaping the first of the peace treaties, but also to make known our views on certain instalments of the general peace settlement.

We all have a stake in helping as best we can to bring about wise and agreed solutions to the problems which the war has left in its wake. ~~Out of bad settlements in the past has come friction between nations and a recurrence of war.~~

D 50371

If our opportunity to shape decisions is limited, unfortunately we cannot, if peace should not be secured, place a similar limit on our liabilities. For this reason, I hope that the conference arrangements will permit to each member to make the maximum contribution within its power to the solution of the problems confronting us.

50372

Division between great and small powers.

It would be unfortunate if, in this conference, discussions were to be prolonged on the basis of the interests of the small powers against the interests of the great powers, or the interests of the great powers against the interests of the small powers. The question is not the one against the other. The question is what is right and what is just. In our task of laying the foundations of an enduring peace, we ought not to consider any other basis.

Whatever division may have arisen as between great powers and small powers has, I believe, arisen from the forms of procedure which, up to the present, have given the great powers rights which seemed to be exclusive. We must keep in mind how this situation has arisen since it is possible that the great powers themselves might have wished this situation to be otherwise.

Some aspects of this procedure go back to a time when the war was still in progress. Decisions were taken both at Moscow and at Potsdam which, to some extent, have been controlling the conduct of this present Conference. Apart, therefore, from the four inviting powers, none of the other nations has had a free hand. Even among the great powers themselves, limitations have had to be recognized. The situation today is that whether arbitrarily or not, the conference must work within these limitations.

D 50373

As to the draft treaties themselves, I will only say that I think it will be found preferable to have, in front of us, texts elaborated by the deputies of the Council of Foreign Ministers, and approved by the Ministers themselves than to have to begin from no established basis at all.

D 50374

Insert above 4

I do not think that this Conference should commence its own study of the draft treaties of peace without acknowledging its obligation to the members of the Council of Foreign Ministers, ~~whose~~ their patient negotiations have resulted in the wide measure of agreement between them recorded in the drafts which have now been published. Those preliminary ~~studies~~ drafts will, I am sure, prove an indispensable aid to the speedy organization and prosecution of the work of the Conference. ~~They have already performed~~ Already they have performed an extremely valuable service in educating the public opinion of the world to the ~~desperate~~ complexities of the situations for which solutions are being sought.

D 50375

Re procedure of Conference

At this Conference, difficulties have already arisen and divisions have appeared in relation to procedure. Views strongly held have been given emphatic expression, within these walls and without, in opposition to and in support of the proposals of the Council of Foreign Ministers in the matter of voting.

From the years I have been in public life, it certainly cannot be said of me that I underestimate the importance of being as often as possible in the majority. It has not therefore been difficult for me to sympathize with the positions stated by both Dr. Evatt and Mr. Molotov. I have learned, however, that even better than a majority is unanimity and common consent.

With this in mind, I would like to see the four great powers willing to consider, and consider promptly, any changes in the foreign ministers proposals which are seriously suggested and supported by strong arguments. I should like to see any suggested changes considered, if possible, before a vote is taken. In other words, I would respectfully suggest - and I believe the suggestion to be important - that the Council of Foreign Ministers should not wait until the Conference has ended to examine recommendations. I would suggest that the Council of Foreign Ministers who

D 50376

will all be attending the Conference, should meet from time to time during the course of the Conference to review and discuss proposals as they arise out of our deliberations. This course would permit the immediate acceptance of any agreed modifications to the draft treaties. It would tend to avoid the necessity of votes and divisions. In saying that it is of the highest importance that we should, at this time, do everything possible to minimize divisions, I believe that I can speak for everyone here - indeed for the peoples of an anxious world.

Then there is the question of time. For many reasons, it would be unfortunate were the Conference to be unduly prolonged. It is certainly our duty to see that our work is done thoroughly. It is of almost equal importance that it be done quickly.

Were the Council of Foreign Ministers to meet, during the Conference, in the way I have suggested, it would require no change in the formal position. The final stage provided for under the Moscow Agreement would still take place, and the Foreign Ministers would convene for the purpose of approving the final draft treaties. But, if there is merit in this proposal,. they would, I believe, find at that

D 50377

time that many problems of the final stage had been resolved. Indeed, it might not be too much to hope that final agreement would rapidly ensue. Furthermore this course would, I believe, have the advantage of emphasizing our common partnership in peace-making.

D 50378

For Prime Minister's consideration:

Extracts from speech prepared by Mr. Claxton

1. Canada has special ties with France; it was from this soil that more than four hundred years ago sons of this great nation set forth for the new world. Those ties were renewed and reconsecrated on the bloody shores of Dieppe. Mention has frequently been made to the mingling of two great races in the Canadian nation. That has given Canada a special character, enabled her to understand theproblems of other nations better and given me, speaking for all Canadians, a sense of pride, that we should have been able in some small way TO HAVE RESTORED FRANCE TO HERSELF AND TO HER PLACE AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD AND TO HAVE WON THE VICTORY WHICH MEANS THAT THE PEACE WILL BE MADE NOT IN BERLIN BUT IN PARIS.

2. In Italy, Agira, Ortona, the Liri Valley, Caserte, the Gothic and Hitler lines mark major stages in the long struggle up the length of Italy from Sicily to the Alps, and the Canadian army took some part in liberating our sister nations, our friends, France, Belgium and the Netherlands.

Like the United States, Canada gave aid to all our allies. With victory we continue to give aid to other nations with loans, credits, the materials of reconstruction and above all food. Let me give one striking fact. Canadian farmers ordinarily grow the wheat to meet in full the peacetime needs of her own population and of 80 million others. This May, the outlook for our crop was poor. Since then conditions have improved. I can now bring you good news having, I believe, a great contribution to peace. This year Canadian wheat will be sufficient to feed an <u>extra 10 million</u> people.

3. One of us here said that peace was indivisible, and he was right. I have said that prosperity like peace is indivisible, and I believe I am right.

4. Throughout the war, we had in mind that we were fighting not only against something but for something. We have that thought still in Canada. We believe, that all members of this Conference have that thought.

Prime Minister:

There may be something here which might be useful to you - particularly the parts marked.

Stalin

D 50379

1.15 a.m.
August 2, 1946

D 50380

Thanks to French Government

Other nations have expressed their warm appreciation to France for the invitation to attend this conference and for the arrangements that have been made for our hospitality. Canada has a special reason for expressing that appreciation and the satisfaction we all feel to find here, in the capital of France, already restored, so much of the heritage of liberty and the flower of civilization which has meant so much to all the world.

Canada has special ties with France; it was from this soil that more than four hundred years ago sons of this great nation set forth for the new world. Those ties were renewed and reconsecrated on the bloody shores of Dieppe. Mention has frequently been made to the mingling of two great races in the Canadian nation. That has given Canada a special character, enabled her to understand the problems of other nations better and given me, speaking for all Canadians, a sense of pride in some small way that we should have been able to have restored France to herself and to her place among the nations of the world and to have won the victory which means that the peace will be made not in Berlin but in Paris.

D 50381

Canada's position in war and peace

There is no need for any country here to establish its right to participate in this Conference, ~~but~~ It might be thought that because ~~it~~ Canada is on another continent, separated by the wide Atlantic from Europe, that she had no territorial or other interest in the peace treaties with the five countries which are under consideration here. But the fact that Canada was one of the few countries, which, although not herself attacked, from the outset saw the danger to Canada ~~in~~ the nazi effort to dominate the world, shows our vital interest in what we do here.

At the outbreak of war Canada lost no time in making our decision, by the act of our own Parliament, to stop the aggressor before he came to us. Our interest in the peace is like our interest in the war. We recognise then that we were not safe until the enemy was defeated everywhere. We recognise now that we shall neither be secure nor prosperous until peace and prosperity are established everywhere.

Consequently Canada is willing to make its contribution for peace as she did in war. In the war Canada's part was varied and full at sea, on the land, in the air, in the munitions works, and on the farms. In Italy, Agira, Ortona, the Liri Valley, Caserte, the Gothic and Hitler Lines mark major stages in the long struggle up the length of Italy from Sicily to the Alps, and the Canadian army took some part in liberating our sister nations, our friends, France, Belgium

and the Netherlands.

D 50382

Like the United States, Canada gave aid to all our allies. With victory we continue to give aid to other nations with loans, credits, the materials of reconstruction and above all food. Let me give one striking fact. Candian farmers ordinarily grow the wheat to meet in full the peacetime needs of her own population and of 80 million others. This May the outlook for our crop was poor. Since then conditions have improved. I can now bring you good news having, I believe, a great contribution to peace. This year Canadian wheat will be sufficient to feed an extra 10 million people.

D 50383

Canada's interest in the peace

I mention this because I believe that the best contribution which could be made to the success of this Conference is to make sure that people have enough food to eat. As has been so often said peace cannot be established where there is hunger and fear. What we are trying to do here is to see that people, men, women and children, in each of our countries have food, homes, work and freedom. One of us here said that peace was indivisible, and he was right. I have said that prosperity like peace is indivisible, and I believe I am right. The whole experience of Canada, one of the most fortunate nations on the face of the earth, shows that to be true. Thats one reason why we have been willing to play our part for peace and prosperity everywhere.

I believe we would be wrong if we based our aspirations for peace or prosperity on purely material grounds. I believe that the noblest moments in history are evidence that this is not the case. In our own memories the records of resistance of China, of Britain, of Russia, of your own movement in France, have shown the ability of men and women to rise superior to material considerations.

Now we are at the end of a long war. Through a long life, I have been a man of peace and yet I was willing to lead my country into war in our own interests and in the interest of mankind, [redacted] because until that was done we couldn't get on

D 50384

with the job of achieving the social, economic and political objectives which would lead towards a better life for all our peoples. Throughout the war we had in mind that we were fighting not only against something but for something. We have that thought still in Canada. We ~~hope~~ believe, that all members of this Conference have that thought.

We were fighting and surely now we are working to bring it about first, that there never will be another war; second, that we create the machinery by means of which we will be able to consult and work together to lay the foundation of a lasting peace; and third, that the people everywhere may have a ~~more~~ richer and better life than they have ever known. These, I take it, will be the objectives of everyone here.

The attitude of Canada on special points will of course be expressed in the appropriate places, that is the Commissions of the Conference.

Surely however it will be obvious that Canada's interest in this is in a sense the same as her interest in the war. Because of our geographical situation, our resources, our interests which are [redacted] world wide, we want to see the best possible solution for every problem. That is the only solution for Canada. I repeat, the only [redacted] interest of Canada is to see the best possible solution for every problem.

In getting that however it has occurred to me that I might make one suggestion with regard to the question of procedure which might be useful. I don't expect it to be voted on or acted upon at once but I do hope that its obvious desirability will appeal to the [redacted] representatives of the great powers to which it is primarily expressed.

Copy in procedure paragraphs

D 50386

Procedure for Conference

If we all have, as I believe we have, these objectives, then it should be possible for us with understanding, tolerance and goodwill to make progress in their achievement.

I had hoped that because of the extent of the participation in the war of Canada, and countries like Canada, we might have had more say in the preparation of the terms of peace. I had believed that the contribution my country, the members of her armed forces, of her farmers and workers, who contributed materially to the war effort of every great power as well as to final victory would have been regarded as indicating the kind of attitude which might enable us in Canada to assist in the preparation of the terms of peace . But somebody has to start the drafting and we are not going to complain of the draft just because we had no part in its preparation. We are going to look at it and hear what is said for and against and give expression to our views in the light of what is best in the long term interest of peace.

For Here I would like to day with all emphasis in my power that Canada as a nation expects nothing from the peace in the way of booty, territory, reparations or anything else of direct advantage to Canada as a nation. What we want to see is a peace that is just, a peace that will endure and a peace that will contribute to the trade of the world.

D 50387

Some impatience has naturally been expressed at the length of time it has taken to bring this Conference into being. In the process of treaty making, we do well not to be discouraged at the time it may take to arrive at an agreed settlement. It must not be forgotten that, simultaneously with the process of treaty making, we have been bringing into being a vast new agency for the building and maintenance of peace - the United Nations Organization.

We may be helped to a true sense of proportion by considering the length of the war, and the extent of the war. Having been taught to believe in Force, it will take time for men and nations, in the settlement of their differences, to learn the wisdom of substituting Reason for Force.

Over the years, I have come to value highly the virtue of patience, and the ability to take the long view. In approaching the problems of peace, we should remember that only a little over a year has elapsed since the overthrow of Nazi Germany. Twelve months is but a short period in the life of nations. The unrest of the world today may well be likened to the unrest of the sea which follows a great storm. For some time, much remains of fury and confusion. Just as calm comes to the sea, so a great calm may, some day, come to the world if we but strive patiently and

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tirelessly to replace ill-will with good-will, and conflict with co-operation.

Another day was to come, two years later, when in the course of a great eastward sweep, following the landings in Normandy on June 6, 1944, units of Canada's army were to drive the enemy from this Channel coast, and from the positions which had for so long menaced the safety and security of the people of the British Isles. We are proud to remember today that it was a successor battalion to one which suffered such heavy casualties here in 1942, which secured the liberation of this community in September, 1944. That remembrance is also a reminder of the place which all the armed forces of Canada had in securing the liberation of Europe. Last week I had the experience of visiting a number of places, now forever enshrined in the remembrance of Canada, where fighting men of all services engaged the enemy in the frontal assault upon his European stronghold. I am very proud to think that we commemorate today, here in Dieppe, so many valorous deeds of all branches of the fighting services.

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UNITED KINGDOM TRADE

Special British Columbia Representative in London

The Hon. Leslie H. Eyres, Minister of Trade and Industry for British Columbia, has announced that definite plans are under way for extending the facilities of the Department of Trade and Industry for increased trade with the United Kingdom.

An Industrial and Trade Representative will be appointed to London. He will be attached to and form part of the executive staff of the Agent-General, Mr. W. A. McAdam, C.M.G.

Mr. R. S. O'Meara, Trade Commissioner, made a survey of the situation in the United Kingdom recently and his report emphasised the need of some effective liaison in trade and industrial development matters.

The new representative's work will be specifically concerned with the interests of trade and industry in the Province and will be coordinated with the work of the Federal Trade Commissioner Service in London and throughout the United Kingdom. His directive will also be related to the work of the Dominion agricultural representatives in London and the specialist Trade Commissioners under timber or other headings.

The main objective of this new development, says the Minister, is to place the ncessary emphasis on the special problems of British Columbia in the United Kingdom by intimate Government assistance to exporters and importers and to industrialists in the Province of British Columbia.

The programme of the Department of Trade and Industry in relation to exports from the United Kingdom is now being studied with a view to working in the closest cooperation with the United Kingdom Trade Commissioner Service through the medium of Mr. H. Oldham, H.M. Trade Commissioner in Vancouver.

During the past few weeks the officials of the Department of Trade and Industry have been bringing this plan to the point of decision in a series of meetings with Mr. McAdam, who is in the Province on leave and a fact-finding visit.

The Minister took the opportunity of discussing the new policy with Mr. Arthur E. Bryan, who was recently appointed Chief Canadian Trade Commissioner in the United Kingdom, and who has been spending a few days in British Columbia before returning to his post in London.

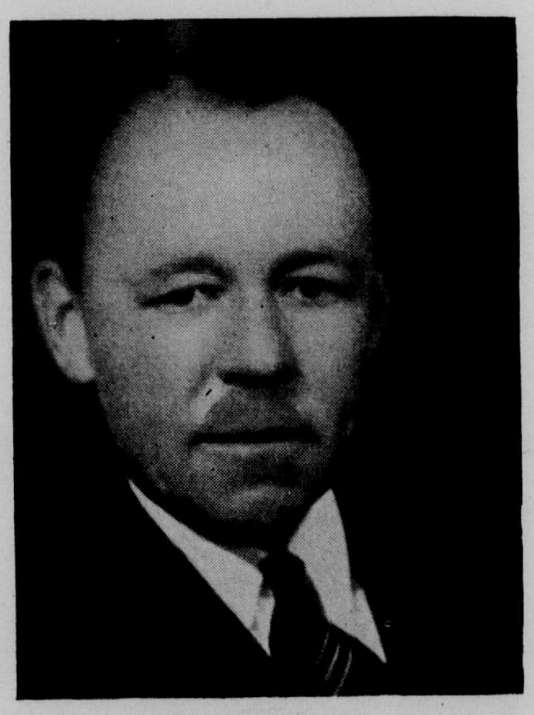
Miss L. E. Evans, a former Saskatchewan school teacher and graduate in Library Science of the University of Toronto, has been appointed school libraries' supervisor for Saskatchewan. This is a newly created position.

The number of Canadian Service men who married overseas has now reached 45,070, according to National Defence Headquarters, Ottawa. Up to July 6, 27,621 wives and 12,639 children had been brought to Canada, while 15,227 wives and 4,357 children were still in the United Kingdom; 2,188 wives and 67 children in North-West Europe, and 34 wives and 7 children in other areas.

CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS IN EUROPE

Traffic Manager Appointed

Mr. James B. Thom, B.Sc., M.C., whose appointment in London as European traffic manager of the Canadian National Railways is announced by Mr. P. A. Clews, European manager, was born in Montreal on February 23, 1893, and educated at Upper Canada College, Toronto, and McGill University, Montreal, graduating with the degree of Bachelor of Science in civil engineering. In the first World War he saw service



MR. J. B. THOM.

with the Canadian Engineers in Britain, Belgium and France, was wounded 1917 and awarded the Military Cross in January, 1918.

In 1919 he joined the Lehigh Valley Railroad as assistant engineer in the valuation department, and entered the foreign freight department of the Canadian National Railways in 1924. After serving in various capacities he has been assistant to the vice-president, Traffic Department, Montreal, since 1936.

October 14 has been set aside as "a day of general thanksgiving to Almighty God for the blessings with which the people of Canada have been favoured this year."

Tobacco grown in Britain, British motorcycles, not seen in Montreal since before the war, and British toys, were landed on Thursday of last week from the Canadian Pacific s.s. *Beaverford* (says Reuter). It was the biggest shipment of its kind for six years and filled the harbour sheds.

A British "tramp ship of the air," a Bristol freighter plane, landed the first post-war air cargo from England in Montreal on Monday. It brought dress goods. On Tuesday the aircraft left for Toronto, returning next week to give demonstrations at Montreal to air line officials. At the end of the month the plane will start a tour of North, Central and South America (says Reuter).

BUMPER FRUIT CROPS

Particularly Bright Outlook in Canada

A particularly bright outlook for fruit production in Canada this year is forecast by the first official estimate. Increases in production over the 1945 crops are expected for all fruits except grapes, which remain unchanged but are 31 per cent. above the 10-year average (1935-44). The estimates for apples, pears, plums and prunes, peaches, apricots, strawberries, raspberries also all exceed the 10-year averages. Estimated production of the various crops for 1946 are as follows:—

Apples—14,409,000 bushels, an inincrease of 89 per cent. over the 1945 harvest of 7,635,000 bushels, and 3 per cent. above the 10-year average of 14,005,000 bushels.

Pears—714,000 bushels, an increase of 19 per cent. over the 600,000 bushels crop of 1945, and 10 per cent. over the 10-year average of 651,000 bushels.

Plums and Prunes—574,000 bushels, 18 per cent. increase over the 1945 crop of 486,000 bushels.

Peaches—1,906,000 bushels, against 1,566,000 bushels in 1945.

Cherries—241,000 bushels, an increase of 2 per cent. on the 1945 harvest of 237,000 bushels.

Apricots—150,000 bushels, 72 per cent. greater than the 1945 harvest and expected to be the largest ever produced.

Strawberries—19,767,000 quarts, 18 per cent. more than in 1945.

Raspberries—14,457,000 quarts, an increase of 15 per cent. over 1945 crops.

Grapes—65,730,000 lb., practically the same as 1945 but still 31 per cent. greater than the 10-year average of 50,350,000 lb.

"QUEEN ELIZABETH'S" SAILING DATES

Cunard White Star announce that they expect John Brown and Co., the builders of the *Queen Elizabeth* (85,000 tons gross), who are completing and reconditioning the ship at Southampton after her war services, to finish their work in the early part of next month. Afterwards the vessel will be equipped and stored before undertaking certain trials early in October.

The owners are, therefore, arranging for the ship to make her first sailing from Southampton to New York as a passenger liner on Wednesday, October 16, and to return from New York on Friday, October 25. She is then to sail regularly on dates to be announced.

Although the *Queen Elizabeth* steamed nearly 500,000 miles during the war, she has not yet undergone the usual builders' trials. She left her builders' yard at Clydebank on February 26, 1940, and the owners took delivery of her at the Tail-o'-the-Bank on the following day. She sailed from there secretly on March 2 and reached New York early on March 7, 1940.

The ship, which has been lying alongside the quay at Southampton, left there on Tuesday and was to be in the graving dock on Wednesday morning.

Canada's Prime Minister moves Paris conference by impassioned appeal on

THE WORLD'S NEED TO-DAY

THE Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, won the greatest applause yet given to any delegate when, addressing the plenary session of the Paris Conference on Friday, he made an impassioned appeal to the moral sense of the world (says Reuter).

Mr. Mackenzie King said he would like to see the four Great Powers consider, before the vote was taken, any changes in the Foreign Ministers' proposals which were seriously suggested by strong arguments. "I should like to see any suggested changes considered by them before a vote is taken. In other words, I would venture to suggest—and I believe the suggestion to be important—that the Council of Foreign Ministers should not wait until the conference has ended to examine recommendations. I would suggest that the Council of Foreign Ministers, all of whom will be attending the conference, should meet from time to time during the conference to review and discuss proposals as they arise out of our deliberations. This would facilitate immediate acceptance of any agreed modifications of draft treaties and would tend to avoid votes and divisions."

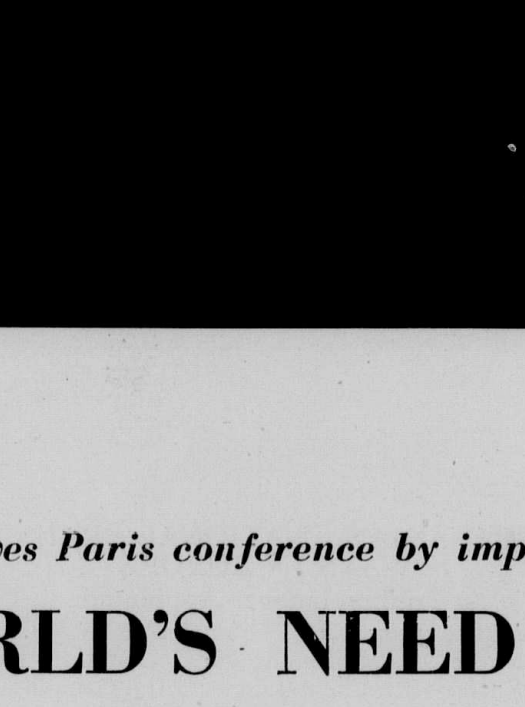
Canada's Interest

"I can truly say that Canada has no specific national interest in the adoption of any particular formula for the solution of individual conflicts and differences which, in the aggregate, will constitute the general settlement. But we have a vital and compelling interest in the kind of settlement that results from these deliberations.

"Our principal duty and interest lie, it seems to me, in helping the countries more directly concerned to work out agreed solutions which are fair and likely to endure. Our concern as a nation is to see that, as far as we can help to make them so, the peace treaties will be based upon broad and enduring principles of justice and equity. Canada seeks no territory, no reparations, no special concessions of any kind, but we do seek to build a lasting peace.

"We all have a stake in helping, as best we can, to bring about wise and agreed solutions to the problems which the war has left in its wake. If our opportunity to shape decisions is limited, unfortunately we cannot, if peace should not be secured, place a similar limit on our liabilities. For this reason I hope that the conference arrangements will permit of each member nation making its maximum contribution to the solution of the problems confronting us. The determining factor in the making of peace should not be the size or power of the participants, nor of their relative contributions to victory. The final test is what is right and what is just."

Mr. Mackenzie King remarked that he had been in public life perhaps longer than anyone there, and it could not be said that he underestimated the importance of being in the majority; but he had learned that even better than a majority was unanimity and common consent. The course he had suggested would also have the advantage of emphasising their common partnership in the making of peace. To fail to bring the conference to a successful conclusion or to prolong it indefinitely would be to discourage the



THE RT. HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, C.M.G., M.P.

nations and to hold them back in their onward march.

Magnitude of the Task

"I would be untrue to my deepest convictions," he continued, "were I not to give to this gathering a statement of the magnitude of task with which, as I see it, our world is faced to-day. Ours is an age in which there has been much of scientific progress and in which great store is placed upon scientific discovery. High honour is paid to science itself." He then quoted the following statement by Louis Pasteur, the French scientist:

"Two contrary laws seem to be wrestling with each other nowadays—one a law of blood and of death, ever imagining new means of destruction and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefield—and the other a law of peace, work and health, ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. The one seeks violent conquests, the other the belief of humanity. The latter places one human life above any victory, while the former would sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to the ambition of one."

Two Contrary Laws

That profound analysis of the nature of international conflict, Mr. King said, was made a little over half a century ago. It had not yet received the attention it merited.

From the beginning of recorded time the wars the world had witnessed had been no matter of chance or of circumstance. They were hideous manifestations of two contrary laws wrestling in human society and working the destruction of civilisation from within.

"Years of war have surely taught us that no man liveth to himself and that no nation liveth to itself," he said. "We are all members one of another.

"In the interests of its own people, no nation can afford to serve selfish national ends, whether these ends be isolated self-defence or world domination. It is for every nation to remember that 'over all nations is humanity.' We have had enough of the mailed fist. What our world needs to-day is the hand of the physician."

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF VETERANS

Social Service Division, D.V.A., Formed

The Hon. Ian A. Mackenzie, Minister of Veterans' Affairs, has confirmed reports that a Social Service Division is now being organised in his Department. Capt. C. A. Patrick, of Winnipeg, has been seconded by the Canadian Army to act as director of the division.

"The Social Service Division will assist the veteran with a social problem in becoming a part of the normal civilian community," the Minister said. "There is no thought of duplicating the community services available to the veteran. The new division will work closely in cooperation with the established social agencies on the community level."

Social problems must be considered in the effective rehabilitation of ex-Service men and women, Mr. Mackenzie added He explained that the establishment of a skilled medical and psychiatric social service in the appropriate D.V.A. hospitals and clinics would be another general aim of the programme.

In addition to the trained staff, some social service workers will be trained by the Department in close cooperation with the recognised schools in this field, the Minister stated. High professional social work standards will be set.

The division's director, Capt. Patrick, was born at Langenburg, Sask., and educated at the University of Chicago and the University of Toronto's School of Social Work. During his service in Canada he was district social service officer for M.D. 10 (Winnipeg) for a year, and while serving in Britain, France and Belgium was active in Army personnel selection.

Vancouver is making trial of an automatic parking meter, and is installing 1,000 in various parts of the city at an initial cost of $88,000.

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CANADIAN DELEGATION

DÉLÉGATION DU CANADA

Montreal Daily Star,
August 6, 1946

D 50392

Canada's Voice Should Be Heard

Sir,—The Prime Minister's speech to the delegates attending the preliminary peace conference was one that merits the warm appreciation of every Canadian. In all that relates to international relations and the art of government Mr. King has no peer among those attending the assembly. No one has labored so sincerely and consistently for peace at home and abroad as has the Prime Minister.

One almost resents our country being classed among the smaller nations when we think of the outstanding contribution we made to the victory that came with the defeat of the axis powers. Canada's views as given by the Prime Minister should be given serious consideration by the assembled delegates. If any country made enormous sacrifices to preserve the liberty of democratic nations we certainly did. No one is better equipped by training, temperament and valuable experience to give the conference wise counsel than Mr. King. We must assert ourselves and let the world know that though we are a so-called small nation we are very big in accomplishment and intention as to the future. We have earned the right to be listened to with respect and could have no more eloquent advocate for our country than the public, spirited Canadian who has, so successfully led his country in peace and war.

There are still some who regard Canada as a glorified colony. We are big and rich enough to mind our own business and shape our future as best fit our interests. What is essential and vital to our future is that we think, plan, and build as Canadians unconcerned by criticism from any source. Mr. King can therefore speak his mind when measures for dealing with the defeated nations are discussed.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

Not to be released before
delivery on August 2, 1946

ADDRESS by the Rt. Hon. W.L. MACKENZIE KING, Prime Minister of Canada, before the PLENARY SESSION of the PARIS CONFERENCE, August 2, 1946

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Mr. President:

The nations represented at this Conference have willingly accepted the invitation of the Great Powers to be associated with them in the task of making peace with Italy and t_he Eastern European belligerents.

It was with particular pleasure that the Government of Canada received this invitation at the hands of the Government of France. The special ties between Canada and France reach back for more than 400 years. During two centuries, our countries shared a common history. Twice in the past thirty years, in the defence of civilization, French and Canadian fighting men have been valiant comrades on the battlefields of Europe. Canada is happy, today, to be associated with France in ~~the~~ rebuilding the peace of Europe.

Canada's interest in the successful outcome of our deliberations is obviously less immediate and direct than that of ~~many~~ some of the participating countries. Clearly, there are many countries represented here that will be more closely and directly concerned with the specific solutions of questions of territ_orial boundaries, population transfers, war damage indemnities, and so on. I can truly say that Canada has no specific national interest in

<u>the adoption of</u>

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the adoption of any particular formula for the solution of individual conflicts and differences which, in the aggregate, will constitute the general settlement. But we have a vital and compelling interest in the kind of settlement that results from these deliberations. Our principal duty and interest lies, it seems to me, in helping the countries more directly concerned to work out agreed solutions which are fair and likely to endure. Our concern as a nation is to see that, as far as we can help to make them so, the peace treaties will be based upon broad and enduring principles of justice and equity. Canada seeks no territory, no reparations, no special concessions of any kind, but we do seek to build a lasting peace.

Canada's interest in the peace springs from deep within the heart of Canada's nationhood. It might have been thought, from our geographical position, that we were remote from and had no concern with central Europe. But the fact that we were early in the struggle, and that Canada entered the war by the deliberate decision of the Canadian Parliament, was evidence of our immediate realization that the peace of the world was one and indivisble. If the peace and security of Europe were threatened, so also were the peace and security of Canada. No one could say where the aggressor might strike.

Revisedx

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Canada has, from these close associations of blood and history, a particular interest in hoping that, out of the peace treaties, will come settlements which will be definitive, because they will be recognized as fair and just.

The process of peace-making is seldom an easy process. Let us frankly admit that the course which has been followed has not, in all respects, been that which some of us had hoped for. That perhaps may be said of all the countries represented here.

We in Canada felt that the measure of our participation in the war against aggression would have warranted a similar measure of participation in the decisions of peace. In the event, these hopes are not being realized. We have, however, the limited opportunity afforded by our participation in this Conference not only to assist in shaping the first of the peace treaties, but also to make known our views on certain instalments of the general peace settlement.

We all have a stake in helping, as best we can, to bring about wise and agreed solutions to the problems which the war has left in its wake. If our opportunity to shape decisions is limited, unfortunately we cannot, if peace should not be secured, place a similar limit on our liabilities.*

It would be unfortunate if, in this Conference, the real issues were to be obscured by any false antithesis between the interests of the larger and smaller nations.

* In this respect, I hope that the conference arrangements will permit each country, ~~to~~ to the measure of its contribution ~~to~~ to the solution of the problems confronting us.

The war effort of Canada was an all-out effort. It was planned, and carried out to the limit of our ability, for two main reasons. We wanted to help to bring the war to a victorious close at the earliest possible day. We also wanted Canada's contributions to be of an order which would entitle us to share effectively in the making of the peace.

Let me add a word in reference to the smaller nations of Europe against which Canada, in common with her allies, declared the existence of a state of war, and with whose future the present Conference is immediately concerned.

Italy and Yugoslavia, Hungary and Finland have each made their contribution to the up-building of the Canadian people. Many thousands of our citizens, whose parents came to Canada as humble immigrants not so very long ago, returned to fight in Europe as Canadian soldiers - volunteers in the war to preserve democracy from Fascist aggression. We welcomed their services and their loyal support, and we welcome the opportunity which the war has given for the emergence, in the lands of their forefathers, of new governments and institutions dedicated to the realization of those ideals of right and justice for which we believe the war was fought. Of the countries in the world taking part in this Conference, Canada has, from these close associations of blood and history, a particular

interest in hoping that, out of these peace treaties, will come settlements which will be definitive, because they will be recognized as fair and just.

It is even more important to build for the future than to settle our accounts with the past. Retribution is an aspect of justice, but it is not the whole or the greater part of justice. I know it may be asking too much of the people of our wartime generation to abandon the pursuit of private and national vengeance, but, if a long life of political experience gives one any privilege, I should like to use it in making a plea on this occasion for justice tempered with mercy and generosity. I would put this plea, not simply on ethical grounds, but as a measure of calculated political prudence, looking towards a future which we must try to set free from the passions and prejudices and over-weening ambitions which have been the curse of our generation.

(Pages 1 to 4 may be omitted - because of time.)

D 50398

Division between great and small powers.

It would be unfortunate if, in this conference, the real issues were to be obscured by a false antithesis between the interests of the larger and smaller nations. The determining factor in the making of peace should not be the size or power of the participants, nor of their relative contributions to victory. The final test is what is right and what is just.

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~~Procedure~~

~~At this Conference~~, already difficulties have ~~already~~ arisen and divisions have appeared in relation to procedure. Views strongly held have been given emphatic expression, within these walls and without, in opposition to and in support of some of the proposals of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

I have been in public life a long time, perhaps longer than any one here, possibly ~~From the years I have been in public life,~~ ~~it~~ certainly cannot be said of me that I underestimate the importance of being in the majority. It has not therefore been difficult for me to sympathize with the positions stated by both Dr. Evatt and Mr. Molotov. I have learned, however, that even better than a majority is unanimity and common consent.

With this in mind, I would like to see the four great powers willing to consider, and consider promptly, any changes in the foreign ministers proposals which are seriously suggested and supported by strong arguments. I should like to see any suggested changes considered by them before a vote is taken. In other words, I would venture to suggest - and I believe the suggestion to be important - that the Council of Foreign Ministers should not wait until the Conference has ended, to examine recommendations. I would suggest that the Council of Foreign Ministers all of whom ~~who~~ will ~~all~~

be attending the Conference, should meet from time to time during the course of the Conference to review and discuss proposals as they arise out of our deliberations. This course would facilitate the immediate acceptance of any agreed modifications to the draft treaties. It would tend to avoid the necessity of votes and divisions. In saying that it is of the highest importance that we should, at this time, do everything possible to minimize divisions, I believe that I can speak for everyone here - indeed for the peoples of an anxious world.

Then there is the question of time. For many reasons, it would be unfortunate were the Conference to be undily prolonged. It is certainly our duty to see that our work is done thoroughly. It is of almost equal importance that it be done quickly.

Were the Council of Foreign Ministers to meet, during the Conference, in the way I have suggested, it would require no change in the formal position. The final stage provided for under the Moscow Agreement would still take place, and the Foreign Ministers would convene for the purpose of approving the final draft treaties. But, if there is merit in this proposal, they would, I believe, find at that

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time that many problems of the final stage had been resolved. Indeed, it might not be too much to hope that final agreement would rapidly ensue. Furthermore this course would, I believe, have the advantage of emphasizing our common partnership in the making of peace.

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The process of peace making a difficult process.

The process of peace making is seldom an easy process. Let us frankly admit that the course which has been followed has not, in all respects, been that which some of us had hoped for. That perhaps may be said of all the countries represented here.

We in Canada felt that the measure of our participation in the war against aggression would have warranted a similar measure of participation in the decisions of peace. In the event, these hopes are not being realized.

We have, however, the limited opportunity afforded by our participation in this conference not only to assist in shaping the first of the peace treaties, but also to make known our views on certain instalments of the general peace settlement. We all have a stake in helping, as best we can, to bring about wise and agreed solutions to the problems which the war has left in its wake.

~~If our~~ If our opportunity to shape decisions is limited, unfortunately we cannot, if peace should not be secured, place a similar limit on our liabilities.

Significance of the first Conference.

Too great significance cannot be attached to the present Conference. If for no reason other than it is the first of the conferences concerned with the treaties of peace, it must pave the way for future conferences. ~~The~~ If it succeeds, the success of future conferences will be commensurately ensured. Should it fail, what hope would be left of future success in the making of peace?

If we succeed, we shall immediately remove one burden from the shoulders of mankind. We shall lighten Humanity's load as it seeks to be relieved of its heaviest burdens, To lighten a man's spirit by giving him fresh hope is to increase his strength and his ability to pursue his way. It is the same with nations as with men. To ~~Failure~~ to bring this conference to a successful conclusion, or to prolong it indefinitely, would be to discourage the nations, and to hold them back in their onward march.

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Conclusion

I would be untrue to my deepest convictions did were I not give to this gathering of nations, a statement of the magnitude of the task with which, as I see it, our world is faced today. Fortunately, for what I have to say, I have high scientific authority. Ours is an age in which there has been much of scientific progress, and in which great store is placed upon scientific discovery. High honour is paid to Science itself.

Of her many contributions to the advancement of Science, and to the betterment of the human race, France has bestowed no gift comparable to that of the researches of her great scientist, Louis Pasteur.

On the occasion of the inauguration of the Pasteur Institute, in the city in which we are assembled today, Louis Pasteur in whose honour the Institute was founded, enlarged upon the significance of scientific research. Overcome at the reception accorded him by the scholars and statesmen of France, this great benefactor of mankind asked his son to read for him from a manuscript he had prepared. In that notable document, there appeared the following epoch-marking paragraph:

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101

D 50405

"Two contrary laws seem to be wrestling with each other nowadays; the one, a law of blood and of death, ever imagining new means of destruction, and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefield - the other, a law of peace, work, and health, ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. The one seeks violent conquests, the other, the relief of Humanity. The latter places one human life above any victory; while the former would sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to the ambition of one."

This profound analysis of the nature of international conflict was made a little over half a century ago. It has not ~~yet~~ received the attention it merits. We would do well to recognize that beneath all else, and stronger than all else, are unseen forces which are very powerful, and which have operated, not in our day only, but from the beginning of recorded time. The wars the world has witnessed have been no matter of Chance or of Circumstance. They are the hideous manifestations of contrary laws, wrestling in human society, and working the destruction of civilization from within.

The years of war have surely taught us that no man liveth to himself, and that no nation liveth to itself. We are all members one of another. Henceforth no nation, in the interest of its own people, can afford to serve selfish national ends, whether these ends be isolated self defence, or world domination. It is for every nation to remember that "Over all nations is Humanity".

2.VIII.46

11/

D 50406

We have had enough of the mailed fist. What our world needs today is the hand of the physician. By Blood and by Death, forces of aggression have sought to extend the frontiers of their ~~respective lands~~ already vast domains. By Peace, Work and Health, obeying the laws of Humanity, we, in the words of Louis Pasteur, shall seek with the aid of Science, to extend the frontiers of life.

D 50407

Canada has, from these close associations of blood and history, a particular interest in hoping that, out of these peace treaties, will come settlements which will be definitive, because they will be recognized as fair and just.

It would be unfortunate if, in this Conference, the real issues were to be obscured by any false antithesis between the interests of the larger and smaller nations. The determining factor in the making of peace should not be the size or power of the participants, nor of their relative contributions to victory. The final test is what is right and what is just.

Already, difficulties have arisen and divisions have appeared in relation to procedure. Views strongly held have been given emphatic expression, within these walls and without, in opposition to and in support of some of the proposals of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

I have been in public life a long time, perhaps longer than any one here. It certainly cannot be said of me that I underestimate the importance of being in the majority. It has not therefore been difficult for me to sympathize with the positions stated by both Dr. Evatt and Mr. Molotov. I have learned, however, that even better than a majority is unanimity and common consent.

With this in mind, I would like to see the four great powers willing to consider, and consider promptly, any changes in the foreign ministers proposals which are seriously

<u>suggested and supported</u>

suggested and supported by strong arguments. I should like to see any suggested changes considered by them before a vote is taken. In other words, I would venture to suggest - and I believe the suggestion to be important - that the Council of Foreign Ministers should not wait, until the Conference has ended, to examine recommendations. I would suggest that the Council of Foreign Ministers all of whom will be attending the Conference, should meet from time to time, during the course of the Conference, to review and discuss proposals as they arise out of our deliberations. This course would facilitate the immediate acceptance of any agreed modifications to the draft treaties. It would tend to avoid the necessity of votes and divisions. In saying that it is of the highest importance that we should, at this time, do everything possible to minimize divisions, I believe that I can speak for everyone here, - indeed for the peoples of an anxious world.

Then there is the question of time. For many reasons, it would be unfortunate were the Conference to be unduly prolonged. It is certainly our duty to see that our work is done thoroughly. It is of almost equal importance that it be done quickly.

Were the Council of Foreign Ministers to meet, during the Conference, in the way I have suggested, it would require no change in the formal position. The final stage provided for

under the Moscow Agreement

D 50409

under the Moscow Agreement would still take place, and the Foreign Ministers would convene for the purpose of approving the final draft treaties. But, if there is merit in this proposal, they would, I believe, find at that time, that many problems of the final stage had been resolved. Indeed, it might not be too much to hope that final agreement would rapidly ensue. Furthermore, this course would, ~~I believe,~~ have the advantage of emphasizing our common partnership in the making of peace.

The process of peace-making is seldom an easy process. Let us frankly admit that the course which has been followed has not, in all respects, been that which some of us had hoped for. That perhaps may be said of all the countries represented here.

We in Canada felt that the measure of our participation in the war against aggression would have warranted a similar measure of participation in the decisions of peace. In the event, these hopes are not being realized. We have, however, the limited opportunity afforded by our participation in this Conference not only to assist in shaping the first of the peace treaties, but also to make known our views on certain instalments of the general peace settlement.

We all have a stake in helping, as best we can, to bring about wise and agreed solutions to the problems which

<u>the war has left in its wake.</u>

the war has left in its wake. If our opportunity to shape decisions is limited, unfortunately we cannot, if peace should not be secured, place a similar limit on our liabilities.

Too great significance cannot be attached to the present Conference. If for no reason other that it is the first of the conferences concerned with the treaties of peace, it must pave the way for future conferences. If it succeeds, the success of future conferences will be commensurately ensured. Should it fail, what hope would be left of future success in the making of peace?

If we succeed, we shall immediately remove one burden from the shoulders of mankind. We shall lighten Humanity's load as it seeks to be relieved of its heaviest burdens. To lighten a man's spirit by giving him fresh hope is to increase his strength and his ability to pursue his way. It is the same with nations as with men. To fail to bring this conference to a successful conclusion, or to prolong it indefinitely, would be to discourage the nations, and to hold them back in their onward march.

I would be untrue to my deepest convictions were I not to give to this gathering of nations, a statement of the magnitude of the task with which, as I see it, our world is faced today. Fortunately, for what I have to say, I have

high scientific authority.

D 50411

Length of time of treaty making.

Some impatience has naturally been expressed at the length of time it has taken to bring this Conference into being. In the process of treaty making, we do well not to be discouraged at the time it may take to arrive at an agreed settlement. It must not be forgotten that, simultaneously with the process of treaty making, we have been bringing into being a vast new agency for the building and maintenance of peace - the United Nations Organization.

We may be helped to a true sense of proportion by considering the length of the war, and the extent of the war. Having been taught to believe in Force, it will take time for men and nations, in the settlement of their differences, to learn the wisdom of substituting Reason for Force.

Over the years, I have come to value highly the virtue of patiences, and the ability to take the long view. In approaching the problems of peace, we should remember that only a little over a year has elapsed since the overthrow of Nazi Germany. Twelve months is but a short

period in the life of nations. The unrest of the world today may well be likened to the unrest of the sea which follows a great storm. For some time, much remains of fury and confusion. Just as calm comes to the sea, so a great calm may, some day, come to the world if we but strive patiently and tirelessly to replace ill-will with good-will, and conflict with co-operation.

E x t r a

D 50413

Canada's interest in the peace springs from deep within the heart of Canada's nationhood. It might have been thought, from our georgraphical position, that we were remote from any interest in Central Europe. But the fact that we were early in the struggle, and that Canada entered the war by the deliberate decision of the Canadian Parliament, was evidence of our relaization that the peace of the world was one and that it was indivisible. If the peace and security of Europe were threatened, so also were the peace and security of Canada threatened; and we did not know where the aggressor might strike.

The war effort of Canada was an all-out effort. It was planned, and carried out on a substantial scale, for two main reasons. We wanted to help to bring the war to a close at the earliest possible day. We also wanted Canada's contribution to be of an order which would entitle our voice to be heard in an effective manner in the making of the peace. This fact, I am sure, was a great spur to intensive activity during wartime; and even now it remains a strong inspiration for the making of peave.

D50414

SUGGESTIONS RE PROCEDURE OF CONFERENCE

Difficulties have already arisen ~~at this Conference~~ and divisions have appeared in relation to procedure. Views strongly held have been given emphatic expression within these walls and without in opposition to the proposals of the Council of Foreign Ministers in the matter of voting.

~~Now I have been in public life for a very long time - longer certainly than most of you here - and it would certainly not be said~~ that I ~~do not appreciate the desirability of always~~ being in the majority. It has not therefore been difficult for me to sympathize with the positions ~~in this matter which have been~~ stated both by Mr. Molotov and Dr. Evatt. ~~But far~~ better than a majority is unanimity and common consent.

With this in mind I would like to see the four great powers willing to consider and consider promptly any changes in the foreign ministers proposals which are seriously suggested and supported by strong arguments ~~and to consider them~~ before ~~any~~ vote is taken. In other words I would suggest - and I believe the suggestion to be important - that the Council of Foreign Ministers should not wait until the Conference has ended to examine ~~its results~~ but should meet from time to time during the course of the Conference to review and discuss proposals as they arise ~~in the course of~~ our deliberations. This course would permit the immediate acceptance of any agreed modifications to the draft treaties ~~and tend to materially, I believe,~~ avoid the necessity or votes and divisions. In saying that it is of the highest importance that we should at this time do everything possible to minimize divisions I believe that I can speak

D 50415

for everyone here - indeed for the peoples of an anxious world. This we can do not by seeking to dissemble opposing viewpoints but by the exercise of that patience and mutual tolerance without which just settlements cannot be accomplished.

Then there is the question of time. It is now commonly being said that this Conference will go on for months. Certainly it is our duty to see to it that our task is done thoroughly but it is of almost equal importance that it be done quickly. The nations which have been at war - friend and former foe alike - look to us for the first steps - the early conclusion of treaties of peace - which will set them on the road by which they can return to a life which is once more safe and sound. To proceed as we have begun with long discussions, with disputes over procedure, with a succession of votes, will inevitably entail long delay and, all together likely a minimim product, and at the end of it all the Council of Foreign Ministers will have to meet to consider the result.

If the suggestion which I have put forward were to be accepted and the Council were to meet in this way during the Conference it would require no change in the formal position. The final stage provided for under the Moscow Agreement would still take place, and the Foreign Ministers would convene for the purpose of approving the final draft treaties. But if there is merit in this proposal, they would I suggest, find at that time that many problems of the final stage had been resolved. Indeed, it might not be to much to hope that final agreement would rapidly ensue. Furthermore this course would, I believe, emphasis our common partnership in peace-making not only for ourselves but for the world at large.

The Keeping of the Peace

D 50416

An obligation rests upon the nations who make the peace to see that the peace they make is kept. At ~~most~~ least until a final settlement has been agreed upon for Germany, we must preserve a large preponderance of force upon the side of peace. Anything less than this preponderance of force would be to risk losing all the gains so far made in ~~retaining~~ restoring order and stability in areas disturbed and distressed by the ravages of war.

But peace-keeping goes much further than the military organisation which has been envisaged in order to ensure that the peace shall not be broken. In the broader sense, "the maintenance of peace in the future is no longer the business of the select few" it has become the intimate concern of every man and woman."

The problems for settlement outlined in the draft treaties with five nations are, in the main, political and economic problems for which the solution, in turn, must be mainly political and economic. But outside the problems which can be classified by either of these labels there remain continuing and long-term problems of human well-being and the alleviation of ~~heavy~~ many hardships of a physical and material kind.

I think this Conference will do well to keep in mind, even amid the immediate problems which confront it, the claims of ordinary men and women in all lands for peace, work and health. No one, to my knowledge, has suggested that these claims are or are likely to be, the preoccupation of the 4 powers alone. Indeed, in the several agencies of the United Nations already at work, the principle of functional representation, to which we in Canada attach importance, has been substantially recognised and acted upon.

On the strength of the experience we have already achieved in the operation of these humanitarian agencies, I urge that we keep constantly in view the indivisible character of peace. A peace which is divisible will not be a peace at all. No peace can be exclusively political, still less exclusively economic, and no single power or any group of powers can wish or hope to make it so.

D 50417

If we can agree on this cardinal point - long appreciated, I believe, in Canada - that peace, like prosperity is indivisible, We can the better open our minds to the full necessities of a just peace. I know that there are many facets of this problem for nations whose territory has been invaded and despoiled. I recognise the problem confronting states which have been in enmity against their neighbours. But I do urge that the problem of peace-making should be regarded as a whole, and without qualification as to the exclusive interest of any single nation.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
79		Statement to the Plenary Session of the Dominion-Provincial Conference of 1945-1946, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Apr. 1946	D 50046 - D 50159	
79		Tribute to the Late W.R. MacDonald M.P. Speeches in Parliament	3 May 1946	D 50160 - D 50165	
79		Speeches outside Parliament	17 May 1946	D 50166 - D 50167	
79		London. Speeches outside Parliament	23 May 1946	D 50168 - D 50179	
79		Dinner at 10 Downing Street, London. Speeches outside Parliament	7 June 1946	D 50180 - D 50288	
79		Dinner in Honour of Mr. King, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	18 June 1946	D 50289 - D 50292	
79		Welcome to Hon. Herbert Hoover, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	28 June 1946	D 50293 - D 50295	
79		The First Year of Peace, Radio. Speeches outside Parliament	3 July 1946	D 50296 - D 50335	
79		Paris. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Aug. 1946	D 50336 - D 50417	
79		Dieppe. Speeches outside Parliament	17 Aug. 1946	D 50418 - D 50420	

D 50418

DIEPPE
Saturday Aug.17/46

DINNER
8:00 pm

Expression of warm thanks to the MAYOR (Dr. BIEZO) and the civic authorities of Dieppe for hospitality to myself and other members of Canadian delegation

a visit long looked forward to

anxious to express to the Citizens of Dieppe the appreciation of the people of Canada for the many evidences of friendship shown over the years;

particularly since the bonds of war drew our peoples ever closer together

look forward to the various observances of the next two days as a very previous part of my present visit to France

D 50419

DIEPPE
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Guard of Honour

Arch

D 50420

DIEPPE
Saturday Aug.17/46

DINNER
8:00 pm

Expression of warm thanks to the MAYOR (Dr. BIEZ) and the civic authorities of Dieppe for hospitality to myself and other members of Canadian delegation

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79		Dieppe, France. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1946	D 50422 - D 50424	
79		Dieppe, France. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1946	D 50425 - D 50427	
79		Civic Luncheon, Dieppe. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Aug. 1946	D 50428 - D 50433	
79		Dieppe, Laying foundation Stone of Canadian Monument. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Aug. 1946	D 50434 - D 50448	
80		Welcome to Viscount Addison, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament.	10 Sept. 1946	D 50449 - D 50450	
80		Eastern Ontario Liberal Association, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Sept. 1946	D 50451	
80		Tribute to General Chang Chun, Governor of Szechwan Province, China, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Oct. 1946	D 50452 - D 50453	

D 50421

P U Y

Sunday, August 18, 1946, 11:00 a.m.

Laying of corner stone of monument to be erected to memory of the ROYAL REGIMENT OF CANADA

One of the celebrated Canadian regiments which landed here on Aug 19/42;

because of heavy casualties this regiment was later reconstituted as one of the infantry regiments of 2nd Canadian Division;

It was this successor battalion which liberated Dieppe in September, 1944 in the sweep along the Channel Coast which not only brought liberation to this part of France, but removed the menacing strongholds which had for so long threatened the safety and security of the British Isles.

This memorial will now stand for all time in honour of a gallant group of men who first went into frontal action here four years ago;

The people of Canada, quite apart from the homes and families of men of this Regiment who fell here, will greatly appreciate this tribute of honour from the residents of PUY.

(Laying of wreath)

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D I E P P E D 50422

Sunday, August 18, 1946 8:15 p.m.

Dinner given by the Civic Authorities of DIEPPE (Mayor: Dr. BIEZ)

Visits of today have provided many links with the inhabitants of this region of France,

and afford yet another opportunity of saying

how warmly we appreciate the hospitality shown to us by the civic authorities of Dieppe and of the neighbouring communities;

how touched we have been to see the solicitude of the people of France for the homes in Canada which have been bereaved

This gathering today also recalls many early links between Dieppe and Canada: the first settlers to leave Normandy for Canada embarked at Dieppe;

the contribution which they made to the development of Canada is honoured with the passing of the years;

the things which we share in common: the things of the spirit - are a continuing bond of unity

D 50423

D I E P P E

Sunday, August 18, 1946 8:15 p.m.

Dinner given by the Civic Authorities of DIEPPE (Mayor: Dr. BIEZ)

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D I E P P E

D 50424

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and afford yet another opportunity of saying

how warmly we appreciate the hospitality shown to us by the civic authorities of Dieppe and of the neighbouring communities;

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D 50425

D I E P P E

Monday, August 19, 1946 11:10 a.m

Reception at Mairie
Prime Minister and General Vanier to receive Certificates of
Citoyens d'Honneur de Dieppe

Expression of very warm thanks for this honour conferred by the ancient city of Dieppe;

the privilege of being a "citoyen d'honneur" is rightly esteemed very highly by those who are the guests of France;

among many honours conferred upon me outside of Canada, this is one which I shall always treasure highly, and especially in association with this present visit to Dieppe;

I recognize also that the character of "citoyen d'honneur" speaks of the importance which attaches to the conduct of the civic government of French communities;

what a satisfaction it must be to see the authorities of Dieppe in the rightful discharge of their civic functions after so long a period of oppression during the war;

Renewed thanks for this expression of friendship and goodwill.

D I E P P E

D 50426

Monday, August 19, 1946 11:10 a.m.

Reception at Mairie
Prime Minister and General Vanier to receive Certificates of Citoyens d'Honneur de Dieppe

6

Expression of very warm thanks for this honour conferred by the ancient city of Dieppe;

the privilege of being a "citoyen d'honneur" is rightly esteemed very highly by those who are the guests of France;

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what a satisfaction it must be to see the authorities of Dieppe in the rightful discharge of their civic functions after so long a period of oppression during the war;

Renewed thanks for this expression of friendship and goodwill.

D 50427

D I E P P E

Monday, August 19, 1946 11:10 a.m

Reception at Mairie
Prime Minister and General Vanier to
receive Certificates of
Citoyens d'Honneur de Dieppe

8

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D I E P P E

50428

Monday, August 19, 1946 D 12:40 pm

Civic Luncheon

All citizens of Canada present here today appreciate very warmly the hospitality of the Citizens of Dieppe expressed in so many ways;

In coming to this luncheon we have been reminded in still new ways of the many links of friendship and of history between the City of Dieppe and Canada;

visit just now to the Civic Hospital, partly equipped by donations from Canada;

recalls the Sisters of Old France who came to the New World to minister to the Indians and the earliest inhabitants in the wilderness;

their descendants were among the nursing sisters who in two world wars crossed the Atlantic from Canada to minister to the wounded ~~and~~ upon the battlefields of France and Western Europe -

a vivid representation of "the circle of history" and its fulfilment in terms of the human values which we esteem above all others.

There is a special group within our company today to whom I would extend a special word of greeting from Canada -
6 sons of Canada who took part in the raid on Aug 19/42

D 50429

All of us will feel pride that they are able to join today in these ceremonies of remembrance; and that other of they are here to join with/their comrades in arms in commemorating a day which will always have a sacred remembrance in Canada's history.

To the citizens of Dieppe itself this day will aways be a memorable one;

we perhaps do not realize even today the feeling which ran through France, already more than two years under Nazi occupation, when news of the raid on Dieppe became known;

to those who were resisting it must have seemed like a beacon of hope, which, though it later seemed to have been all but extinguished, shines forth today in the fulness of its glory over the free peoples of Europe.

It was given to soldiers of Canada to help to kindle that light, and who shall pay them higher tribute than we who are assembled here today ?

D 50430

D I E P P E

Monday, August 19, 1946 12:40 pm

Civic Luncheon

All citizens of Canada present here today appreciate very warmly the hospitality of the Citizens of Dieppe expressed in so many ways;

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a vivid representation of "the circle of history" and its fulfilment in terms of the human values which we esteem above all others.

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 D 50431

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D 50432

D I E P P E

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Civic Luncheon

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 D 50433

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To the citizens of Dieppe itself this day will aways be a memorable one;

we perhaps do not realize even today the feeling which ran through France, already more than two years under Nazi occupation, when news of the raid on Dieppe became known;

to those who were resisting it must have seemed like a beacon of hope, which, though it later seemed to have been all but extinguished, shines forth today in the fulness of its glory over the free peoples of Europe.

It was given to soldiers of Canada to help to kindle that light, and who shall pay them higher tribute than we who are assembled here today ?

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79		Puy, France. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1946	D 50421	
79		Dieppe, France. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1946	D 50422 - D 50424	
79		Dieppe, France. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1946	D 50425 - D 50427	
79		Civic Luncheon, Dieppe. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Aug. 1946	D 50428 - D 50433	
79		Dieppe, Laying foundation Stone of Canadian Monument. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Aug. 1946	D 50434 - D 50448	
80		Welcome to Viscount Addison, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament.	10 Sept. 1946	D 50449 - D 50450	
80		Eastern Ontario Liberal Association, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Sept. 1946	D 50451	
80		Tribute to General Chang Chun, Governor of Szechwan Province, China, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Oct. 1946	D 50452 - D 50453	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Windsor Star

Date Aug 19/46

D 50434

3172.

Dieppe

Subject

Mr. King's Speech In Paris

DIEPPE—Following is the text of Prime Minister Mackenzie King's speech today on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of the monument to be erected to the Canadian armed forces:

Mr. Minister, Mr. Prefect, Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen: I thank you, Mr. Minister, for the honor you have done Canada in representing the president of the government of France at today's ceremony. I thank you for the moving tribute you have paid Canada's armed forces. Your words will be deeply appreciated in all parts of our country. In the darkest days of the war were also shared your faith in ultimate victory; we share today your hopes of an enduring peace.

Extends Thanks Of Canadian People

I thank you, Mr. Mayor, for the kind sentiments of your address. I extend to you and to the citizens of Dieppe the heartfelt thanks of the government and people of Canada for all that your words express of welcome, of remembrance and of gratitude. The present anniverasry is to us, as it is to you, a day of sacred remembrance in our country's history. It will ever recall one of the most gallant exploits in the annals of war.

We in Canada were deeply touched when we learned that the citizens of Dieppe had decided to erect this memorial. It will bear enduring tribute to the memory of the members of Canada's armed forces who invaded these shores four years ago today. The memorial will speak as well of the part taken by Canadian forces, in combination with thise of other of the Allied nations, in the subsequent liberation of France. For this act of remembrance, especially at a time when poignant memories of your own suffering and losses are still weighing heavily upon you, all Canada will be lastingly grateful.

May I say at once that the wounds in the side of this land which has suffered so much in the cause of liberty are ever present to the minds of Canadians. For all that France has endured, for all that her peoples are experiencing of loss and privation today, I extend in the name of Canada our deepest sympathy. We extend to France our gratitude as well. Had liberty perished in this old world, it certainly would not have survived in the new.

I am today prouder than ever that Canada was quick to recognize the truth that we are all members one of another. If the nations of the North American Continent escaped invasion, it is because of the resistance of nations on this side of the Atlantic. If today our country is free of the scars of international conflict, it is because battles for freedom have been fought upon your soil, and upon the soil of other European countries; it is because where we assisted you resisted. It is because in vanquishing the foe your sons and ours fought side by side; as today side by side they lie in countless numbers in silent space in many lands.

French Solicitude Is Deeply Touching

Nothing I have seen has touched me more than the solicitude of the people of France for the homes in Canada which have been bereaved. It will greatly comfort all who have suffered loss to know of the revere and tender care bestowed upon the last resting places of those whose lives were given in the battles of liberation. There can be no doubt of the place which Canada holds today in the hearts of the people of France.

Ceremonial occasions, especially those related to erection of memorials, derive their significance not less from the place and time at which they are dedicated than from the events which the memorials themselves seek to commemorate. This being true, what ceremony, I ask, could be more appropriate than the one in which we have been invited to participate today?

It was here in this very city of Dieppe on August the 19th, 1942, that the enemy as well as the Allied nations learned that for the first time since Germany had occuped the strategic areas of western Europe, an armed force had crossed the English Channel and landed upon the shores of this continent. The largest part of that force was composed of regiments of the Second Canadian Division of the Canadian army. Over the two preceding years these units had been preparing for the moment when they would meet the world's foe in frontal attack. The men of Canada's army who landed at Dieppe that day, the men of Canada's navy who escorted them by sea and the men of Canada's air force who covered the attack were among the bravest of Canada's sons. To a man they were prepared for any suffering, any sacrifice their task might demand.

Nor do we forget in today's ceremony the valiant action and heavy sacrifice of men of units of the British army, of the Royal Navy and of the Royal Air Force who took part in the hazardous assault of that day. We are fortunate as we are honored in having with us on this occasion Major-General J. H. Roberts who was the military force commander for the operation. I take this opportunity of paying our country's tribute to General Roberts on his courage and leadership.

Dieppe Meant What Germany Dreaded

For Hitler and his hordes Dieppe meant what Germany dreaded most of all. It meant that combined Allied forces had succeeded in crossing the English Channel and had actually effected a landing on the shores of Normandy. On August the 19th, 1942, that cloud on the horizon was no larger than a man's hand, but its menacing proportions grew from day to day. Two years later the Allied forces in all their fury stormed over the heavily fortified positions on the northern coasts of France. They swept along these coasts from one stronghold to another and from one country to another. They drove the enemy forces before them until the last one of his armies in the north of Europe was totally destroyed. Soon thereafter in his native lair the heart of the Nazi beast was pierced from every side.

France will not soon forget, nor will Belgium nor Holland nor Britain forget, nor will Canada ever forget that Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen were given a place second to none in clearing these coasts of enemy occupation. In action after action they destroyed position after position which for so long menaced the safety and security of Britain. Together with other Allied forces, they hastened the liberation of the peoples of these lands.

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May I say at once that the wounds in the side of this land which has suffered so much in the cause of liberty are ever present to the minds of Canadians. For all that France has endured, for all that her peoples are experiencing of loss and privation today, I extend in the name of Canada our deepest sympathy. We extend to France our gratitude as well. Had liberty perished in this old world, it certainly would not have survived in the new.

I am today prouder than ever that Canada was quick to recognize the truth that we are all members one of another. If the nations of the North American Continent escaped invasion, it is because of the resistance of nations on this side of the Atlantic. If today our country is free of the scars of international conflict, it is because battles for freedom have been fought upon your soil, and upon the soil of other European countries; it is because where we assisted you resisted. It is because in vanquishing the foe your sons and ours fought side by side; as today side by side they lie in countless numbers in silent space in many lands.

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Ceremonial occasions, especially those related to erection of memorials, derive their significance not less from the place and time at which they are dedicated than from the events which the memorials themselves seek to commemorate. This being true, what ceremony, I ask, could be more appropriate than the one in which we have been invited to participate today?

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France will not soon forget, nor will Belgium nor Holland nor Britain forget, nor will Canada ever forget that Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen were given a place second to none in clearing these coasts of enemy occupation. In action after action they destroyed position after position which for so long menaced the safety and security of Britain. Together with other Allied forces, they hastened the liberation of the peoples of these lands.

Dieppe four years ago was a momentary flash from liberty's evolving light. For an instant

REPEAT
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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

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D 50435

Subject

that light shone forth like some long awaited signal of hope. Almost as suddenly it vanished. For a while in the darkness of those fateful years it seemed to be totally extinguished. Then came the Dieppe of 1944.

Today we see the Dieppe of 1942 as only time could reveal its true significance—a beacon light prophetic of victory. That light now shines in the fullness of its glory over the freed and free peoples of Europe.

Added Significance For France, Canada

Here in Dieppe on this anniversary we have in mind the valorous deeds of all arms of the fighting services of all the free nations. But Dieppe has yet another significance for France and Canada and for the world. It marks a relationship between our two countries which is not without its message of hope to future generations. Three centuries and more ago brave and adventurous souls from Normandy sailed from this port of Dieppe across the uncharted Atlantic into the waters of the St. Lawrence. On its banks they helped to lay the foundations of settlement and government in the Canada discovered by the hardy mariners of France nearly a hundred years before. In the course of time the Canada of Cartier and Champlain was to witness the clash of rival arms led by Wolfe and Montcalm. But the country to which these Norman pioneers and their descendants contributed so greatly was to give another beacon light to the world. It was to give, as it gives to all nations today, the example of a people of different races, of different languages, and of different religious faiths, once at enmity with each other, now united as a single nation, rich in the blending of their separate cultures and cherishing above all else a common heritage of freedom.

In the First World War the people of France saw the sons of Canada joined with their own sons and those of other liberty-loving nations fighting for freedom on European soil. In the war of liberation the world witnessed the armed forces of Canada and France again fighting side by side on the battlefields of Europe. In the mind of France today the Canada of Wolfe and Montclam has become the Canada of Currie, McNaughton and Crerar.

It was not the men of old France only who three and more centuries ago crossed the Atlantic to face unknown perils and privations; nor in our day was it the men of Canada only who crossed to Europe to share the vicissitudes of war. The women of both our lands, no less brave and venturesome, have played their role in the epic tale of early and present day relations between France and Canada. Many were the missions of mercy in which sisters of the religious orders of France risked their lives in the days of early settlement in Canada. Centuries later nursing sisters in two world wars came from Canada to minister to the sick and the wounded on the battlefields of France and Flanders. What woman's part has been in all the services we know full well. This page of history has not passed unnoticed. In the Hall of Fame of the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa may be seen in marble relief a representation of the part women have played in the founding and restoring of nations. There one sees depicted the sisters of old France ministering to the needs and education of the children of Indian tribes in the wilds of North America. There also is depicted the service of nursing sisters of Canada in caring for the wounded on the battlefields of Europe. In the foreground, as the central feature of this relief, is a figure symbolical of humanity; in the background, wholly subdued is another figure symbolizing history. Beneath the memorial appears the words: "To perpetuate a noble tradition in the relations of the old world and the new, led by the spirit of humanity across the seas, woman by her tender ministrations to those in need has given to the world the example of heroic service embracing three centuries of Canadian history."

It is the tradition of mutual service in the many relationships of nations that above all else Canada seeks to perpetuate in Paris today. The representatives of many nations are assembled in an effort to silence enmities bred of racial distrust and international strife. They have met to lay the foundations of a new and happier world. To this conference Canada brings as a beacon light of encouragement and hope the story and the example of her own national life. Canada seeks to see the rich rewards of international understanding, friendship and goodwill shared in ever fuller measure by the peoples of all nations. The people everywhere are praying today that those concerned with the making of peace may find it possible to lay well and truly the foundations of a better world.

This memorial will stand to future generations as a symbol of enduring friendship between France and Canada. Is it too much to hope that its foundation stone will also be a record of the country and the year in which the warring nations of our time had found a way out of conflict into co-operation? What could speak more eloquently of the wisdom of our day and generation? What more substantial hope of an enduring peace could be given to a war-weary world?

W.L.M.K.- 17.VIII.46

D 50436

Mr. Minister, Mr. Prefect,
Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I thank you, Mr. Minister, for the honour you have done Canada in representing The President of the Government of France at today's ceremony. I thank you for the moving tribute you have paid Canada's armed forces. Your words will be deeply appreciated in all parts of our country. In the darkest days of the war, we also shared your faith in ultimate victory. We share today your hopes of an enduring peace.

I thank you, Mr. Mayor, for the kind sentiments of your address. I extend to you and to the citizens of Dieppe the heartfelt thanks of the Government and people of Canada for all that your words express of welcome, of remembrance and of gratitude. The present anniversary is to us, as it is to you, a day of sacred remembrance in our country's history. It will ever recall one of the most gallant exploits in the annals of war.

We, in Canada, were deeply touched when we learned that the citizens of Dieppe had decided to erect this memorial. It will bear enduring tribute to the memory of the members of Canada's armed forces who invaded these shores four years ago today. The memorial will speak as well of the part taken by Canadian forces, in combination with those of other of the allied nations, in the subsequent liberation of France.

D 50437

For this act of remembrance, especially at a time when poignant memories of your own suffering and losses are still weighing heavily upon you, all Canada will be lastingly grateful.

May I say, at once, that the wounds in the side of this land which has suffered so much in the cause of Liberty are ever present to the minds of Canadians. For all that France has endured, for all that her peoples are experiencing of loss and privation today, I extend, in the name of Canada, our deepest sympathy.

We extend to France our gratitude as well. Had Liberty perished in this Old World, it certainly would not have survived in the New. I am, today, prouder than ever that Canada was quick to recognize the truth that we are all members one of another. If the nations of the North American continent escaped invasion, it is because of the resistance of nations on this side of the Atlantic. If today, our country is free of the scars of international conflict, it is because battles for freedom have been fought upon your soil, and upon the soil of other European countries. It is because, where we assisted, you resisted. It is because in vanquishing the foe, your sons and ours fought side by side, as today, side by side, they lie in countless numbers, in silent spaces, in many lands.

Nothing that I have seen has touched me more than the solicitude of the people of France for the homes in Canada which have been bereaved. It will greatly comfort all who have suffered loss to know of the reverent and tender care bestowed upon the last resting places of those whose lives were given in the battles of Liberation. There can be no doubt of the place which Canada holds today in the hearts of the people of France.

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D 50439

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Dieppe, four years ago, was a momentary flash from Liberty's revolving light. For an instant, that light shone forth, like some long awaited signal of hope. Almost as suddenly, it vanished. For a while, in the darkness of those fateful years, it seemed to be totally extinguished. Then came the Dieppe of 1944. Today, we see the Dieppe of 1942, as only Time could reveal its true significance: a beacon light, prophetic of Victory. That light now shines in the fulness of its glory, over the freed and free peoples of Europe. Here, in Dieppe, on this anniversary, we have in mind the valorous deeds of all arms of the fighting services of all the free Nations.

But Dieppe has yet another significance for France and Canada and for the world. It marks a relationship between our two countries which is not without its message of hope to future generations.

D 50441

Three centuries and more ago, brave and adventurous souls from Normandy, sailed from this port of Dieppe, across the uncharted Atlantic, into the waters of the St. Lawrence. On its banks, they helped to lay the foundations of settlement and government in the Canada discovered by the hardy mariners of France, nearly a hundred years before. In the course of time, the Canada of Cartier and Champlain was to witness the clash of rival arms led by Wolfe and Montcalm. But the country to which these Norman pioneers and their descendants contributed so greatly was to give another beacon light to the world. It was to give, as it gives to all nations today, the example of a people of different races, of different languages and of different religious faiths, once at enmity with each other, now united as a single nation, rich in the blending of their separate cultures, and cherishing, above all else, a common heritage of freedom.

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D50442

It was not the men of old France only who, three and more centuries ago, crossed the Atlantic to face unknown perils and privations. Nor, in our day, was it the men of Canada only who crossed to Europe to share the vicissitudes of war. The women of both our lands, no less brave and venturesome, have played their role in the epic tale of early and present day relations between France and Canada. Many were the missions of mercy in which Sisters of the religious orders of France risked their lives in the days of early settlement in Canada. Centuries later, nursing sisters, in two world wars, came from Canada to minister to the sick and the wounded on the battlefields of France and Flanders. What woman's part has been in all the services, we know full well.

This page of history has not passed unnoticed. In the Hall of Fame of the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa may be seen, in marble relief, a representation of the part women have played in the founding and restoring of nations. There one sees depicted the Sisters of Old France, ministering to the needs and education of the children of Indian tribes in the wilds of North America. There also is depicted the service of nursing sisters of Canada in caring for the wounded on the battlefields of Europe. In the foreground, as the central feature of this relief, is a figure symbolical of Humanity. In the background, wholly subdued,

D 50443

is another figure symbolizing History. Beneath the memorial appear the words:

> ". . . to perpetuate a noble tradition in the relations
> "of the old world and the new.
> " Led by the spirit of Humanity across the seas,
> "woman, by her tender ministrations to those in need,
> "has given to the world the example of an heroic service
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It is the tradition of mutual service in the many relationships of nations that, above all else, Canada seeks to perpetuate.

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The people everywhere are praying today that those concerned with the making of peace, may find it possible to lay, well and truly, the foundations of a better world. This memorial will stand, to future generations, as a symbol of enduring friendship between France and Canada. Is it too much to hope that its foundation stone may also be a record of the

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W.L.M.K. - 6.VIII.46

D 50445

NOTES FOR DIEPPE SPEECH

Re TIME

The address should have reference to the relation of the erection of the monument at the time of the holding of the Peace Conference.

Re PLACE

Reference to the place being the first contact across the channel of for forces of the free nations in seeking the invasion of Europe.

Relations of France and Canada.

Reference to Nurses' Memorial in Canada's Hall of Fame.

Nursing Sisters - figure of Humanity;

showing French Sisters coming to succour the Indian children, and

300 years later, Canadian-English Sisters going to Europe to help in First War.

The whole sympathy of women's services of the world.

Figure of Humanity.

Memorial covers four centuries of Canadian history.

In dealing with Time and Place, note parallel about French helping to lay foundation of Canada;

Settlements; colonies, etc.

Two races together

Return of Canadian and French to lay foundation of a new Europe, etc.

D 50446

What the invasion symbolized -

first, the adventure;

character of young Canadians -
chivalrous, Sir Galahad type;
not counting the cost.

Penetration of Continent gave the key to invasion in Si later to invasions on D-Day.

Reference to the cemeteries, etc. -

the flower of Canadian youth lie here in the cemeteries

Reference should be made to the comfort that will come to the mothers and fathers, etc. of those who are buried here.

Tribute to all the dead.

Some reference might be made to the soil that was a part of France having become again a part of Canada.

Significance of monument to future generations.

Canada - two races;

Note re column at Quebec - Wolfe and Montcalm.

(See Mr. King's speech made at Quebec - when Roosevelt was there.)

Message to the Canadians from that spot, etc.

(Remember Gardiner may be present).

D 50447

Whatever men or nations may be as individuals, self-seeking or the like, when it comes to community interest, be t he community a nation, a hemisphere or the world - public opinion will make itself increasingly felt on the side of what is just and right.

What is just and equitable will, in the end, prevail. All else will fal l short of what is likely to prove enduring.

NOTE: About all working together at Conference, not waiting until the end to have Big Powers consider at instance of small powers, etc.

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NOTE: About all working together at Conference, not waiting until the end to have Big Powers consider at instance of small powers, etc.

D50448

While we should look to the future rather than to the past, we should not seek to measure the extent of the voice of each country by the contributions made to war effort, etc. Having had to do with determining the extent of the contribution, I think I may say, in Canada's case, it was an all-out contribution.

We had distinctly in mind from day to day and year to year, two things:

namely to bring the war to an end as speedily as possible,

and secondly, to have our voice count for something in the making of the peace. This we intend to do, not, however, by gaining a nominal position in an order of procedure, etc. but by the reasonableness of the point of view which we are presenting.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
79		Puy, France. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1946	D 50421	
79		Dieppe, France. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1946	D 50422 - D 50424	
79		Dieppe, France. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1946	D 50425 - D 50427	
79		Civic Luncheon, Dieppe. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Aug. 1946	D 50428 - D 50433	
79		Dieppe, Laying foundation Stone of Canadian Monument. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Aug. 1946	D 50434 - D 50448	
80		Welcome to Viscount Addison, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament.	10 Sept. 1946	D 50449 - D 50450	
80		Eastern Ontario Liberal Association, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Sept. 1946	D 50451	
80		Tribute to General Chang Chun, Governor of Szechwan Province, China, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Oct. 1946	D 50452 - D 50453	

KING, William Lyon Mackenzie: Speeches Series

MG 26, J 5, Volume 80, pages D 50449 - D 51249

D50449

Government Dinner

Rt. Hon. Viscount Addison

Sept. 10, 1946

Word of thanks and welcome:

re visitors from Canada to England

re legislation B.N.A. Act;

for taking vacation to visit Canada from coast to coast.

Welcome:

Minister of Crown and Leader of Government - Lords;

relations with the governments - perfect understanding;

great problem of government.

Long distinguished public career.

What world needs - the hand of the physician.

Public service:

Entered Parliament 1910 - 36 years (before war)

Parliamentary Secretary Board of Education;

Minister of Munitions - Lloyd George Government;

Minister of Reconstruction -

framing policies: health Agriculture Fisheries 1930-31

D 50450

Distinguished Author.

Prejudices removed by perennal friendship.

Pleasant tour.

Return to duties.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
79		Puy, France. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1946	D 50421	
79		Dieppe, France. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1946	D 50422 - D 50424	
79		Dieppe, France. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1946	D 50425 - D 50427	
79		Civic Luncheon, Dieppe. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Aug. 1946	D 50428 - D 50433	
79		Dieppe, Laying foundation Stone of Canadian Monument. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Aug. 1946	D 50434 - D 50448	
80		Welcome to Viscount Addison, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament.	10 Sept. 1946	D 50449 - D 50450	
80		Eastern Ontario Liberal Association, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Sept. 1946	D 50451	
80		Tribute to General Chang Chun, Governor of Szechwan Province, China, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Oct. 1946	D 50452 - D 50453	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Ottawa ER Citizen

Date Sep 11/46

D 50451

5-172/46
Mr. King

Subject

Public Rights Should Prevail Liberals Told

Fulford Calls Unionists Saboteurs

Prime Minister Mackenzie King predicted an early end to the steel strike at a meeting of the Eastern Ontario Liberals held today in the Chateau Laurier.

"I hope and believe" said Mr. King, "that we are nearing the end of that particular dispute.

"The angels of darkness and light wrestle for supremacy in everybody's bosom" he concluded, "and no one can say that all the right is on one side.

"I hope that the best counsels will prevail, to bring an end to this dispute in a very short time."

Accidentally In Picture

Actually Mr. King got into the strike picture accidentally. George Fulford ex-MP for Leeds, had been leading a slashing attack on the strikers, using such words as "group of racketeers" and said they were doing Canada as much damage as "foreign spies in the war."

"Millard and Conroy are saboteurs of the worst kind" said Mr. Fulford.

The Prime Minister caught the tail-end of Mr. Fulford's anti-strike philipic, and thus picked up the theme, near the latter end of his address.

Mr. King said that the strike had "resulted in so much loss of production, so much loss of good feeling.

"I hope and believe" emphasized the prime minister, "that we are nearing the end of that particular dispute.

"But I have yet to see an industrial dispute in which there are not two sides.

"The angels of light and darkness wrestle incessantly for supremacy in the breast of every one of us."

"The only solution to any such dispute is to get the other man's point of view, and have him share yours also."

Rights Of Public

The Prime Minister pointed out that "the rights of the public, the community itself, in the long run, are those which should prevail.

"The rights of the community are superior to those of any group or party," he insisted, "and the party that forget that cannot hope to solve its problems. Public opinion ultimately controls what must be done."

In the recent dispute, the widest opportunity had been afforded for each side to give its side of the case. Both sides also were afforded a chance to reveal their limitations.

Concluding, Mr. King said with confidence:

"But we'll see a way out of this before long. The government has lent its good offices to the fullest extent possible. I hope that what has been done in that direction will enable the best counsels to prevail in a very short time."

Mr. King created quite a sensation when he came in, and the gathering rose as a man to meet him. He saw himself there in a dual role, one as Prime Minister, and the other, as MP for Glengary.

Mr. King sounded like a very happy man. What he said in essence was that his travels were over, that it's great to be back in Canada, and that he likes it so much here that he plans to stay here from now on.

As to the Liberals, he was glad to see them organizing, took it as a heartening sign.

As to the European situation, he wasn't depressed. It was a "troublesome age, yet a glorious age" in which people alive now dwelt.

"It is a period of transition, an era of greater freedom" he pointed out. Yet perhaps people are apt to get discouraged when they see solutions that take such a long time to be evolved."

In Paris, the first few weeks, the delays might have been irksome till one viewed the situation calmly, and saw that even to speak a common language was difficult.

Take the word "democracy" said Mr. King, "Democracy means something more to us than to people who haven't had even the beginning of representative government."

Righting Takes Time

He recalled that Canada, seven years ago yesterday, declared war on the German Reich. It takes time for conditions to right themselves after such a seven year holocaust.

Liberalism, he said, had a great mission for the world, and that mission must go on. Liberalism, he said, was "a way of life which widens opportunities for the great mass of the people." Peace, he pointed out, could only be maintained when people had an opportunity to appreciate the other fellow's point of view, and when other people learned something of the viewpoint of Liberalism in its broadest sense.

With a smile he recalled speaking to the "British "brides", and he saw the children. Here the bewildered bachelor took over.

"They had on their little braces, or whatever they were" said Mr. King, probably referring to baby halters.

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D 50452

Government Luncheon
in honour of General Chang Chun
Governor of Szechwan Province, China
October 31, 1946

Particular pleasure to welcome to capital of Canada so distinguished a representative of China.

recall that during wartime many leaders in Chinese government war effort industry & finance visited Canada

delighted to think that these visits can be continued under conditions of peace and in important period of reconstruction.

A friendly approach has characterized attitude to a numbef of problems between Canada and China for which co-operative settlement has been achieved.

hope very much that General Chang will take back to his own country and to his province, favourable impressions of Canada and of Ottawa as the capital.

- -

Glad to have present today General Odlum Ambassador to China - a pioneer in Sino-Canadian relations

Dr.George Patterson - shortly returning to Nanking.

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
80		Dinner in Honour of Mr. R.M. Barrington-Ward, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	1 Nov. 1946	D 50454 - D 50483	
80		Tribute to Louis St. Laurent. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Nov. 1946	D 50484 - D 50687	
80		Unveiling of Portrait to Sir John A. Macdonald, Ottawa, Rideau Club	9 Dec. 1946	D 50688 - D 50751	
80		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Dec. 1946	D 50752 - D 50759	
80		The Character of Canadian Citizenship, Ottawa, National Citizenship Ceremony. Speeches outside Parliament.	3 Jan. 1947	D 50760 - D 50854	
80		Tribute to Hon. P.J.A. Cardin and Mr. W.C. Macdonald. Speeches in Parliament	30 Jan. 1947	D 50855 - D 50874	
80		National Liberal Federation Advisory Council, Ottawa. Speeches Parliament	5 Feb. 1947	D 50875 - D 50878	
80		Withdrawal of Occupational Forces from Germany, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Mar. 1947	D 50879 - D 50904	

D 50454

THE TIMES of London

1785 founded by John Walter as
The Daily Universal Register

1788 The Times

1812 first association with the paper of John Walter II (to 1847)

organized system of foreign correspondents and other agencies for rapid transmission of news
(e.g. first news of Battle of Waterloo)

1869 John Walter III revolutionized the mechanical processes of printing by introduction of the Walter steam press (d.1894)

then a succession of proprietors among whom Lord Northcliffe acquired a controlling interest.

After his death

1922 controlling interest passd to present publisher, Col. the Hon. J.J.Astor

1932 The Times printed from type specially designed for print reading

D 50455

A succession of distinguished men filled the editor's chair, among whom the best known were:

Thomas Barnes (1817-1841)

John T. Delane (1841-1877)
(appointed by John Walter II - The Times nicknamed "The Thunderer")

Thomas Chenery

George Earl Buckle

Geoffrey Dawson

H. Wickham Steed	1919-1922
Geoffrey Dawson	1923-1941
R.M.Barrington-Ward	1941-

Dawson: Fellow of All Souls association with Lord Milner in South Africa; a Rhodes Trustee

Wichham Steed: long aquaintance with Central Europe and author of many books on European politics.

D 50456

On November 25, 1944, THE TIMES published No. 50,000.

In a comment on the long history leading up to this landmark, the paper said:

" . . The efforts of The Times on behalf of the sick and wounded in the Crimea, chiefly though the despatches of William Howard Russell, the first of a long ~~xxxx~~ and honourabe line of war correspondents, led to the organization by Florence Nightingale of a party of nurses to go out to the Crimea. The end of the was saw The Times, as well as Britain, crowned with a brillinat series of victories. It had pressed the struggle to a successful conclusion, saved the remnant of an army, established new standards of treatment for casualties in the field, and destroyed a Ministry. The Press had become a power in Britain and in the world. . ."

Freedom of movement in Canada
Democracy = Secret Ballot
Parliament = secret ballot
0 = free press
J. = Settlement Press.
Legislative = Freedom
Freedom National = International
Legislative literacy order
work during war = bombs dropped
tion of education.
law of thought
study
communication of communicable education
Industrials + interests
communication or international affairs

Attorney General
Canada

D 50457

Investment of surplus capital
interest

D 50458

Government Dinner
in honour of
Mr. and Mrs. R.M.Barrington-Ward
Country Club
Friday, November 1, 1946

Great pleasure to welcome to national capital a staunch friend of Canada

Mr. Barrington-Ward
Editor of The Times of London
since 1941

During the years of war the Government of Canada welcomed editors and publishers from many lands

and they in turn contributed materially to making known

war effort of Canada
organization of government
system of wartime controls over prices, etc.

Throughout these same years The Times was generous in the space it gave to Canadian questions

for much of this period served in Ottawa by a gentleman of high achievements and discernment
(Mr. Alexander Inglis)

D 50459

Two pre-eminent characteristics of utmost importance:

1) full and fair reporting of news from all over the world

- a vital necessity in a free society,

2) journalistic enterprise amid conditions of unusualy difficulty

London under repeated enemy air attacks from 1940 until well into 1945

incendiary bombs
high-explosive
flying bombs
rockets

yet The Times never missed a single issue - even tho its building in Printing-House Square suffered a direct hit.

Shortages of newsprint (restrictions somewhat relaxed five weeks ago)

yet The Times was able to begin publication of an Air Mail edition on India paper which marks a new high level in newspaper production.

D 50458

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D 50460

R. M. Barrington-Ward

first association with The Times
dates back to 1913

there after European war in which
3 times mentioned in despatches
and awarded Distinguished Service
Order, Military Cross

1919-1927 Assistant Editor of
The Observer

1927 to present with The Times.

Balliol College, Oxford

Barrister-at-law of Lincoln's Inn.

Dinner in honour of Mr. Barrington-Ward

D 50461

Introductory:

Word of welcome.

Delighted at visit to Canada.

Glad to have colleagues and friends meet.

Career:

Distinguished scholar and journalist.

Member of distinguished family. - "Son of The Manse"

Service in War 1914-1918.

Journalistic Career:

The Observer - The Times, -

Since 1942 - Editorship through period of war.

Significance of The Times -

Foremost Journal.

Long existence - going back into the 18th Century.

Best record of British history gradually becoming a record of world events.

Not merely an English paper, but one representative of British-American opinion.

D 50462

The owners - distinguished families

some well known in Canada:

Walters
Northcliffe
Col. J. Astor

Important position of Editor -

predecessors: - names like:

Moberley Bell
Dawson

Foreign correspondents:

Chirol
Morrison (of Australia)

Shaping public opinion.

Attitude of Editorial Page

One time extremely Conservative and Imperial.

Not too friendly to Liberal Party of Canada -

(Won six elections out of seven)

(The Times usually wrong in prophesy)

Thanks on certain accounts -

1. Place given Canada in war records;

D 50463

2. Better representation by correspondents at Ottawa.

(Here pay tribute to Mr. Inglis)

(himself a true interpreter of party views)

3. Establishment of a trust to control The Times - of special interest

4. The attitude of editorial column to support administration of the day.

While free to criticize - somewhat similar to position of The Crown.

5. Word of thanks for hospitality extended by The Times to visiting Canadians. -

(Printing House Square)

Advantage of Mr. Barrington-Ward's presence to speak of intra-Imperial relations.

Relations with the U.S. - Canada's special position.

Bring up at once question of defense of British Commonwealth - also of North America.

(Standardization of munitions and weapons)

50464

D

Defence of America equals defence of Canada.

Re New Order.

Fortunate to have person of Barrington~~s~~ Ward's great abilities to interpret these relations.

His is a pivotal position, - regarding maintenance of freedom.

Advantage of getting Air Mail edition to Canada.

(India paper)

Dinner in honour of Mr. Barrington-Ward

Introductory: D 50465

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Journalistic Career:

The Observer - The Times, -

Since 1942 - Editorship through period of war.

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the basis of history

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His is a pivotal position, - regarding maintenance of freedom.

Advantage of getting Air Mail edition to Canada.

(India paper)

D 50469

50,000 min

1944

Notes on Mr. Barrington-Ward and The Times.

##########

Mr. Barrington-Ward derives from a North of Ireland family. He is a "son of the rectory" --- one of a group of brothers who all have distinguished themselves in their respective professional careers.

He owes much to Oxford University, that institution which belongs as much to the Empire and Commonwealth as it does to England. There he first made those valuable friendships with Dominion and American contemporaries which fostered that "sense of community" between the English-speaking peoples which has always characterized, and continues to inspire, his work in journalism.

Mr. Barrington-Ward has been associated with two newspapers, first with The Times, later as assistant editor of the Observer under Garvin, and then again with The Times during the latter part of Dawson's editorship.

D 50470

It is an interesting fact that his first contribution to The Times was a leading article -- an introduction to journalism which probably few newspapermen can rival. Such an initiation could only imply a measure of ability and craftsmanship of the highest literary order, for the world knows the importance that is attached to the editorial page of The Times.

From such a beginning it was regarded as inevitable in Fleet Street, and particularly in Printing House Square, that "B-W" was qualified to take his place in due course in that illustrious succession of Times' editors which included Barnes, Delane, Chenery, Wickham [redacted] Steed, and Dawson --- men whose work created and maintained that remarkable tradition of national and international service for which The Times is famous.

D 50471

That tradition, as it is expressed today under Mr. Barrington-Ward's editorship, is to regard The Times not as a London, or even as a United Kingdom,newspaper but to the best of its ability as a mouthpiece of commonwealth sentiments and interests and a ~~XXXXXXXXX~~ courageous commentator on international affairs.

In its editorial policy The Times' realizes --- and never more fully than today under Mr. Barrington-Ward's control--- that the duty of an opposition is to oppose, but that the historic function of The Times is to extract the best it can from the government of the day in the knowledge that the King's Government has to be carried on. This is fully in keeping with The Times' tradition which, while maintaining its independence and right to criticize, is nevertheless a fair and objective commentator and generous supporter of the actions of whatever kind of government is in office in Britain.

Moreover, The Times is now so constituted that it will never be possible for it to fall into unworthy hands. It is not generally known on this continent that arrangements exist which have been designed to keep The Times in the unique position it occupies among newspapers. Some years ago a special Board of Trustees was established to safeguard the future [redacted] ownership of the paper. The board consists of the Lord Chief Justice of England; the Warden of All Souls College, Oxford; the President of the Royal Society; the President of the Institute of Chartered Accounts; and the [redacted] Governor of the Bank of England. The sole function of this board is to see that the newspaper does not pass into [redacted] the direction of any special interests whose inclinations and activities would run contrary to the high standards and traditions which The Times has so long upheld.

D 50473

Mr. Barrington-Ward's present visit to Canada is in fulfilment of his intentionnto augment impressions and knowledge of the Dominion which he acquired on a previous visit. Readers of the editorial page of The Times in recent years must have been impressed with the knowledge and sagacity that marked the paper's comments on Canadian affairs. It is clear that the directing mind at Printing House Square realizes that Canada has a vital part to play in the development of world relations.

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

D 50474

Ottawa, 1/x1/46

M. Gibson:

On looking through Who's Who the remarkable fact I 5 brothers in it at once struck me, & I thought this note might be of interest to the P.M.

W.L.M.K.

D 50475

Memorandum for the Prime Minister

In connection with the dinner this evening for Mr. and Mrs. Barrington-Ward, you might think it would be of interest in your remarks to make some reference to the unusually distinguished record of Mr. Barrington-Ward's immediate family.

Mr. Barrington-Ward's father was the Rev. Canon M. J. Barrington-Ward, D.D., Rector of Duloe in Cornwall, and up until 1938 there were five of his sons listed in Who's Who. The eldest son, Frederic Temple Barrington-Ward, died on February 22, 1938, but in the 1946 edition of Who's Who the other four brothers remain listed. In addition to the notable fact of having five brothers listed in this publication, it is also worth remarking that each has achieved distinction in a different line of activity. The salient points concerning the brothers are as follows:

1. Frederic Temple B.-W.(1880-1938): Barrister at Law of Lincoln's Inn and Middle Temple; K.C., 1919; Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, 1923; Metropolitan Police Magistrate and Justice of the Peace for Sussex; won the Vinerian Law Scholarship at Oxford and was subsequently Fellow of All Souls College.

2. Sir Lancelot Edward B.-W.(1884-): Surgeon to His Majesty the King since 1936; Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons; awarded K.C.V.O., 1935; in addition to being a distinguished surgeon was formerly a noted Rugby player, Captain for Edinburgh University, 1908; played for England (International) on four occasions.

...

D 50476

3. Lt. Col. Victor Michael B.-W. (1887-): Graduated in Civil Engineering; entered railway work and now Divisional General Manager, L.N.E.R.; in First World War mentioned in despatches four times, awarded D.S.O., 1916; awarded Croix de Guerre with Palm by France; created C.B.E., 1945.

4. Robert M'Gowan B.-W.: Editor of The Times since 1941; previously Assistant Editor of The Times, 1927-41, and Assistant Editor of The Observer, 1919-27. Served in the First World War; awarded M.C. and D.S.O., 1918; mentioned three times in despatches.

5. John Grosvenor B.-W. (1894-): Student (i.e. Fellow) and Classical Tutor, Christ Church, Oxford. Served in the First World War as Captain in the Royal Marine Artillery; appointed student of Christ Church, 1919, librarian of Christ Churdh, 1928-38; published contributions to "The Mind of Rome", 1926; Governor of Westminster School since 1920.

Copy for Laurie House

JWP/DM
Nov. 1, 1946.

"The Times" and Anglo-American Relations

D 50477

Generally think of the Times as a characteristically English institution, but in truth The Times is one of the great links between England and this continent.

The link supplied through ownership of the great newspaper by Major John Jacob Astor distinguished member of a great Anglo-American family.

Under ownership of Lord Northcliffe (the first great commercial newspaper owner) the Times lost influence and prestige: it was restored to its original position of influence when purchased by Major Astor in 1922 - that position secured for the future by the creation of a trust to ensure the maintenance of its distinctive character.

The Times is the most celebrated newspaper published in the English language: it is fitting that it should be owned by a family which did so much to ensure the spread of the English language across this continent and, in trade, around the world.

The first John Jacob Astor established Astoria in the future Oregon territory. His great fur trading enterprise did much to ensure that English, rather than Spanish or Russian,

became the language of the Pacific slope of North America.

The Astor family were great pioneers in the China trade and had thereby a large share in opening the Far East to English speaking influences and civilization.

American origin of the English branch of Astor family reflected in strong sympathy of the Times for the New World.

Urgent

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, 1 xi . 46

Prime Minister

There may be a thought in this connection between the Times & the Ass'n

50479

J.W.P.

JWP/DM
Nov. 1, 1946.

"The Times" and Anglo-American Relations

D 50480

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2. Sir Lancelot Edward B.-W.(1884-): Surgeon to His Majesty the King since 1936; Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons; awarded K.C.V.O., 1935; in addition to being a distinguished surgeon was formerly a noted Rugby player, Captain for Edinburgh University, 1908; played for England (International) on four occasions.

...

3. Lt. Col. Victor Michael B.-W. (1887-): Graduated in Civil Engineering; entered railway work and now Divisional General Manager, L.N.E.R.; in First World War mentioned in despatches four times, awarded D.S.O., 1916; awarded Croix de Guerre with Palm by France; created C.B.E., 1945.

4. Robert M'Gowan B.-W.: Editor of The Times since 1941; previously Assistant Editor of The Times, 1927-41, and Assistant Editor of The Observer, 1919-27. Served in the First World War; awarded M.C. and D.S.O., 1918; mentioned three times in despatches.

5. John Grosvenor B.-W. (1894-): Student (i.e. Fellow) and Classical Tutor, Christ Church, Oxford. Served in the First World War as Captain in the Royal Marine Artillery; appointed student of Christ Church, 1919, librarian of Christ Church, 1928-38; published contributions to "The Mind of Rome", 1926; Governor of Westminster School since 1920.

RGK.

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THE LIBERAL PARTY
PERSONALITIES AND POLICIES

SPEECHES BY

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister and Leader of the
Liberal Party of Canada

AND

The Right Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent,
Minister of Justice and Secretary
of State for External Affairs

DELIVERED AT THE CHATEAU FRONTENAC, QUEBEC

NOVEMBER 29, 1946.

▼

On the Occasion of

**The Complimentary Banquet in Honour of
Mr. St. Laurent**

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THE LIBERAL PARTY—PERSONALITIES and POLICIES

Speech by The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King

QUEBEC, NOVEMBER 29th, 1946

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN:

I am delighted indeed to be again at a political gathering in the province of Quebec, and especially at a family gathering.

I am delighted to see my old friend, Senator Fafard in the chair. He was so successful as the Chairman of the Liberal Caucus in Parliament, that by general consent of its members, he was made a Senator for life. I thank him most warmly for all his generous words of welcome which I shall long remember. I am glad to see at this table, and in this vast gathering, such a large number of fellow members of Parliament, Liberal members of the Legislature of Quebec, and leading Liberals of this city and province.

I am particularly pleased to have at my side the honourable Adelard Godbout, the Leader of the Liberal Party in this Province. Often in the past we have been deeply moved by his eloquence. As the leader of the Liberal forces in the provincial arena, Mr. Godbout, over many years, in season and out of season, in office and out of office, has been in the forefront of the battle. Our party owes much to Mr. Godbout.

There are many others of whom I should like to make mention by name. We are, however, met here tonight not to do honour to ourselves. We are assembled to honour one of our number of whom the Party is particularly proud. We are here to honour one who, in the short time he has been in public life, has upheld the banner of Liberalism in triumphal fashion. I speak, of course, of our esteemed friend, the Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

Tribute to a Truly Great Man

To win prestige, to hold its own, to retain the confidence of the public, a political party requires personalities as well as policies. It is of the personality of Mr. St. Laurent, and of what in himself he has meant to the Liberal Party and to the public life of Canada, that I desire to speak, all but exclusively, tonight. I wish I were free to do so in both French and English. I have attempted these few words in French. Because of my inability to do justice to your beautiful language, a change to my mother tongue may, I feel, be not unwelcome. Before, however, I continue my speech in English, may I extend on behalf of other members of the Government and myself our warmest thanks to those who have organized this magnificent demonstration, in honour of our colleague, Mr. St. Laurent. May I also be allowed to thank all present for the very warm welcome so kindly extended to myself.*

Let me say, at once, that I have come to Quebec to attend this complimentary banquet in honour of Mr. St. Laurent, and for that purpose solely. I have not come to discuss the Party's platform

* The Prime Minister's remarks up to this point were spoken in French.

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and policies, or to debate public issues. For me, for these purposes other occasions will be more appropriate. Mr. St. Laurent, no doubt, will wish to speak of some of the matters which, in this province, are a subject of political controversy. But I have come as the leader of the Liberal Party of Canada to pay on behalf of the Party and on behalf of the government, a tribute to one who is a truly great man, and one who in the course of his comparatively few years in public life has rendered exceptional service to the Liberal Party and to our country.

The Liberal Party: the Party of Freedom

The Liberal Party in Canada has had a long history. It has also followed a fine tradition. For over a hundred years, men of different racial origins and different religious faiths, workers with brain and workers with hand, old and young, have, for generation after generation, marched together in one vast procession under the banner of Freedom.

At one time, it has been political and constitutional freedom; at another, personal and economic freedom; at another, social and industrial freedom; at another national and world freedom, but, in one form or another, at all times, it has been an ever-expanding freedom.

At the head of that long procession there have marched the Reformers of early days, champions of Responsible Government, co-workers in the building of Confederation, the stalwart Grits of the Party's many years in Opposition, and then the leaders of a triumphant Liberalism. Saving the years immediately preceding, including and following the First Great War, and the years of depression in the first half of the thirties, our Party has been in office for almost thirty-five years during the past half century.

A Record of Which to be Proud

In the years from 1921 to 1946, the last half of that half century, there have been seven general elections. In six out of the seven, the Liberal Party has been returned to office. This has taken place despite the fact that six of those years were years of war. Within the period of war, two of the general elections were won. Moreover, in two general elections of that period, the Liberal Party returned to Parliament the largest number of members any Party has ever elected to the House of Commons. As Liberal leader, I have had, in two Parliaments, the largest following given any Prime Minister in the history of politics in Canada.

Mr. Ilsley, with his skill in using figures to demonstrate significant truths, has calculated that, since 1896, the Liberal Party, with two leaders, has lost only two elections; that the Conservative Party, with ten leaders, has lost ten elections. In this count, Mr. Ilsley omits, of course, the elections of 1917 at which time the Government was a coalition of members of both parties. Expressing the results of Mr. Ilsley's calculation in terms of gains instead of losses, the Liberal Party, over the last fifty years, with two leaders, has won ten elections; while the Conservative Party, with ten

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leaders, has won only two. This is a record of which, indeed, we may all be proud.

Tonight, we are assembled to do honour to one of our number to whom, in very special measure, we are indebted for the Party's record being what it is today.

Laurier, Lapointe and St. Laurent

As I seek to account for the long tenure of office of our Party in the federal arena, over the last fifty years, I find the secret in the emphasis the Party has placed upon Unity, and the means by which Unity has been maintained. Here in this city of Quebec, I am particularly happy to be able to say, that to the leaders the constituency of Quebec East has sent to the Parliament of Canada more than to any other single factor, we may, I believe, attribute the unity of our Party; and, may I add, our national unity.

Of the leaders whom Quebec East has sent to our Parliament, you will think first of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. How we shall ever revere Sir Wilfrid's name and cherish his memory. You will think next, and with a veneration almost as great of the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe. What a loyal and generous nature was his! Tonight we have uppermost in our thoughts the worthy successor of both, Canada's Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

It is Mr. St. Laurent we are met together to honour tonight. Well may we pay him every honour. We all know, and no one better than myself, that but for the part Mr. St. Laurent has played in the years he has been a member of the Ministry, the position of the Liberal Party in Canada would be vastly different from what it is tonight; not the position of the Party only, but the position of our country in the world.

Party Unity and National Unity

Let me, as the Party's leader, tell you, gentlemen, something of what Mr. St. Laurent's presence in the Cabinet has meant to me personally. To do this, I must speak again of the emphasis to be placed on Unity:—Party unity and national unity.

You will recall how in 1896, in the first Ministry he formed, Sir Wilfrid Laurier gathered around the Council table at Ottawa, able and experienced men from all the Provinces. When in 1921, I was charged with forming a new Liberal administration, I sought in this, as in much else, to follow Sir Wilfrid's example; and I believe, succeeded. I was not long in office, however, before I became more confirmed than ever, in the view I had long held, that Cabinet unity, as well as party unity, and national unity, depended above all else upon the close working together of Ministers from the province of Quebec with the Ministers from the other provinces.

In furthering harmonious relations between Quebec and the other provinces, no leader was ever quite so fortunate as I have been in having had, successively, at his side, two such colleagues as

the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe and the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent. Ernest Lapointe was a colleague whose political wisdom, unselfish devotion and personal loyalty made of him, in all that pertained to the perplexing problems of our political life, and in the fullest meaning of the words, "guide, philosopher and friend".

Quebec Representation in the Ministry

When Mr. Lapointe died, I was bereft indeed. That, as you may recall, was five years ago this very week. The second world war was on. Only a short time before, I had, through an unforgettable tragedy, lost from the Ministry, Norman Rogers, a close associate in the work of government over many years, and a colleague who was most promising among the younger Ministers. Still more recently, my closest adviser in the permanent service, Dr. Skelton, for many years Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, the one best informed on international problems, had passed away. I wondered, indeed, many times, if it were going to be possible for me to carry on.

I doubt if I should have found it possible to continue to lead, had Mr. St. Laurent not responded to the call of duty, and entered the Ministry when he did. How true this is, will be seen in an instant when I remind you that it was less than three months after Mr. St. Laurent came to Ottawa that Senator Dandurand passed away, and but two months thereafter that Mr. Cardin resigned from the Ministry. Senator Dandurand was not only the Leader of the government in the Senate, he was its oldest and most experienced member. In years of service, Mr. Cardin was the oldest member of the House of Commons.

Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin were both Ministers from this Province. Each was a wise and able counsellor. With the loss from the Ministry of Mr. Lapointe, Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin, had Mr. St. Laurent not become a member of the Cabinet when he did, I should have been without a single French speaking colleague in the government from the Province of Quebec. The other French-speaking Ministers from Quebec have all entered the Ministry since that time. Imagine, without Mr. St. Laurent, what, in those very critical months, my plight and the plight of the Ministry would have been.

That is the first acknowledgment I wish to make tonight. I am happy to be able to make it in Mr. St. Laurent's presence, and in the presence of his many friends.

Tribute to the late Hon. P. J. A. Cardin

This seems an appropriate place at which to pause, that I may pay a tribute to the memory of my former colleague, the Honourable Arthur Cardin who has been taken from us within the past few weeks.

The thirteen years Mr. Cardin and I sat together in the cabinet were important years in the history of Canada. They included periods of prosperity and adversity; they witnessed Canada's

entry into the second world war, and the development of Canada's magnificent war effort. The people of Canada, yes, and I may well say, the people of all the allied nations, will never realize what they owe to Mr. Cardin and to Mr. Lapointe for what they did to preserve Canadian unity, at what, I believe, was the most critical of all the years in the world's history. Had their attitude been less courageous than it was, their leadership less far-sighted, had they been less genuinely patriotic, the story of Canada's participation in the great war would have been vastly different.

In the light of all the service he had rendered, it is not surprising that Mr. Cardin should have felt, as strongly as he did, about being obliged to face some of the situations which subsequently arose. There was a chivalrous side to Cardin's sensitive nature which made him feel very keenly what seemed to him to be a lack of chivalry on the part of others. I understood, and he knew I understood, exactly how he felt. But I know, as he also knew, that we all alike had to face the stern necessities of war, and that, if unity were to be preserved, each new situation could only be met in the light of new developments. I always regretted that Mr. Cardin found it necessary to resign from the Ministry, but I never questioned his motives. Nor did his resignation ever make any difference in our personal relations, or in the affection I cherished for him.

Let me now resume what I wish to say of Mr. St. Laurent.

Debt to Cabinet Colleagues

I have frequently stated that if I have been able to achieve anything in public life, it has been due to the inspiration of the lives, the example and the sacrifices of others who have long since passed away. I have also said, and I believe it to be equally true, that such success as I have had in party leadership has been due to the ability and the loyalty of the men who have supported me with their counsel, and honoured me with their confidence at the Council Table. You have only to look at the members of the government here assembled to realize what Canada owes to their ability and integrity, and what I personally owe to their loyalty. Of those present, Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Ilsley, Mr. Howe and Mr. Gardiner have been continuously at my side over the entire eleven years since the party was returned to power in 1935. Their shoulders have borne no small share of the burden and responsibilities of directing and administering the war effort of our country.

There were other colleagues, no longer members of the Ministry, who were with me during the war, and there are others who have joined the Ministry during and since the war, most of whom are with us this evening.* The services rendered by all during the

* The following, in addition to the four Ministers mentioned, were members of the Cabinet during all or most of the years of the war: Messrs. J. H. King (appointed Leader of the Government in the Senate, 1942, and Speaker of the Senate, 1945, Ralston, Crerar, Power, Michaud, McLarty, MacKinnon, Mulock, Gibson, Angus Macdonald, Thorson, St. Laurent and Mitchell. Mr. Casgrain was also sworn as a member of the Ministry in May, 1940, but retired on appointment to the Bench in December 1941. Messrs. Fournier, Bertrand and LaFleche entered the government in October, 1942; Mr. Claxton and General McNaughton in October and November, 1944, respectively; Messrs. Glen, Jean, Chevrier, Martin, Abbott, McCann, MacLaren in April, 1945; Mr. Bridges in August and Senator Wishart Robertson in September, 1945.

war are much present to my mind tonight, also what, personally, I owe to their co-operation in the tasks of government. Of the cabinet, as at present constituted, I know I speak for all of its members when I say that no one of our number is more admired, more trusted, more beloved, than our guest of this evening, the Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent. There is none who holds a warmer place in our hearts.

Mr. St. Laurent as Minister of Justice

Mr. Lapointe's death came at one of the great crises of the war. The German armies had overrun practically all of Europe, including the western part of the Soviet Union. Three days before Mr. St. Laurent became a Minister of the Crown, the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbour. War had encircled the globe. Thus it happened that Mr. St. Laurent joined the government at the hour of greatest need. The call he accepted was a call to help in the defence of Freedom.

As Minister of Justice, Mr. St. Laurent held a key position in the Ministry, a position of exceptional importance in time of war, a time when many new precedents had rapidly to be established, and far-reaching questions of law had continuously to be interpreted. One knew that, in his hand, the scales of justice would be evenly balanced; that the highest professional standards would be upheld. To the duties of his office, he brought wide knowledge of the law and the constitution, keen analytical powers, and an experience second to none in the legal profession. Not a few of the names most prominent in Canada's history are to be found among those of Ministers of the Crown who have held the portfolio of Justice. The name of Louis St. Laurent finds its natural place in that distinguished company.

One of the Finest Figures in Canadian Public Life

Mr. St. Laurent brought more than this. He brought a broad outlook on national affairs; a mind essentially just, and devoid of prejudice; a very warm heart; and the highest integrity of character. In his courtesy and chivalry, he himself embodies one of the finest characteristics of the French race.

It is hard for those who know him to realize that, when he was sworn to office on December 10, 1941, Mr. St. Laurent was already nearing the close of his sixtieth year. Men of sixty rarely think of starting a new career, particularly when already they have attained the highest success in their chosen vocations.

Mr. St. Laurent did not choose a political career for himself. He was certainly not drawn into public life by ambition. His great abilities had won for him an eminence in the legal profession which would have entitled him to give thought to the enjoyment of more in the way of leisure for the remaining years of his life. But for the stern voice of Duty, I am certain he could not have been induced to run for Parliament. Canadian public life would, as a consequence, have lost one of its finest figures.

Mr. St. Laurent as a Parliamentarian and Political Leader

When Mr. St. Laurent gave up a lucrative practice to enter the government as Minister of Justice, it was fully expected he would administer the affairs of the department with every credit to himself and to the administration. He was, however, untried as a parliamentarian and a political leader. It was not known how efficient he would prove in either of these roles. You now know how, from the very beginning, Mr. St. Laurent has risen in the esteem of his fellow members in parliament. You know how, from day to day, he has increasingly gained the admiration and the confidence of the Canadian public. You know how greatly, during my recent absence in Europe, members of all parties welcomed him as the acting Prime Minister, and with what credit to himself and satisfaction to others, he discharged the duties of that office. And we all know that as leader of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations Assembly at London in December last, and at New York today, no voice has commanded more respect than his. It was the same at San Francisco in the framing of the Charter of the United Nations.

Time does not permit me to speak of what Mr. St. Laurent's wise counsel has meant in the fashioning of legislation in Cabinet Council, in piloting difficult measures through the House of Commons, and in presenting important issues to the public. We all know the success he has won as a debater in parliament. We learned, in the general elections of 1945, something of his abilities as a campaigner, both in his own constituency and in other parts of the province, though few will ever appreciate the odds against which, at the time, he had to contend.

What do we not owe to Mr. St. Laurent's direct and unequivocal exposition, and support of the government's record and policies in the elections of 1945? At a time when some were opposing, others wavering, and not a few unwilling to come out and say just who they were supporting, he never hesitated to declare that he was one hundred percent behind the Party's leader, and that he believed the course the government had followed, in one of the most trying and difficult of all situations, was the only one which could have kept the country united.

Mr. St. Laurent's Role in the Crisis of 1944

I have referred to what it meant to have Mr. St. Laurent a member of the Government in the difficult and moving months of 1942 at the time of the plebiscite. At that time there was the first resignation from the Ministry. I do not know that it has ever been realized how near in November, 1944, we came to having no government at all in Canada, and no Party that could form a government, with any hope of being able to carry on in parliament while our armed forces were facing the last terrible ordeal of battle at the front. I shall always believe that it was the firm and statesmanlike stand taken, in that hour of crisis, by the Minister of Justice, his clear vision, his wise judgment, his quick decision, and his persuasive powers which more than any other single influence

helped to ensure the continuance of the government, and to avert an appalling disaster.

I would not for a moment have it believed that all members of the government were not equally conscientious, equally anxious to reach a right decision, but knowing the situation as I do, knowing the exceedingly difficult position in which many members from this province, as well as many members from other parts of Canada found themselves, I am perfectly certain that had Mr. St. Laurent withdrawn his support of myself, or indeed, wavered, in that support, I should have had no alternative but to tender my resignation, and with it the resignation of the Ministry.

The results of the election of 1945 may be regarded as a sufficient answer to the question whether, in the minds of the electors, the right course was taken by the administration at that time. The complete answer would require a knowledge of conditions as they might have become, had the government not been able to carry on. Such conditions, moreover, would have to be considered in contrast with what we now know of the success which attended an unbroken war effort on the part of Canada.

Service to the Party and to the State

Perhaps I have said enough to enable you to judge what I feel is owing by the party, and by the country, to our guest of this evening; enough to enable you to sense something of what Mr. St. Laurent's services have meant to both. Is it not true that Mr. St. Laurent occupies a position which is virtually unique in our public life? And are we, ourselves, not greatly honoured in having this opportunity to pay a tribute to the high public service he has rendered to the Liberal Party and to Canada over the past five years!

I have said nothing of the contributions made by other members of the St. Laurent family in their service to the State at the time of war. Of these you already know something. Nor have I spoken of the confusion which residence at the Capital and constant commuting to and fro between Ottawa and Quebec must have worked in the orderly arrangements and quiet contentment of the St. Laurent household. On these family matters, I am, unfortunately, not an authority. I am sure, however, that for many privations, and for the forbearance exercised on many occasions to enable the Minister of Justice to pursue "the even tenor of his way", there is much for which we are indebted to Madame St. Laurent. I should like to take this opportunity, on your behalf as well as my own, to express to Madame St. Laurent our deep appreciation for what, in many unseen ways, she has also rendered of service to us all.

Just one further word concerning Mr. St. Laurent before I conclude what I have to say.

Mr. St. Laurent's Response to Many Calls

When, in December 1941, Mr. St. Laurent yielded to my earnest appeal to him to enter the Ministry, he promised to do so, only

because of the war, and for the duration of the war. Hostilities, at the time, had already lasted for more than two and a quarter years. It was not then generally believed the war would last for more than four years. It lasted, in fact, for six years. Within less than a fortnight, it will be five years since Mr. St. Laurent became a member of the government.

When the war in Europe ended, Mr. St. Laurent reminded me of what had been said between us at the time he entered the government. But the Party was then facing a general election. Mr. St. Laurent would have been the last to seek retirement at such a moment. He said he wished to be with the Party through the campaign, but he hoped that soon thereafter it might be possible for him to retire. Since the elections, he has spoken to me at different times of considerations of which he felt he should be taking account. With characteristic chivalry, he has, on each occasion, met my request to carry on. Not only that, but in addition to the onerous duties of the portfolio of Justice, which he continues to hold, he has taken from my shoulders and is carrying, for the time being at least, the increasingly heavy responsibilities which belong to the office of Secretary of State for External Affairs.

I have already made it known that in such re-organization of the Ministry as I may deem it advisable to make, and which will be made before Parliament reassembles, the Department of External Affairs will be given a Minister who will be in a position to devote his time, more or less exclusively, to intra-commonwealth and international affairs. With the reorganization thus affected, I hope Mr. St. Laurent may find it possible yet for some time to come to continue to give to our country in its parliament, and to the world in the arena of international affairs, the benefit of his exceptional talents and his very great wisdom and experience.

Serving for "The Duration"

Lest Mr. St. Laurent should feel that in being unwilling to part with him as a colleague at any time, I am overlooking what was understood when it was agreed between us that he was entering the Ministry only for the duration of the war, let me tell him of a little incident I read, but a day or two ago, and which is much to the point. I do not recall the precise words in which the story was told, but the logic of its argument impressed me profoundly. A private in a coloured regiment was pleading with his sergeant that he should be allowed to retire from the army on the score that he had enlisted only for the duration of the war: "Boss, de war am ovah", he protested, "I'se goin' home! I enlisted only for de duration". "Yo' po' niggah", replied the sergeant, "Yo' enlisted for de duration of de war. De war may be ovah, but de duration am just beginning".

Please, Mr. Minister, do remember that "de duration am just beginning".

The Need for Organization

Too much, I feel, is being said today about possible retirements, too much also about who is to lead the Party at the next general

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elections. Sufficient unto the day is the successful winning of by-elections. Let us be perfectly frank about it: we would all be much happier tonight if the Party hadn't lost Pontiac, in this Province, and Portage la Prairie in Manitoba. We should have carried both; we would have carried both had the Party's organization been what it should have been. Parkdale (Toronto) we never had. Nevertheless it was almost won. The figures make it clear that it would have been won had the organization in all parts of the constituency been what it was over the greater part.

Tonight, of all nights, I am not going to seek to apportion blame. I am, however, going to issue a clarion call to each and every member of the Party, whether he be prominent, as a member of parliament, or a very humble worker in the ranks, to realize that in his hands lies, to a greater or lesser extent, the fate of the Party. I wish I could impress on every member of the Liberal Party how much the Party's future is dependent on individuals, dependent on each and every one doing his full share. I wish I could impress on every member what is infinitely more important in times like those through which the world is now passing, namely, the extent to which the opportunities, the fortunes, the happiness—nay, possibly, the very lives—of countless numbers of men, women and children are bound up with the fate of a Party whose aim and purpose is the preservation and extension of human rights and human freedom.

Unless, as members of a Party, all are prepared to act like men, and "play the game" as it should be played, not for selfish ends but for the good of all, the whole Party is certain to suffer as a consequence. In politics, as in mechanics, the strength of a chain is its weakest link.

Relationship of the Party to the State

You will have noticed that, throughout my remarks this evening, I have referred in one breath to service to the Party and service to the State, as if both meant pretty much one and the same thing. Perhaps that is because my life has been given to the service of both, and that, in my own career, the two have, in a sense, been inseparable. I know that exception would rightly be taken to any statement that service to the State is inseparable from service to a political Party. But where, as in politics, the one is the end, and the other, the means to that end, they are indeed inseparable.

Everything depends upon what the end is we are seeking to serve. Service to the State, where the end is some system of spoils, is not one whit less sordid than service to a political Party for a like end. On the other hand, if the end be to better the condition of one's fellowmen, then service to a political party which furthers that end also becomes one of the highest forms of service to the State.

If men and women who feel and think alike on the great questions of the day do not combine under some banner that enables them to proceed as one, they may be sure that those who hold opposite views will be only too ready to profit by their neglect.

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Service to the State in accordance with principles and policies in which large numbers of men and women believe would soon become impossible without a party through which they could make their views prevail.

Old and New Political Parties

One hears from time to time a great deal about the old political parties, as though noble traditions and years of experience should count for nothing in politics, although they are expected to count for everything in other spheres of activity. There is no more reason why a political party should not be proud of its many years of existence and of office than why the members of any church, of any regiment, of any institution of learning, of any business concern, should not be proud of service these organizations have rendered over the years. The danger to representative government, in many countries today, arises not from the perpetuation of parties which have a long and honourable past, it arises from a bewilderment of political parties that have no past, and but little promise of any future.

In this Province, there have appeared in recent times, the Union Nationale, the Bloc Populaire, the C.C.F., Social Credit, the Union des Electeurs, the Labour Progressive Party, and so-called Independents of every colour of the rainbow. What do any of them represent either of tradition or of a truly Canadian outlook? The so-called Union Nationale is not national, but narrowly provincial; the Bloc Populaire is certainly not popular; many people do not know what the initials C.C.F. stand for; one day, Social Credit is the same thing as the Union des Electeurs, the next day it is not; and the third day it is Social Credit again but worst of all no one seems to know at any time just what exactly in this province Social Credit means; Labour Progressive no longer serves to disguise the real nature of the Party which has assumed that name, and, most ludicrous of all, there was for a time one Member of Parliament who, all by himself, pretended to be the Canadian Party.

Many Parties a Source of Danger to the Nation

The very number of such parties and groups unfortunately brings discredit in the public mind on all political parties. If that were the worst effect, the consequences might not be so serious. Unfortunately, parties in names and numbers so considerable: unions, blocs, movements with all sorts of fancy names, while in the long run they get nowhere themselves, tend, meanwhile, to undermine and weaken the effectiveness of parties which have a nation-wide influence. A multiplicity of parties tends to bring down the whole structure of responsible political organization, and to weaken the nation itself. That, as we all now know, was the misfortune of France at the beginning of the war. Let us beware of repeating that supreme folly in our own land. What we want in Canada are political parties that will serve to unite its provinces as one nation from coast to coast. Such a Party we have in the Liberal Party in Canada today. Let us guard that heritage.

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Unity, Security and Freedom

I opened my remarks this evening by speaking of the history and traditions of the Liberal Party. I spoke of the long procession in which, for more than a century, members of the Party, in generation following generation, had marched steadily forward under the banner of Freedom. I have, I hope, shown wherein the secret of its many victories is to be found in the emphasis the Party has placed upon unity:—a united Party; a united country; nations of the world united in the bonds of brotherhood and peace.

At no time in the history of Canada has the need for the continuance of a strong Liberal Party been greater than it is today, when the alternatives which face Mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. In our country, as in many other countries, where the pull of geography and of social differences is toward division, the Liberal Party stands for Unity. In a world where security for men and women is rare and precious the Liberal Party stands for Security. At a time when freedom continues to be menaced by tendencies toward dictatorship and totalitarianism, the Liberal Party continues to stand for Freedom. Unity, Security, Freedom: these are the great principles for which we stand; these are the banners under which, as members of the Liberal Party of Canada, we will continue to serve.

D 50497

THE LIBERAL PARTY—PERSONALITIES and POLICIES

Speech by The Right Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent

Expression of Gratitude

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I will not try to find any new formula to express to you my gratitude, that of my wife and that of all my family for this splendid tribute of esteem and friendship which you are giving me tonight. One would be quite devoid of any sensibility if one failed to be profoundly moved by it and it is from the very depth of my being, much more than from the lips that I say to you, to each one of you in particular, I thank you.

One would also have to be devoid of any sentiment of pride, be modest to a degree which few men can achieve, especially men in politics, not to feel as proud inside as one must appear embarrassed outside, at hearing about oneself such praise as has been spoken by the Right Honourable Mackenzie King and Honourable Adélard Godbout. Oh, I know how large a part of it must be attributed to the friendship with which they honour me. I also know how large a part of the cordial plaudits with which you have greeted this praise should be attributed to a similar sentiment of generous friendship. But it is none the less very flattering for me and for all those who are close to me to be given this demonstration that I have been able to win and to keep their friendship and yours.

This is the second time in my life that I am feasted in a banquet. The first one was far from being as brilliant as this. It was tendered to me in my native village of Compton, 41 years ago, when I was admitted to the Bar of the Province of Quebec. I was the first from my parish to become a lawyer and the friends in whose midst I had grown up came together to rejoice over such successes as I had won at school and at University and to wish me others in the career upon which I was embarking.

This first banquet, modest as it was compared to this one, nevertheless had the same essential characteristic. It was a tribute of congratulations, of esteem and of friendship which I have never forgotten. And the moving memory which it left with me is an earnest to you that I shall no more forget this evening's feast and the generous participation of each one of you which has made it such a grand success.

Joins the Ministry

It is true that it was five years ago that Mr. King invited me to take part in the administration of the Government of Canada and it is almost five years ago that the electors of Quebec East chose me to succeed Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe as their representative in the House of Commons.

To have one's name bracketed with that of Wilfrid Laurier and Ernest Lapointe constitutes in itself a title to fame in the political history of the Canadians of my province. No one has equalled them in winning the admiration of their fellow-citizens of the two last

generations from one end to the other of our broad country. To succeed them, to be called upon to continue their work, is fame if you will, but also what dangerous fame! There had to be a war to make me dare to have Compton thus brought into contact with St-Lin and St-Eloi. I felt, however, that the state of war and your own traditional generosity would prevent comparisons and that if I did my best, I might continue to stand on my own feet and perhaps even some day be able to assert without the swagger of Rostand's hero: My own glass is a small one but it is the one from which I am accustomed to drink.

I have recalled that we were then at war. I wonder if you all remember as I do what was the phase of the war when I was invited by Mr. King to become a member of his Cabinet. The day on which I took my oaths of office was the day when the papers told us about the attack on Pearl Harbor and the sinking of the Repulse and of the Prince of Wales. Japan was thus asserting by its simultaneous attacks on the United States and on the British Commonwealth its firm belief that with the Axis powers it would triumph over the Allied Nations and would impose upon them the conditions of serfdom intended by their war lords.

Weeks of Anxiety

The following weeks and even months were weeks and months of constant repulses and increasing anxiety for the military chiefs of the Allied Forces. They were also weeks and months of anxiety for our own public and especially for those who were members of the government. The public was aware of the agitation of the two hundred in Toronto. It was aware of the stormy debate in the House of Commons on the plebiscite act. It was aware of the no less stormy campaign which preceded the vote on the plebiscite. It was aware of the subsequent debate in the House on the amendment of the Mobilization Act. But it was perhaps less aware of the danger which threatened during all those weeks and months of a dissolution of Parliament and of a general election where the question of total and immediate conscription would have brought about a profound and lasting division in our population, a division all the more lasting and profound because it would have been based on sincere and honest convictions on both sides.

That would have been a misfortune, a great misfortune, a misfortune which would have impeded our war effort, which would have lessened the contribution which we were able to make to the cause of the Allied Nations, and which if it had not made final victory uncertain might have retarded it and resulted in the loss of many more masses of human lives during the period thus added to the terrible conflict. It would have been a misfortune which would have poisoned Canadian national life for many long years with social and economical consequences that it is not easy to assess exactly but the importance of which it is not easy to exaggerate.

Reasons for Satisfaction

Gentlemen, in spite of my 64 years and more, I am still young enough, especially in politics, to have retained some illusions. I

confess in retaining the illusion that I was able to play a not inconsiderable part in warding off that misfortune. Now if I were to have no other satisfaction than that illusion to compensate for the years I have spent in Ottawa instead of continuing the peaceful but rather satisfactory practice of my profession in Quebec, I would have no regrets. And this satisfaction comes not only from the feeling of having contributed to the performance of a public service which I deem to have been of major importance; during those weeks and months I had the satisfaction of becoming convinced that the enlightened patriotism of Canadian public men was real and was fruitful. It was given to me to see, as a fact, that the devotion to public duty and the patriotic selflessness of those with whom I had to collaborate could revive memories of the devotion to public duty and the selflessness of the great figures of all histories and of all centuries.

There were diverging views profoundly, sincerely and almost passionately held as to the best way to safeguard effectively the vital interests of the Canadian nation, the very existence of the Canadian nation.

But in every one without any exception, those views were inspired by the most lofty patriotism. And yet they were none the less diverging, very diverging and, for weeks and months, those divergencies constituted serious and agonizing conscientious problems for each one. Should he, could he sacrifice his personal convictions to continue to collaborate in carrying out policies which were yielding some results but which he could not bring himself to believe were the best?

Was it really inevitable that his refusal to do so would provoke a crisis and would paralyze efforts which were important and even indispensable without a serious prospect of seeing them resumed soon enough and with increased vigour. And while the pros and cons are being weighed and re-weighed there is the haunting and constant spectre of the war which is going relentlessly on, the spectre of the war where men are being wounded and killed each day and where men will continue to be wounded and killed each day that it shall last.

I was the newest arrival in this company of some twenty Ministers who were carrying and who knew they were carrying this heavy responsibility. Several had been my friends before I became their colleague and as to the others, friendship, and even intimacy, comes quickly in the presence of heavy responsibilities which have to be borne in commom. We gave each other enlightenment, moral support, example and encouragement and the danger passed. Our war effort continued with a constantly increasing tempo and with, in fact, a very general, almost unanimous support from our population.

Oh, there were discordant notes from time to time and here and there but these discordant notes took the form of speeches and writings and did not prevent the population generally from giving a very satisfactory response to the directives which we sought to formulate.

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Crisis in the Fall of 1944

And then, in the Fall of 1944, there was another critical period for consciences and convictions.

To say that it was more agonizing than the first one as far as I am concerned would not be wholly true because not for a moment was I able to hesitate as to the line of conduct that I was in duty bound to follow. But that line of conduct was indicated to me by facts known to me and that I could not communicate to my friends. I therefore found myself in the painful necessity of following a line of conduct which many of you, my friends, sincerely and honestly felt to be wrong. It was all the more painful because I could not but recognize your good faith and because I was convinced that if I had been able to reveal to you the motives which made me act, you would have approved them unanimously as in fact they were approved in the election of June 1945.

By that time, the security reasons which prevented me from speaking in November 1944, no longer existed and happenings which had occurred in the interval constituted a complete demonstration that we had been right.

It was hard, however, to have to disappoint one's friends, to have to appear even momentarily to have betrayed their confidence, to do things which seemed to them to be wrong, and to feel that one had to keep inviolate the secret of facts which had it been possible to reveal them would have cleared away all these appearances and made everything acceptable.

It was hard but it was inevitable and it is partly because I had to do it that you are giving me this tribute tonight.

It was hard but it was not nearly as hard as that which was accepted by the hundreds of thousands of young Canadians who joined the colours, who underwent long periods of training under conditions so different from those of the normal life of the citizens of our country, who surrendered almost completely their own individual wills to accept the commands of their superior officers, who volunteered to go and fight, to be wounded, to be crippled, perhaps even to die so that we might live and so that the Canadian nation might continue to live.

Tribute to Others

What was done by those who were engaged in war activities on the home-front is little compared to that which was done by those who went to the battle front and this banquet which you have tendered me, and of which I am so proud, I accepted it and I now accept it as a tribute to all those who tried to serve their country during the years we have just gone through.

This is a tribute to me but it is also a tribute to the Prime Minister of Canada, one whose whole career has been that of a man of peace but who revealed himself a war leader whose contribution to everything that made possible the final victory of the Allied Nations will be assessed as inferior to that of no other of all our great leaders when the perspective of years will have allowed historians to assess it at its full worth.

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It is also a tribute to all his colleagues, the Mackenzies, the Ralstons, the Chubby Powers, the Ilsleys, the Howes, Angus MacDonald, McNaughton, Gardiner, MacKinnon, Gibson, Mitchell, Fournier, Bertrand, LaFlèche, to name only a few of those who are still with us and whose names, with those of the great departed Lapointe, Rogers, Cardin, will head the different chapters of the history to be written of the universal mobilization of the human and the material resources which our country contributed to the defence of christian civilization against the forces of evil.

But it is also a tribute and it is especially a tribute to the lads of the 22e Regiment, of the Royal Rifles, of the Régiment de la Chaudière, of the Régiment de Maisonneuve, and of all our other regiments, to the lads of the Canadian Navy, to those of the Air Force, to all those who carried our participation on to the fields of battle, on to the oceans and in the skies.

It is at the same time a tribute to the millions of Canadian men and women who, in the forests, on the farms, in the mines, in the plants and in the factories, in the banking and in the financial houses, everywhere, came together and with such ardour put forth the national effort that this world crisis forced upon us.

Peace-time Realizations—Family Allowances

Let me remind you now of some of the peacetime realizations with which I had something to do since I went to Ottawa. The first I wish to mention is the Family Allowance Act. I will not go so far as to say that that Act was perfect in all its details, but it is a good Act. It is the best social Act the Canadian Parliament ever enacted. It takes care in some important degree of the anomaly under which 80% of the Canadian children—80% of the Canadian citizens of the next generation—were supported by 15% of the present generation. And there was no other efficient cure for that anomaly. It is all very well to talk about the family wage, but in a country like ours whose economy is so dependent on international trade, on our capacity to produce and to sell in competition with other countries, it must be admitted that wages and salaries have to be kept in a direct relationship with the exchange value of that which is produced through the work for which the wages and salaries are paid. To fix them at the level required by the householder maintaining the largest number of children would put a load on our industries that competition makes it impossible for them to carry. On the other hand, any attempt to proportion wages and salaries to the domestic requirements of those to whom they are paid would necessarily prevent the hiring of precisely the persons the system would be designed to favour. Equal pay for equal work is an unavoidable consequence of the system under which we live. But the system under which we live is one by which we all profit and it was only fair to distribute on the whole community a part of the burden which bore too heavily on the fathers of large families.

The Act which came into operation on the 1st July, 1945, provides for the distribution of about $250,000,000 a year to that end. Not only does it help the fathers of those families whose wealth consists principally of future Canadian citizens, but it

places at their disposal a purchasing power of $250,000,000 a year, which is currently expended and creates a stable and continuing market for a corresponding volume of consumer goods.

Certain details of this Act have been criticised. For example, it has been said that allocations should not start before the 3rd child. This objection fails to take into account the fact that the allocations are paid periodically for all children of less than 16 years at the time they are paid, and that statistics show that at the time of each payment in almost half the families with young children there are not more than two of that age. That does not mean that the families which are beginning will not become more numerous, nor does it mean that in those where the youngest have reached the ages of 14 and 15 they have not been more numerous. What it does mean is that in every family from the beginning to its full development the allocations are paid each month according to the number of children of the age required to receive them during that month.

The law has also been criticised because it provides for a decreasing rate when there are more than four children entitled to receive allocations at the same time in the same family. It may be that experience will show that the rate of decrease has not been properly adjusted, but I do not think it can be seriously contended that it is unfair to give some consideration to the fact that the monthly expenditures required in a family where there are seven or eight children under 16 years of age are not exactly twice as high as those which have to be made in a family where there are three or four.

And, after all gentlemen, what are the human realizations which can be said to be absolutely perfect from the start? It may be that this one is, but even if it is not it is still a good Act, a very good Act and the Party I belong to is proud to have written it into our Statutes.

Re-Distribution—Reasons for Amendment to the Constitution

Another reform our Party is proud of and in which I am proud of having taken a part is the re-adjustment of the representation of the population of our provinces in our national parliament. We started out in 1867 with a representation based on the population of each province. Sixty-five members were allotted to the Province of Quebec and the unit representation for the other provinces was fixed at 1/65 of the population of Quebec.

There was to be a re-adjustment of representation after each decennial census, but there was a clause in the Constitutional Act to the effect that no province would have its representation diminished unless the proportion of its population compared to that of the whole nation showed a decrease of 1/20th since the last re-adjustment.

Apparently the writers of this clause agreed that there might be some departure from the principle of proportionate representation, but they expected that it would be corrected from decade to decade, or at least as soon as it had become as much as 1/20th. But the Privy Council called up to construe that clause in 1904 reached

the conclusion that there was a re-adjustment of representation each time that representation was compared to the last census and the result was that there had to be a dimunition of 1/20th between two consecutive censuses to bring about a reduction in representation.

That made possible departures of much more than 1/20th between the representation of Quebec and that of other provinces in the event the decrease in the proportion of the population thereof, though progressive and cumulative, did not amount to 1/20th in a single decade. Now, after the census of 1941, the people of Ontario had 8 members more than their true proportionate representation and that departure might have increased indefinitely if its progress had been the same as during the three last decades. When the compilations of the 1941 census were published in 1943, a re-distribution would have been in order. In making that re-distribution due regard would have to be given to the judgment of the Privy Council. That re-distribution would have meant a loss of several seats to Manitoba and in Saskatchewan, but Ontario would have retained the eight it has had in excess of proportionate representation. The government reached the conclusion that such a re-distribution would have been unfair and it sought an amendment to the Constitution to postpone it until after the war, because there was such tension during the war period that it probably would not have been possible to have an amendment accepted which would have brought about an increase in Quebec's representation in the national parliament. At the time I agreed to share the responsibility for this adjournment of the re-distribution and I declared in the House that I was doing so because re-distribution under those conditions would have been unfair for the people of Manitoba and of Saskatchewan, but would also have been unfair for the people of Quebec and because I was confident that with an adjournment it would be possible to have a system accepted which would be fair for everybody.

At the time there were some who mocked at my naive confidence. It was even felt in certain quarters that the public could be persuaded I was making a cowardly concession to satisfy others at the expense of the people of my own province. To lay oneself open so naively to the criticism of opponents is perhaps one reason for the opinion so often expressed about me—

"St. Laurent—he may have been a good enough lawyer but he knows nothing about politics".

I confess that I know nothing about a certain kind of politics. Not only do I confess it, but I glory in it. What little experience I have about men and the manner in which they react I acquired by appearing before Judges whose intelligence and good faith I always respected. In seeking judgments from them I felt I had to submit to their appreciation all the pertinent facts and nothing but the pertinent facts; in other words, the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Now during more than 36 years at the Bar I found that a pretty successful system and when I had to go to another forum and plead

my cases before the public at large, which is our judge in political affairs, I had become too old to change to any other system. I continued to respect the intelligence and the good faith of my new judges and, quite frankly, I am under the impression that it is a system which they do not dislike.

But let us get back to re-distribution. The confidence I expressed in 1943 does not now appear to have been so naive. You know that during the last session we secured another amendment to the Constitution to re-establish the principle of proportionate representation in all the provinces. From now on it will not take more to entitle people in Quebec to a member in the Commons than it takes in any other province.

Opposition to the Amendment

There were only three members who openly opposed the principle —so just in fact—of the same unit of representation for everybody. But our opponents tried to hide their real opposition under the argument that we had no right to proceed without obtaining the prior consent of provincial governments.

They said that we should have requested prior leave at least from certain provincial governments, notably that of Mr. Duplessis and that of his friend Mr. George Drew. And because we did not do so, those who seem to know so much about the political strategies about which I am so ignorant, now think they can convince the people of Quebec that we have imperilled the use of the French language in our country.

This is a report published in Le Devoir of the 19th August and what Mr. Duplessis said at a big public meeting at St. Rose on the preceding Sunday:

"During the whole period of almost 80 years that we have had Confederation there have never been such fanatics as in 1946—fanatics who have gone so far as to say that the French language has no longer any rights in the Province of Quebec. And that was said by a French-speaking Liberal Minister".

Mr. Ivan Sabourin, the chief organizer in our Province of the Progressive-Conservative party has several times said almost the same thing. Now, all that was prepared during the debate in the House of Commons on our draft amendment. Mr. Arthur Smith, Progressive-Conservative Member for Calgary West, had defied me, as Minister of Justice, to answer the following objection: if Parliament can, without the consent of provincial governments, secure an amendment of the Constitution to change the proportion of the members for each province, would it not have the same right to secure an amendment to section 133, concerning the use of the French language?

One of those experts in political strategy might have avoided giving a clear answer to such a question. He might have been content with saying that what we were doing was to remove an injustice and that the right to remove an injustice did not imply the right to commit another one. But we were discussing the true effect of the Constitution from a strictly legal angle and I answered him

that from this strictly legal angle that provincial governments had nothing to do with the use of the French language in the Federal Parliament.

I was able to add in all confidence that we, Canadians of my race and my religion, have a much more effective guarantee than anything to be found in section 133 of the Constitution to protect our essential rights: it is the fact that it is not the custom of those who had been nurtured in the traditional principles of liberty and British fair-play to do things which the conscience of mankind would brand as dishonourable.

True Construction of the Constitution and the Use of the French Language

I am not responsible for the drafting of the Constitution of 1867 and when I am called upon to construe it as a lawyer I have to construe it as it is and not as some might wish it to be. As a matter of fact, until we shall have adopted a system to amend it at home, it can be amended only by statutes enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Now since the Statute of Westminster, the Parliament of the United Kingdom legislates for us only when we ask that it be done and in the manner in which we ask that it be done and provided that the request be made by those who, under the Constitution have jurisdiction in the matter to which the amendment is to apply.

Certain matters are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislatures. With respect to them, no request for an amendment coming from the Federal Parliament could be entertained. As to the other matters, those which are not expressly allotted to the Provincial Legislatures by the terms of the Constitution, requests for amendments must come from the Federal Parliament and it is that Parliament alone which is responsible to the citizens of Canada for the content of such requests. Now it must not be forgotten that the Federal Parliament is our Parliament just as much as it is that of Canadians of other provinces. The jurisdition exercised by it is exercised by you through the representatives you send there and those representatives are responsible to you for the integrity of your rights in federal matters, just as your representatives in the Legislature are responsible to you for their integrity in the provincial field. Our rights to the use of the French language in the Federal field are in no greater danger because of the fact that the Provincial Legislatures have no competence in that respect than are your bank accounts, your rights to vote in Federal elections and your rights to enjoy the protecion of the criminal code against assassins and thieves. Mr. Duplessis was all the less entitled to make about me an assertion like that which I cited to you a few moments ago, because I had written to him five or six weeks before—to be exact on the 9th July, 1946—a letter from which I will cite a few extracts. They are these:

"Article 133 of the Constitution deals with the use of the two languages, English and French, in the Federal Parliament and in the Legislature of Quebec, as well as before certain courts.

"It is clear that the Federal Parliament would be impinging on the rights of the Quebec Legislature if it attempted to decide anything with respect to the use of these languages in the proceedings of the Houses of the Quebec Legislature or of the courts of our province. But as to the use of these languages in the Federal Parliament, or before the Federal courts, that is a matter which concerns the Canadian population represented, otherwise, in my view, than by the members elected to the Quebec Legislature. When a mandator has two mandatories to whom he has delegated powers for specific purposes as to each, the fact that one of them fails to discharge the responsibilities of his mandate, does not transfer his powers to the other mandatory. Moreover in this case the Federal mandatory of the Canadian population has not failed to discharge his mandate, shows no intention of doing so and personally I am convinced that he will never do so".

Dominion-Provincial Relations—Provincial Autonomy Respected

I would have liked to say something about Dominion-Provincial relations, but I have already spoken too long. And, in fact, you are not the ones who have to be warned against the speeches made by Mr. Duplessis or by those who are seeking with him to create the impression that the Ottawa Government is seeking to encroach upon Provincial autonomy.

The Ottawa Government made to the provinces certain financial proposals which it felt would be apt to facilitate the fulfilling as well by the Provincial Governments as by the Federal Government of their respective responsibilities under the Constitution and it did so to the end that the Constitution might be fully respected.

The Quebec Government has not seen fit to accept those proposals, but in spite of all the wordy declarations of its present leader as to his desire to collaborate with the Federal authorities, it has never been possible to obtain from him the slightest precise indication as to what conditions he might find acceptable.

Succession Duties as an Example of Mr. Duplessis' Objections

I will mention only one item of his objections as an example of his method of expounding the controversy.

In order to meet the enormous expenditures imposed upon us by the war, the Federal Parliament had to make important increases in respect of income taxes. It was also compelled to exercise its incontestable right to impose succession duties. Now in administering these two Acts it was found that the collection of succession duties brought to light many evasions under the Income Tax Act. The scrutiny of the list of assets in an estate makes it possible to determine what proportion of those assets represents the capitalization of previous income and often makes it possible to collect taxes on income which had not been declared.

In general when the rate of taxation is high and everyone is hoping, as we are now, that it may be lowered, an indispensable condition to any possible decrease is that everyone pay without any

evasion whatsoever what becomes due under existing rates. When a taxpayer fails to remit the amount he owes under the existing rate, it is not the government that suffers thereby but all the other taxpayers. The government will always succeed in raising the aggregate sum it requires and if it does not get from each taxpayer the portion he should pay, it will still get the aggregate sum by raising the rate or by maintaining at a high level the rate at which the others are required to pay.

The Federal Government, therefore, felt that for the time being, at least, it was in the general interest of the whole body of Canadian tax payers that it continue to collect succession duties. It even proposed that the provinces abstain temporarily from imposing such duties in return for certain payments it would make to each. But that did not appear acceptable to certain provinces and as the rate of taxation has to be the same everywhere and as it had to be fixed for the provinces accepting the federal proposal at a rate high enough to cover both the federal rate and the provincial rate heretofore prevailing and thus enable the agreed refunds to be made, the government was constrained to recommend, and Parliament enacted the Act establishing the same new rate for all the provinces. But in order to avoid injustices in those which did not accept the Federal proposal, the government recommended and Parliament enacted that each taxpayer would be entitled to a credit against his Federal tax equal to the amount he would have to pay as succession tax to the government of his own province, not exceeding 50 percent of the total tax.

If, under the new Federal rate the tax is 100 and the taxpayer has to pay 50 to the government of his own province, he has only 50 to pay to the Federal Treasury.

Now you are hearing the present Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec complaining in his speeches of the provocative attitude of the Federal Government; not only did it refuse at the Conference to retire from the field of succession duties, but under the law enacted at the last session the rate of those duties was doubled!

Gentlemen, that is not the way I think the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth should be told. It may be evidence of certain experience in political strategy, but I still believe it is preferable to respect the intelligence and the good faith of those who have the responsibilities of passing judgment on the doing of men in politics.

Conclusion

Now we are all citizens of a country which is still young but whose inhabitants have already become a nation. I am taking part just now in a Conference of 54 nations and I can assure you that the rank and roll of ours in not among the least important.

We are the ones who, under providence and the stress of events, which it is sometimes difficult for men to control, are the sole masters of our own destiny. The Constitution under which we live has made a judicious distribution of the prerogatives and responsibilities of sovereignty between the central authority and

D 50508

the provincial institutions. The system may not be perfect but I know of none which would be better fitted to the situation which events have made for us. We intend that it shall be maintained. Our Prime Minister said in a speech made in 1942:

> " . . . . Our nationhood is not based on the superiority of a single race, or of a single language. Canada was founded on the faith that two of the proudest races in the world, despite barriers of tongue and creed, could work together, in mutual tolerance and mutual respect, to develop a common nationality. Into our equal partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, we have admitted thousands who were born of other racial stocks, and who speak other tongues. They, one and all, have sought a homeland where nationality means not domination and slavery, but equality and freedom. Without the ideal of equality among men, without the vision of human brotherhood, the Canadian nation could never have come into being; without them, it cannot survive."

Canadian nationhood is also based on the fundamental principle of the distribution of sovereign powers to a Parliament which deals with and determines the problems which all Canadians have in common and to Legislatures who have exclusive competence to deal with and determine those which concern separately the residents of each province.

The Party to which I belong has always been and will continue to be the firm supporter of that distribution so just, so logical and so indispensable to the healthy development of our Canadian nationality. I repeat here both as a statement of fact and as a promise some additional lines taken from the letter I wrote to Mr. Duplessis on the 9th July last and in which I used language from the Order in Council he had caused to be passed on the 3rd July and of which he had sent me a copy.

The Government of Canada did take the appropriate measures to meet "the desires of the Province of Quebec, that all the provinces, Quebec in particular, secure by proceedings carried out in conformity with the spirit and the letter of the Canadian Constitution a just and fair Federal representation.

The Province of Quebec will always see due regard paid to "its irrevocable desire to safeguard fully the constitutional prerogatives to which it is entitled and to conserve intact the intangible and unalienable rights of the French language."

The Quebec Government has no reason to fear any lack of "integral respect for the Canadian federating pact."

D 50509

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF CANADA
172 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Canada.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister

Re Quebec Speech,
Nov. 29, 1946. D 50510

-- Attached is a first rough draft outline of a speech. It would be most helpful if you could find time to indicate where it seems on the right lines and where not; also any other avenues to explore.

It is meant only as a beginning.

J.W.P

November 11, 1946.

Keep re

Draft outline of P.M.'s speech

D 50511

Liberal Banquet to honour

Rt. Hon. Louis S. St. Laurent, M. P.

Quebec city, November 29, 1946

Theme: FREEDOM AND PEACE

Purpose of dinner:

Recognition of Mr. St. Laurent's public service by his political friends and supporters.

Why Mr. St. Laurent entered public life:

To help in the task of defending freedom at the hour of the world's greatest danger Dec. 10, 1941--three days after Pearl Harbour.

Why we want to keep Mr. St. Laurent in public life:

To help in securing peace: task at which he is labouring as Secretary of State for External Affairs at United Nations General Assembly in New York.

The defence of Freedom and the securing of Peace: those are the noble ends which Mr. St. Laurent has sought--and continues to seek--in public life.

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Freedom and Peace: it is of the pursuit of these two aims that I desire especially to speak on this occasion.

First, however, I wish to pay a tribute to the quality--unique quality-- of the service Mr. St. Laurent has given to Canada.

(Here make personal tribute)

Public Service - Relationship of political party to country

In speaking of Mr. St. Laurent's service, it is of his service to Canada--to his country--that I have spoken.

We are here, as Liberals, to do him honour: NOT for party service
BUT for national service.

Do not mean that Mr. St. Laurent is not a good Liberal and a loyal party man: none better on both counts.

Mr. St. Laurent has true understanding of purpose of political parties: to serve the whole community.

Surest road to death for a political party is to become an end in itself: a mere machine for gaining and holding office.

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To live and to flourish, a political party must have principles to which it is true and policies which unite like-minded men in a desire to serve their province or their country.

Mr. St. Laurent is a good Liberal, loyal to the party, because he believes the application of Liberal principles is beneficial to Canada.

We live today in a bewilderment of parties with all kinds of fancy names: but we should ask ourselves which of these parties has a nation-wide outlook; which has a world-wide outlook; and which are merely instruments of men's personal ambitions, and lust for notoriety or power.

Need to examine anew the principles and policies of all parties--no apology, therefore, speaking of basic Liberal principles.

Liberal principles summed up in two words:

FREEDOM & PEACE

FREEDOM:

Definition: The very word Liberal is derived from liberty which means freedom.

But definition of freedom, I prefer, is the definition of freedom as the absence of fear.

(see p. 4 of printed copy of Labour and the War, P.M.'s A.F. of L. speech, Toronto, Oct. 9, 1942)

We, in Canada, happily free from many of the fears which hang over the heads of men and women in other lands.

Some of the freedoms we possess, are:

freedom of worship;

freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment;

freedom of speech and of the press;

freedom to choose and to change
our governments;
freedom to speak and write our mother
tongue.

All of these are <u>freedoms</u> Liberals have fought, in the past, to gain and to retain.

Too easy to take such <u>freedoms</u> for granted.
(Here refer to visit to Normandy
and joy of those who had these
freedoms restored after four years
without them)

Other fears still to be banished--plenty of scope for extending <u>frontiers of freedom within our own country</u>:

Fear of unemployment
of sickness and disability
of destitution in old age
of death of breadwinner
of poverty resulting from large families.

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Complete freedom will not be won until these fears are removed.

For Liberals, therefore, social security is essential to Freedom.

In the world at large

Fear of aggression and of war: greatest of all obstacles to the achievement of freedom for mankind.

Put, in another way, this means that: complete freedom is not possible without PEACE.

P E AC E

Until recent times, many thought peace could be found--especially for small nations--by keeping out of other nations' wars.

Two world wars have taught us that neutrality is a delusion and isolation a myth.

D 50517

Peace must be much more than mere absence of war. We are members one of another--we must learn to bear one another's burdens--co-operation--mutual help--interdependence--these are the keys to a positive P E A C E.

How to attain Peace:

Work at once along two parallel lines:

1) Through United Nations and other organizations, through freeing of trade and intercourse between nations, etc., create understanding and goodwill.

2) through organized strength of peace-loving nations provide utmost insurance against aggression.

Within each nation, the reign of law is essential to ensure the freedom of all;

In the world at large, the reign of law is equally essential to a genuine and lasting peace.

(Suggest repeating statement re limited surrender of sovereignty to establish world government)

D50518

C O N C L U S I O N

Have spoken of PEACE and FREEDOM
as two great aims of Liberal party.

Aims alone not enough to ensure success
of political party--must also have
practical and workable policies;
and also able and public-spirited
men to translate policies into action.

Liberal party has:

principles;

policies;

and, in Mr. St. Laurent, one of the
ablest and most public-spirited men
who ever served in the government
of Canada.

(Health)

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Twenty Years of Liberal Leadership

Speech by

The Right Honourable
W. L. Mackenzie King
Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada

(Delivered at the Royal York Hotel, Toronto,
August 8, 1939)

In response to the toast

proposed by

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ERNEST LAPOINTE

on the occasion of the Complimentary Banquet
tendered Mr. King by the Liberal
Party of Canada

on completion of his 20 years of leadership
of the party.

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Twenty Years of Leadership

Speech by The Right Honourable Mackenzie King*

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am sure you will believe me when I say, though I have addressed many audiences in the past twenty years, there has never been an occasion when I found it more difficult to give expression to my feelings, and, I might equally say, more difficult to conceal my feelings.

It would be strange indeed if one were not deeply moved by a tribute such as that which has been paid to me this evening by this great audience, representative of leading Liberals in the public life of our country, representative of every province of this Dominion, representative of those who are in high places and in humble places in our land, representative of men and women who are advanced in years, and also of those who are just coming forward to face the battle of life.

It has been given to but few men to receive such a tribute and I would have you believe that I am deeply touched by it, that I am very conscious of all it means, and that I am more than grateful to you for it.

A Tribute to Liberalism

But I would also have you believe that I do not regard the great gathering that is assembled here this evening—a gathering, I am told, which numbers between three and four thousand persons —as related solely, or even mostly, to one person. I am far, I say, from believing that this tribute is one which is being paid only to the individual who has had the honour of being the leader of his party for twenty years. I believe it to be equally a tribute to loyal colleagues without whose constant support and aid and ability it would be impossible for any man to lead a political party for any length of time.

I would also have you believe that I feel it to be equally a tribute to the thousands of men and women who have loyally supported my colleagues and myself during the years we have fought together the battles of Liberalism in this country, for without the support of the thousands, yes, the hundreds of thousands, of men and women in the different parts of a vast land such as ours, it would not be possible for any leader to command a following, or any government to continue to hold office for any length of time or to put its policies into effect.

The gathering this evening is much more than a tribute to one man; it is much more than a tribute even to a government and its supporters; it is a tribute to those great principles which underlie government, principles of Liberalism which, in this land, have

* A verbatim shorthand report was made of Mr. Mackenzie King's speech at the time it was delivered, as he spoke extemporaneously. In the editing of the transcript of shorthand notes, the address has been slightly abbreviated. In no material particular has the context been altered.

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been kept aglow while the lights of Liberalism have been going out in many parts of the world. That, above all, is what I feel this gathering tonight to be: an expression of the Liberal heart of Canada toward Liberal principles which the party has done its utmost to keep to the fore in these years of change—of rapid change—those principles of Liberalism which we believe are needed in the world at the present time more than they have ever been in the past, and which we are determined to continue to battle for and make triumphant through years to come.

A Word of Personal Thanks

I wish I could find words with which to express my thanks to all who have had to do with this great gathering. I see at this table those who are and have been my associates in the government of the country. I see assembled here as well leading Liberals from the different provinces of our country, who have come, some from the Atlantic, others from the Pacific, to join in this province of Ontario with fellow Liberals from the other provinces of Canada in giving expression, not only of loyalty and good-will towards the Leader of the party, but equally to the views and aims we hold in common. One would be less than human who was not deeply moved by the many expressions of confidence and trust which have been voiced by those who have spoken. I thank one and all for their kindly words and generous personal references.

I see here tonight not only colleagues and most of those who are at the head of the party in the different provinces of Canada, but I see also numbers of those who, through the years, have also been loyal supporters in Parliament, and many others who have been candidates of the Liberal party in its contests during the past twenty years. In addition, I see a very large number who are representative of the men and women in every constituency who, without any thought of office or of recognition for themselves, but believing that a vigilant citizenry is the surest way of keeping a country safe and secure, have been prepared to fight the battle of Liberalism without any hope of personal reward. As its leader, I am proud indeed to have this tribute paid to the party and its principles.

The Influence of Other Lives.

There are many things I should like to say this evening. Perhaps I may be pardoned if, at the outset, I make a few personal references. I would like to avail myself of this occasion, which is one primarily in the nature of a party gathering, to say, in a word or two, what I feel I owe to some of the lives which have meant very much to my own in my task of leadership of the party. Twenty years is a long time to lead a political party. I imagine that no one wonders more than I do myself how it has come about that, twenty years after the great convention of 1919, I should still find myself at the head of the party.

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I should like to thank the members of the committee who, in providing the badge which has been presented to each of the guests, arranged to place on either side of the little portrait of myself, which it contains, the portrait of my mother's father and also the portrait of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Those two lives, ladies and gentlemen, have, I think, influenced my own political life more than any others.

William Lyon Mackenzie

My earliest thoughts of politics were associated with the story of our family as I came to know it as a very little lad. The circumstances surrounding the early struggle for freedom in this country were circumstances which, even in childhood days, became very real to me. I am not going to speak of old political controversies. Happily, much of their bitterness has long since disappeared, and I should be the last to wish to revive it. I may be pardoned, however, if I say that the association my mother's father had with this great city in its early beginnings; the associations he had with the constituency of North York, that fine old stronghold of Liberalism; the part he played in helping to bring about responsible government in this country; the exile he suffered because of that struggle, the imprisonment he endured; my mother's birth at a time when her father was still a political exile, and the family circumstances those of extreme poverty and adversity; Mackenzie's return to this country; the warmth of the welcome extended to him by the Liberals of Canada and his return to Parliament—all of these things made a deep impression upon me as a young man, and, if I am in politics today, I believe that the reason, more than anything else, has been a desire, the deepest in my heart, that I might to some extent be able, on behalf of the less fortunate of my fellow-men, to carry on the struggle for a wider freedom to which my grandfather devoted his life.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier

May I speak of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. As quite a young man, I enjoyed the highest honour, I believe, which can come, in a lifetime, to any man, the honour of being chosen by one of noble character and wide experience, accorded his confidence, and placed by him in a position of great responsibility and trust. That is what I owe to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. I was not much experienced in public affairs, though deeply interested in social and industrial questions, when, at the age of thirty-three, Sir Wilfrid took me into his Cabinet. He, thereby, gave me the opportunity of seeing the work of government as it is carried on from within; and the chance, at an early age, of coming to know something of the problems that faced the Dominion as they had to be met at that time, and as they would have to be met in years to come. I learned then some lessons of leadership of a political party, and you know that lessons learned when one is young are apt to be more deeply impressed than those learned at any other time—I learned then what some of the difficulties of government in Canada were, and

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something of how those difficulties could best be surmounted. If I have been successful in helping to meet some of those difficulties, I cannot attribute that success too largely to the example set his colleagues by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and to the political precepts he instilled, consciously and unconsciously, in the minds of those who sat with him around the Council table.

I might say many things of much that was learned at that time, but I shall speak only of one or two precepts which I believe help to account for the fact that we are assembled here in the numbers we are this evening.

Precepts for Public Life

One thing I heard Sir Wilfrid Laurier say, and repeat time and again, was that "it does not do to cherish resentment in public life". I would like to say that, not only to the young Liberals who are coming on, but to all who have any desire to serve their country in a true and noble way: "It does not do to cherish resentment in public life".

I think, ladies and gentlemen, I may point to my record over the twenty years and say that, if in other things I may not have been as successful as I should like to have been, in this I have been true to my great leader, that I have not cherished resentment toward any man or toward any woman in any part of this great country. I have regarded my public life as a public trust, and I have sought, above all else, to keep any matter that might injure my feelings in a personal way so removed from my thoughts that it might never adversely influence my judgment with respect to public affairs.

There is another thing which I first learned from Sir Wilfrid Laurier and which I have always sought to remember. It is that Canada is a very difficult country to govern, and that, if Canada is to be kept as one, full account must be taken of the different elements of which it is composed. Canada's population is made up of persons of different origins and traditions; it is made up in largest part of two great peoples differing in race, differing also largely in religion, though not wholly so; it is made up of people whose interests, economic and otherwise, lie in a variety of directions. There are many who have come to Canada from foreign lands to seek here a new life, new liberty and new freedom. What Laurier sought to impress upon all his colleagues—it was something which, being of the minority in race and religion, he felt deeply in his own nature— was that in a country such as Canada we must constantly have the rights of minorities in our thoughts, that no portion of the population should ever seek to dominate in virtue of the fact that in numbers it is larger than other portions; that it is always well to remember that there can be no great body of opinion or belief that has not some real justification for it.

You have heard tonight my good friend, Ernest Lapointe, speak to you from his heart, as he always speaks. I ask you if

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the note which he sounded was not the one which was most familiar when Sir Wilfrid Laurier was at the head of the affairs of this country, the note of chivalry which is so characteristic of the French race and of the French people.

The need of chivalry is another precept I have sought to keep in mind in dealing with political opponents and with all who may differ from me in opinion. I say, ladies and gentlemen, that I believe no man can hope to be successful for any length of time in attempting to carry on the government of Canada who does not seek to be chivalrous to friends and foes alike.

Home Influences and Friends

You have been kind enough, Mr. Lapointe, to make a reference to my mother. I would like to join with my mother's name, that of my father. My father in his earlier years, took an active part in public life. In the county of Waterloo, where I was born, he was President of the Reform Association. At one time he was nominated as the party's candidate for Parliament. He felt it necessary to decline the nomination because of his family obligations. It was through my mother and father that I came to believe it was not less a privilege than a duty to share in some form of public service. The desire to serve, and the desire to help better social conditions, is something which was inspired in my home. I think I can honestly say that this desire lies deeper in my nature than anything else. May I add that I believe it to be the motive which lies deepest in the natures of all who seek to play a disinterested part in public affairs.

Sir William Mulock

There is another name I wish to mention—it is that of Sir William Mulock. There have been many friendships between men in public life in this country, but I doubt if there has been any personal and political friendship which has been closer, which has meant more than the friendship which I have been privileged to enjoy with Sir William Mulock for fifty years. We are all sorry Sir William is not with us tonight. He expected to be here. Having been slightly indisposed during the last few days, it seemed the part of discretion for him, at his ninety-five years, not to attempt to be present tonight. In Sir William's absence, I should like to say what I had wished to say in his presence. I can never be too grateful to him for the opportunity that he, too, afforded me in public life.

I need not remind you that it was Sir William Mulock who, as long ago as 1900, invited me to become the deputy minister of the Department of Labour. My thoughts go back to those years, when talking over social and industrial problems with Sir William, he decided to introduce into Parliament an act which would establish a Department of Labour in Canada. I recall with a great deal of interest today, and I would ask my fellow Liberals to remember, in these days when men and women are discussing

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social and industrial problems as never before, that it was a Liberal party in Canada, a Liberal minister and a Liberal Prime Minister, who, forty years ago, first introduced far-reaching legislation with respect to the conditions of labour of that day, and to meet other industrial and social problems which were beginning to arise at that time. I am profoundly thankful that, through the providence of God, Sir William has been spared to witness many evidences of his political wisdom, and to enjoy, at the end of a long public career, the great respect he does of his fellow-countrymen in all parts of our Dominion.

Others to be Remembered

May I also say how very proud I am to have at my side this evening Sir Allan Aylesworth. It was Sir Allan who placed my name in nomination for the leadership of the Liberal party at the great convention of 1919. He is one who has never failed to be true to the principles for which he has fought over many years. He has long been an ornament to the great profession to which he belongs, an ornament also to the Parliament of Canada.

May I refer also to the presence this evening of my good friend Senator Dandurand, the leader of the government in the Senate, with whom I have been so closely associated during all the years I have been in Parliament. He, as you know, is the senior member of the Senate of Canada. During a lifetime of public service he has given the best that is in him to the people of Canada and to great international causes, always seeking to maintain and to further the fundamental principles of freedom.

I must mention also my friend George Graham, because I owe him a very great debt. I am sorry he has not been able to be with us this evening. I would like to say that few men in the public life of Canada have given more help to their leader, or been more loyal, than George Graham has been to me from the day I became the leader of the party.

I should be sorry to conclude these personal references without speaking of Lady Laurier, who bequeathed me the house in which I have lived during the most of the time I have been in Parliament, and speaking, also, of my late friend, the Honourable Peter Larkin, who, along with other friends helped to make my home the one that it is today.

Did time permit, I should like to refer to many others who are much in my thoughts tonight, but I realize you desire to have me speak more particularly of our Party and I will, therefore, come to what I wish most to say in that regard.

A Remarkable Party Record

I have said that, in these days, twenty years is a long time for anyone to be a leader of a political party. What is more remarkable, however, is the fact that in that period of twenty years there have been, as Mr. Lapointe has said, five general elections, of which the Liberal party has carried four. What, perhaps, is most

remarkable of all, is that at the present time, at the end of those twenty years, the government has in parliament a larger following that has been given to any other political leader in the history of Canada. That, ladies and gentlemen, has not come about wholly by chance. I shall give you some of the reasons which, to my mind, help to account for our having the strong party we have today.

First I should place the success which has attended our efforts to secure and maintain unity within the party. That is best exemplified by the colleagues I have at my side today, and the colleagues I have had beside me in the past. Every province in Canada is represented in the Cabinet today. Such was also the case in the first administration I formed.

Let your thoughts go back to the convention of 1919; what was the position of the Liberal party at that time? The country had been through a great war. In the course of that war divisions had inevitably been created. After the formation of the Union Government and the introduction of conscription, the party was openly divided. In the election which took place under the War Times Election Act the Liberals were left with a mere handful of members in the House of Commons. The convention of 1919 helped to bring members of the party together. From that time on, though we encountered many difficulties, we became stronger and stronger. As the years went by, past differences were forgotten, old wounds were healed. We became again a united party.

Nor did we achieve the results we did because times and conditions were easy. We encountered more difficulties at the time we came into office than any previous government. You may recall that, at the time, the total Liberal representation in the House of Commons from the western provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia did not exceed six in all. Moreover, we were confronted with the difficulty of having to co-operate with or to contend with third parties, as well as with an official opposition. It was the first time any government had been faced with several parties on the opposition benches. We also faced, at the outset, a period of great depression. During recent years there has been a condition of change in the world the like of which has never been known before. Subversive tendencies have made it difficult for governments anywhere and everywhere. The miracle is that, in the face of such difficulties, we have succeeded in maintaining the unity of the party, and the unity of the country, to the degree we have.

Canadian Unity the Chief Objective

The reason, above all others, which accounts for our success as a party is that we have sought, above all else, the unity of our country. We have put that before us as the chief of all our objectives. The unity of the government, the unity of the party, were necessary means to that great end.

Canada, as I have repeated, is a difficult country to govern; it is difficult because it is a vast country; it is difficult also because it is a country which but very recently has come into being.

We speak of Confederation as though the Dominion, as we know it, had come into existence in 1867. True enough, 1867 was the date of Confederation, but the Dominion was not then what it has since become. In 1867, there were only four provinces. It was 1870 before Manitoba became a province; it was 1871 before British Columbia was admitted into the Dominion; it was 1873 before Prince Edward Island entered Confederation; it was 1905 before Saskatchewan and Alberta were created as provinces. After all, the period of the history of this broad Dominion does not extend over many years.

During the early years the work that was carried on by government was largely in the nature of development, of settlement, the construction of railways and other necessary public works. Government was concerned largely with material things, but, during these last few years, new classes of social and human problems have come very much to the fore. The early period was one of expansion. Periods of expansion are usually comparatively easy for administrations. We have come now to what, in many ways, might be described as an era of contraction. Speaking in terms of the agencies of transportation and communication, our country is smaller than it was. People are in immediate contact and association with each other, and with other parts of the world, in a way they have never been at any previous time.

Under Confederation, the functions of government were divided between the Dominion and the provinces. Some particular services were assigned to the provinces; other services to the Dominion. But in this period of contraction, and in this time of strain and stress, at home as well as abroad, it has become increasingly difficult for the separate governments, the provincial and the Dominion, to administer affairs in the comparatively easy fashion in which they could be administered some years ago. Difficulties at the outset wholly unforeseen have developed, and these difficulties have become more and more emphasized because of the kind of particularization, in one form or another, which has asserted itself in other countries, as well as our own. I believe we shall be on the way to a solution of these difficulties before very long, now that the relations of the provinces and the Dominion have received the consideration they have at the hands of a great commission, and which, later on, they will receive by the people's representatives in the Provinces and the Dominion alike.

A Nation-wide Party an Essential of National Unity

Today, we are hearing a great deal about the old political parties, as though they were something in the nature of a menace to the country, rather than, as I believe them to be, one of the great instruments for helping to bind together the widely separated parts of the country.

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I ask you to consider the nature of a political party. What its purpose is. A political party is not an end in itself. A political party is a means to an end, and that end is the government of the country. It is the means whereby men and women who feel and think alike in regard to the problems of state may so blend their minds and their opinions, and so combine their forces, as to make prevail, in the government of the country, policies based upon the views and principles which they hold in common. In a country of vast distances, such as ours, it is essential that we should have an instrument which serves the interests not of one class merely, or one particular creed, or of one section of the country, but, rather, an instrument which is large enough and strong enough to bring together in common effort those who are of different racial origins and religious faiths, those who belong to different classes, those who come from different sections of the country, those who have different immediate interests to serve.

The Right View of Leadership

In the years that I have been in office in our country, I have sought to regard the position of Prime Minister as first, only in the sense of being first among equals. I have striven to avoid anything that savoured of dictatorship. After all, the best way in which Canada can be governed—and, indeed, the only way, for long—is by the bringing together, into the closest possible association with each other, men of different races and different beliefs and allowing them to share equally in the shaping of the policies of the country.

Mr. Lapointe has referred tonight to something I said at Quebec. May I remind you that, in the periods in our country's history, which have been periods of struggle and transition, it has been found absolutely necessary to have working in close association with each other, men who were representative in a very real way of the great elements which compose this nation.

In the early days of the struggle for political freedom, Mackenzie was associated with Papineau; later, in achieving responsible government, Baldwin and Lafontaine were closely associated; later still, Macdonald and Cartier were associated in the work of Confederation. In a similar way, I have sought and have succeeded in binding close to myself, in all that pertains to the government of this country, my true and trusted friend, Ernest Lapointe. He is the one who, I believe, above all others in Canada, is able to represent the point of view of the province of Quebec from which he comes, and to speak for those of the French race and descent in our country. He knows their sentiments, he senses their feelings, and he understands to the full the matters which to them are of greatest concern.

Mr. Lapointe and I have sat together at the council table now for many years. In all that time, although we differ in racial origin, although we are representative of different religious beliefs,

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I cannot think of an occasion when he and I, with respect to any public question in Canada, have ever materially disagreed. We have been able to discover, in comparison with those things on which we might be expected to differ, so many more things that we have in common, that we have been able to see pretty much eye to eye with regard to all the larger issues of this land. And what I say with respect to my colleague and friend, Ernest Lapointe, I can say in almost equal measure with respect to every other colleague I have had.

It is absolutely necessary in the government of this country that the voices that speak for those who dwell by the sea, whether it be the Atlantic or the Pacific, the voices of those who come from industrial provinces, such as Ontario and Quebec, the voices of those who come from vast agrarian areas, such as are found in the provinces of western Canada, should be heard in equal measure. It is necessary, moreover, in order that the several voices may be duly harmonized, there should be a blending of minds, begotten of utmost confidence and the closest association. Only in this way can policies be made to serve the general good, rather than particular and special interests.

Party True to its Principles and Leader

If we are a united party, a strong party, in Canada today, it is also because as a party we have been true to the principles of Liberalism, and because the party has been true to its leader. The leader, on his part, has sought to be true to the party and also to himself. Together, we have sought to serve those great principles which, I believe, are more needed today than at any time in our country's history.

This is a family gathering. It is not necessary, therefore, to say much about what Liberal principles are. I noticed, however, today, that one of the Toronto papers had been kind enough to refer to something I said twenty years ago of the meaning of "Liberalism", as I then understood it. What was there set forth was that Liberalism was the expression of a wider human freedom in all the relationships of life; a wider human freedom for those who live and work on farms, for those who work in shops and factories and mines; a wider human freedom for young and old, for men and women everywhere, in relation to their environments. That has been, I believe, at all times, and in all places, the great aim and the great purpose of Liberalism. I should like to express the purpose of Liberalism tonight as being "to defend and to extend the frontiers of freedom".

Efforts to extend and to defend Freedom

As a young man, much concerned with the social questions of the day, my thoughts were mostly in the direction of seeking to enlarge freedom. As I have had experience in government over these many years, I have come to see that there is another aspect

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of Liberalism which is just as important, and which, in our time, has become almost more important than seeking to extend freedom, and that is to preserve freedom, and to defend freedom.

We have seen freedom threatened in many parts of the world, and threatened in no small measure even in our own. As Liberals, we have sought to see that the ground which had been secured in the past was held and consolidated, and, in this period when changes have been taking place so rapidly, that nothing of freedom was lost. I have sought above everything else—and to no little extent have been ridiculed because of it—to see that the constitution of this country was maintained, and the supremacy of Parliament upheld. Why has that been so? Because I believe the constitution of the country to be the paladium of its liberties, the bulwark of its freedom. That does not mean that the Constitution should never be altered. If we are to progress, change is essential in the Constitution, as in all else. The moment, however, for the sake of short cuts and quick action, the structure of the Constitution is materially changed, so that its spirit is lost, through the elimination of some of its seeming restraints, that moment, the chances are a hundred to one it will be found that something of freedom is also being destroyed.

That is why, during recent years, some of us in Parliament opposed as strongly as we could, the efforts which were made, first of all, to do away with the control Parliament had, and ought at all times to have over legislation, by the enactment of legislation, not by Parliament in the form of laws, but by the Executive in the form of orders-in-council under general powers previously secured in the name of peace, order and good government. It explains why we struggled so hard to maintain the control of the purse by Parliament, and to prevent the issuance of blank cheques which would allow governments to do as they pleased with the monies of the people. It was for the same reason we fought measures which sought to give to the administration itself unlimited control of both the import and export trade of the country.

When you stop to look into the matter, you will discover that our country, four or five years ago, had come as near to becoming a dictatorship, in the powers accorded the Executive, as it was possible to have it under our constitution. It may be necessary for a government to be given such powers in times of war, but they can never be justified except to meet the gravest of emergencies.

When, except because of some grave emergency, you give a government, any government, the power under general authority to enact what laws it likes, apart altogether from Parliament, and to do as it pleases with public funds, and to stop trade, either import or export, at the will of the ministry, you have a condition of affairs which immediately threatens the whole basis of a people's liberty and freedom. It was dangers of that kind which we sought so strenously to avoid, and the safeguards against which, since com-

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ing again into office, we have restored. We have resolutely sought to preserve the underlying and basic principles of the parliamentary system.

The Dangers of Third Parties and of a Single Party.

In this connection, may I say a word with regard to the part played by major political parties as a means of preserving national unity and national freedom. A government and an opposition are, I believe, essential to the administration of public affairs under the British system of government. Both, I believe, are secured most effiectively by two major political parties, representing opposing attitudes of mind, the Liberal and the Conservative. Major political parties, instead of several parties, or a single party, assure that at all times the government of the day will have an effective opposition, itself prepared, once a government is defeated, to take on the responsibilities of office. Meanwhile, they help to create political relationships which extend as a series of links across the entire nation.

What is the alternative—or what, rather, are the alternatives to perpetuating the so-called old political parties? There are only two that I can see. One is the creation of third parties, greater or less in number; the other, the elimination of all but a single party.

Once you begin to have a number of parties, that minute you commence to encourage sectionalism, that minute you begin to encourage government by classes or groups, government by those who are interested in some particular "ism", as opposed to government, which seeks, above all else, to give expression to the general will. Liberalism always places the general good before the particular interest, be it of class, or race, or creed. For that reason we, as Liberals, have felt that as one great party, nation-wide in extent and outlook, we could best offset the tendencies to division and cleavage in our land.

The other alternative, a single party, means the abolition of all opposition. Once that form of government takes its rise, you have immediately a dictatorship. Once a country allows the control of its affairs to pass into the hands of one political party, with one leader, and one policy, there inevitably begins the glorification of its leader as the embodiment of the entire state, the imposition of the party's will by force, and the end to liberty in the country itself. For these reasons, we have sought, as I have said, to avoid the growth of anything savouring of dictatorship in our country, and I think we have succeeded.

Industrial and International Peace

I had meant to speak not only of some of the things that in the last twenty years we have sought to avoid, but also of many we have sought to effect. I have, unfortunately, devoted to personal matters much more time than I had intended. Let me hurriedly mention one or two things for which we have consistently striven.

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I would say that, next to national unity, the furtherance of industrial and international peace has been kept to the fore. As I have already mentioned, it was a Liberal administration that established the Canadian Department of Labour. The government of that day and subsequent Liberal governments have given special attention to legislation aimed at improving relations between the parties to industry. Personally, I have striven, throughout the past twenty years, I might say the past forty years, above all else, to help remove differences which tend to separate class from class. I have striven not less zealously to do what I could to remove the causes of international strife.

Canada's Position as a Nation

As Liberals, we have also sought to see that the position of Canada as a nation within the British Commonwealth was furthered to the uttermost. You will recall that it was a Liberal administration which was the first to have this country negotiate and sign its own treaties. You may remember that it was a Liberal administration which first established legations in several countries, and first welcomed foreign legations to our Capital. These have been among expressions of a fuller nationhood. By such contacts we have established, we have been able to promote closer relationships between nations.

As an illustration, I need only mention the success we have had in negotiating reciprocal trade treaties with the United States. Ever since Confederation, efforts to that end have been made, but all heretofore had been unsuccessful. In the time we have been in office, we have succeeded, not only in making two extensive trade treaties with the United States, but we have played an all-important part in helping to bring into being the treaty between Great Britain and the United States. I venture to say that, in these days, the condition of the world being what it is, no single achievement either in this country or the United States or Great Britain has done more, to point the way to the ultimate solution of world difficulties than these negotiations and agreements.

We have not merely sought to make Canada outstanding as a nation amongst the nations of the British Commonwealth, we have striven above all else to make Canada a power for good amongst the nations of the world.

No Commitments with respect to Unknown Situations

I have been asked at different times to make a declaration with regard to the present situation. First of all, let me say, that with world conditions what they are, no man in public life can be too careful with respect to what he has to say about other countries.

I have been asked to speak plainly, to take a firm stand, and to say at once what Canada is going to do in certain emergencies. There is one thing, ladies and gentlemen, that I will not do, have not done, and cannot be persuaded on any account to do, and that

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is to say what this Dominion of Canada will do in a situation that is unknown, that may or may not take place at some future time, and of the circumstances and causes of which we know nothing at the present time.

The Liberal party has always been prepared, at the right time, to take its stand with regard to behaviour on the part of other nations to which it has reason to take exception. I do not believe, however, that we are helping the cause of international peace when, instead of attending to our own business, we prefer to give our attention to the internal affairs of other lands. That the form of government in some countries may be different from ours is their affair; our obligation is to see to our own methods of government. Also that we so conduct our affairs, and so exert our power that, as opportunity affords, we may be in a position so to use our power as to further the betterment of relations between nations.

The World Situation of Today

May I repeat, this evening, something that I have quoted on many occasions, because I believe it to be profoundly true with respect to what is actually taking place in the world at this time. The words are those of the great scientist, Pasteur, who, viewing the conditions of Europe at the time of the Franco-Prussian war, said of the world of his day:

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

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you, is that not exactly the condition we have today—forces seeking destruction, forces seeking conquest by might, and other forces working in accordance with and seeking to further the law of peace, work, and health? Those opposing powers are in conflict with each other. The only way in which Force can be effectively **met** is by Force, but the only way in which Force can be **overcome** is by Persuasion. The country that wishes to be of service to other parts of the world, as well as of service to itself, will do all in its power so to prepare as to be able to resist whatever force may be brought against it; at the same time it will go forward equally striving to further peace and good-will among all peoples and races and nations by policies which serve to bring about bonds of union between them.

I have here a paragraph which sets forth what was said by a British officer during the period of the great war. It seems to me

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to express a truth which we cannot take too much to heart:

> "We ought to recognize that the real struggle in which this war is only an episode, is not merely between our own countries and anything so unstable and transitory as modern Germany, but between permanent and irreconcilable claimants for the soul of man, and that what makes the German spirit dangerous is not that it is alien, but that it is horribly congenial to almost the whole modern world, with all its cult of power as an end in itself, its coarse material standards, its subordination of personality to mechanism, its worship of an elaborate and soul destroying organization. And if we feel that the absolute claim of personality, the preservation and development of spiritual freedom are worth any sacrifice in time of war, we ought equally to feel that they are worth any sacrifice in time of peace."

In other words, the evils we are facing today are not those of any one people or country, they are evils which are beginning to permeate the whole modern world. The task they impose is that of preserving what is highest in human personality. For that particular end, we must strive above all else.

Humanity the Chief Concern

In speaking at the Guildhall, in London, after returning to England from this country, His Majesty the King quoted a phrase by the late Professor Goldwin Smith, a former resident of this city. It expresses a thought much needed to be kept in mind at this time. The quotation is:—"Over all nations is Humanity." That is something the significance of which cannot be too strongly emphasized. What we need to learn is that in no nation are all the people bad; that within every nation there are hundreds of thousands of men and women who are just as anxious as we are to prevent war, not to speak of the possible destruction of civilization. We must seek by our words, we must seek by our actions, so to conduct the affairs of our country that nothing may be said or done which will render impossible closer relationships between ourselves and those men and women of any and every country who also are striving for peace. Only by joint effort of the kind will peace, rather than war, ultimately triumph.

The Freedom of Mankind

May I leave this thought with you as a last one. Liberalism began with a struggle to extend and to defend freedom. Its work through the years has been to continue the effort to extend and to defend freedom. In the past, in Canada, that effort has been made primarily in relation to freedom within our own country. So far as the future is concerned, we, as Liberals, if we be true to our cause, will seek to extend and defend freedom, not only for ourselves in our own land, but will be prepared to do so, as circumstances may determine, in the interest of mankind.

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Right Honourable

W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister

Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada

SPEECH BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ERNEST LAPOINTE

(Delivered at the Royal York Hotel, Toronto, August 8, 1939)

on the occasion of the Complimentary Banquet tendered Mr. King by the Liberal Party of Canada

on completion of his 20 years of leadership of the party.

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Right Honourable
W. L. Mackenzie King
Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada

Speech by the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe

Right Honourable Mr. King, ladies and gentlemen:—I deem it a great honour to preside at this notable gathering. I owe that honour to my close association with our guest in the public life of this country.

Ever since the death of my esteemed earlier leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, it has been my privilege to stand by the side of his successor. Always, and everywhere, we have defended the same causes; fought the same battles; upheld the same principles throughout this Dominion of Canada; To repeat Mr. King's own words—at Quebec last winter, when my friends so kindly remembered the thirty-fifth anniversary of my entry into public life,—"Our long and happy co-operation was born in our common loyalty to a great Liberal and a great Canadian, and to the imperishable ideals which he cherished. Differences of views have arisen, as they invariably must in all parties, but Lapointe and I have worked together with a common aim:—the unity of our country, and the maintenance of its proud place as a nation in that community of free nations which comprise the British Commonwealth."

The demonstration of this evening proves that Liberalism is not ungrateful, that Liberalism remembers, and that it loves those who love it.

1919 Convention Recalled

Many of those here present attended the great Liberal convention of 1919, in Ottawa, and their minds, like mine, are turning back to that memorable occasion. Those were difficult times for the country, and for the Liberal party. We were suffering from the aftermath of the war. The country was torn by conflict and bitter division engendered by prejudices of the most vicious kind. The spirit of the men and women who gathered at that convention was a spirit of hope and vision. The country had to be re-united and its various sections had to be cemented.

After the dark days of 1870 when France undertook the gigantic work of its re-construction, a great statesman, M. Thiers, was asked by his colleagues to whom the leadership should go,

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and he answered, "To the wisest and most worthy." That was the spirit which inspired the delegates of 1919 when they selected William Lyon Mackenzie King. And we will always remember the remarkable scene when that grand old man, Mr. Fielding, jumped to his feet after the result of the vote was given out, and electrified the delegates by moving that the nomination be made unanimous, in a speech which I shall always remember as one of the finest I have ever heard.

Both Scholarly and Practical

Some critics said afterwards that our new leader was a scholar; and not a practical man. Events have proven the accuracy of the words of Theodore Roosevelt, when he said, "the most practical of all politicians is the politician who is decent, clean and upright." The gentleman who was selected in 1919 as the head of the Liberal party is the only political head in the whole world who is still at the head of his country after 20 years of continuous service.

He has led his party to victory in four general elections in the Dominion of Canada. He has lost one. And you may take my word for it that in the more or less distant future he is going to win another one and is going to receive another vote of confidence from the electors of Canada.

Speaking at the convention of 1919, I was moved to quote those words of Macaulay:—"As long as there is a shred of the old banner flying, by that standard I, at least, will stand."

Permanency of the Liberal Party

Liberals of Canada! After those 20 years I stand here proudly, as you all stand, behind that noble banner. We have stood by it in defeat as well as in victory. During those 20 years Mackenzie King has displayed the banner of Liberalism throughout this Canadian land. We have never changed its glorious colours. We have never changed, as my friend Cardin said, the name of our party. Our Conservative opponents have changed their names three times, and I cannot figure out the number of times the other groups have re-christened their respective babies.

Of course, I am not alluding to the "New Democracy". It is brand new. I am afraid, though, that the fate of the Reconstruction Party will be repeated. They elected one member and then they disappeared. You see, a general election is a baptism of fire in which many new parties are sunk and destroyed. It cannot be otherwise. The mountain in labour loses some of its majesty when it gives birth to a mouse.

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Canadian Unity Primary Objective

Since his election as leader of the Liberal party Mr. King has devoted his time and his talent, his energy and his phenominal capacity for work, to the achievement of the purposes he had set himself to reach. He has urged Canadians to understand that the Confederation was agreed to in order to build one great nation and not nine minor ones. He has proclaimed consistently that there should not be federalists or provincialists in Canada, but only Canadians;—loyal Canadians; loyal to the principles of the association, and protecting to the utmost the essential factors of local autonomy without weakening the national bond.

And I am proud to say tonight that whatever conflicts or differences there may be in Canada because of world conditions, we are free from those narrow and despicable strifes caused by prejudices of race or creed. Nations which are disunited are weak, and weak nations are always in danger.

Mackenzie King is the man of the party; but he is also the man of his country. He is a man of human brotherhood and all it stands for, and his words and actions have always reflected it. He has been one of the great builders of the British Commonwealth of nations; basing it on equality, freedom and liberty.

After the Imperial Conference of 1926 he was bitterly attacked, —and I had my share of the vituperation,—for the work he had accomplished; and reactionaries branded him as an agent of disruption. Today not only has the excellence of his work been recognized, but those who then criticized are eager to claim the paternity of the child whose birth was so obnoxious to them. A recent glorious event has shown the true and magnificient loyalty of the whole of Canada; a loyalty which is enshrined in the British Crown.

Achievements in World Affairs

With our neighbours to the south Mr. King has succeeded in realizing the dream of his illustrious predecessor, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He has negotiated treaties with the United States. That work has been acclaimed in Canada and in Great Britain; and the disloyalty campaign and the flag-waving of our opponents of 1911 would be utterly discredited today.

Our chief represents today in the eyes of the world the spirit of Canada, with all its strong vitality; the true Canadian spirit, noble, pure, sincere, jealous of its liberty and freedom. Less than a year ago I had the privilege of spending a day with an illustrious Frenchman, Mr. Gabriel Hanotaux, whom I met at the League of Nations many years ago. Mr. Hanotaux is the former Minister

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of Foreign Affairs for France, an ambassador, a statesman, a delegate to the League of Nations and one of the best world observers. He said to me:—"You are fortunate indeed to have in Canada, as your Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, one of the foremost statesmen of the world".

At this time of unprecedented difficulties our chief is the logical and unchallenged leader of all the brotherhood of moderate Canadians. He is the only man able to unite all those who work for order and economic freedom. He is opposed to wild temerities, but he is a reformer with prudence and intelligence and decision.

Tolerance Guides his Actions

A gentleman by nature, a scholar by education, a philanthropist by instinct; he has to face problems with clear ideas properly classified. Knowing, as he does, that one of the worst dangers of bad times is bad remedies, he is fighting Utopias and illusory dreams. His ideas are always broad and comprehensive, leaving the small things to smaller minds. He who climbs a high mountain does not waste his time looking at the stones which fall along his way. Above all, our Chief possesses the highest of all social virtues, the virtue of tolerance which is so essential for Canadian public men. He knows no East nor West to which he owes allegiance; he is loyal to the whole of Canada. A doughty fighter when the battle is on; and yet there is no more human, attractive, delicate man when he lays down his armour.

It was Burke who said that magnanimity in politics is usually the truest wisdom, and that great nations and little minds go ill together.

Indeed Canada is fortunate in having such a man at her head at this time when hatred is becoming the poisonous motive of many activities; hatred of the people across frontiers, hatred of classes, systems, ideologies. Hatred flows everywhere. Let us Canadians move against the tide. Let us work in friendship. Let us build in friendship. Let us unite our various qualities, different as they may be, in mutual endeavour.

Our illustrious leader not only enjoys our confidence and friendship; we admire him. The more he is attacked, the better we love him. If after serving my country in parliament during 35 years, and as a member of the Government for 14 years, I am still in public life and prepared to fight the battle, it is because of the example of Mackenzie King.

Young Liberals and Women honour their Chief

I am proud to see the Liberals of Canada honouring him tonight. I am pleased to see so many of the younger generation attending this dinner. After all, they are those who will, in the

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future, bear the responsibility of what is being done today. If we make mistakes they will suffer for them. They have the right to be heard; and, thank God, they have the power to make themselves heard in this land.

I am also happy to see so many women here tonight. Every time a country has gone through a difficult crisis, every time there has been danger, the women have all contributed to the salvation of that country. Much of what our distinguished leader is today is due to the lesson, inspiration and remembrance of his illustrious mother who is still influencing every action of his life. Yes; in the distant past and throughout the centuries women have been the keepers of a sacred trust. Canada relies on her women.

Ladies and gentlemen:—I give you the toast "Right Honourable William Lyon Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal Party and Prime Minister of Canada".

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Toronto Speech

former meeting

Force vs. Reason

Trends of our day

The test of any policy or method

can it be pursued indefinitely?

The trend

in international affairs
(the atomic bomb)
United Nations

in national affairs

in private affairs
(rule of law)

attitude - voice

education

opinion

Travellers - purveyors of opinion

barometers of political trends

a true perspective

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER D50542

MEMORANDUM

Toronto Speech — foreign policy

force as decisive

Friendship of one day

The test of any policy ~~can~~ or method

can it be pursued indefinitely

The need for international affairs

(The Atomic Bomb)

much value

The National Affairs

In private affairs

(and at home)

attitude - voice

Education

Opinions

Examples - newspapers & Opinion

barometers of political trends

a true perspective.

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Re Quebec

The occasion - Happiness at
of Liberal Forces

Mr. St.Laurent:

Fafard - Senators

Godbout

-

The place of wars in History

Visit to Normandy

-

The changing Times

The times change - we change with time

Old passing away - new coming on

Some stand midway between Past and
Future

-

Laurier and Lapointe (see speech at
Banquet)

Myself, oldest member of H. of C.

A tribute to Cardin

Re Privy Councillors -

Aylesworth & self sole surviving
links with Laurier's Cabinet

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Tribute to Macdonald of Halifax

New and younger men coming on

(the contingent from Quebec)

What the evening recalls - years ago

-

The need for <u>a national party</u>

how absorb others

Need for a <u>Liberal Party</u>

Party an instrument to carry out policy

Need for organization

Liberal policy - <u>Peace and Freedom</u>

<u>Duplessis</u> - Provincial politics

position in Federal politics

Dominion-Provincial relations.

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1. Re Quebec Speech

Peace and Freedom

this being the basis of Liberal policy

importance of speech made by N.A.Robertson in London as coming from London;

the same ideas "in reverse" as coming from Canada;

also ideas we have been sharing in common.

2. Re Toronto Speech

Force and Reason

strikes as an example of force against reason

J. A. G.
22.xi.46

Draft

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The fortunes of war and the necessities of peace have brought us into close and growing contact with like-minded peoples in many of the nations of the world. We have come, as they have come, to set a special value upon a certain moral order in our collective society. Within that moral order lie many things - shared in common - which we and they are determined to defend and to enhance.

In reaching this determination we are all animated by the conviction that no single nation can now live in isolation. Neither can any group of nations persevere in a kind of exclusive relationship among themselves and expect at the same time to contribute their full and fair share to the needs of the world community.

It may well be that in working towards the goal of mutual helpfulness, we shall have to accustom our minds to a situation which is not only new, but is the opposite of the old. But no one who looks realistically at the fantastic costs of war will wish that our country and our government should do other than put forward the most understanding and most useful effort of which both are capable.

J. A. G.
22.xi.46

Draft

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QUEBEC SPEECH

Part One: Mr. St. Laurent's Place in Public Life
(To come immediately after customary opening remarks)

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The banquet we are attending tonight has been organized by the political friends and supporters of the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent. His friends wish to pay a tribute to the high public service Mr. St. Laurent has rendered to Canada in the past five years.

Mr. St. Laurent occupies a position which is virtually unique in our public life. He did not choose a political career for himself. It is hard for those who know him to realize that when he accepted office on December 10th, 1941, Mr. St. Laurent was already nearing the close of his sixtieth year.

His great abilities had won for Mr. St. Laurent an eminence in the legal profession which would have permitted him to give some thought to the enjoyment in the closing years of his life of a growing measure of ease and leisure. Men of sixty rarely think of starting a new career - particularly when they have attained the highest success in their chosen vocation. Mr. St. Laurent was certainly not brought into public life by ambition. But for the war, and the stern voice of duty, I do not believe he would have accepted the invitation I tendered to him to become a member of the government of our country.

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You all remember the tragic circumstances of Mr. St. Laurent's entry into office. The comrade-in-arms of my whole political life - my closest friend and associate in public life - the first citizen of this city and of this province - Ernest Lapointe - had just passed away. His death had come at one of the greatest crises of the war. The German armies had overrun all of Europe and the western half of the European area of the Soviet Union. Three days before Mr. St. Laurent became a Minister of the Crown, the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbour. War had encircled the globe. Mr. St. Laurent thus joined the government at the hour of humanity's greatest danger. The call he accepted was a call to help in the task of defending freedom. Of Mr. St. Laurent's share in defending freedom I shall speak in a moment.

The task which brought Mr. St. Laurent to Ottawa ended. The war ended in triumph. Freedom was saved from those who sought to destroy it by force of arms. After four arduous and exacting years, Mr. St. Laurent might well have asked to be relieved of the burden of wartime service

he had so willingly taken up. Had he done so none could have complained. We could only have offered our heartfelt thanks and wished him Godspeed.

In the past year it has become increasingly evident that winning the war was not enough. To justify the service and the sacrifice of war, it becomes our first duty to do out utmost to secure a lasting peace. That I conceive to be the over-riding purpose of my remaining years in public life. In that task, I wanted and I needed Mr. St. Laurent at my side. I was, therefore, deeply gratified when he agreed to accept the heavy duties of the portfolio of External Affairs. It is, I know, a source of the greatest pride to Mr. St. Laurent's constituents and, indeed, to all his friends and supporters, to witness the part he is already taking on the stage of world affairs.

Mr. St. Laurent came into public life to help defend freedom; he is remaining to help secure peace. Freedom and Peace - those are the noble ends to which he is devoting his public career.

Freedom and Peace - that is the theme of the remarks I wish to make to you on this occasion. But, first, a word about the quality - the superb quality - of the service Mr. St. Laurent has given to Canada in these past five years.

Part Two: Mr. St.Laurent's service

(This must obviously be very personal, but a few points are suggested without elaboration).

1. Difficulty of leaving home and established life in Quebec City for humdrum existence and gruelling hours of labour of wartime Ottawa.

2. ~~Splendid departmental service - great desire to uphold the quality of the judiciary.~~

3. Vast range and scope of interests - an acute and wise counsellor - ~~breadth of outlook combined with sharpenss of analytical powers.~~

4. ~~A fine Parliamentarian~~ and an orator of growing powers.

5. Courage and vision -

   Courage to do what is right;

   Vision to see beyond the immediate reactions.

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6. Utterly selfless partiotism.

7. Breadth to see that what serves the highest interest of all Canada will - in long run - serve the best interests of those from his province and of his race.

Part three: Political Party and Service to Country

All of us here tonight belong to one political party. This is a Liberal banquet. Yet I have so far said NO word about the Liberal party. In speaking of Mr. St. Laurent's service, it is of his service to Canada - to our country - that I have spoken. It is true that this is a party gathering. But we have met together not to recognize service to the party but to honour service to the nation.

I know you will not misunderstand me. I am not suggesting that Mr. St. Laurent is not a good Liberal - for there is none better. Nor do I suggest that he is not a loyal party man - no one understands better how important party loyalty is. What I do want to say is that Mr. St.Laurent understands the true object of a political party. What is the true purpose of a political party? It is my conviction that a political party should exist only to serve the whole community - whether that community be the province or the nation.

Some men, I know, regard political parties as ends in themselves. There are, indeed, some party

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leaders who seem to feel that political parties are mere machines for gaining and holding office. That, I believe, is the surest road to death for any political party.

To live and to flourish, a political party must have principles to which it remains true regardless of consequences. The policies of a party should unite like-minded men in the desire to serve their province or their country. The sincere conviction that the policies of a party will benefit the whole community and not the party alone - that alone is what justifies political parties and enables them to serve a nation.

We live today in a bewilderment of political parties, of unions, of blocs, of movements, with all kinds of absurd and fancy names. Their very number has tended to discredit all political parties. Never was there greater need to look over all political parties with a critical eye. The people sooner or later will ask one or two fundamental questions about any party. First of all, are the principles of the party sound and

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are its policies framed in the interest of all.

Next, has the party a broad national outlook, representative of the whole country? Indeed, in these times, we should go even further and ask ourselves whether a political party has a world-wide outlook. On the other hand, there is great danger to the public interest in those parties or groups which are simply the instruments of the personal ambition or the lust for notoriety and power of an individual or a small group of men. For, unhappily, as you know, such parties do exist.

The time has come, I believe, in this period of transition, to look anew at the principles and policies of all political parties. I wish, accordingly, to say something this evening about the basic principles of the Liberal party of Canada.

D 50557

Quebec Speech

Part four: Basic Liberal Principles: Freedom

There are many ways in which the basic principles of the Liberal party might be set out. One way is to sum them up in two words. Those words are FREEDOM and PEACE.
To defend and extend freedom; to establish and secure peace; those are the fundamental aims of the Liberal party.

Freedom is liberty. Both words have the same meaning. And liberty is the word from which the word Liberal is derived. The very essence of Liberalism is freedom.

Definition of Freedom

But what do we mean by freedom? There are many definitions. The one I like best is one I have used many times before. Freedom, I would define as the absence of fear. As men's fears increase, so their freedom is lost. Man is free only to the extent that he has eliminated fear.

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No one understood this better than Hitler. He and his gang used fear systematically - and, for years, successfully - to destroy men's freedom and to bring them under Nazi domination. The war against Hitler was a war for freedom - a war to destroy the fear of world domination.

Freedom means the elimination of fear. As fear vanishes, freedom grows. Until Nazi Germany and ~~militant~~ militarist Japan were defeated, we had to bend all our energies to the task of eliminating the great over-powering fear of world domination and world slavery. But the war for freedom did not end with military victory. It will never end so long as fear dominates any part of the life of mankind.

The defence and the extension of freedom- the true mission of Liberals - is a task which will never end. There will always be a place - and a large place - for a Liberal party which is true to Liberal principles.

Freedom Already Gained

In Canada we are happily free from many of the fears which hang over the heads of men and women in other lands.

We have freedom to worship God in accordance with our convictions; we are free from the fear of religious persecution.

We have freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment; we have not the ever-present fear of a secret police which is the curse of so many countries.

We have freedom of speech and of the press; we have no fear of the state holding us to account for opinions we may express nor, may I add, have we any fear that I have ever noticed of opposing the government of the day.

We have freedom to speak and write our mother tongue whatever it may be; we have no legitimate fear that the rights of the minority in the use of its language will not be respected.

We have freedom to choose and to change our governments; no one really fears that any government in Canada will seek to defy the verdict of the people given in a free election.

We did not always have these freedoms. All of them are freedoms which Liberals in the past have fought to gain and to keep. We perhaps take these freedoms too easily for granted in a country like Canada where, for generations, none of them has been seriously questioned.

Visit to Normandy

I have, as you know, recently visited the land from which the ancestors of most of the people of this province sprang - the land of Normandy. Never, in the course of my life, have I had so moving an experience. Here was a people who had known freedom for generations; a people who, like us, had perhaps come to take that freedom for granted.

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Suddenly the darkness of tyranny had descended over their country. For four long years, every freedom they had known vanished. Fear stalked the land. And then came the armies of freedom - and, among them, in the army of Canada, their own kin.

Two years had not dimmed the joy of liberation or the gratitude to the liberators. I wish all my fellow Canadians might have shared the experience of my visit to Normany. Not only would it have given them a new pride in Canada, but it would have given them a new conception of the pricelss boon of the freedom we have never ceased to enjoy.

The defence of personal freedom, of religious freedom, of political freedom is the first duty of Liberals. But it is not enough to stop with the defence of the freedoms we now enjoy. To survive, a Liberal party must always look forward. Liberals must be pioneers, pushing out the frontiers of freedom and ever extending its sway.

D 50562

Fears to be eliminated at Home

Freedom, let me remind you again, is the absence of fear. What fears are there which still have to be eliminated. What new freedoms must Liberals seek to win apart from the fear of war, the great fears in men's minds today are social and economic fears. The fear of unemployment; the fear of sickness and disability; the fear of destitution in old age; the fear of destitution resulting from the death of the breadwinner; the fear of poverty resulting from large families; the fear of inflation; the fear of sudden economic depression; these are the great fears bred of modern industrial society in which none can stand alone and each has become dependent for his livelihood on all. Complete freedom will not be won until all these fears are removed.

That is a large task. It will not be completed in a year or even in a generation. The removal of these fears; the vast extension of freedom which we call social security is the great task of the Liberal party within our own country.

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Social Security Extends Freedom

And do not forget that social security means much more than family allowances, old age pensions, unemployment insurance and the like. It also means policies to encourage production and enterprise and trade and a high level of employment and a rising national income.

The day has passed when we can rely on laissez-faire to extend economic and social freedom. That does not mean that the state must or should try to organize or even to regulate the whole of our economic life. Far from it. There would be no surer way to destroy freedom. What it does mean is that the power of the state should be used, in co-operation with all sections of the nation, to promote economic conditions, to create, if you like, an economic and social climate, in which enterprise may flourish while security also prevails.

This leads me to digress briefly to say a word about the Liberal attitude in the relations between the Dominion and the provinces. You have been told a good deal about the Liberal attitude by our

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political opponents. I think it is time you heard what it is from those who really understand the Liberal position.

Part five: Digression on "Centralization"

The Liberal party has traditionally upheld the legitimate rights of the provinces given to them by the constitution. Liberals have always been quick to resent any attempt by the Dominion government to usurp provincial prerogatives. In that respect, the Liberal party stands where it always stood. We have not changed.

But the Fathers of Confederation gave certain powers not to the provinces, but to the Parliament and government of Canada as a whole. The Liberal party has always believed that the constitution--the whole constitution--should be upheld. Just as the provinces should exercise their legitimate powers, so the Dominion should exercise its powers freely. Each government, whether Dominion or provincial, is responsible to the people; in the case of the Dominion to all the people of Canada; in the case of the province to the people of the province. The power and authority of each, in its own sphere, comes from the people and from nowhere else.

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Strange new doctrine:

Certain provincial politicians, however, have developed a strange new doctrine -- a doctrine quite foreign to the constitution. They claim that the Dominion government is responsible, not to the people but to the provincial governments. One of these politicians even described the Dominion as the one daughter born of nine provincial mothers. That monstrous description was offered seriously as an interpretation of the constitution.

False cry of "centralization"

The Liberal government at Ottawa, as you know, made certain proposals for co-operation between the Dominion government and the provincial governments. We believed what we proposed would enlarge the economic and social freedom of the Canadian people in all the provinces. Certain provincial politicians at once began to roar "centralization". These politicians seem to belong to the school of public men who believe that if they repeat the same word often enough and loud enough people will believe it. They never offer any facts. They content themselves with sweeping

general assertions, sprinkled, more or less generously, with abuse.

I feel the misrepresentation has gone on long enough. I hope that, from now on, true Liberals will go to the people of this and every other province, and tell them the truth about the so-called "centralization" the Liberal government has proposed. If the people are given the facts, I have little doubt about their verdict.

Factual Summary of Dominion proposals

Let me remind you of what we really proposed to the provinces.

In the first place, the Dominion did not even suggest that there should be any change in the constitution. We did not ask, we did not desire, the provinces to give up one iota of their constitutional rights. What we did propose was that there should be only one income tax, one corporation tax and one succession duty in Canada, and that these taxes should be imposed by the

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Dominion. We thought the tax payers of Canada would rather have only one of these taxes to pay instead of two, or some times three, as had been the case before the war. But we did not ask the provinces to give up the right to levy income taxes. We offered instead to make each province an annual payment if the provincial government would agree not to levy these taxes for a period of years. No right was given up. The annual payment in every case was larger than the province could reasonably expect to raise by moderate taxation and it was assured to the province for the period of the agreement. We believed, and we still believe, the offer was a good business deal for the provinces and that it was a good proposition for the people of Canada.

Why tax agreements desired

Why did we want to make this deal? Not because the Dominion government was worried about its own revenues. The constitution gives the Dominion the undoubted right to raise whatever revenues it needs by any form of taxation. The reasons were quite different. We believed it would encourage enterprise

and help to keep up employment if there was no duplication and overlapping of income and corporation taxes. We also believed that taxation would be more just if one system prevailed throughout the country. Under modern conditions, great wealth is inevitably accumulated by large corporations and by certain individuals. In Canada that great corporate and individual wealth is earned all over the country, but it is largely centralized in a very few places.

What the Dominion government is proposing is to tax these great pools of wealth and to distribute part of the proceeds to the provincial governments to be used for any purpose they desire. What this means is decentralization rather than centralization of the wealth of the country.

Other Dominion proposals

But what of the rest of the Dominion proposals. We proposed, by co-operation with the provinces, to enlarge the benefits of the old age pension and to place the pensions on a contributory basis. It is hard to see any centralization in the

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broader distribution of purchasing power to old people. The Dominion government also proposed to make a very substantial contribution from the Dominion Treasury to improve health services which were to be administered by the provincial authorities. Surely an odd form of centralization.

We also wished to arrange for co-operation with the provinces in planning public works and the development of natural resources at times when business was slack and employment was needed. The Dominion was willing to give financial assistance for provincial planning. It is hard to see any centralization there. We had no desire to dictate to the provinces; we wished merely to co-operate in plans to avoid unemployment.

Finally, the Dominion proposed to undertake the major financial responsibility for the relief of the unemployment which did develop.

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Real motive behind centralization

The Dominion proposals were, in fact, designed to give greater financial independence to the provinces so they could all stand on their own feet and perform their own services.

We also proposed a greatly increased measure of social security and economic freedom for the people of Canada. That is the "centralization" which certain provincial politicians accuse the Liberal party of proposing.

It is significant that the cry of "centralization" comes mainly from politicians with Tory backgrounds. It is generally not a bad idea to judge men by the company they keep. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude that what these provincial politicians and their unseen friends really oppose is the programme of full employment and social security with the greater freedom it would bring.

These Tory politicians dare not oppose the Liberal policies of employment and security directly.

They have, therefore, hidden their opposition behind the smoke screen of a false cry of "centralization". But in reality it is merely the age old conflict between reaction and progress, between domination and freedom.

Part six: Basic Liberal Principles: Peace

But it is not only in Canada that freedom must be extended by the elimination of fear. As I have already said, the greatest of all fears today is the fear of aggression and of war. The fear of war is the greatest of all obstacles to the achievement of freedom for mankind. To put the same thought in another way, it can be said that complete freedom is not possible without enduring PEACE.

Until the present century, many thought that peace could be found, especially for small nations, by keeping out of other nations' wars. Many small nations, in fact, did manage to keep out of war in the past. But, in our day, all that has changed. Two world wars have surely convinced all but the blindest that neutrality is a delusion and isolation a myth. The nations of the world are slowly learning the great truth that we are members one of another and that war anywhere means war everywhere.

Peace will not be attained until we have achieved a real brotherhood of man. Nations today are dependent upon one another. In an interdependent world,

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the key to peace is mutual aid. Nations, like men, must learn to co-operate, to bear one another's burdens. To work, along these lines, for the establishment of an enduring Peace - that is a fundamental Liberal aim.

Enduring peace is much more than the mere absence of fighting. Peace, to endure, must be organized. Positive machinery must exist to keep the peace among nations as well as among individuals.

How to Work for Peace

The work for Peace must be carried on along two parallel lines. It is essential to maintain the organized strength of the peace - loving nations in order to provide the utmost insurance against future attempts at aggression. At the same time, through the United Nations and other international organizations, we must strive for the utmost development of understanding and goodwill among nations. Both of these lines are essential and both should be directed towards the same ultimate goal. That goal is the establishment among nations of the rule of law.

We all know that, without the rule of law within each nation, there is no peace or order and no freedom for its citizens. The rule of law among nations is equally essential to world freedom and world peace.

The nations of the world are not yet ready to establish an international rule of law. Nothing is clearer to all who have witnessed the deliberations of international conferences within the past year. But, let us make no mistake; - without the rule of law among nations there can be no security and no assurance of lasting peace. The peoples of the world must wait for enduring peace until the nations of the world - and particularly the great powers - are prepared to surrender a part of their sovereignty to a genuine world government. That is the only sure road to peace. It will be a long, slow, uphill road to travel. Yet it is the only hope of humanity in its quest for peace. To strive for peace, to work for the elimination of the fear of war, is a cardinal aim of the Liberal party.

Part seven: Conclusion

To serve the community, whether the province or the nation, a political party must have three attributes. It must have principles; it must have practicable and workable policies; and it must include in its ranks able and public-spirited men to translate its policies into action.

I said, at the outset, that the principles of the Liberal party could be summed up in two words: Freedom and Peace. The policies of the Liberal party are designed to bring ever closer those two great aims. This is not the occasion to outline the policies of the Liberal party - that will be done at another time.

What we are doing on this occasion is to honour one of the ablest and most public-spirited men in the ranks of the Liberal party. I will go farther than that. Mr. St. Laurent, in my judgment, is one of the ablest men who ever served in the government of Canada. And I have never known a man more public-spirited! So long as the Liberal party contains leaders like Mr. St.Laurent, we need never fear that it will fail in its trust to the people.

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So long as French Canada has a leader of Mr. St.Laurent's quality, the people of his race need have no fear of maintaining their position in our national partnership. So long as Canada is represented by Mr. St. Laurent in the councils of the Nations of the World, our people need have no fear that the voice of Canada will not be heard - and heard with with respect.

For me it is always a pleasure to visit this ancient and historic capital. But only once before has the pleasure of a visit to Quebec equalled my pleasure on this occasion. That was in February, 1939, when we met in this city to honour Ernest Lapointe on the 35th anniversary of his election to Parliament. No Prime Minister, no party leader in the history of Canada has had, in succession, two such partners and colleagues as Ernest Lapointe and Louis St.Laurent. For that rare good fortune I owe - and the people of Canada owe - a great debt to the

unshakable fidelity of the electors of Quebec East. Mr. St. Laurent, I know, would wish his constituents to share in the tribute we are paying him today.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to rise and join in the health of my colleague and our friend, the first citizen of French Canada, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

Keep M

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Note for speech at Quebec

"These world problems which will either make or unmake the peace and happiness of humanity for a long time...

(in a letter from J.E.Davies
Nov.6)

Mr James Gibson

D 50580

Not to be released until time of delivery.

Complimentary Banquet
in honour of
The Right Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent, P.C., M.P.,
Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs
Chateau Frontenac, Quebec City November 29, 1946.

Speech by the Right Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King, P.C.,M.P.,
Prime Minister and Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada,
in proposing the Health of the Guest of Honour.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:

I am delighted indeed to be again at a political gathering in the province of Quebec, and especially at a family gathering.

I am delighted to see my old friend, Senator Fafard in the chair. He was so successful as the Chairman of the Liberal Caucus in Parliament, that by general consent of its members, he was made a Senator for life. I am glad to see at this table, and in this vast gathering, such a large number of fellow members of Parliament, Liberal members of the Legislature of Quebec, and leading Liberals of this city and province.

I am particularly pleased to see, ~~and to have heard again~~, Mr. Adelard Godbout, the Leader of the Liberal

Opposition in this Province. ~~We have all, I am sure, been deeply moved by his eloquent words tonight~~. As the leader of the Liberal forces in the provincial arena, Mr. Godbout, over many years, in season and out of season, in office and out of office, has been in the forefront of the battle. Our party owes very much to him.

There are many others of whom I should like to make mention by name. We are, however, not met here tonight to do honour to ourselves. We are assembled to honour one of our number of whom the Party is particularly proud. We are here to honour one who, in the short time he has been in public life, has upheld the banner of Liberalism in triumphant fashion. I mean, of course, our esteemed friend, the Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

To win prestige, to hold its own, to retain the confidence of the public, a political party requires personalities as well as policies. It is of the personality of Mr. St. Laurent, and of what in himself he has meant to the Liberal party and to the public life of Canada, that I desire to speak, all but exclusively, tonight. I wish I were free

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to do so in both French and English. I have attempted these few words in French. Because of my inability to do justice to your beautiful language, a change to my mother tongue may, I feel, be not unwelcome. Before, however, I continue my speech in English, may I extend on behalf of other members of the Government and myself our warmest thanks to those who have organized this magnificent demonstration, in honour of our colleague, Mr. St. Laurent. May I also be allowed to thank all present for the very warm welcome so kindly extended to myself.

Let me say at once that I have come to Quebec to attend this complimentary banquet in honour of Mr. St. Laurent, and for that purpose solely. I have not come to discuss the party's platform and policies, or to debate public issues. For these purposes other occasions will, for me, be more appropriate. Mr. St. Laurent, no doubt, will wish to speak of some of the matters which, in this province, are a subject of political controversy. But I have come as the leader of the Liberal Party of Canada to pay, on behalf of the party and on behalf of the government, a tribute to one who is a truly great man, and who in the course of his few years in public life has rendered exceptional service to our party and to our country.

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The Liberal Party: the Party of Freedom

The Liberal Party in Canada has had a long history. It has also followed a fine tradition. For over a hundred years, men of different racial origins and different religious faiths, workers with brain and workers with hand, old and young, have, for generation after generation, marched together in one vast procession under the banner of Freedom.

At one time, it has been political and constitutional freedom; at another, personal and economic freedom; at another, social and industrial freedom; at another national and world freedom, but, in one form or another, at all times, it has been an ever-expanding freedom.

At the head of that long procession there have marched the Reformers of early days, champions of Responsible Government, co-workers in the building of Confederation, the stalwart Grits of the Party's many years in Opposition, and then the leaders of a triumphant Liberalism. Saving the years immediately preceding, including and following the First Great War, and the years of depression in the first half of the thirties, our party has been in office almost thirty five years out of the past half century.

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A record of which to be proud

In the years from 1921 to 1946, the last half of that half century, there have been seven general elections. In six out of the seven, the Liberal Party has been returned to office. This has taken place despite the fact that six of those years were years of war. Within the period of war, two of the general elections were won. Moreover, in two general elections of that period, the Liberal Party returned to Parliament the largest number of members any party has ever elected to the House of Commons. As Liberal leader, I have had, in two Parliaments, the largest following given any Prime Minister in the history of politics in Canada.

Mr. Ilsley, with his skill in using figures to demonstrate significant truths, has calculated that, since 1896, the Liberal Party, with two leaders, has lost only two elections; that the Conservative Party, with ten leaders, has lost ten elections. In this count, Mr. Ilsley omits, of course, the elections of 1917 at which time the Government was a coalition of members of both parties. Expressing the results of Mr. Ilsley's calculation in terms of gains instead of losses, the Liberal Party, over the last fifty years, with two leaders, has won ten elections; while the Conservative Party, with ten leaders, has won only two. This is a record of which, indeed, we may all be proud.

Tonight, we are assembled to do honour to one of our number to whom, in very special measure, we are indebted for the Party's record being what it is today.

Laurier, Lapointe and St. Laurent

As I seek to account for the long tenure of office of our party in the federal arena, over the last fifty years, I find the secret in the emphasis the party has placed upon Unity, and the means by which Unity has been maintained. Here in this city of Quebec, I am particularly happy to be able to say, that to the leaders the constituency of Quebec East has sent to the Parliament of Canada more than to any other single factor, we may, I believe, attribute the unity of our party; and, may I add, our national unity.

Of the leaders whom Quebec East has sent to our Parliament, you will think first of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. How we shall ever revere Sir Wilfrid's name and cherish his memory! You will think next, and with a veneration almost as great, of the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe. What a loyal and generous nature was his! Tonight we have uppermost in our thoughts the worthy successor of both, Canada's Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

It is Mr. St. Laurent we are met together to honour tonight. Well may we pay him every honour. We all know, and no one better than myself, that but for the part Mr. St. Laurent has played in the years he has been a member of the Ministry, the position of the Liberal Party in Canada would be vastly different from what it is tonight; not the position of the Party only, but the position of our country in the world.

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Party Unity and National Unity

Let me, as the Party's leader, tell you, gentlemen, something of what Mr. St. Laurent's presence in the Cabinet has meant to me personally. To do this, I must speak again of the emphasis to be placed on Unity: - party unity and national unity.

You will recall how in 1896, in the first Ministry he formed, Sir Wilfrid Laurier gathered around the Council table at Ottawa, able and experienced men from all the Provinces. When in 1921, I was charged with forming a new Liberal administration, I sought in this, as in much else, to follow Sir Wilfrid's example; and I believe, succeeded. I was not long in office, however, before I became more confirmed than ever, in the view I had long held, that Cabinet unity, as well as party unity, and national unity, depended above all else upon the close working together of Ministers from the province of Quebec with the Ministers from the other provinces.

In furthering harmonious relations between Quebec and the other provinces, no leader was ever quite so fortunate as I have been in having had, successively, at his side two such colleagues as the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe and the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent. Ernest Lapointe was a colleague whose

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political wisdom, unselfish devotion and personal loyalty made of him, in all that pertained to the perplexing problems of our political life, and in the fullest meaning of the words, "guide, philosopher and friend".

Quebec Representation in the Ministry

When Mr. Lapointe died, I was bereft indeed. That, as you may recall, was five years ago this very week. The second world war was on. Only a short time before, I had, through an unforgettable tragedy, lost from the Ministry, Norman Rogers, a close associate in the work of government ever many years, and a colleague who was most promising among the younger Ministers. Still more recently, my closest adviser in the permanent service, Dr. Skelton, for many years Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, the one best informed on international problems, had passed away. I wondered, indeed, many times, if it were going to be possible for me to carry on.

I doubt if I should have found it possible to continue to lead, had Mr. St. Laurent not responded to the call of duty, and entered the Ministry when he did. How true this is, will be seen in an instant when I remind you that it was less than three months after Mr. St. Laurent came to Ottawa that Senator Dandurand passed away, and but two months thereafter that Mr. Cardin resigned from the Ministry. Senator Dandurand was not only the Leader of the

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government in the Senate, he was its eldest and most experienced member. In years of service, Mr. Cardin was the eldest member of the House of Commons.

Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin were both Ministers from this Province. Each was a wise and able counsellor. With the loss from the Ministry of Mr. Lapointe, Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin, had Mr. St. Laurent not become a member of the Cabinet when he did, I should have been without a single French speaking colleague in the government from the Province of Quebec. The other French speaking Ministers from Quebec have all entered the Ministry since that time. Imagine, without Mr. St. Laurent, what, in these very critical months, my plight and the plight of the Ministry would have been!

That is the first acknowledgment I wish to make tonight. I am happy to be able to make it in Mr. St. Laurent's presence, and in the presence of his many friends.

Tribute to Hon. P. J. A. Cardin

This seems an appropriate place at which to pause, that I may pay a tribute to the memory of my former colleague, the Honourable Arthur Cardin who has been taken from us within the past few weeks.

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The thirteen years Mr. Cardin and I sat together in the cabinet were important years in the history of Canada. They included periods of prosperity and adversity; they witnessed Canada's entry into the second world war, and the development of Canada's magnificent war effort. The people of Canada, yes, and I may well say, the peoples of all the allied nations, will never realize what they owe to Mr. Cardin and to Mr. Lapointe for what they did to preserve Canadian unity, at what, I believe, was the most critical of all the years in the world's history. Had their attitude been less courageous than it was, their leadership less far-sighted, had they been less genuinely patriotic, the story of Canada's participation in the great war would have been vastly different.

In the light of all the service he had rendered, it is not surprising that Mr. Cardin should have felt, as strongly as he did, about being obliged to face some of the situations which subsequently arose. There was a chivalrous side to Cardin's sensitive nature which made him feel very keenly what seemed to him to be a lack of chivalry on the part of others. I understood, and he knew I understood, exactly how he felt. But I know, as he also knew, that we all alike had to face the stern necessities of war, and that, if unity were to be

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preserved, each new situation could only be met in the light of new developments. I always regretted that Mr. Cardin found it necessary to resign from the Ministry, but I never questioned his motives. Nor did his resignation ever make any difference in our personal relations, or in the affection I cherished for him.

Let me now resume what I wish to say of Mr. St. Laurent.

Debt to Cabinet Colleagues

I have frequently stated that if I have been able to achieve anything in public life, it has been due to the inspiration of the lives, the example and the sacrifices of others who have long since passed away. I have also said, and I believe it to be equally true, that such success as I have had in party leadership has been due to the ability and the loyalty of the men who have supported me with their counsel, and honoured me with their confidence at the Council Table. You have only to look at the members of the government here assembled to realize what Canada owes to their ability and integrity, and what I personally owe to their loyalty. Of those present; Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Ilsley, Mr. Howe and Mr. Gardiner have been continuously at my side over the entire eleven years since the party was returned to power in 1935. Their shoulders have borne no small share of the burden and responsibilities of directing

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and administering the war effort of our country.

There were other colleagues, no longer members of the Ministry, who were with me during the war, and there are others who have joined the Ministry during and since the war, most of whom are with us this evening. Their services to our country are much present to my mind tonight, also what, personally, I owe to their cooperation in the tasks of government. Of the cabinet, as at present constituted, I know I speak for all of its members when I say that no one of our number is more admired, more trusted, more beloved, than our guest of this evening, the Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent. There is none who holds a warmer place in our hearts.

Mr. St.Laurent as Minister of Justice.

Mr. Lapòinte's death came at one of the great crises of the war. The German armies had overrun practically all of Europe, including the western part of the Soviet Union. Three days before Mr. St. Laurent became a Minister of the Crown, the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbour. War had encircled the globe. Thus it happened that Mr. St. Laurent joined the government at the hour of greatest need. The call he accepted was a call to help in the defence of Freedom.

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As Minister of Justice, Mr. St.Laurent held a key position in the Ministry, a position of exceptional importance in time of war, a time when many new precedents had rapidly to be established, and far-reaching questions of law had continuously to be interpreted. One knew that, in his hand, the scales of justice would be evenly balanced; that the highest professional standards would be upheld. To the duties of his office, he brought wide knowledge of the law and the constitution, keen analytical powers, and an experience second to none in the legal profession. He brought more than this. He brought a bread outlook on national affairs; a mind essentially just, and devoid of prejudice; a very warm heart; and the highest integrity of character. In his courtesy and chivalry, he himself embodies one of the finest characteristics of the French race. Not a few of the names most prominent in Canada's history are to be found among those of Ministers of the Crown who have held the portfolio of Justice. The name of Louis St. Laurent finds its natural place in that distinguished company.

It is hard for those who know him to realize that, when he was sworn to office on December 10, 1941, Mr. St. Laurent was already nearing the close of his sixtieth year.

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Men of sixty rarely think of starting a new career, particularly when already they have attained the highest success in their chosen vocations.

Mr. St.Laurent did not choose a political career for himself. He was certainly not drawn into public life by ambition. His great abilities had won for him an eminence in the legal profession which would have entitled him to give thought to the enjoyment of more in the way of leisure for the remaining years of his life. But for the stern voice of Duty, I am certain he could not have been induced to run for Parliament. Canadian public life would, as a consequence, have lost one of its finest figures.

Mr. St.Laurent as a Parliamentarian and Political Leader

When Mr. St.Laurent gave up a lucrative practice to enter the government as Minister of Justice, it was fully expected he would administer the affairs of the department with every credit to himself and to the administration. He was, however, untried as a parliamentarian and a political leader. It was not known how efficient he would prove in either of these roles. You now know how, from the very beginning, Mr. St. Laurent has risen in the esteem of his fellow members in parliament. You know how, from day to day, he has increasingly gained the admiration and the confidence of the Canadian public. You know how greatly, during my recent absence in Europe, members of all parties welcomed him as the acting Prime Minister, and with what

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credit to himself and satisfaction to others, he discharged the duties of that office. And we all know that as leader of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations Assembly at London in December last, and at New York today, no voice has commanded more respect than his. It was the same at San Francisco in the framing of the Charter of the United Nations.

Time does not permit me to speak of what Mr. St. Laurent's wise counsel has meant in the fashioning of legislation in Cabinet Council, in piloting difficult measures through the House of Commons, and in presenting important issues to the public. We all know the success he has won as a debater in parliament. We learned, in the general elections of 1945, something of his abilities as a campaigner, both in his own constituency and in other parts of the province, though few will ever appreciate the odds against which, at the time, he had to contend.

What do we not owe to Mr. St. Laurent's direct and unequivocal exposition, and support of the government's record and policies in the elections of 1945? At a time when some were opposing, others wavering, and not a few unwilling to come out and say just who they were supporting, he never hesitated to declare that he was one hundred

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percent behind the party's leader, and that he believed the course the government had followed, in one of the most trying and difficult of all situations, was the only one which could have kept the country united.

Mr. St. Laurent's role in the crisis of 1944

I do not know that it has ever been realized how near we came, in November, 1944, to having no government at all in Canada, and no party that could form a government, with any hope of being able to carry on in parliament while our armed forces were facing the last terrible ordeal of battle at the front. I shall always believe that it was the firm and statesmanlike stand taken, in that hour of crisis, by the Minister of Justice, his clear vision, his wise judgement, his quick decision, and his persuasive powers which more than any other single influence helped to ensure the continuance of the government, and to avert an appalling disaster.

I would not for a moment have it believed that all members of the government were not equally conscientious, equally anxious to reach a right decision, but knowing the situation as I do, knowing the exceedingly difficult position in which many members from this province, as well as many

members from other parts of Canada found themselves, I am perfectly certain that had Mr. St. Laurent withdrawn his support of myself, or, indeed, wavered, in that support, I should have had no alternative but to tender my resignation, and with it the resignation of the Ministry.

The results of the election of 1945 may be regarded as a sufficient answer to the question whether, in the minds of the electors, the right course was taken by the administration at that time. The complete answer would require a knowledge of conditions as they might have become, had the government not been able to carry on. Such conditions, moreover, would have to be considered in contrast with what we now know of the success which attended an unbroken war effort on the part of Canada.

Service to the Party and to the State

Perhaps I have said enough to enable you to judge what I feel is owing by the party, and by the country, to our guest of this evening; enough to enable you to sense something of what Mr. St. Laurent's services have meant to both. Is it not true that Mr. St. Laurent occupies a position which is virtually unique in our public life? And are we, ourselves, not greatly honoured in having this opportunity to pay a tribute to the high public service he has rendered to the Liberal Party and to Canada over the past five years?

I have said nothing of the contributions made by other members of the St. Laurent family in their service to the State at the time of war. Of these you already know something. Nor have I spoken of the confusion which residence at the Capital and constant commuting to and fro between Ottawa and Quebec must have worked in the orderly arrangements and quiet contentment of the St. Laurent household. On these family matters, I am, unfortunately, not an authority. I am sure, however, that for many privations, and for the forbearance exercised on many occasions to enable the Minister of Justice to pursue "the even tenor of his way", there is much for which we are indebted to Madame St. Laurent. I should like to take this opportunity, on your behalf as well as my own, to express to Madame St. Laurent our deep appreciation for what, in many unseen ways, she has also rendered of service to us all.

D 50598

Just one further word concerning Mr. St. Laurent before I conclude what I have to say.

Mr. St. Laurent's response to many calls.

When, in December 1941, Mr. St. Laurent yielded to my earnest appeal to him to enter the Ministry, he promised to do so, only because of the war, and for the duration of the war. Hostilities, at the time, had already lasted for more than two and a quarter years. It was not then generally believed the war would last for more than four years. It lasted, in fact, for six years. Within less than a fortnight, it will be five years since Mr. St. Laurent became a member of the government.

When the war in Europe ended, Mr. St. Laurent reminded me of what had been said between us at the time he entered the government. But the party was then facing a general election. Mr. St. Laurent would have been the last to seek retirement at such a moment. He said he wished to be with the party through the campaign, but he hoped that soon thereafter it might be possible for him to retire. Since the elections, he has spoken to me at different times of considerations of which he felt he should be taking account. With characteristic chivalry, he has, on each occasion, met my request to carry on. Not only that, but in addition to the onerous duties of the

portfolio of Justice, which he continues to hold, he has taken from my shoulders and is carrying, for the time being at least, the increasingly heavy responsibilities which belong to the office of Secretary of State for External Affairs.

I have already made it known that in such re-organization of the Ministry as I may deem it advisable to make, and which will be made before Parliament re-assembles, the Department of External Affairs will be given a Minister who will be in a position to devote his time, more or less exclusively, to intra-commonwealth and international affairs. With the reorganization thus affected, I hope Mr. St. Laurent may find it possible yet for some time to come to continue to give to our country in its parliament, and to the world in the arena of international affairs, the benefit of his exceptional talents and his very great wisdom and experience.

Serving for "the duration"

Lest Mr. St. Laurent should feel that in being unwilling to part with him as a colleague at any time, I am overlooking what was understood when it was agreed between us that he was entering the Ministry only for the duration of the war, let me tell him of a little incident

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I read, but a day or two ago, and which is much to the point. I do not recall the precise words in which the story was told, but the logic of its argument impressed me profoundly. A private in a colored regiment was pleading with his sergeant that he should be allowed to retire from the army on the score that he had enlisted only for the duration of the war: "Boss, de war am ovah", he protested, "I'se goin' home! I enlisted only for de duration". "Yo'po' niggah", replied the sergeant, "Yo' enlisted for de duration of de war. De war may be ovah, but de duration am just beginning". Please, Mr. Minister, do remember that "de duration am just beginning".

The Need for Organization

Too much, I feel, is being said today about possible retirements, too much also about who is to lead the Party at the next general elections. Sufficient unto the day is the successful winning of by-elections. Let us be perfectly frank about it: we would all be much happier tonight if the party hadn't lost Pontiac, in this Province, and Portage la Prairie in Manitoba. We should have carried both; we would have carried both had the party's organization been what it should have been. Parkdale (Toronto) we never had. Nevertheless it was almost won. The figures make it clear that it would have been won had the organization in all parts of the constituency been what it was over the greater part.

Tonight, of all nights, I am not going to seek to apportion blame. I am, however, going to issue a clarion call to each and every member of the party, whether he be prominent, as a member of parliament, or a very humble worker in the ranks, to realize that in his hands lies, to a greater or lesser extent, the fate of the party. I wish I could impress on every member

of the Liberal party how much the party's future is dependent on individuals, on each and every one doing his full share. I wish I could impress on every member what is infinitely more important in times like those through which the world is now passing, namely, the extent to which the opportunities, the fortunes, the happiness - nay, possibly, the very lives - of countless numbers of men, women and children are bound up with the fate of a party whose aim and purpose is the preservation and extension of human rights and human freedom.

Unless, as members of a party, all are prepared to act like men, and "play the game" as it should be played, not for selfish ends but for the good of all, the whole party is certain to suffer as a consequence. In politics, as in mechanics, the strength of a chain is its weakest link.

Relationship of the Party to the State

You will have noticed that, throughout my remarks this evening, I have referred in one breath to service to the Party and service to the State, as if both meant pretty much one and the same thing. Perhaps that is because my life has

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been given to the service of both, and that, in my own career, the two have, in a sense, been inseparable. I know that exception would rightly be taken to any statement that service to the State is inseparable from service to a political party. But where, as in politics, the one is the end, and the other, the means to that end, they are indeed inseparable.

Everything depends upon what the end is we are seeking to serve. Service to the State, where the end is some system of spoils, is not one whit less sordid than service to a political party for a like end. On the other hand, if the end be to better the condition of one's fellowmen, then service to a political party which furthers that end also becomes one of the highest forms of service to the State.

If men and women who feel and think alike on the great questions of the day do not combine under some banner that enables them to proceed as one, they may be sure that those who hold opposite views will be only too ready to profit by their neglect. Service to the State in accordance with principles and policies in which large numbers of men and women believe would soon become impossible without a party through which they could make their views prevail.

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Old and New Political Parties

One hears from time to time a great deal about the old political parties, as though noble traditions and years of experience should count for nothing in politics, although they are expected to count for everything in other spheres of activity. There is no more reason why a political party should not be proud of its many years of existence and of office than why the members of any church, of any regiment, of any institution of learning, of any business concern, should not be proud of service it has rendered over the years. The danger to representative government, in many countries today, arises not from the perpetuation of parties which have a long and honourable past, it arises from a bewilderment of political parties that have no past, and but little promise of any future.

In this Province, there have appeared in recent times, the Union Nationale, the Bloc Populaire, the C.C.F., Social Credit, the Union des Electeurs, the Labour Progressive party, and so-called Independents of every colour of the rainbow. What do any of them represent either of tradition or of a truly Canadian outlook? The so-called Union Nationale is not national, but narrowly provincial; the Bloc Populaire is certainly not popular; many people do not know what the initials C.C.F. stand for; one day, Social Credit is the same thing as the Union des Electeurs, the next day it is not; and the third day it is

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Social Credit again; Labour Progressive no longer serves to disguise the real nature of the party which has assumed that name, and, most ludicrous of all, there was one Member of Parliament who, all by himself, pretended to be the Canadian party.

The very number of such parties and groups unfortunately brings discredit in the public mind on all political parties. If that were the worst effect, the consequences might not be so serious. Unfortunately, parties in names and numbers so considerable: unions, blocs,movements with all sorts of fancy names, while in the long run they get nowhere themselves tend, meanwhile, to undermine and weaken the effectiveness of parties which have a nation-wide influence. A multiplicity of parties tends to bring down the whole structure of responsible political organization, and to weaken the nation itself. That, as we all now know, was the misfortune of France at the beginning of the war. Let us beware of repeating that supreme folly in our own land. What we want in Canada are political parties that will serve to unite its provinces as one nation from coast to coast. Such a party we have in the Liberal Party in Canada today. Let us guard that heritage.

D 50605

I opened my remarks this evening by speaking of the history and traditions of the Liberal Party. I spoke of the long procession in which, for more than a century, members of the Party, in generation following generation, had marched steadily forward under the banner of freedom. I have, I hope, shown wherein the secret of its many victories is to be found in the emphasis the Party has placed upon unity: - a united Party; a united country; nations of the world united in the bonds of brotherhood and peace.

At no time in the history of Canada has the need for the continuance of a strong Liberal Party been greater than it is today, when the alternatives which face mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. In our country, as in many other countries, where the pull of geography and of social differences is toward division, the Liberal Party stands for unity. In a world where security for men and women is rare and precious the Liberal Party stands for security. At a time when freedom continues to be menaced by tendencies toward dictatorship and totalitarianism, the Liberal Party continues to stand for freedom. Unity, Security, Freedom: these are the great principles for which we stand; these are the banners under which, as a Party, we will continue to serve.

Gentlemen, I ask you to rise and drink to the health of one who has fought nobly for Unity, Security, and Freedom, in our land and among the nations of the world, the Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

(For tribute to Mrs. Cardin see PP 9-10-11)

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Not to be released until time of delivery.

Complimentary Banquet
in honour of
The Right Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent, P.C., M.P.,
Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs
Chateau Frontenac, Quebec City November 29, 1946.

Speech by the Right Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King, P.C.,M.P.,
Prime Minister and Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada,
in proposing the Health of the Guest of Honour.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:

I am delighted indeed to be again at a political gathering in the province of Quebec, and especially at a family gathering.

I am delighted to see my old friend, Senator Fafard in the chair. He was so successful as the Chairman of the Liberal Caucus in Parliament, that by general consent of its members, he was made a Senator for life. I am glad to see at this table, and in this vast gathering, such a large number of fellow members of Parliament, Liberal members of the Legislature of Quebec, and leading Liberals of this city and province.

I am particularly pleased to see~~, and to have heard again~~, Mr. Adelard Godbout, the Leader of the Liberal

Opposition in this Province. ~~We have all, I am sure, been deeply moved by his eloquent words tonight.~~ As the leader of the Liberal forces in the provincial arena, Mr. Godbout, over many years, in season and out of season, in office and out of office, has been in the forefront of the battle. Our party owes very much to him.

There are many others of whom I should like to make mention by name. We are, however, not met here tonight to do honour to ourselves. We are assembled to honour one of our number of whom the Party is particularly proud. We are here to honour one who, in the short time he has been in public life, has upheld the banner of Liberalism in triumphant fashion. I mean, of course, our esteemed friend, the Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

To win prestige, to hold its own, to retain the confidence of the public, a political party requires personalities as well as policies. It is of the personality of Mr. St. Laurent, and of what in himself he has meant to the Liberal party and to the public life of Canada, that I desire to speak, all but exclusively, tonight. I wish I were free

to do so in both French and English. I have attempted these few words in French. Because of my inability to do justice to your beautiful language, a change to my mother tongue may, I feel, be not unwelcome. Before, however, I continue my speech in English, may I extend on behalf of other members of the Government and myself our warmest thanks to those who have organized this magnificent demonstration, in honour of our colleague, Mr. St. Laurent. May I also be allowed to thank all present for the very warm welcome so kindly extended to myself.

Let me say at once that I have come to Quebec to attend this complimentary banquet in honour of Mr. St. Laurent, and for that purpose solely. I have not come to discuss the party's platform and policies, or to debate public issues. For these purposes other occasions will, for me, be more appropriate. Mr. St. Laurent, no doubt, will wish to speak of some of the matters which, in this province, are a subject of political controversy. But I have come as the leader of the Liberal Party of Canada to pay, on behalf of the party and on behalf of the government, a tribute to one who is a truly great man, and who in the course of his few years in public life has rendered exceptional service to our party and to our country.

D 50610

The Liberal Party: the Party of Freedom

The Liberal Party in Canada has had a long history. It has also followed a fine tradition. For over a hundred years, men of different racial origins and different religious faiths, workers with brain and workers with hand, old and young, have, for generation after generation, marched together in one vast procession under the banner of Freedom.

At one time, it has been political and constitutional freedom; at another, personal and economic freedom; at another, social and industrial freedom; at another national and world freedom, but, in one form or another, at all times, it has been an ever-expanding freedom.

At the head of that long procession there have marched the Reformers of early days, champions of Responsible Government, co-workers in the building of Confederation, the stalwart Grits of the Party's many years in Opposition, and then the leaders of a triumphant Liberalism. Saving the years immediately preceding, including and following the First Great War, and the years of depression in the first half of the thirties, our party has been in office almost thirty five years out of the past half century.

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A record of which to be proud

In the years from 1921 to 1946, the last half of that half century, there have been seven general elections. In six out of the seven, the Liberal Party has been returned to office. This has taken place despite the fact that six of those years were years of war. Within the period of war, two of the general elections were won. Moreover, in two general elections of that period, the Liberal Party returned to Parliament the largest number of members any party has ever elected to the House of Commons. As Liberal leader, I have had, in two Parliaments, the largest following given any Prime Minister in the history of politics in Canada.

Mr. Ilsley, with his skill in using figures to demonstrate significant truths, has calculated that, since 1896, the Liberal Party, with two leaders, has lost only two elections; that the Conservative Party, with ten leaders, has lost ten elections. In this count, Mr. Ilsley omits, of course, the elections of 1917 at which time the Government was a coalition of members of both parties. Expressing the results of Mr. Ilsley's calculation in terms of gains instead of losses, the Liberal Party, over the last fifty years, with two leaders, has won ten elections; while the Conservative Party, with ten leaders, has won only two. This is a record of which, indeed, we may all be proud.

Tonight, we are assembled to do honour to one of our number to whom, in very special measure, we are indebted for the Party's record being what it is today.

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Laurier, Lapointe and St. Laurent

As I seek to account for the long tenure of office of our party in the federal arena, over the last fifty years, I find the secret in the emphasis the party has placed upon Unity, and the means by which Unity has been maintained. Here in this city of Quebec, I am particularly happy to be able to say, that to the leaders the constituency of Quebec East has sent to the Parliament of Canada more than to any other single factor, we may, I believe, attribute the unity of our party; and, may I add, our national unity.

Of the leaders whom Quebec East has sent to our Parliament, you will think first of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. How we shall ever revere Sir Wilfrid's name and cherish his memory! You will think next, and with a veneration almost as great, of the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe. What a loyal and generous nature was his! Tonight we have uppermost in our thoughts the worthy successor of both, Canada's Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

It is Mr. St. Laurent we are met together to honour tonight. Well may we pay him every honour. We all know, and no one better than myself, that but for the part Mr. St. Laurent has played in the years he has been a member of the Ministry, the position of the Liberal Party in Canada would be vastly different from what it is tonight; not the position of the Party only, but the position of our country in the world.

D 50613

Party Unity and National Unity

Let me, as the Party's leader, tell you, gentlemen, something of what Mr. St. Laurent's presence in the Cabinet has meant to me personally. To do this, I must speak again of the emphasis to be placed on Unity: - party unity and national unity.

You will recall how in 1896, in the first Ministry he formed, Sir Wilfrid Laurier gathered around the Council table at Ottawa, able and experienced men from all the Provinces. When in 1921, I was charged with forming a new Liberal administration, I sought in this, as in much else, to follow Sir Wilfrid's example; and I believe, succeeded. I was not long in office, however, before I became more confirmed than ever, in the view I had long held, that Cabinet unity, as well as party unity, and national unity, depended above all else upon the close working together of Ministers from the province of Quebec with the Ministers from the other provinces.

In furthering harmonious relations between Quebec and the other provinces, no leader was ever quite so fortunate as I have been in having had, successively, at his side two such colleagues as the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe and the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent. Ernest Lapointe was a colleague whose

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political wisdom, unselfish devotion and personal loyalty made of him, in all that pertained to the perplexing problems of our political life, and in the fullest meaning of the words, "guide, philosopher and friend".

Quebec Representation in the Ministry

When Mr. Lapointe died, I was bereft indeed. That, as you may recall, was five years ago this very week. The second world war was on. Only a short time before, I had, through an unforgettable tragedy, lost from the Ministry, Norman Rogers, a close associate in the work of government ever many years, and a colleague who was most promising among the younger Ministers. Still more recently, my closest adviser in the permanent service, Dr. Skelton, for many years Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, the one best informed on international problems, had passed away. I wondered, indeed, many times, if it were going to be possible for me to carry on.

I doubt if I should have found it possible to continue to lead, had Mr. St. Laurent not responded to the call of duty, and entered the Ministry when he did. How true this is, will be seen in an instant when I remind you that it was less than three months after Mr. St. Laurent came to Ottawa that Senator Dandurand passed away, and but two months thereafter that Mr. Cardin resigned from the Ministry. Senator Dandurand was not only the Leader of the

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government in the Senate, he was its eldest and most experienced member. In years of service, Mr. Cardin was the eldest member of the House of Commons.

Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin were both Ministers from this Province. Each was a wise and able counsellor. With the loss from the Ministry of Mr. Lapointe, Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin, had Mr. St. Laurent not become a member of the Cabinet when he did, I should have been without a single French speaking colleague in the government from the Province of Quebec. The other French speaking Ministers from Quebec have all entered the Ministry since that time. Imagine, without Mr. St. Laurent, what, in these very critical months, my plight and the plight of the Ministry would have been!

That is the first acknowledgment I wish to make tonight. I am happy to be able to make it in Mr. St. Laurent's presence, and in the presence of his many friends.

Tribute to Hon. P. J. A. Cardin

This seems an appropriate place at which to pause, that I may pay a tribute to the memory of my former colleague, the Honourable Arthur Cardin who has been taken from us within the past few weeks.

The thirteen years Mr. Cardin and I sat together in the cabinet were important years in the history of Canada. They included periods of prosperity and adversity; they witnessed Canada's entry into the second world war, and the development of Canada's magnificent war effort. The people of Canada, yes, and I may well say, the peoples of all the allied nations, will never realize what they owe to Mr. Cardin and to Mr. Lapointe for what they did to preserve Canadian unity, at what, I believe, was the most critical of all the years in the world's history. Had their attitude been less courageous than it was, their leadership less far-sighted, had they been less genuinely patriotic, the story of Canada's participation in the great war would have been vastly different.

In the light of all the service he had rendered, it is not surprising that Mr. Cardin should have felt, as strongly as he did, about being obliged to face some of the situations which subsequently arose. There was a chivalrous side to Cardin's sensitive nature which made him feel very keenly what seemed to him to be a lack of chivalry on the part of others. I understood, and he knew I understood, exactly how he felt. But I know, as he also knew, that we all alike had to face the stern necessities of war, and that, if unity were to be

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preserved, each new situation could only be met in the light of new developments. I always regretted that Mr. Cardin found it necessary to resign from the Ministry, but I never questioned his motives. Nor did his resignation ever make any difference in our personal relations, or in the affection I cherished for him.

Let me now resume what I wish to say of Mr. St. Laurent.

Debt to Cabinet Colleagues

I have frequently stated that if I have been able to achieve anything in public life, it has been due to the inspiration of the lives, the example and the sacrifices of others who have long since passed away. I have also said, and I believe it to be equally true, that such success as I have had in party leadership has been due to the ability and the loyalty of the men who have supported me with their counsel, and honoured me with their confidence at the Council Table. You have only to look at the members of the government here assembled to realize what Canada owes to their ability and integrity, and what I personally owe to their loyalty. Of those present; Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Ilsley, Mr. Howe and Mr. Gardiner have been continuously at my side over the entire eleven years since the party was returned to power in 1935. Their shoulders have borne no small share of the burden and responsibilities of directing

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and administering the war effort of our country.

There were other colleagues, no longer members of the Ministry, who were with me during the war, and there are others who have joined the Ministry during and since the war, most of whom are with us this evening. Their services to our country are much present to my mind tonight, also what, personally, I owe to their cooperation in the tasks of government. Of the cabinet, as at present constituted, I know I speak for all of its members when I say that no one of our number is more admired, more trusted, more beloved, than our guest of this evening, the Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent. There is none who holds a warmer place in our hearts.

Mr. St.Laurent as Minister of Justice.

Mr. Lapointe's death came at one of the great crises of the war. The German armies had overrun practically all of Europe, including the western part of the Soviet Union. Three days before Mr. St. Laurent became a Minister of the Crown, the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbour. War had encircled the globe. Thus it happened that Mr. St. Laurent joined the government at the hour of greatest need. The call he accepted was a call to help in the defence of Freedom.

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As Minister of Justice, Mr. St.Laurent held a key position in the Ministry, a position of exceptional importance in time of war, a time when many new precedents had rapidly to be established, and far-reaching questions of law had continuously to be interpreted. One knew that, in his hand, the scales of justice would be evenly balanced; that the highest professional standards would be upheld. To the duties of his office, he brought wide knowledge of the law and the constitution, keen analytical powers, and an experience second to none in the legal profession. He brought more than this. He brought a bread outlook on national affairs; a mind essentially just, and devoid of prejudice; a very warm heart; and the highest integrity of character. In his courtesy and chivalry, he himself embodies one of the finest characteristics of the French race. Not a few of the names most prominent in Canada's history are to be found among those of Ministers of the Crown who have held the portfolio of Justice. The name of Louis St. Laurent finds its natural place in that distinguished company.

It is hard for those who know him to realize that, when he was sworn to office on December 10, 1941, Mr. St. Laurent was already nearing the close of his sixtieth year.

D 50620

Men of sixty rarely think of starting a new career, particularly when already they have attained the highest success in their chosen vocations.

Mr. St.Laurent did not choose a political career for himself. He was certainly not drawn into public life by ambition. His great abilities had won for him an eminence in the legal profession which would have entitled him to give thought to the enjoyment of more in the way of leisure for the remaining years of his life. But for the stern voice of Duty, I am certain he could not have been induced to run for Parliament. Canadian public life would, as a consequence, have lost one of its finest figures.

Mr. St.Laurent as a Parliamentarian and Political Leader

When Mr. St.Laurent gave up a lucrative practice to enter the government as Minister of Justice, it was fully expected he would administer the affairs of the department with every credit to himself and to the administration. He was, however, untried as a parliamentarian and a political leader. It was not known how efficient he would prove in either of these roles. You now know how, from the very beginning, Mr. St. Laurent has risen in the esteem of his fellow members in parliament. You know how, from day to day, he has increasingly gained the admiration and the confidence of the Canadian public. You know how greatly, during my recent absence in Europe, members of all parties welcomed him as the acting Prime Minister, and with what

credit to himself and satisfaction to others, he discharged the duties of that office. And we all know that as leader of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations Assembly at London in December last, and at New York today, no voice has commanded more respect than his. It was the same at San Francisco in the framing of the Charter of the United Nations.

Time does not permit me to speak of what Mr. St. Laurent's wise counsel has meant in the fashioning of legislation in Cabinet Council, in piloting difficult measures through the House of Commons, and in presenting important issues to the public. We all know the success he has won as a debater in parliament. We learned, in the general elections of 1945, something of his abilities as a campaigner, both in his own constituency and in other parts of the province, though few will ever appreciate the odds against which, at the time, he had to contend.

What do we not owe to Mr. St. Laurent's direct and unequivocal exposition, and support of the government's record and policies in the elections of 1945? At a time when some were opposing, others wavering, and not a few unwilling to come out and say just who they were supporting, he never hesitated to declare that he was one hundred

percent behind the party's leader, and that he believed the course the government had followed, in one of the most trying and difficult of all situations, was the only one which could have kept the country united.

Mr. St. Laurent's role in the crisis of 1944

I do not know that it has ever been realized how near we came, in November, 1944, to having no government at all in Canada, and no party that could form a government, with any hope of being able to carry on in parliament while our armed forces were facing the last terrible ordeal of battle at the front. I shall always believe that it was the firm and statesmanlike stand taken, in that hour of crisis, by the Minister of Justice, his clear vision, his wise judgement, his quick decision, and his persuasive powers which more than any other single influence helped to ensure the continuance of the government, and to avert an appalling disaster.

I would not for a moment have it believed that all members of the government were not equally conscientious, equally anxious to reach a right decision, but knowing the situation as I do, knowing the exceedingly difficult position in which many members from this province, as well as many

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members from other parts of Canada found themselves, I am perfectly certain that had Mr. St. Laurent withdrawn his support of myself, or, indeed, wavered, in that support, I should have had no alternative but to tender my resignation, and with it the resignation of the Ministry.

The results of the election of 1945 may be regarded as a sufficient answer to the question whether, in the minds of the electors, the right course was taken by the administration at that time. The complete answer would require a knowledge of conditions as they might have become, had the government not been able to carry on. Such conditions, moreover, would have to be considered in contrast with what we now know of the success which attended an unbroken war effort on the part of Canada.

Service to the Party and to the State

Perhaps I have said enough to enable you to judge what I feel is owing by the party, and by the country, to our guest of this evening; enough to enable you to sense something of what Mr. St. Laurent's services have meant to both. Is it not true that Mr. St. Laurent occupies a position which is virtually unique in our public life? And are we, ourselves, not greatly honoured in having this opportunity to pay a tribute to the high public service he has rendered to the Liberal Party and to Canada over the past five years!

I have said nothing of the contributions made by other members of the St. Laurent family in their service to the State at the time of war. Of these you already know something. Nor have I spoken of the confusion which residence at the Capital and constant commuting to and fro between Ottawa and Quebec must have worked in the orderly arrangements and quiet contentment of the St. Laurent household. On these family matters, I am, unfortunately, not an authority. I am sure, however, that for many privations, and for the forbearance exercised on many occasions to enable the Minister of Justice to pursue "the even tenor of his way", there is much for which we are indebted to Madame St. Laurent. I should like to take this opportunity, on your behalf as well as my own, to express to Madame St. Laurent our deep appreciation for what, in many unseen ways, she has also rendered of service to us all.

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Just one further word concerning Mr. St. Laurent before I conclude what I have to say.

Mr. St. Laurent's response to many calls.

When, in December 1941, Mr. St. Laurent yielded to my earnest appeal to him to enter the Ministry, he promised to do so, only because of the war, and for the duration of the war. Hostilities, at the time, had already lasted for more than two and a quarter years. It was not then generally believed the war would last for more than four years. It lasted, in fact, for six years. Within less than a fortnight, it will be five years since Mr. St. Laurent became a member of the government.

When the war in Europe ended, Mr. St. Laurent reminded me of what had been said between us at the time he entered the government. But the party was then facing a general election. Mr. St. Laurent would have been the last to seek retirement at such a moment. He said he wished to be with the party through the campaign, but he hoped that soon thereafter it might be possible for him to retire. Since the elections, he has spoken to me at different times of considerations of which he felt he should be taking account. With characteristic chivalry, he has, on each occasion, met my request to carry on. Not only that, but in addition to the onerous duties of the

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portfolio of Justice, which he continues to hold, he has taken from my shoulders and is carrying, for the time being at least, the increasingly heavy responsibilities which belong to the office of Secretary of State for External Affairs.

I have already made it known that in such re-organization of the Ministry as I may deem it advisable to make, and which will be made before Parliament re-assembles, the Department of External Affairs will be given a Minister who will be in a position to devote his time, more or less exclusively, to intra-commonwealth and international affairs. With the reorganization thus affected, I hope Mr. St. Laurent may find it possible yet for some time to come to continue to give to our country in its parliament, and to the world in the arena of international affairs, the benefit of his exceptional talents and his very great wisdom and experience.

Serving for "the duration"

Lest Mr. St. Laurent should feel that in being unwilling to part with him as a colleague at any time, I am overlooking what was understood when it was agreed between us that he was entering the Ministry only for the duration of the war, let me tell him of a little incident

I read, but a day or two ago, and which is much to the point. I do not recall the precise words in which the story was told, but the logic of its argument impressed me profoundly. A private in a colored regiment was pleading with his sergeant that he should be allowed to retire from the army on the score that he had enlisted only for the duration of the war: "Boss, de war am ovah", he protested, "I'se goin' home! I enlisted only for de duration". "Yo'po' niggah", replied the sergeant, "Yo' enlisted for de duration of de war. De war may be ovah, but de duration am just beginning". Please, Mr. Minister, do remember that "de duration am just beginning".

The Need for Organization

Too much, I feel, is being said today about possible retirements, too much also about who is to lead the Party at the next general elections. Sufficient unto the day is the successful winning of by-elections. Let us be perfectly frank about it: we would all be much happier tonight if the party hadn't lost Pontiac, in this Province, and Portage la Prairie in Manitoba. We should have carried both; we would have carried both had the party's organization been what it should have been. Parkdale (Toronto) we never had. Nevertheless it was almost won. The figures make it clear that it would have been won had the organization in all parts of the constituency been what it was over the greater part.

Tonight, of all nights, I am not going to seek to apportion blame. I am, however, going to issue a clarion call to each and every member of the party, whether he be prominent, as a member of parliament, or a very humble worker in the ranks, to realize that in his hands lies, to a greater or lesser extent, the fate of the party. I wish I could impress on every member

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of the Liberal party how much the party's future is dependent on individuals, on each and every one doing his full share. I wish I could impress on every member what is infinitely more important in times like those through which the world is now passing, namely, the extent to which the opportunities, the fortunes, the happiness - nay, possibly, the very lives - of countless numbers of men, women and children are bound up with the fate of a party whose aim and purpose is the preservation and extension of human rights and human freedom.

Unless, as members of a party, all are prepared to act like men, and "play the game" as it should be played, not for selfish ends but for the good of all, the whole party is certain to suffer as a consequence. In politics, as in mechanics, the strength of a chain is its weakest link.

Relationship of the Party to the State

You will have noticed that, throughout my remarks this evening, I have referred in one breath to service to the Party and service to the State, as if both meant pretty much one and the same thing. Perhaps that is because my life has

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been given to the service of both, and that, in my own career, the two have, in a sense, been inseparable. I know that exception would rightly be taken to any statement that service to the State is inseparable from service to a political party. But where, as in politics, the one is the end, and the other, the means to that end, they are indeed inseparable.

Everything depends upon what the end is we are seeking to serve. Service to the State, where the end is some system of spoils, is not one whit less sordid than service to a political party for a like end. On the other hand, if the end be to better the condition of one's fellowmen, then service to a political party which furthers that end also becomes one of the highest forms of service to the State.

If men and women who feel and think alike on the great questions of the day do not combine under some banner that enables them to proceed as one, they may be sure that those who hold opposite views will be only too ready to profit by their neglect. Service to the State in accordance with principles and policies in which large numbers of men and women believe would soon become impossible without a party through which they could make their views prevail.

Old and New Political Parties

One hears from time to time a great deal about the old political parties, as though noble traditions and years of experience should count for nothing in politics, although they are expected to count for everything in other spheres of activity. There is no more reason why a political party should not be proud of its many years of existence and of office than why the members of any church, of any regiment, of any institution of learning, of any business concern, should not be proud of service it has rendered over the years. The danger to representative government, in many countries today, arises not from the perpetuation of parties which have a long and honourable past, it arises from a bewilderment of political parties that have no past, and but little promise of any future.

In this Province, there have appeared in recent times, the Union Nationale, the Bloc Populaire, the C.C.F., Social Credit, the Union des Electeurs, the Labour Progressive party, and so-called Independents of every colour of the rainbow. What do any of them represent either of tradition or of a truly Canadian outlook? The so-called Union Nationale is not national, but narrowly provincial; the Bloc Populaire is certainly not popular; many people do not know what the initials C.C.F. stand for; one day, Social Credit is the same thing as the Union des Electeurs, the next day it is not; and the third day it is

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Social Credit again; Labour Progressive no longer serves to disguise the real nature of the party which has assumed that name, and, most ludicrous of all, there was one Member of Parliament who, all by himself, pretended to be the Canadian party.

The very number of such parties and groups unfortunately brings discredit in the public mind on all political parties. If that were the worst effect, the consequences might not be so serious. Unfortunately, parties in names and numbers so considerable: unions, blocs,movements with all sorts of fancy names, while in the long run they get nowhere themselves tend, meanwhile, to undermine and weaken the effectiveness of parties which have a nation-wide influence. A multiplicity of parties tends to bring down the whole structure of responsible political organization, and to weaken the nation itself. That, as we all now know, was the misfortune of France at the beginning of the war. Let us beware of repeating that supreme folly in our own land. What we want in Canada are political parties that will serve to unite its provinces as one nation from coast to coast. Such a party we have in the Liberal Party in Canada today. Let us guard that heritage.

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I opened my remarks this evening by speaking of the history and traditions of the Liberal Party. I spoke of the long procession in which, for more than a century, members of the Party, in generation following generation, had marched steadily forward under the banner of freedom. I have, I hope, shown wherein the secret of its many victories is to be found in the emphasis the Party has placed upon unity: - a united Party; a united country; nations of the world united in the bonds of brotherhood and peace.

At no time in the history of Canada has the need for the continuance of a strong Liberal Party been greater than it is today, when the alternatives which face mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. In our country, as in many other countries, where the pull of geography and of social differences is toward division, the Liberal Party stands for unity. In a world where security for men and women is rare and precious the Liberal Party stands for security. At a time when freedom continues to be menaced by tendencies toward dictatorship and totalitarianism, the Liberal Party continues to stand for freedom. Unity, Security, Freedom: these are the great principles for which we stand; these are the banners under which, as a Party, we will continue to serve.

Gentlemen, I ask you to rise and drink to the health of one who has fought nobly for Unity, Security, and Freedom, in our land and among the nations of the world, the Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

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Ne pas publier avant que le discours soit prononcé.-

Banquet en l'honneur du

Très Honorable Louis Saint-Laurent, P.C., M.P.

Ministre de la Justice et Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures

Château Frontenac Québec, ce 29 novembre 1946

Discours du Très Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King, P.C., M.P.,

Premier ministre et chef du Parti libéral du Canada,

en proposant la santé de l'invité d'honneur.

Monsieur le Président, Messieurs,

Je suis heureux d'être de nouveau à une réunion politique dans la province de Québec, et tout spécialement à une réunion de famille.

C'est un plaisir aussi pour moi de voir comme président de cette fete, mon vieil ami, le sénateur Fafard. Ses nombreux succès à la présidence du caucus libéral au parlement lui ont valu, sur l'assentiment complet de tous les membres, d'être nommé sénateur à vie.

Je suis encore heureux de voir à cette table et à cette réunion un aussi grand nombre de mes confrères du parlement, des membres libéraux du Parlement Provincial de Québec, et des

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libéraux en vue de cette ville et de cette province. Je suis tout heureux de voir et d'avoir entendu de nouveau, M. Adélard Godbout, le chef de l'opposition libérale de cette province. Nous avons tous été ce soir profondément émus par son éloquence.

Comme chef des forces libérales de l'arène provinciale, M. Godbout, pendant plusieurs années, au pouvoir ou dans l'opposition, fut toujours sur les premiers rangs de la bataille.

Il y en a aussi plusieurs autres dont je voudrais mentionner les noms. Nous nous sommes réunis ici ce soir, non pas tant pour nous faire honneur, mais pour honorer un des nôtres dont le parti est tellement fier et qui, malgré la courte durée de sa vie politique, a toujours tenu haut et d'une façon triomphale la bannière libérale. Vous savez qu'il s'agit de notre ami très estimé, le ministre de la Justice et Secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, le Très-honorable Louis Saint-Laurent.

Pour gagner du prestige, pour se maintenir, un parti politique a besoin de personnalités tout autant que de principes. Ce dont je veux surtout parler ce soir, c'est de la personnalité de M. Saint-Laurent et de ce qu'elle a signifié dans notre vie politique. Je voudrais pouvoir le faire à la fois en français et en anglais. Je puis déjà me rendre compte, d'après ce que j'ai essayé de dire en français, qu'un retour à ma langue maternelle ne

sera pas malvenu. Permettez-moi d'offrir premièrement au nom des membres du gouvernement et de ma part nos plus sincères remerciements à ceux qui ont organisé cette magnifique fête en l'honneur de notre collègue, M. Saint-Laurent. Je tiens aussi à vous remercier tous de la chaleureuse réception que vous avez été assez gentils de m'offrir. Veuillez m'excuser si je continue mon discours en anglais. (A ce moment, le P. M. continua en anglais)

Je tiens à vous dire dès maintenant que je suis venu à Québec pour être présent à ce banquet en l'honneur de M. Saint-Laurent. Je ne suis pas venu pour faire de cette occasion une discussion de tribune électorale et de politique ou de débat sur les questions publiques. J'aurai des occasions plus appropriées à ces fins. Sans doute que M. Saint-Laurent désirera parler de certaines questions qui, dans cette province, sont le sujet de différends politiques. Je suis venu comme chef du parti libéral du Canada pour offrir, au nom du parti, et au nom du gouvernement, nos hommages à celui qui est vraiment un grand homme et qui, malgré son peu d'années dans la vie politique, a rendu des services exceptionnels à notre parti et à notre pays.

<u>Le parti libéral, le parti de la liberté</u>

Le parti libéral, au Canada, a une longue histoire. Il a suivi aussi de nobles traditions. Pendant plus d'un siècle, des hommes d'origines ethniques et de croyances différentes, des

travailleurs intellectuels et manuels, jeunes et vieux, ont, de génération en génération, marché ensemble dans un vaste cortège, sous la bannière de la Liberté.

Tantôt, c'était la liberté politique et constitutionnelle; tantôt, la liberté personnelle et économique; tantôt encore, la liberté sociale et industrielle; tantôt enfin, la liberté nationale et mondiale; mais toujours, sous quelque forme que ce fût, c'était une liberté de plus en plus grande.

En tête de ce long cortège, on voyait les réformateurs des premières heures, champions du gouvernement responsable, collègues dans l'établissement de la Confédération, les vaillants "Grits" pendant les nombreuses années où le parti fut du côté de l'opposition, puis les chefs d'un libéralisme triomphant. Sauf les années de la première Grande Guerre et celles qui l'ont précédée et suivie immédiatement, ainsi que la période de crise de la première moitié des années 30, notre parti a été au pouvoir près de trente-cinq ans dans l'espace du demi-siècle dernier.

Réalisation qui est un sujet de fierté

De 1921 à 1946, dernière moitié de ce demi-siècle, il y a eu sept élections générales. Six fois sur les sept, le parti libéral a été porté au pouvoir. Cela s'est produit nonobstant le fait que sept des années en question furent des années de guerre. Pendant cette période de guerre, l'on compte deux victoires aux

élections générales. En outre, aux deux élections de cette période, le parti libéral a fait élire le plus grand nombre de députés qu'aucun parti ait jamais élus à la Chambre des Communes. Comme chef libéral, j'ai eu le plus grand support jamais donné à un premier ministre dans l'histoire du Canada. M. Ilsley, habile à utiliser les chiffres pour en faire ressortir une vérité importante, a calculé que depuis 1896, le parti libéral, sous deux chefs, a connu deux défaites aux élections; tandis que le parti conservateur, sous dix chefs, a perdu dix élections. M. Ilsley a omis, il va sans dire, les élections de 1917, alors que le gouvernement était une coalition de membres des deux partis. Présentant les résultats de la calculation de M. Ilsley, en termes de gains plutôt que de pertes, le parti libéral, sur une période de cinquante ans, avec deux chefs, a gagné dix élections; tandis que le parti conservateur, avec dix chefs, en a gagné deux. Vraiment, voilà une réalisation dont nous pouvons tous être fiers.

Ce soir, nous sommes réunis afin de rendre hommage à l'un des nôtres, auquel, à un titre très spécial, nous sommes redevables de l'état actuel de notre parti.

Laurier, Lapointe et Saint-Laurent

Si je me demande pourquoi notre parti est resté si longtemps au pouvoir dans l'arène fédérale, au cours des

cinquante dernières années, j'en trouve le secret dans l'importance qu'il a attachée à l'unité et aux moyens de maintenir cette unité. Ici, dans cette ville de Québec, je suis particulièrement heureux de pouvoir dire qu'à mon sens, nous devons aux chefs que la circonscription de Québec-Est a élus au Parlement du Canada, plus qu'à tout autre facteur pris à part, l'unité de notre parti et, permettez-moi d'ajouter, notre unité nationale.

Parmi ces chefs que Québec-Est a envoyés au Parlement, le premier qui vous viendra à l'esprit est sir Wilfrid Laurier. Quelle vénération nous aurons toujours pour le nom de sir Wilfrid et quel soin nous mettrons à chérir sa mémoire! Vous songerez ensuite, avec une vénération presque égale, au Très honorable Ernest Lapointe. Quel caractère loyal et généreux! Ce soir, celui qui occupe le meilleur de nos pensées, c'est le digne successeur de ces deux hommes, le ministre de la Justice du Canada et secrétaire d'Etat pour les affaires extérieures, le Très honorable Louis Saint-Laurent.

Nous sommes réunis ce soir pour rendre hommage à M. Saint-Laurent. Eh bien, présentons-lui tout honneur. Nous savons tous, et nul mieux que moi ne le sait, que sans le rôle que M. Saint-Laurent a joué durant les années où il a fait partie du ministère, la situation du parti libéral serait tout autre que ce qu'elle est ce soir; Que dis-je? non seulement la

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situation du parti, mais la situation de notre pays dans le monde.

Unité du parti et unité nationale

En ma qualité de chef du parti, permettez-moi de vous dire, messieurs, ce qu'a été pour moi la présence de M. Saint-Laurent dans le cabinet. Pour cela, je reviens sur l'importance à attacher à l'unité: unité du parti et unité nationale.

Vous vous rappelez comment, en 1896, sir Wilfrid Laurier, lors de la formation de son premier ministère, sut grouper autour de la table du conseil des ministres à Ottawa des hommes compétents et expérimentés de toutes les provinces. Or, en 1921, quand je fus chargé de former un nouveau gouvernement libéral, je me suis efforcé, en tout et partout, de suivre l'exemple de sir Wilfrid et je pense y avoir réussi. A la direction des affaires publiques, je ne tardai pas à me convaincre davantage de ce qui m'était apparu il y a longtemps, je veux dire le fait que l'unité ministérielle, tout comme l'unité de parti et l'unité nationale, dépend par-dessus tout d'une étroite collaboration des ministres de la province de Québec avec ceux des autres provinces.

Pour favoriser les relations harmonieuses entre Québec et les autres provinces, aucun chef n'a eu autant que moi à se féliciter d'avoir eu successivement à ses côtés deux collègues aussi éminents que le Très honorable Ernest Lapointe et le Très honorable Louis Saint-Laurent. Ernest Lapointe a été pour moi

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un collègue qui, grâce à sa sagesse politique, son dévouement désintéressé et sa loyauté personnelle, s'est montré, dans le véritable sens du mot, un guide, un philosophe et un ami dans tout ce qui concernait les problèmes épineux de notre vie politique.

La représentation du Québec dans le cabinet

Quand M. Lapointe mourut, je fus profondément affligé. Comme vous le savez, cette mort est survenue il y a eu cinq ans, cette semaine. La deuxième guerre mondiale sévissait alors. Peu de temps auparavant, le cabinet avait perdu, au cours d'un accident tragique, Norman Rogers qui avait été étroitement associé à l'administration publique pendant nombre d'années, et un collègue qui était un des mieux doués parmi les jeunes ministres. A une date encore plus récente, disparaissait le docteur Skelton, un de mes conseillers les plus intimes dans les services administratifs, qui avait été longtemps sous-secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures et qui était l'un des hommes le plus au courant des questions internationales. Je me suis alors souvent demandé si je pourrais rester à la tâche.

Je doute qu'il m'eût été possible de rester à mon parti, si M. Saint-Laurent n'avait pas répondu à l'appel du devoir et n'avait pas accepté de faire partie du cabinet. Vous allez voir comme cela était vrai. En effet, trois mois après

l'arrivée de M. Saint-Laurent à Ottawa, le sénateur Dandurand mourait et, deux mois plus tard, M. Cardin démissionnait comme ministre. Le sénateur Dandurand était non seulement le leader du Gouvernement au sénat, mais il en était aussi le membre le plus ancien et le plus expérimenté. Par les années de services, M. Cardin était le plus vieux membre de la Chambre des Communes.

Le sénateur Dandurand et M. Cardin représentaient tous deux votre province dans le cabinet. Tous deux étaient des conseillers sages et habiles. Si M. Saint-Laurent n'était pas alors devenu membre du cabinet, après la perte de M. Lapointe, du sénateur Dandurand et de M. Cardin, je n'aurais pas eu un seul collègue de langue française de la province de Québec. Par la suite, d'autres ministres de langue française du Québec sont entrés dans le ministère. Mais, sans M. Saint-Laurent, songez un peu dans quelle fâcheuse posture je me serais trouvé, moi et mon cabinet, au cours de ces mois très critiques!

Je désire le reconnaître pour la première fois ce soir. Je suis heureux de le faire en présence de M. Saint-Laurent et de ses nombreux amis.

<u>Hommage à l'hon. P.-J.-A. Cardin</u>

Je crois qu'il convient de m'arrêter ici un moment et de rendre hommage à la mémoire de mon ancien collègue, l'honorable

Arthur Cardin, que la mort nous a enlevé il y a quelques semaines.

Les treize années durant lesquelles M. Cardin et moi-même avons siégé ensemble dans le cabinet ont été des années importantes dans l'histoire du Canada. Elles ont été des années de prospérité ainsi que d'adversité; elles ont été marquées par l'entrée du Canada dans la deuxième guerre mondiale et par le magnifique effort de guerre du pays. Le peuple canadien et, certes toutes les nations alliées, ne comprendront jamais tout ce qu'ils doivent aux efforts accomplis par M. Cardin et M. Lapointe pour sauvegarder l'unité canadienne à l'époque la plus critique de l'histoire du monde. S'ils n'avaient pas fait montre d'une attitude aussi courageuse, si leurs directives avaient été moins clairvoyantes, s'ils n'avaient pas été aussi sincèrement patriotes, l'histoire de la participation du Canada dans cette grande guerre aurait suivi un cours bien différent.

En face des grands services qu'il avait déjà rendus, il n'est pas surprenant qu'il ait été si pénible pour M. Cardin d'être obligé de faire face à certaines situations survenues par la suite. La nature émotive de M. Cardin avait un côté chevaleresque qui le rendait très sensible à tout ce qui lui semblait être un manque de chevalerie de la part de certaines personnes. J'ai compris, et il savait que je comprenais exactement les sentiments qu'il éprouvait. Mais je savais, comme lui, que nous

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devions tous faire face aux dures exigences de la guerre et que, pour sauvegarder l'unité, il fallait envisager chaque situation nouvelle à la lumière des faits. J'ai toujours regretté que M. Cardin ait cru nécessaire de quitter le cabinet, mais je n'ai jamais douté des motifs de sa conduite. De même, sa démission n'a jamais rien changé dans nos rapports personnels, ni dans l'amitié que j'avais pour lui.

Permettez-moi maintenant de résumer ce que je veux dire au sujet de M. Saint-Laurent.

Dette envers les collègues du Cabinet

J'ai souvent affirmé que je dois mon succès dans la vie publique à l'inspiration, à l'exemple et aux sacrifices de personnes disparues depuis longtemps. J'ai aussi affirmé, - et c'est également vrai, je crois - que je dois mon succès à titre de chef du parti à l'habileté et à la loyauté des hommes qui m'ont toujours appuyé de leurs conseils et honoré de leur confiance aux réunions du Cabinet. Il suffit de jeter un regard sur les membres du gouvernement ici présents pour comprendre combien le Canada doit à leur habileté et à leur intégrité, et tout ce que je dois moi-même à leur loyauté. Parmi ceux qui sont ici présents, MM. Mackenzie, Ilsley, Howe et Gardiner ont été mes compagnons fidèles pendant les onze années qui se sont écoulées depuis la victoire de notre parti

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en 1935. Ils ont assumé une large part du fardeau et des obligations en ce qui regarde la direction de l'effort de guerre de notre pays.

Il y a d'autres collaborateurs, qui ne font plus partie du Cabinet, mais qui m'ont accordé leur appui durant la guerre, d'autres encore qui ont accepté des postes dans le Cabinet durant la guerre et après la fin des hostilités, et la plupart sont ici présents ce soir. Je songe en ce moment aux services qu'ils ont rendus à notre pays et à la reconnaissance que je leur dois pour leur collaboration dans l'administration des affaires de l'Etat. Parmi les membres du Cabinet actuel, - et je sais que j'exprime leurs sentiments unanimes, - aucun ne jouit de plus d'admiration, de confiance et d'amitié que notre invité de ce soir, le Très honorable Louis Saint-Laurent. Personne n'occupe une place plus chère dans nos coeurs.

M. Saint-Laurent, ministre de la Justice

La mort nous a ravi M. Lapointe à l'un des moments les plus critiques de la guerre. Les armées allemandes s'étaient emparées de presque toute l'Europe, y compris la partie occidentale de l'Union soviétique. Trois jours avant la nomination de M. Saint-Laurent à titre de ministre de la Couronne, les Japonais avaient attaqué Pearl Harbour. La guerre s'étendait à toutes les parties du monde. M. Saint-

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Laurent est donc devenu membre du Cabinet à l'heure la plus grave de l'histoire de l'univers. Il s'est rendu à un appel en faveur de de la cause de la liberté.

A titre de ministre de la Justice, M. Saint-Laurent occupait l'un des postes les plus importants du Cabinet, et d'une importance exceptionnelle en temps de guerre, alors qu'il faut rapidement créer un grand nombre de précédents et interpréter sans cesse des questions de droit lourdes de conséquences. Nous savions qu'entre ses mains la balance de la justice ne se détraquerait pas et que les plus nobles traditions de la profession étaient en sécurité. Possédant une connaissance approfondie du droit et de la constitution, une grande puissance d'analyse et une expérience inégalée dans l'exercice de sa profession d'avocat, il avait la compétence voulue pour assumer ces fonctions. Mais il possédait aussi d'autres qualités: une grande connaissance des affaires nationales, un esprit essentiellement juste et sans préjugés, un coeur très sympathique et la plus grande intégrité.

Par sa courtoisie et son esprit chevaleresque, il incarne l'un des plus beaux traits de la race française. Un grand nombre d'hommes éminents de l'histoire du Canada ont détenu le portefeuille de ministre de la Justice et Louis Saint-Laurent occupe la place qui lui revient parmi ces hommes distingués.

Ceux qui le connaissent s'imaginent à peine que M. Saint-Laurent achevait sa soixantième année, lorsqu'il a été assermenté

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comme ministre, le 10 décembre 1941. Les sexagénaires songent rarement à entrer dans une nouvelle carrière, surtout lorsqu'ils ont très bien réussi dans la profession de leur choix.

M. Saint-Laurent n'a pas choisi la vie politique et il n'y a sûrement pas été attiré par ambition. Par sa grande compétence, il s'était assuré un rang éminent au barreau et cette distinction lui assurait certes le droit d'espérer jouir de plus de loisirs pendant le reste de sa vie. Sans l'appel impérieux du devoir, il ne se serait pas laissé convaincre de poser sa candidature, et, par conséquent, le Canada aurait été privé de l'un de ses hommes publics les plus éminents.

M. Saint-Laurent, homme d'Etat et chef politique

Lorsque M. Saint-Laurent a abandonné l'exercice d'une profession lucrative pour accepter le poste de ministre de la Justice, on comptait bien qu'il dirigerait les affaires du ministère de façon tout à fait satisfaisante pour lui-même et pour l'Administration. Il n'avait pas encore fait ses preuves comme homme d'Etat ou comme chef politique. On ne savait pas avec quelle compétence il remplirait l'un et l'autre de ces rôles. Vous savez maintenant que M. Saint-Laurent s'est acquis l'estime de ses collègues au Parlement dès le début. Vous savez que l'admiration et la confiance du public en lui n'ont cessé de s'accroître. Vous savez comment, durant mon absence récente en Europe, les membres de tous

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les partis l'ont bien accueilli comme premier ministre suppléant, et comment il s'est montré à la hauteur de la tâche et s'est acquitté de ces fonctions à la satisfaction de tous. Et nous savons également qu'en sa qualité de chef de la délégation canadienne à l'Assemblée des nations unies tenue à Londres en décembre dernier, et présentement à New-York, aucune voix n'est plus écoutée que la sienne. Ce fut la même chose à San-Francisco, lorsqu'il s'est agi de rédiger la Charte des Nations Unies.

Le temps ne me permet pas de dire à quel point les sages avis de M. Saint-Laurent ont influé sur la préparation des mesures législatives au Cabinet, sur l'étude de mesures difficiles à la Chambre des Communes, et sur la présentation de questions importantes au public. Nous sommes tous au courant des succès qu'il a remportés dans les débats à la Chambre. Au cours des élections générales de 1945 nous nous sommes rendus compte de sa valeur comme orateur politique, aussi bien dans sa circonscription que dans les autres parties de la province, bien que très peu de gens connaissent les difficultés qu'il a dû surmonter alors.

Que ne devons-nous pas à l'attitude franche et sans équivoque prise par M. Saint-Laurent, et à la défense qu'il a faite de la conduite et du programme du Gouvernement, lors de la campagne électorale de 1945? A un moment où d'aucuns nous combat-

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taient, où d'autres hésitaient et où certains n'osaient se déclarer ouvertement, il n'a pas hésité un seul instant à dire qu'il appuyait entièrement le chef du parti et qu'il était convaincu que la ligne de conduite suivie par le Gouvernement, au cours d'une période des plus critiques, était la seule capable de préserver l'unité au pays.

Le rôle de M. Saint-Laurent pendant la crise de 1944

Je ne sais pas si on s'est jamais rendu compte du fait qu'en novembre 1944 nous avons été bien près de ne pas avoir de gouvernement au Canada, ni de parti en état de former un ministère avec le moindre espoir de se maintenir au Parlement, alors que nos forces armées étaient engagées dans un terrible combat au front. Je croirai toujours que c'est à l'attitude ferme prise par l'homme d'Etat que le ministre de la Justice s'est révélé en cette heure de crise, à sa claire vision, à la sagesse de son jugement, à la rapidité de ses décisions, et à ses facultés de persuasion plus qu'à tout autre facteur qu'il faut attribuer le maintien du Gouvernement et l'éloignement d'un désastre épouvantable.

Loin de moi la pensée de laisser entendre que tous les membres du Gouvernement ne saisissaient pas également la gravité de la situation et n'étaient pas aussi désireux de prendre la bonne décision, mais d'après ce que je sais de la situation et de la position excessivement difficile dans laquelle se trouvaient

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plusieurs députés de cette province ainsi que bon nombre d'autres, d'ailleurs, au Canada, je suis convaincu que si M. Saint-Laurent m'avait retiré son appui ou, même, s'était montré hésitant, j'aurais été obligé de démissionner, ce qui eût entraîné aussi la démission du Cabinet.

Les résultats du scrutin de 1945 démontrent de façon satisfaisante que la ligne de conduite adoptée par le Gouvernement a paru la bonne dans les circonstances. Mais pour en apprécier toute la valeur, il faudrait savoir ce qu'il serait advenu, si le Gouvernement n'avait pu se maintenir. De plus, il faudrait considérer cette situation en regard du succès que nous a valu un effort de guerre ininterrompu de la part du Canada.

Services rendus au Parti et à l'Etat

J'en ai peut-être dit assez pour vous permettre de juger ce que le parti et le pays doivent à notre invité de ce soir, ce que les services de M. Saint-Laurent ont valu aux deux. N'est-il pas vrai que M. Saint-Laurent occupe une place presque unique dans notre vie publique? Et n'est-ce pas un grand honneur pour nous tous d'avoir l'occasion de reconnaître hautement les grands services qu'il a rendus au parti libéral et au Canada, au cours des cinq dernières années?

Je n'ai encore rien dit de la contribution accordée par les autres membres de la famille de M. Saint-Laurent en regard des

services qu'ils ont rendus au pays en temps de guerre. Vous en savez déjà quelque chose. J'ai omis aussi de parler de la confusion créée par l'obligation de résider à Ottawa et de ce que les voyages fréquents entre Ottawa et Québec ont pu causer de dérangements dans la vie ordonnée et paisible de la famille Saint-Laurent. De ces questions de famille, je ne suis malheureusement pas compétent. Je suis cependant convaincu que pour plusieurs privations et pour l'indulgence démontrée en maintes circonstances afin de permettre au ministre de la Justice de poursuivre son genre de vie normale, nous devons beaucoup à madame Saint-Laurent. Je voudrais profiter de l'occasion, en votre nom et en le mien, pour exprimer à madame Saint-Laurent notre profonde admiration pour, dans l'ombre, nous avoir rendu service à tous.

Un mot seulement, au sujet de M. Saint-Laurent, avant de conclure ce que j'ai à dire.

<u>La réponse de M. Saint-Laurent à maints appels</u>

Lorsqu'en décembre 1941, M. Saint-Laurent céda à ma demande pressée d'entrer dans le ministère, il m'a promis de le faire, en raison de la guerre, et seulement pour la durée du conflit. Les hostilités, à ce moment-là, avaient déjà duré plus de vingt-sept mois. Ce n'était pas alors la conviction générale que la guerre durerait plus de quatre ans. De fait, elle dura six ans. En moins d'une quinzaine de jours, il y aura cinq ans

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que M. Saint-Laurent est devenu membre du gouvernement.

Lorsque la guerre en Europe arriva à sa fin, M. Saint-Laurent me rappela ce qu'il m'avait dit au moment où il entra dans le gouvernement. Mais le parti, à ce moment-là, faisait face à une élection générale. M. Saint-Laurent aurait été le dernier à chercher à se retirer à un tel moment. Il me dit qu'il désirait être avec le parti pendant la campagne, mais il espérait que, peu après, il lui serait possible de prendre sa retraite. Depuis les élections, il m'a parlé à différents moments de sujets qu'il croyait devoir prendre en considération. Avec une chevalerie qui lui est caractéristique, il a, à chaque occasion, accédé à ma demande de rester à la tâche. Non seulement ça, mais en plus des lourdes responsabilités du portefeuille de la Justice, qu'il continue de détenir, il a pris sur lui et il porte, pour le moment du moins, les responsabilités toujours plus grandes et plus lourdes qui sont celles de secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures.

J'ai déjà fait savoir que dans une réorganisation du ministère, que je pourrais juger propice de faire, et qui sera faite avant l'ouverture de la session, le ministère des Affaires extérieures aura un ministre qui sera en mesure de consacrer son temps, plus ou moins exclusivement, aux questions inter-commonwealth et internationales. Avec cette réorganisation, j'espère que M. Saint-Laurent trouvera possible, pour quelque temps encore, de

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continuer à donner à notre pays, au Parlement et au monde, dans l'arène internationale, le bénéfice de ses talents exceptionnels, de sa très grande sagesse et de sa vaste expérience.

Servir pour la "durée"

De crainte que M. Saint-Laurent sente que, n'étant pas disposé à m'en séparer comme collègue à aucun temps, j'oublierais ce qui a été entendu entre nous, à savoir qu'il entrait dans le Cabinet seulement pour la durée de la guerre, laissez-moi lui raconter un petit incident que j'ai lu, il y a à peine un jour ou deux, et qui est très pertinent. Je ne me souviens pas des mots exacts pour raconter cette histoire, mais la logique de ses arguments m'a profondément ému. Un soldat, appartenant à un Régiment de Noirs, demandait instamment à son sergent qu'on lui permette de prendre sa retraite de l'armée en raison du fait qu'il s'était enrôlé seulement pour la durée de la guerre: "La guerre est finie, protesta-t-il, je r'tourn' chez moi. Je m'suis enrôlé que pour la "durée"." S'il vous plaît, monsieur le ministre, rappelez-vous que la "durée" vient seulement de commencer.

La nécessité de l'organisation

Aujourd'hui, on parle trop, à mon sens, des retraites possibles; on fait aussi trop de commentaires sur la question de savoir qui dirigera le parti à la prochaine élection générale. Qu'il suffise, pour le moment, de remporter la victoire aux élections

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partielles. Soyons absolument francs: nous serions beaucoup plus heureux ce soir si le parti n'avait pas perdu Pontiac, dans cette province, et Portage-la-Prairie, au Manitoba. Nous aurions dû être vainqueurs dans ces deux circonscriptions; nous l'aurions été si l'organisation du parti avait été ce qu'elle aurait dû être. Toronto-Parkdale ne nous a jamais appartenu. Néanmoins, nous sommes venus tout près d'y remporter la palme. Les chiffres établissent clairement que c'est ce qui serait arrivé si l'organisation avait été aussi efficace partout dans la circonscription qu'elle ne l'a été dans la majeure partie.

Ce soir, moins que jamais, je ne chercherai pas à établir à qui attribuer le blâme. Toutefois, je vais sonner l'appel pour inviter tous et chacun des membres du parti, qu'ils détiennent une situation éminente à titre de députés au Parlement, ou qu'ils soient d'humbles ouvriers dans le rang, à se rendre compte que le sort du parti, dans une mesure plus ou moins grande, est entre leurs mains. Je voudrais pouvoir convaincre tous les membres du parti libéral que l'avenir du parti dépend de chacun d'eux. Je voudrais pouvoir faire comprendre à chaque membre ce qui, en une période comme celle que traverse le monde aujourd'hui, est infiniment plus important, savoir: jusqu'à quel point les chances de succès, le sort, le bonheur, que dis-je la vie même,

D 50655

peut-être, d'innombrables hommes, femmes et enfants sont liés au sort d'un parti dont le but et l'objet sont la protection et l'accroissement des droits humains et de la liberté humaine.

A moins que, à titre de membres d'un parti, tous ne soient prêts à agir comme des hommes et suivant les règles du jeu, non pour des fins égoïstes mais pour le bien général, il est sûr que le parti en souffrira. En politique, comme en mécanique, la force d'une chaîne est celle de sa plus faible maille.

Relation entre le Parti et l'Etat

Vous aurez noté sans doute que dans toutes mes observations, ce soir, j'ai parlé à la fois du service envers le parti et du service envers l'Etat, comme si tous deux signifiaient à peu près la même chose. C'est peut-être que ma vie a été consacrée au service des deux et que, dans ma carrière, les deux ont été, en quelque sorte, inséparables. Je sais que l'on pourrait à bon droit s'objecter si je disais simplement que le service envers l'Etat est inséparable du service envers un parti politique. Mais lorsque, comme en politique, l'un constitue la fin et l'autre, le moyen d'atteindre cette fin, ils sont, en vérité, inséparables.

Tout dépend de la fin que nous voulons servir. Le service envers l'Etat, lorsque la fin est de partager les dépouilles, d'une manière ou d'une autre, n'est nullement moins sordide que le service envers un parti politique, pour la même fin. D'autre part,

D 50656

si la fin est de servir l'Etat pour améliorer le sort de son semblable, le service envers un parti politique qui favorise cette fin devient aussi une des plus hautes formes de service envers l'Etat.

Si les hommes et les femmes qui ont les mêmes idées sur les questions d'actualité ne s'unissent pas sous quelque bannière qui leur permette de marcher en une seule colonne, ils peuvent être assurés que ceux qui diffèrent d'opinion seront tout prêts à profiter de leur négligence. Sans un parti où ils peuvent faire triompher leurs vues, il deviendrait bientôt impossible de servir l'Etat conformément aux principes et au programme en lesquels un grand nombre d'hommes et de femmes ont foi, et dont la mise à exécution est une condition du bien-être d'une multitude d'humains.

Anciens et nouveaux partis politiques

De temps à autre, on entend dire beaucoup de choses au sujet des vieux partis politiques, comme si les nobles traditions et la longue expérience ne comptaient pour rien en politique, alors qu'on s'attend à ce qu'elles comptent dans toute autre sphère d'activité. Un parti politique a autant de raisons d'être fier de ses nombreuses années d'existence et de possession du pouvoir qu'en ont les membres d'une église, d'un régiment, d'une maison d'éducation, d'une maison d'affaires, d'être fiers des services rendus par le passé. Le danger pour un gouvernement représentatif, dans plusieurs pays aujourd'hui, vient non autant de la perpétuation

D 50657

des partis qui ont un long et honorable passé, mais d'un égarement des partis politiques qui n'ont pas de passé et peu de chance pour l'avenir.

Récemment, dans cette province, sont apparus l'Union Nationale, le Bloc Populaire, le C.C.F., le Crédit Social, l'Union des électeurs, le Parti progressiste ouvrier, et des supposés Indépendants de toutes les couleurs de l'arc-en-ciel. Que représentent-ils de tradition et de conception vraiment canadiennes? La soi-disant Union Nationale n'est pas nationale, mais d'un esprit d'étroit provincialisme; le Bloc Populaire n'est certainement pas populaire; plusieurs ignorent la signification des lettres C.C.F.; un jour, le Crédit Social est identique à l'Union des Electeurs, le lendemain, ce ne l'est plus; et le troisième jour, c'est redevenu le Crédit Social; le nouveau parti Progressiste-ouvrier ne sert plus à exprimer la véritable conception du parti qui a assumé ce nom; et, ce qui est le plus amusant de tout, il y avait un membre du Parlement qui, tout fin seul, prétendait être le Parti Canadien.

Le grand nombre de cette sorte de partis et groupes malheureusement jette le discrédit dans l'esprit du public sur tous les partis politiques. Si c'était là le pire effet, les conséquences ne seraient probablement pas aussi sérieuses.

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Malheureusement, des partis aux différents noms et de toutes sortes, unions, blocs, mouvements aux curieuses dénominations, bien qu'à la fin ils n'arrivent à rien, réussissent entre-temps de saboter et d'amoindrir l'efficacité des partis qui ont une influence nationale. Une multiplicité de partis a pour résultat de détruire la conception entière des organisations politiques responsables et d'affaiblir la nation elle-même. Ceci, comme nous l'avons tous constaté, fut la malchance de la France au début de la guerre. Gardons-nous de ne pas répéter la même erreur. Ce dont nous avons besoin au Canada, ce sont des partis qui serviront à unir en une seule nation, ses provinces d'un océan à l'autre. Nous avons aujourd'hui, au Canada, un tel parti dans le parti libéral. Protégeons cet héritage.

J'ai débuté ce soir en parlant de l'histoire et des traditions du parti libéral. J'ai parlé de la longue procession dans laquelle, pour plus d'un centenaire, les membres du Parti, de génération en génération, ont avancé d'un pas ferme sous la bannière de la liberté.

J'ai, je l'espère, démontré où le secret des nombreuses victoires du Parti doit être trouvé, et c'est dans son attachement à l'unité: un parti uni; un pays uni; les nations du monde unies par les liens de la fraternité et de la paix.

En aucun temps de l'histoire du Canada avons-nous senti un besoin plus grand qu'aujourd'hui de voir se perpétuer un parti

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libéral puissant, alors que l'humanité est devant l'alternative de la destruction universelle ou de la liberté parfaite. Dans notre pays, comme dans plusieurs autres, où le facteur géographique et les différences sociales portent à la division, le parti libéral se fait le défenseur de l'unité. Dans un monde où la sécurité de l'homme et de la femme est une chose précieuse, le parti libéral se fait le défenseur de la sécurité. A un moment où la liberté continue d'être menacée par les tendances vers la dictature et au totalitarisme, le parti libéral est toujours le défenseur de la liberté. Unité, Sécurité, Liberté: voilà les grands principes pour lesquels nous combattons, voilà les étendards sous lesquels, comme parti, nous continuerons de servir.

Messieurs: je vous demande de vous lever et de boire à la santé de celui qui a combattu noblement pour l'unité, la sécurité et la liberté, dans notre pays et parmi les nations du monde, le ministre de la Justice et secrétaire d'Etat aux Affaires extérieures, le Très honorable Louis Saint-Laurent.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

5172

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date DEC 11 1946

Comment Mr King's Speech Outside Parl.

Subject

Mr. King's Fortissimo Reticences

D 50660

(Ottawa Journal)

Time does not wither nor custom stale Mr. Mackenzie King's infinite capacity to be incorrigibly political. Thus a dinner in honor of Mr. St. Laurent is turned by Mr. King into a defence and glorification of his own course and career, with a stirring of old embers and a harping back to old controversies for definitely political ends.

Not that Mr. King didn't go all-out in eulogy of Mr. St. Laurent. Indeed, reading Mr. King from page 3 on to page 24 of his manuscript one concludes that Mr. St. Laurent is a combination of Lincoln, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and St. Francis of Assisi, with Blackstone, Aristotle and Sir Galahad thrown in for good measure. Yet Mr. King has a way of demoting all history to his own autobiography, and in the end we learn that the true secret of Mr. St. Laurent's greatness is that he stood by Mr. King. Thus:

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"I do not believe that it has ever been realized how near we came, in November, 1944, to having no government at all in Canada. . . . I shall always believe that it was the firm and statesmanlike stand taken, in that hour of crisis, by the Minister of Justice, his clear vision, his wise judgment, his quick decision, and his persuasive powers which more than any other single influence helped to ensure the continuance of the government, and to avert an appalling disaster. . . . I am perfectly certain that had Mr. St. Laurent withdrawn his support of myself, or, indeed wavered in that support, I should have had no alternative but to tender my resignation and with it the resignation of the Ministry."

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Whether the resignation of Mr. King's Government in 1944 would have been of a cosmic significance, as Mr. King here professes to think, must be left to the historians. Our own idea in the meantime is that if such a thing had come—and we doubt that there ever was much danger of it—Churchill and Roosevelt and Stalin, and even some government in Canada, would have managed to muddle along. There are times when we think it a pity that Mr. King hasn't more of the philosophy of the great Liberal who once said: "I have no belief in panaceas and almost none in sudden ruin."

There are times also when we are persuaded that Mr. King's conscience is troubled by what happened in 1944—that he is haunted by the record which Col. Ralston left on Hansard for all the world to read.

Mr. King, in a detour of Mr. St. Laurent, spoke of the Liberal Party. What his manuscript makes him say makes us wish that Mr. King or his "ghost", before putting down what he put down, had taken the trouble to read what Sir Wilfrid Laurier said about the Liberal Party in the same place some 60 years ago—and brought it up to date. As it was, Mr. King contented himself with a recital of the Liberal Party's victories, as though he were the late Knute Rockne on the record of Notre Dame. Somebody once said that Gladstone could make a budget speech sound like a sonnet . Mr. King made his chronological and statistical tale of Liberal victories sound like a page from the Parliamentary Guide. (And doesn't the man ever think, with all these Liberal victories, that the law of averages must soon catch up with him?)

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The business of reciting party victories is, of course, standard pabulum for a party gathering. But surely Mr. King with something of the elder statesman tradition beginning to cluster about his head, should be good for something better! Mr. King has been Prime Minister through momentous years; has been and is close to the moving events of our times. Has he no more to say to us than the sort of partizan recital that one expects from the back-concession hustings?

We could go on no end about this speech of Mr. King's. Go on about his loud reticences concerning where he or his party stands on a multiplicity of things at this time; about his extraordinary complaint that "there is too much talk about who is to lead the party at the next election." (and he the one who began it!); about his none too subtle gestures to Quebec (no loss of the old cunning there); and most of all about Mr. King's exhortation to the faithful to get out and organize—this without a word to the bewildered faithful regarding what or for whom they are to organize. But why should we? This is Mr. King, revealing simply that he hasn't changed, or, more disturbing, that he is becoming more like himself every day. The final and most fitting comment was made by Mr. St. Laurent himself when, responding to Mr. King, he said:

"I still believe it is preferable to respect the intelligence and the good faith of those who have the responsibilities of passing judgment on the doings of men in politics."

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 50661

Not to be released until time of delivery.

Complimentary Banquet
in honour of
The Right Honourable Louis S. St. Laurent, P.C., M.P.,
Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs
Chateau Frontenac, Quebec City November 29, 1946.

Speech by the Right Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King, P.C.,M.P.,
Prime Minister and Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada,
in proposing the Health of the Guest of Honour.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:

I am delighted indeed to be again at a political gathering in the province of Quebec, and especially at a family gathering.

I am delighted to see my old friend, Senator Fafard in the chair. He was so successful as the Chairman of the Liberal Caucus in Parliament, that by general consent of its members, he was made a Senator for life. I am glad to see at this table, and in this vast gathering, such a large number of fellow members of Parliament, Liberal members of the Legislature of Quebec, and leading Liberals of this city and province.

I am particularly pleased to see, ~~and to have heard again,~~ Mr. Adelard Godbout, the Leader of the Liberal

Opposition in this Province. ~~We have all, I am sure, been deeply moved by his eloquent words tonight~~. As the leader of the Liberal forces in the provincial arena, Mr. Godbout, over many years, in season and out of season, in office and out of office, has been in the forefront of the battle. Our party owes very much to him.

There are many others of whom I should like to make mention by name. We are, however, not met here tonight to do honour to ourselves. We are assembled to honour one of our number of whom the Party is particularly proud. We are here to honour one who, in the short time he has been in public life, has upheld the banner of Liberalism in triumphant fashion. I mean, of course, our esteemed friend, the Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

To win prestige, to hold its own, to retain the confidence of the public, a political party requires personalities as well as policies. It is of the personality of Mr. St. Laurent, and of what in himself he has meant to the Liberal party and to the public life of Canada, that I desire to speak, all but exclusively, tonight. I wish I were free

D 50663

to do so in both French and English. I have attempted these few words in French. Because of my inability to do justice to your beautiful language, a change to my mother tongue may, I feel, be not unwelcome. Before, however, I continue my speech in English, may I extend on behalf of other members of the Government and myself our warmest thanks to those who have organized this magnificent demonstration, in honour of our colleague, Mr. St. Laurent. May I also be allowed to thank all present for the very warm welcome so kindly extended to myself.

Let me say at once that I have come to Quebec to attend this complimentary banquet in honour of Mr. St. Laurent, and for that purpose solely. I have not come to discuss the party's platform and policies, or to debate public issues. For these purposes other occasions will, for me, be more appropriate. Mr. St. Laurent, no doubt, will wish to speak of some of the matters which, in this province, are a subject of political controversy. But I have come as the leader of the Liberal Party of Canada to pay, on behalf of the party and on behalf of the government, a tribute to one who is a truly great man, and who in the course of his few years in public life has rendered exceptional service to our party and to our country.

D 50664

The Liberal Party: the Party of Freedom

The Liberal Party in Canada has had a long history. It has also followed a fine tradition. For over a hundred years, men of different racial origins and different religious faiths, workers with brain and workers with hand, old and young, have, for generation after generation, marched together in one vast procession under the banner of Freedom.

At one time, it has been political and constitutional freedom; at another, personal and economic freedom; at another, social and industrial freedom; at another national and world freedom, but, in one form or another, at all times, it has been an ever-expanding freedom.

At the head of that long procession there have marched the Reformers of early days, champions of Responsible Government, co-workers in the building of Confederation, the stalwart Grits of the Party's many years in Opposition, and then the leaders of a triumphant Liberalism. Saving the years immediately preceding, including and following the First Great War, and the years of depression in the first half of the thirties, our party has been in office almost thirty five years out of the past half century.

D 50665

A record of which to be proud

In the years from 1921 to 1946, the last half of that half century, there have been seven general elections. In six out of the seven, the Liberal Party has been returned to office. This has taken place despite the fact that six of those years were years of war. Within the period of war, two of the general elections were won. Moreover, in two general elections of that period, the Liberal Party returned to Parliament the largest number of members any party has ever elected to the House of Commons. As Liberal leader, I have had, in two Parliaments, the largest following given any Prime Minister in the history of politics in Canada.

Mr. Ilsley, with his skill in using figures to demonstrate significant truths, has calculated that, since 1896, the Liberal Party, with two leaders, has lost only two elections; that the Conservative Party, with ten leaders, has lost ten elections. In this count, Mr. Ilsley omits, of course, the elections of 1917 at which time the Government was a coalition of members of both parties. Expressing the results of Mr. Ilsley's calculation in terms of gains instead of losses, the Liberal Party, over the last fifty years, with two leaders, has won ten elections; while the Conservative Party, with ten leaders, has won only two. This is a record of which, indeed, we may all be proud.

Tonight, we are assembled to do honour to one of our number to whom, in very special measure, we are indebted for the Party's record being what it is today.

D 50666

Laurier, Lapointe and St. Laurent

As I seek to account for the long tenure of office of our party in the federal arena, over the last fifty years, I find the secret in the emphasis the party has placed upon Unity, and the means by which Unity has been maintained. Here in this city of Quebec, I am particularly happy to be able to say, that to the leaders the constituency of Quebec East has sent to the Parliament of Canada more than to any other single factor, we may, I believe, attribute the unity of our party; and, may I add, our national unity.

Of the leaders whom Quebec East has sent to our Parliament, you will think first of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. How we shall ever revere Sir Wilfrid's name and cherish his memory! You will think next, and with a veneration almost as great, of the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe. What a loyal and generous nature was his! Tonight we have uppermost in our thoughts the worthy successor of both, Canada's Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

It is Mr. St. Laurent we are met together to honour tonight. Well may we pay him every honour. We all know, and no one better than myself, that but for the part Mr. St. Laurent has played in the years he has been a member of the Ministry, the position of the Liberal Party in Canada would be vastly different from what it is tonight; not the position of the Party only, but the position of our country in the world.

D 50667

Party Unity and National Unity

Let me, as the Party's leader, tell you, gentlemen, something of what Mr. St. Laurent's presence in the Cabinet has meant to me personally. To do this, I must speak again of the emphasis to be placed on Unity: - party unity and national unity.

You will recall how in 1896, in the first Ministry he formed, Sir Wilfrid Laurier gathered around the Council table at Ottawa, able and experienced men from all the Provinces. When in 1921, I was charged with forming a new Liberal administration, I sought in this, as in much else, to follow Sir Wilfrid's example; and I believe, succeeded. I was not long in office, however, before I became more confirmed than ever, in the view I had long held, that Cabinet unity, as well as party unity, and national unity, depended above all else upon the close working together of Ministers from the province of Quebec with the Ministers from the other provinces.

In furthering harmonious relations between Quebec and the other provinces, no leader was ever quite so fortunate as I have been in having had, successively, at his side two such colleagues as the Right Honourable Ernest Lapointe and the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent. Ernest Lapointe was a colleague whose

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political wisdom, unselfish devotion and personal loyalty made of him, in all that pertained to the perplexing problems of our political life, and in the fullest meaning of the words, "guide, philosopher and friend".

Quebec Representation in the Ministry

When Mr. Lapointe died, I was bereft indeed. That, as you may recall, was five years ago this very week. The second world war was on. Only a short time before, I had, through an unforgettable tragedy, lost from the Ministry, Norman Rogers, a close associate in the work of government over many years, and a colleague who was most promising among the younger Ministers. Still more recently, my closest adviser in the permanent service, Dr. Skelton, for many years Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, the one best informed on international problems, had passed away. I wondered, indeed, many times, if it were going to be possible for me to carry on.

I doubt if I should have found it possible to continue to lead, had Mr. St. Laurent not responded to the call of duty, and entered the Ministry when he did. How true this is, will be seen in an instant when I remind you that it was less than three months after Mr. St. Laurent came to Ottawa that Senator Dandurand passed away, and but two months thereafter that Mr. Cardin resigned from the Ministry. Senator Dandurand was not only the Leader of the

D 50669

government in the Senate, he was its eldest and most experienced member. In years of service, Mr. Cardin was the eldest member of the House of Commons.

Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin were both Ministers from this Province. Each was a wise and able counsellor. With the loss from the Ministry of Mr. Lapointe, Senator Dandurand and Mr. Cardin, had Mr. St. Laurent not become a member of the Cabinet when he did, I should have been without a single French speaking colleague in the government from the Province of Quebec. The other French speaking Ministers from Quebec have all entered the Ministry since that time. Imagine, without Mr. St. Laurent, what, in these very critical months, my plight and the plight of the Ministry would have been!

That is the first acknowledgment I wish to make tonight. I am happy to be able to make it in Mr. St. Laurent's presence, and in the presence of his many friends.

Tribute to Hon. P. J. A. Cardin

This seems an appropriate place at which to pause, that I may pay a tribute to the memory of my former colleague, the Honourable Arthur Cardin who has been taken from us within the past few weeks.

D 50670

The thirteen years Mr. Cardin and I sat together in the cabinet were important years in the history of Canada. They included periods of prosperity and adversity; they witnessed Canada's entry into the second world war, and the development of Canada's magnificent war effort. The people of Canada, yes, and I may well say, the peoples of all the allied nations, will never realize what they owe to Mr. Cardin and to Mr. Lapointe for what they did to preserve Canadian unity, at what, I believe, was the most critical of all the years in the world's history. Had their attitude been less courageous than it was, their leadership less far-sighted, had they been less genuinely patriotic, the story of Canada's participation in the great war would have been vastly different.

In the light of all the service he had rendered, it is not surprising that Mr. Cardin should have felt, as strongly as he did, about being obliged to face some of the situations which subsequently arose. There was a chivalrous side to Cardin's sensitive nature which made him feel very keenly what seemed to him to be a lack of chivalry on the part of others. I understood, and he knew I understood, exactly how he felt. But I know, as he also knew, that we all alike had to face the stern necessities of war, and that, if unity were to be

D 50671

preserved, each new situation could only be met in the light of new developments. I always regretted that Mr. Cardin found it necessary to resign from the Ministry, but I never questioned his motives. Nor did his resignation ever make any difference in our personal relations, or in the affection I cherished for him.

Let me now resume what I wish to say of Mr. St. Laurent.

Debt to Cabinet Colleagues

I have frequently stated that if I have been able to achieve anything in public life, it has been due to the inspiration of the lives, the example and the sacrifices of others who have long since passed away. I have also said, and I believe it to be equally true, that such success as I have had in party leadership has been due to the ability and the loyalty of the men who have supported me with their counsel, and honoured me with their confidence at the Council Table. You have only to look at the members of the government here assembled to realize what Canada owes to their ability and integrity, and what I personally owe to their loyalty. Of those present; Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Ilsley, Mr. Howe and Mr. Gardiner have been continuously at my side over the entire eleven years since the party was returned to power in 1935. Their shoulders have borne no small share of the burden and responsibilities of directing

D 50672

and administering the war effort of our country.

There were other colleagues, no longer members of the Ministry, who were with me during the war, and there are others who have joined the Ministry during and since the war, most of whom are with us this evening. Their services to our country are much present to my mind tonight, also what, personally, I owe to their cooperation in the tasks of government. Of the cabinet, as at present constituted, I know I speak for all of its members when I say that no one of our number is more admired, more trusted, more beloved, than our guest of this evening, the Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent. There is none who holds a warmer place in our hearts.

Mr. St.Laurent as Minister of Justice.

Mr. Lapointe's death came at one of the great crises of the war. The German armies had overrun practically all of Europe, including the western part of the Soviet Union. Three days before Mr. St. Laurent became a Minister of the Crown, the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbour. War had encircled the globe. Thus it happened that Mr. St. Laurent joined the government at the hour of greatest need. The call he accepted was a call to help in the defence of Freedom.

D 50673

As Minister of Justice, Mr. St.Laurent held a key position in the Ministry, a position of exceptional importance in time of war, a time when many new precedents had rapidly to be established, and far-reaching questions of law had continuously to be interpreted. One knew that, in his hand, the scales of justice would be evenly balanced; that the highest professional standards would be upheld. To the duties of his office, he brought wide knowledge of the law and the constitution, keen analytical powers, and an experience second to none in the legal profession. He brought more than this. He brought a bread outlook on national affairs; a mind essentially just, and devoid of prejudice; a very warm heart; and the highest integrity of character. In his courtesy and chivalry, he himself embodies one of the finest characteristics of the French race. Not a few of the names most prominent in Canada's history are to be found among those of Ministers of the Crown who have held the portfolio of Justice. The name of Louis St. Laurent finds its natural place in that distinguished company.

It is hard for those who know him to realize that, when he was sworn to office on December 10, 1941, Mr. St. Laurent was already nearing the close of his sixtieth year.

D 50674

Men of sixty rarely think of starting a new career, particularly when already they have attained the highest success in their chosen vocations.

Mr. St.Laurent did not choose a political career for himself. He was certainly not drawn into public life by ambition. His great abilities had won for him an eminence in the legal profession which would have entitled him to give thought to the enjoyment of more in the way of leisure for the remaining years of his life. But for the stern voice of Duty, I am certain he could not have been induced to run for Parliament. Canadian public life would, as a consequence, have lost one of its finest figures.

Mr. St.Laurent as a Parliamentarian and Political Leader

When Mr. St.Laurent gave up a lucrative practice to enter the government as Minister of Justice, it was fully expected he would administer the affairs of the department with every credit to himself and to the administration. He was, however, untried as a parliamentarian and a political leader. It was not known how efficient he would prove in either of these roles. You now know how, from the very beginning, Mr. St. Laurent has risen in the esteem of his fellow members in parliament. You know how, from day to day, he has increasingly gained the admiration and the confidence of the Canadian public. You know how greatly, during my recent absence in Europe, members of all parties welcomed him as the acting Prime Minister, and with what

D 50675

credit to himself and satisfaction to others, he discharged the duties of that office. And we all know that as leader of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations Assembly at London in December last, and at New York today, no voice has commanded more respect than his. It was the same at San Francisco in the framing of the Charter of the United Nations.

Time does not permit me to speak of what Mr. St. Laurent's wise counsel has meant in the fashioning of legislation in Cabinet Council, in piloting difficult measures through the House of Commons, and in presenting important issues to the public. We all know the success he has won as a debater in parliament. We learned, in the general elections of 1945, something of his abilities as a campaigner, both in his own constituency and in other parts of the province, though few will ever appreciate the odds against which, at the time, he had to contend.

What do we not owe to Mr. St. Laurent's direct and unequivocal exposition, and support of the government's record and policies in the elections of 1945? At a time when some were opposing, others wavering, and not a few unwilling to come out and say just who they were supporting, he never hesitated to declare that he was one hundred

percent behind the party's leader, and that he believed the course the government had followed, in one of the most trying and difficult of all situations, was the only one which could have kept the country united.

Mr. St. Laurent's role in the crisis of 1944

I do not know that it has ever been realized how near we came, in November, 1944, to having no government at all in Canada, and no party that could form a government, with any hope of being able to carry on in parliament while our armed forces were facing the last terrible ordeal of battle at the front. I shall always believe that it was the firm and statesmanlike stand taken, in that hour of crisis, by the Minister of Justice, his clear vision, his wise judgement, his quick decision, and his persuasive powers which more than any other single influence helped to ensure the continuance of the government, and to avert an appalling disaster.

I would not for a moment have it believed that all members of the government were not equally conscientious, equally anxious to reach a right decision, but knowing the situation as I do, knowing the exceedingly difficult position in which many members from this province, as well as many

members from other parts of Canada found themselves, I am perfectly certain that had Mr. St. Laurent withdrawn his support of myself, or, indeed, wavered, in that support, I should have had no alternative but to tender my resignation, and with it the resignation of the Ministry.

The results of the election of 1945 may be regarded as a sufficient answer to the question whether, in the minds of the electors, the right course was taken by the administration at that time. The complete answer would require a knowledge of conditions as they might have become, had the government not been able to carry on. Such conditions, moreover, would have to be considered in contrast with what we now know of the success which attended an unbroken war effort on the part of Canada.

Service to the Party and to the State

Perhaps I have said enough to enable you to judge what I feel is owing by the party, and by the country, to our guest of this evening; enough to enable you to sense something of what Mr. St. Laurent's services have meant to both. Is it not true that Mr. St. Laurent occupies a position which is virtually unique in our public life? And are we, ourselves, not greatly honoured in having this opportunity to pay a tribute to the high public service he has rendered to the Liberal Party and to Canada over the past five years?

D 50678

I have said nothing of the contributions made by other members of the St. Laurent family in their service to the State at the time of war. Of these you already know something. Nor have I spoken of the confusion which residence at the Capital and constant commuting to and fro between Ottawa and Quebec must have worked in the orderly arrangements and quiet contentment of the St. Laurent household. On these family matters, I am, unfortunately, not an authority. I am sure, however, that for many privations, and for the forbearance exercised on many occasions to enable the Minister of Justice to pursue "the even tenor of his way", there is much for which we are indebted to Madame St. Laurent. I should like to take this opportunity, on your behalf as well as my own, to oxpress to Madame St. Laurent our deep appreciation for what, in many unseen ways, she has also rendered of service to us all.

D 50679

Just one further word concerning Mr. St. Laurent before I conclude what I have to say.

Mr. St. Laurent's response to many calls.

When, in December 1941, Mr. St. Laurent yielded to my earnest appeal to him to enter the Ministry, he promised to do so, only because of the war, and for the duration of the war. Hostilities, at the time, had already lasted for more than two and a quarter years. It was not then generally believed the war would last for more than four years. It lasted, in fact, for six years. Within less than a fortnight, it will be five years since Mr. St. Laurent became a member of the government.

When the war in Europe ended, Mr. St. Laurent reminded me of what had been said between us at the time he entered the government. But the party was then facing a general election. Mr. St. Laurent would have been the last to seek retirement at such a moment. He said he wished to be with the party through the campaign, but he hoped that soon thereafter it might be possible for him to retire. Since the elections, he has spoken to me at different times of considerations of which he felt he should be taking account. With characteristic chivalry, he has, on each occasion, met my request to carry on. Not only that, but in addition to the onerous duties of the

portfolio of Justice, which he continues to hold, he has taken from my shoulders and is carrying, for the time being at least, the increasingly heavy responsibilities which belong to the office of Secretary of State for External Affairs.

I have already made it known that in such re-organization of the Ministry as I may deem it advisable to make, and which will be made before Parliament re-assembles, the Department of External Affairs will be given a Minister who will be in a position to devote his time, more or less exclusively, to intra-commonwealth and international affairs. With the reorganization thus affected, I hope Mr. St. Laurent may find it possible yet for some time to come to continue to give to our country in its parliament, and to the world in the arena of international affairs, the benefit of his exceptional talents and his very great wisdom and experience.

Serving for "the duration"

Lest Mr. St. Laurent should feel that in being unwilling to part with him as a colleague at any time, I am overlooking what was understood when it was agreed between us that he was entering the Ministry only for the duration of the war, let me tell him of a little incident

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REPEAT
REPETITION

I read, but a day or two ago, and which is much to the point. I do not recall the precise words in which the story was told, but the logic of its argument impressed me profoundly. A private in a colored regiment was pleading with his sergeant that he should be allowed to retire from the army on the score that he had enlisted only for the duration of the war: "Boss, de war am ovah", he protested, "I'se goin' home! I enlisted only for de duration". "Yo'po' niggah", replied the sergeant, "Yo' enlisted for de duration of de war. De war may be ovah, but de duration am just beginning". Please, Mr. Minister, do remember that "de duration am just beginning".

The Need for Organization

Too much, I feel, is being said today about possible retirements, too much also about who is to lead the Party at the next general elections. Sufficient unto the day is the successful winning of by-elections. Let us be perfectly frank about it: we would all be much happier tonight if the party hadn't lost Pontiac, in this Province, and Portage la Prairie in Manitoba. We should have carried both; we would have carried both had the party's organization been what it should have been. Parkdale (Toronto) we never had. Nevertheless it was almost won. The figures make it clear that it would have been won had the organization in all parts of the constituency been what it was over the greater part.

Tonight, of all nights, I am not going to seek to apportion blame. I am, however, going to issue a clarion call to each and every member of the party, whether he be prominent, as a member of parliament, or a very humble worker in the ranks, to realize that in his hands lies, to a greater or lesser extent, the fate of the party. I wish I could impress on every member

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of the Liberal party how much the party's future is dependent on individuals, on each and every one doing his full share. I wish I could impress on every member what is infinitely more important in times like those through which the world is now passing, namely, the extent to which the opportunities, the fortunes, the happiness - nay, possibly, the very lives - of countless numbers of men, women and children are bound up with the fate of a party whose aim and purpose is the preservation and extension of human rights and human freedom.

Unless, as members of a party, all are prepared to act like men, and "play the game" as it should be played, not for selfish ends but for the good of all, the whole party is certain to suffer as a consequence. In politics, as in mechanics, the strength of a chain is its weakest link.

Relationship of the Party to the State

You will have noticed that, throughout my remarks this evening, I have referred in one breath to service to the Party and service to the State, as if both meant pretty much one and the same thing. Perhaps that is because my life has

D 50683

been given to the service of both, and that, in my own career, the two have, in a sense, been inseparable. I know that exception would rightly be taken to any statement that service to the State is inseparable from service to a political party. But where, as in politics, the one is the end, and the other, the means to that end, they are indeed inseparable.

Everything depends upon what the end is we are seeking to serve. Service to the State, where the end is some system of spoils, is not one whit less sordid than service to a political party for a like end. On the other hand, if the end be to better the condition of one's fellowmen, then service to a political party which furthers that end also becomes one of the highest forms of service to the State.

If men and women who feel and think alike on the great questions of the day do not combine under some banner that enables them to proceed as one, they may be sure that those who hold opposite views will be only too ready to profit by their neglect. Service to the State in accordance with principles and policies in which large numbers of men and women believe would soon become impossible without a party through which they could make their views prevail.

D 50684

Old and New Political Parties

One hears from time to time a great deal about the old political parties, as though noble traditions and years of experience should count for nothing in politics, although they are expected to count for everything in other spheres of activity. There is no more reason why a political party should not be proud of its many years of existence and of office than why the members of any church, of any regiment, of any institution of learning, of any business concern, should not be proud of service it has rendered over the years. The danger to representative government, in many countries today, arises not from the perpetuation of parties which have a long and honourable past, it arises from a bewilderment of political parties that have no past, and but little promise of any future.

In this Province, there have appeared in recent times, the Union Nationale, the Bloc Populaire, the C.C.F., Social Credit, the Union des Electeurs, the Labour Progressive party, and so-called Independents of every colour of the rainbow. What do any of them represent either of tradition or of a truly Canadian outlook? The so-called Union Nationale is not national, but narrowly provincial; the Bloc Populaire is certainly not popular; many people do not know what the initials C.C.F. stand for; one day, Social Credit is the same thing as the Union des Electeurs, the next day it is not; and the third day it is

D 50685

Social Credit again; Labour Progressive no longer serves to disguise the real nature of the party which has assumed that name, and, most ludicrous of all, there was one Member of Parliament who, all by himself, pretended to be the Canadian party.

The very number of such parties and groups unfortunately brings discredit in the public mind on all political parties. If that were the worst effect, the consequences might not be so serious. Unfortunately, parties in names and numbers so considerable: unions, blocs,movements with all sorts of fancy names, while in the long run they get nowhere themselves tend, meanwhile, to undermine and weaken the effectiveness of parties which have a nation-wide influence. A multiplicity of parties tends to bring down the whole structure of responsible political organization, and to weaken the nation itself. That, as we all now know, was the misfortune of France at the beginning of the war. Let us beware of repeating that supreme folly in our own land. What we want in Canada are political parties that will serve to unite its provinces as one nation from coast to coast. Such a party we have in the Liberal Party in Canada today. Let us guard that heritage.

I opened my remarks this evening by speaking of the history and traditions of the Liberal Party. I spoke of the long procession in which, for more than a century, members of the Party, in generation following generation, had marched steadily forward under the banner of freedom. I have, I hope, shown wherein the secret of its many victories is to be found in the emphasis the Party has placed upon unity: - a united Party; a united country; nations of the world united in the bonds of brotherhood and peace.

At no time in the history of Canada has the need for the continuance of a strong Liberal Party been greater than it is today, when the alternatives which face mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. In our country, as in many other countries, where the pull of geography and of social differences is toward division, the Liberal Party stands for unity. In a world where security for men and women is rare and precious the Liberal Party stands for security. At a time when freedom continues to be menaced by tendencies toward dictatorship and totalitarianism, the Liberal Party continues to stand for freedom. Unity, Security, Freedom: these are the great principles for which we stand; these are the banners under which, as a Party, we will continue to serve.

Gentlemen, I ask you to rise and drink to the health of one who has fought nobly for Unity, Security, and Freedom, in our land and among the nations of the world, the Minister of Justice and Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
80		Dinner in Honour of Mr. R.M. Barrington-Ward, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	1 Nov. 1946	D 50454 - D 50483	
80		Tribute to Louis St. Laurent. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Nov. 1946	D 50484 - D 50687	
80		Unveiling of Portrait to Sir John A. Macdonald, Ottawa, Rideau Club	9 Dec. 1946	D 50688 - D 50751	
80		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Dec. 1946	D 50752 - D 50759	
80		The Character of Canadian Citizenship, Ottawa, National Citizenship Ceremony. Speeches outside Parliament.	3 Jan. 1947	D 50760 - D 50854	
80		Tribute to Hon. P.J.A. Cardin and Mr. W.C. Macdonald. Speeches in Parliament	30 Jan. 1947	D 50855 - D 50874	
80		National Liberal Federation Advisory Council, Ottawa. Speeches Parliament	5 Feb. 1947	D 50875 - D 50878	
80		Withdrawal of Occupational Forces from Germany, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Mar. 1947	D 50879 - D 50904	

Dinner - Rideau Club
December 9, 1946

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Thanks for honour.

Amazement at both

Admission to Club.

Sir John enjoyed political astuteness -

enjoyed human nature.

My early recollection of Sir John -

sat at his feet - 7 yrs - 1882

follow in steps.

Later in garden - 17 yrs.

Remember environment.

Something gone out of national

The thing of spirit lives on

(follow paths)

Not here to make history of Sir John -

history of Canada from 1844 to 1891.

Speak of personality, not policies -

great place in any position.

Fellow feeling makes us wondrou
kin

Great leader in U.S. and U.K.

Canada a nation;

Canada a nation within the British Commonweal

a nation = a great nation.

Bringing about Confederation -

unity of provinces.

Picture should be in Club.

The shadow of the past -
8 members left.

Picture of Sir Wilfrid also.

To do our part in our day.

Men of all parties can be found.

Qualities necessary -

vision and experience.

A word to Mr. Forbery.

President, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts.

Dinner - Rideau Club
December 9, 1946 D5069

Thanks for honour.

Amazement at both

Admission to Club.

Sir John enjoyed political astuteness -

enjoyed human nature.

My early recollection of Sir John -

sat at his feet - 7 yrs - 1882

follow in steps.

Later in garden - 17 yrs.

Remember environment.

Something gone out of national

The thing of spirit lives on

(follow path)

Not here to make history of Sir John -

history of Canada from 1844 to 1891.

Speak of personality, not policies -

great place in any position.

Fellow feeling makes us wondrou
kin

D 50691

Great leader in U.S. and U.K.

Canada a nation;

Canada a nation within the British Commonweal

a nation = a great nation.

Bringing about Confederation -

unity of provinces.

Picture should be in Club.

The shadow of the past -
8 members left.

Picture of Sir Wilfrid also.

To do our part in our day.

Men of all parties can be found.

Qualities necessary -

vision and experience.

A word to Mr. Fosbery.

President, Royal Canadian Academy of Arts.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

D50692

W. L. Mackenzie King

proposed by Joh_n Christie, K.C., (President 1898-99)

seconded by Alexander Simpson, manager of Ontario Bank, (later absorbed by Bank of Montreal)

(October 22, 1900)

D 50693

Sir John A. Macdonald

Sources:

Secure speech by Meighen,
Sir John's 50th anniversary of death, Kingston.

Secure speech by self,
Sir John's 50th anniversary of death, Kingston.

Secure speech by Sir Wilfrid,
H. of C., at time of Sir John's death.

Find mover and seconder and date of admission to Club.

Who is artist that prepared bust of Sir John in Rideau Club,
and by whom presented, and when?

Statue on Parliament Hill?

Like to see portrait of Sir Wilfrid.

Phrases - "marked impress upon our national life and
the character of our national institutions."

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD D 50694

Personal -

Thanks to Club for honour.

Meeting members of Club.

Date of membership.

Sir John' spirit - Tory atmosphere.

Memorabilia 1918.

Founder of the Club -

The Club - part of Parliament Hill

Founder of the Nation -

Father of Confederation.

The shadow of the Past - true of all parties

to men in Club since foundation,

" " " " becoming members,

Governors General, politicians, etc.

Sir John as a man - not as a party man - qualities.

The spirit of the man: life, character, career.

Portrait - story of a life -

fitting it should be hung in Club.

Portrait in marble,

" " oils,

" " words.

Memorabilia 1918

D 50695

Life of Sir John - story of Canada.

See Parliament Buildings rise into place.

Young man - middle age - old man.

Paint a different picture of the man than of his politics.

portrait - debut Bernard's pictures. Earl

Personal traits - inspired love for the man.

Estimate public service throughout long and active career.

Many sided - the human side one most often thought of;

associated - sense of humour;

love of children - playfulness.

Party for Mary -

came in with bear skin over his back.

Stories (damn Grits) - bit of a wag.

Mrs Seymour - Pall Mall Gazette.

Dinners at Earnscliffe -

let the boys swear at the Grits. (Lady Macdonald)

Meetings of Cabinet (playing cards).

Difference between Sir John at elections
and Alexander Mackenzie, re position of Parliament

neither lucrative nor dignified enough.

Work at Earnscliffe - not at office.

Hugh John - charm of manner.

Mother tell of Sir John and Mackenzie -

Baxter - head ~~worker~~ trustee.

re position of British ?

Spiritual home.

D 50695-1

Personal contacts

First political meeting - Kitchener - sitting at Sit John's feet.

(Campaign in the 80's -

kissing little ~~best~~ girl.

Local Campaign in the 90's -

cutting sod.

~~Death~~.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier's eulogy on life.

Today - ~~20~~ 70 years - Sir John, Sir Wilfrid and self =

Years of leadership : Sir John
Years of office Sir Wilfrid
self

Weariness of public life at times -

Human nature doesn't change.

Fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind.

D 50696

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

Personal -

Thanks to Club for honour.

Meeting members of Club.

Date of membership.

Sir John' spirit - Tory atmosphere.

Memorabilia 1918.

Founder of the Club -

The Club - part of Parliament Hill

Founder of the Nation -

Father of Confederation.

The shadow of the Past - true of all parties

to men in Club since foundation,

" " " becoming members,

Governors General, politicians, etc.

Sir John as a man - not as a party man - qualities.

The spirit of the man: life, character, career.

Portrait - story of a life -

fitting it should be hung in Club.

Portrait in marble,

" 2 oils,

" " words.

D 50697

Life of Sir John - story of Canada.

See Parliament Buildings rise into place.

Young man - middle age - old man.

Paint a different picture of the man than of his politics.

Personal traits - inspired love for the man.

Estimate public service throughout long and active career.

Many sided - the human side one most often thought of;

associated - sense of humour;

love of children - playfulness.

Party for Mary -

came in with bear skin over his back.

Stories (damn Grits) - bit of a wag.

Dinners at Earnscliffe -

let the boys swear at the Grits.

Meetings of Cabinet (playing cards).

Difference between Sir John at elections
and Alexander Mackenzie,

neither lucrative nor dignified enough.

Work at Earnscliffe - notaat office.

Hugh Johnq- charm of manner.

Mother tell of Sir John and Mackenzie -

Baxter - head worker.

re position of British ?

Spiritual home.

D 50698

Personal contacts

First political meeting - Kitchener - sitting at Sit John's feet.

Campaign in the 80's -

kissing best girl.

Campaign in the 90's -

cutting sod.

Death.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier's eulogy on life.

Today - 20 years - Sir John, Sir Wilfrid and self -

Years of leadership : Sir John
Years of office Sir Wilfrid
self

Weariness of public life at times -

Human nature doesn't change.

Fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind.

D 50699

Sir John A. Macdonald

Sources:

Secure speech by Meighen,
Sir John's 50th anniversary of death, Kingston.

Secure speech by self,
Sir John's 50th anniversary of death, Kingston.

Secure speech by Sir Wilfrid,
H. of C., at time of Sir John's death.

Find mover and seconder and date of admission to Club.

Who is artist that prepared bust of Sir John in Rideau Club,
and by whom presented, and when.

Statue on Parliament Hill.

Like to see portrait of Sir Wilfrid.

Phrases - marked impress upon our national life and
the character of our national institutions.



SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

D 50700

Personal -

Thanks to Club for honour.

Meeting members of Club.

Date of membership.

Sir John' spirit - Tory atmosphere.

Memorabilia 1918.

Founder of the Club -

The Club - part of Parliament Hill

Founder of the Nation -

Father of Confederation.

The shadow of the Past - true of all parties

to men in Club since foundation,

" " " " becoming members,

Governors General, politicians, etc.

Sir John as a man - not as a party man - qualities.

The spirit of the man: life, character, career.

Portrait - story of a life -

fitting it should be hung in Club.

Portrait in marble,

" 2 oils,

" " words.

D 50701

Life of Sir John - story of Canada.

See Parliament Buildings rise into place.

Young man - middle age - old man.

Paint a different picture of the man than of his politics.

Personal traits - inspired love for the man.

Estimate public service throughout long and active career.

Many sided - the human side one most often thought of;

associated - sense of humour;

love of children - playfulness.

Party for Mary -

came in with bear skin over his back.

Stories (damn Grits) - bit of a wag.

Dinners at Earnscliffe -

let the boys swear at the Grits.

Meetings of Cabinet (playing cards).

Difference between Sir John at elections and Alexander Mackenzie,

neither lucrative nor dignified enough.

Work at Earnscliffe - notaat office.

Hugh Johnq- charm of manner.

Mother tell of Sir John and Mackenzie -

Baxter - head worker.

re position of British ?

Spiritual home.

D 50702

Personal contacts

First political meeting - Kitchener - sitting at Sit John's feet.

(Campaign in the 80's -

kissing best girl.

Campaign in the 90's -

cutting sod.

Death.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier's eulogy on life.

Today - 20 years - Sir John, Sir Wilfrid and self =

Years of leadership : Sir John
Years of office Sir Wilfrid
self

Weariness of public life at times -

Human nature doesn't change.

Fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind.

D 50703

Sir John A. Macdonald

Sources:

Secure speech by Meighen,
Sir John's 50th anniversary of death, Kingston.

Secure speech by self,
Sir John's 50th anniversary of death, Kingston.

Secure speech by Sir Wilfrid,
H. of C., at time of Sir John's death.

Find mover and seconder and date of admission to Club.

Who is artist that prepared bust of Sir John in Rideau Club,
and by whom presented, and when.

Statue on Parliament Hill.

Like to see portrait of Sir Wilfrid.

Phrases - marked impress upon our national life and
the character of our national institutions.

D 50704

Ld Provost and Gentlemen

I am indeed greatly honored ~~this evening~~ at your having invited me to participate in this evening's proceedings and above all to unveil on behalf of the members of the Club the ~~tablet~~ bust of the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald who was one of its founders, ~~and~~ its first President and the first Prime Minister of Canada. I do not feel that I can allow the occasion of one of the founders of Canada as an National, this ~~anniversary~~ foremost statesman in this ~~Province~~ of Confederation this commemoration of that Confederation to pass without ~~some~~ a word on the part I have had myself in this movement, & my visit to Toronto; that one visit I was one of the Senior members of the Reform Club from the point of view of the length of membership, and to which I became ~~one~~ of the members of the Club a Macdonald in the days of Prime Ministers. I do not ~~think~~ know of no one who could be more surprised than myself that I should be present here tonight in such capacity. If I am surprised at this ~~fact~~ I am sure I am, all present ~~astonished~~ astonished at the fact.

Let me tell you a little incident which will let you see how surprised I am ~~in~~ on this occasion. In ~~1900~~ 1900 that I came to Ottawa ~~it was~~ to this Session of Parliament to assume the duties and responsibilities of a new branch of Government - the Department of Labour. The late Sir William Mulock, then Postmaster General of the late Sir William Mulock, then Postmaster General of

D 50705

Lopement of Sir Walpert Tancred, formed soon four years before
Eustace did become determined the member of the Government,
for the new department. I was originally appointed to assist a
Cabinet Minister, but reached a country or two after my appointment
as Secretary thereafter was appointed a departmental Minister. The
first thing I thought it might help to raise my status
in the eyes of some of the older citizens of the Capital, and
might obtain for me socially and politically advantages were
I to become a member of their Club. But how to get an election
was the problem. I was comparatively young, and their Club
whose membership at the time was composed mostly of men
of years, did not look kindly on the introduction
of young men to membership; but what was scarcely
less embarrassing, I was known to be a friend and of
Rebel Stock, and that in a Club whose membership had
been mostly drawn from the ranks of the first Secessionists
was far from being a welcome introduction. But worst
of all, I was a radical supporter of Government
It was all very well to have Cabinet Rank and to command a
Cavalry Squadron when it came to
contact, but to have to make into the Reform Club
and take a seat at its tables, and to be able to vote in
its proceedings, was well, that was going just a little
too far! How then to get elected was the problem.
The Members were not wanting in recommendations
especially when it came to knowing its Rules, its
Standings was respected. To be sure I had been taught manners at home, and might be
considered to behave all right, and the Club, a strong conservative
more Conservative than Tory, for I had been John Bloomfield K.C.
who had been the early President of the Club in the preceding
Year to place my name in nomination, and her elder Stanford,
Sandy Stanford as he was best known, Member of one of the banks
and a well known Federal to second the Nomination. He then

D 50706

to me, was done by the time Sir John, for lack of right, ~~but the~~ and but by reason of the last the battle was over, and on the strength of Charles's nomination and Sandy Davison pretending to the last you were to choose all rights. and so it proved.

Now that Sandy is not present in writing for this evening's proceedings. he are assured to do honour to the memory of Sir John a benefactor, and to perpetuate in their a permanent place in the matter of the Club, ~~the~~ perpetuate it being likely that it will be one of the handsome of the members, and as the new entrance ~~will have~~ specially for Charing Cross, the place in which ~~will~~ a memorial will be in fitting taste with the Club as ~~it~~ ~~is~~ ~~now~~, and the future

There is no man living or dead who more enjoyed Pall Mall life but of characters more than Sir John. It had always in the kind of thing that ~~Sir John loved, and that he was in himself~~ this moved him afforded ~~Sir John~~ no end of amusement, the kind of thing like ~~Lord~~ he was ~~major~~ to reveal his own nature and character. First of all, he loved above all else to get the better of his political friends, ~~and in this he succeeded~~ a very natural desire, and ~~from a very natural~~ may from a very interesting ~~accomplishment~~ as a ~~first~~ leader. And in this art he succeeded pretty well. From the day of the formation of his first Ministry ~~and~~ the ~~day~~ of his death, ~~he was~~ ~~in opposition~~ ~~to one Government or the other~~ ~~he was~~ ~~in opposition~~ ~~to one Government or the other~~ he formed his party. ~~which was~~ ~~in opposition~~ ~~to one Government or the other~~ from all elections and ~~took office~~ from the year 1873 to ~~1874~~ 1878 (?), ~~he took office~~ on two occasions from 1886 to 1901.

D 50707

But there was more than that in the incident
that would have shocked a Sir John. He was very human;
he liked men because they were men, ~~to have them~~
~~for what they were worth, with all their frailties~~
~~as well as their virtues~~ he enjoyed the fun
of foibles as well as ~~the~~ high endeavour
he understood human nature, admired its virtues
and sympathized with its frailties, he was ~~blind~~
~~to faults~~ forgiven and tolerant to a fault.
I am sure there was more of the diamond about
Dr John than about many of his disciples, I am
sure he would have welcomed young men to
his club, I am sure he would not have minded
their all of our fashionable vices, and I am sure
there was few men in public life he would
have welcomed more cordially as a friend to his
list of labours, though perhaps he might have wished to see
~~a change~~ effected a little more in his own way.

It often ~~has~~ struck me very keenly of his nature
should ~~inspire~~ in his followers such a love for
Sir Walter. But and his own people became and
friends and country ~~Johnson~~ he was a great
old englishman in the day

~~He was a man who~~

Of the many stories told of Sir John and about
help to illustrate his knowledge of human nature
and how at times he played upon it, there
are two I should like to tell. One how he helped

D 50708

heard some of them before, but it appears of one of the most
~~[illegible]~~ used to ~~[illegible]~~ foster party loyalty, most
hospitable as he was to his friends that there was a limit
to hospitality on all things; and ~~[illegible]~~
objected to limit his entertaining
he did so, ~~[illegible]~~
~~by this means to an extent to which the Sir Wilfred Laurier~~
~~had objected~~. By seldom if ever ~~[illegible]~~ inviting to his table
political opponents to his social functions. (Sir Wilfred Laurier had made
at Ramsayville. It must end
with a political opponent.)
Next ~~to~~ to hospitality must have welcomed ~~those~~ his
he said, "when the boys get together, there is nothing like
better than to smoke
at the fight". This of course would have been
because of a ~~most~~ forgiving of political adversaries
or even as friends.

My other story illustrates the adroitness with
which he ~~could~~ at times ~~troublesome~~ members
of his own party. ~~[illegible]~~ In
the story the point is in many of the speeches
of ~~the~~ his ministers, and members
of political leaders, I
have heard this at the time of a general election a
delegation of Roman Catholics from a district ~~[illegible]~~
had come to Ottawa from a distance to ~~[illegible]~~
secure from Alexander Mackenzie a
promise that a certain further work would be undertaken
before the campaign was run. The delegation had urged
not his making promises at election times, and
that ~~[illegible]~~ for conscience sake he have
the work in question ~~[illegible]~~ and when pressed, and the intervention of the
Government was to proceed with it at once
before the delegation was received, he ~~[illegible]~~
to ~~[illegible]~~ too replied in private that the several members
had spoken, and that in some other time manner

[illegible] the more would be done.

[illegible] 6/

[illegible] - The delegation waited for words they could take back to the electors to declare how [illegible] answers in their number were to meet their needs; and the [illegible] personal Supervision be extended to [illegible] the matter [illegible] further,
to a meeting said evening, till further word and then must respond, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

D 50710

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

I am indeed greatly honoured at your having invited me to participate in this evening's proceedings, and above all to unveil, on behalf of the members of the Club, the portrait of The Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald, who was one of its founders, its first President and the first Prime Minister of Canada. I do not forget that Sir John Macdonald was also one of the Founders of Canada as a Nation, the foremost Architect in the construction of that political edifice which we term Confederation.

Inviting me to perform this very agreeable function, you were kind enough, Mr. President, to say that you were doing so on two grounds: the one that I was now one of the senior members of the Rideau Club from the point of view of the length of membership, and the other because I was one of the successors of Sir John A. Macdonald in the high office of Prime Minister. No one could be more surprised than myself that I should be present here tonight in either capacity. If I am surprised at the one, I am, like all present, I am sure, astounded at the other.

Let me tell you a little incident which will let you see how justified I am on both counts in this statement. It was in the summer of 1900 that I came to Ottawa to live and to undertake the organization of a new branch of Government - the Department of Labour. The late Sir William Mulock, the ex-Chief Justice of Ontario, was then plain Mr. Mulock, the then Postmaster General in the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, formed some four years before. Mr. Mulock had been designated the member of the Government responsible for the new Department. I was originally appointed to edit a Labour Gazette, but within a month or two thereafter was appointed Deputy Minister. Mr. Mulock thought it might help to raise my status in the eyes of some of the older citizens of the Capital, and might otherwise be socially and possibly politically advantageous were I to become a member of the Club. But how to get me elected was the problem. I was comparatively young, and the Club, whose membership at the time was composed mostly of men of years, did not look kindly on the introduction of young men to membership; but what was scarcely less embarrassing, I was known to be a Liberal and of Rebel stock, and that to a Club

D 50712

whose membership had been mostly Tory from the days of its first President, was far from being a helpful introduction. But, worst of all, I represented a radical departure in government. It was all very well to have Labour afforded some recognition when it came to political contests, but to have Labour walk into the Rideau Club and take a seat at its tables, and to be able to vote in its proceedings, - well, that was going just a little too far! How then to get elected was the problem. Mr. Mulock was not lacking in resourcefulness, especially when it came to beating the Tories. His strategy was perfect. On his assurance that I had been taught manners at home, and might be expected to behave all right in the presence of others, and get older and more conservative with years, he got Mr. John Christie, K.C., a strong Conservative, who had been the Club's President in the preceding year, to place my name in nomination, and Mr. Alex. Simpson - "Sandy Simpson" as he was best known, Manager of one of the banks, and a well-known Liberal, to second the nomination. He then said to me, "Now don't let them see you. You keep out of sight, and out of range of the Club till the balloting is over, and on the strength

D 50713

of Christie's nomination and Sandy Simpson's popularity in the Club you will be elected all right." And so it proved. I left out of sight, and was elected.

Now that story is not without its bearing on this evening's proceedings. We are assembled to do honour to the memory of Sir John A. Macdonald, and to see that his portrait is given a permanent place on the walls of the Club. There is no man living or dead who would have enjoyed that little bit of ~~Conservatism~~ political astuteness more than Sir John. It had about it the kind of thing that would have afforded him no end of merriment, the kind of thing that helps in many ways to reveal his own nature and character.

First of all, he loved above all else to get the better of his political opponents,- a very natural desire, and, may I say, a very necessary accomplishment in a party leader. And in this art he succeeded pretty well. From the day of the formation of his first government to the day of his death, with the exception of one political contest, his party won all general elections, and, excepting the years 1873 (Nov) to 1878 (Oct) he held office continuously from 1867 to [redacted] (June) 1891

But there was more than that in the incident which would have appealed to Sir John. He was very human. He liked men because they were men. He liked the boys because they were boys. He anjoyed the fun of politics as well as its high endeavour. He understood human nature, admired its virtues and sympathized with its frailties. He was generous and tolerant to a fault.

I am sure there was more of the Liberal about Sir John than about many of his disciples. I am sure he would have welcomed young men to this Club. I am sure he would not have wished them all to be of one political stripe, and I am sure there have been few men in public life who would have welcomed more cordially improvement in the lot of Labour, though perhaps he might have wished to see change effected ~~with~~ a little more in his own way.

Of the many stories told of Sir John which help to illustrate his knowledge of human nature, and how at times he played upon ~~it~~ human nature as he found it, there are two I should like to tell. You have perhaps heard each of them before. One is apropos of one of the ways he used to foster party loyalty. Most hospitable as he was, Sir John found that there was a limit to hospitality as to all things, and

feeling obliged to limit his entertaining, he did so, by seldom if ever inviting his political opponents to his social functions at Earnscliffe. In the case of Sir Wilfrid, he made an exception. It was not that Sir John himself would not have welcomed political opponents, but he said, "When the boys get together there is nothing they like better than to swear at the Grits." This, of course, would not have been possible at a gathering of political adversaries as well as friends.

My other story illustrates the adroitness with which Sir John at times dealt with troublesome members of his own party. To give the story its point it is necessary for me to speak of differences in the methods and manners of political leaders. I have heard that at the time of a general election a delegation of some importance had come to Ottawa from a distance to secure from Alexander Mackenzie a promise that a certain public work would be undertaken before the campaign was over. Mackenzie did not like making promises at election times. Fortunately, however, he knew that plans for the work in question had been prepared, and that the intention of the Department was to proceed with it at once. When the

delegation was received, he waited in silence till its several members had spoken, and then, in somewhat terse manner, informed the delegation the work would be done. The delegation waited for words they could take back to the electors to disclose how anxious the Prime Minister was to meet their wishes, and the personal supervision he intended to give the matter, but Mackenzie said nothing till questioned anew, and then merely replied, "I have told it will be done." The delegation had received all they asked for, and more, but they went away completely chilled by the reception they had had from a busy and harassed Premier. I have not heard whether the constituency was carried or not. At one of his elections, Sir John was faced with a somewhat different though delicate problem. There were two members of ~~the~~ his Party each of whom wished to secure the nomination. There was no getting one of the candidates out of the field except by some undertaking. He came to Ottawa to demand being made Postmaster of the small community in which he lived. Sir John saw this would not help the Party's cause, but was determined to get his man out of the way. "Postmaster!", exclaimed Sir John. "Why that position is neither honourable nor lucrative enough for one who has enjoyed the prominence you have in the Party.

D 50717

Just step aside and wait till the elections are over, and give me a chance to see what I can do." The man was delighted. "Neither honourable nor lucrative enough!" - he thought to himself. He had received nothing, - not even a promise, but he went on his way rejoicing. The constituency was won, but I have not heard whether a position "honourable and lucrative enough" for the man was ever found.

D R A F T

J.A.G.
19.xi.46

D 50718

Remarks by the Prime Minister
at the unveiling of a portrait of Sir John A. Macdonald
Rideau, Club, Ottawa, December 9, 1946

More than fifty-five years have gone by since the passing of Sir John Macdonald, who was the first President of this Club. I count it a high privilege to have been invited by the President and members of the Committee to unveil the portrait by Mr. Ernest Fosbery, which will hereafter hang within these walls as an enduring reminder of a great Canadian.

This company, and this occasion, are perhaps not those for recalling the political achievements and public services of Sir John. But it is an occasion for recalling, with the kind of remembrance which but deepens with the years, those personal qualities which attracted to Sir John the interest and [redacted] the admiration of men in many walks of life. I recall that it was Sir Wilfrid Laurier, at the time of Macdonald's death in 1891, who said of Sir John that he was endowed with those inner, subtle graces of the soul which win and keep the hearts of men. Sir Wilfred must, I think, have had in mind Sir John's loyalty to country, to cause; to friends; his tact, his kindness, his resourcefulness; his humour, his "long youthfulness of heart" - most of all, perhaps, the genuine love he had for his fellowmen.

D 50719

From these admirable qualities sprang Sir John's outlook on life which was at once tolerant and generous. From this outlook, combined with the vision which came with youth and the wisdom which ripened with the years, there arose an ability to lead and to inspire men which lasted throughout the whole of his life.

At the outset of my remarks I mentioned that this was not intended as a political occasion, but rather as one for remembering the human, kindly qualities of a great Canadian. I suppose it is true of great men - and this club has known not a few of them - that the qualities they shared in common far outdistanced individual dissimilarities among them. As the figures of leading citizens recede into the past, the differences of view which may have sought to gain the favour or to arouse the opposition of contemporaries are lost to sight. But against true greatness, the waves of time and change beat in vain. The truly great men are those who, by their merits, have caused others to cherish their memory. For these truly great, the years reveal those granite-like qualities of character which became the pedestal of their fame.

So it is, I think, with Sir John A. Macdonald, and so I think it will always be. I am glad to think that this portrait will stand as a further memorial to a staunch Canadian and a great leader of the Canadian people.

D 50720

It is fitting that here, in this capital city of Canada, we should remember today the vision of a broader Canada which far more than half a century had a foremost place in Sir John's thoughts. From the moment when he was first elected to the Legislature of the United Province of Canada in 1844, until his death, in harness, nearly fifty years later, he watched the outreach and the growth of our country. Not far from where we sit this evening, he watched the new Parliament Buildings arising above the Ottawa River. One can imagine his sly smile in reading the letter from George Brown, in 1864, in which the latter said that "such monstrous folly was never before perpetrated" as the construction of the government buildings, and that "it would cost half the revenue of Canada" to light and heat the buildings and keep them clean.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier Speech re Sir John.

D 50721

When Hon. George Brown had visited Ottawa in the summer of 1864, he had been much impressed by the magnificence, style, and workmanship of the new buildings. Writing to John A. Macdonald on August 18 he said:

> But they are just five hundred years in advance of the time. It will cost half the revenue of the province to light them, to heat them and to keep them clean. Such monstrous folly was never perpetrated in this world before. But as we are in for it I do think the idea of stopping short of completion is out of the question. I go in for tower, rotunda, fountains and every conceivable embellishment. If we are to be laughed at for our folly at least let us not be ridiculed for a half-finished pile.

D 50722

I should like, if I may, to express our congratulations to Mr. Ernest Fosbery on the completion of this interesting commission. As President of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts he occupies a deservedly high place in the artistic life of Canada. I am glad to think his work is now represented within the halls of the Rideau Club, and that the memory of its first President has now been honoured by this striking portrait.

D 50723

It is, I believe, a matter of pride to us all that Sir John Macdonald's home at Earnscliffe has been preserved and that it serves today as the residence of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom. Sir John came to Canada from Scotland as a small boy, and even amid his devoted attachment to Canada, he never outgrew a latent affection for the land of his birth. He was, of course, no stranger to London, nor indeed to Washington. There is an interest in recalling today, when the external representation of Canada reaches into many lands abroad, that Macdonald was the first Canadian to be given full powers as a negotiator in discussions between the United Kingdom and the United States involving Canadian affairs. (The Washington Conference of 1871). The record of the proceedings does not suggest that Macdonald was always in agreement with his two United Kingdom colleagues; but his participation at Washington represented a considerable step forward in the development of Canadian autonomy.

It is also of interest to recall that the oldest Canadian office abroad - that of the High Commissioner for Canada in London - was formally established (1880) during Sir John's tenure of office as Prime Minister.

DRAFT

J.A.G.
19.xi.46

D 50724

Remarks by the Prime Minister
at the unveiling of a portrait of Sir John A. Macdonald
Rideau, Club, Ottawa, December 9, 1946

More than fifty-five years have gone by since the passing of Sir John Macdonald, who was the first President of this Club. I count it a high privilege to have been invited by the President and members of the Committee to unveil the portrait by Mr. Ernest Fosbery, which will hereafter hang within these walls as an enduring reminder of a great Canadian.

This company, and this occasion, are perhaps not those for recalling the political achievements and public services of Sir John. But it is an occasion for recalling, with the kind of remembrance which but deepens with the years, those personal qualities which attracted to Sir John the interest and even the admiration of men in many walks of life. I recall that it was Sir Wilfrid Laurier, at the time of Macdonald's death in 1891, who said of Sir John that he was endowed with those inner, subtle graces of the soul which win and keep the hearts of men. Sir Wilfred must, I think, have had in mind Sir John's loyalty to country, to cause; to friends; his tact, his kindness, his resourcefulness; his humour, his "long youthfulness of heart" - most of all, perhaps, the genuine love had had for his fellowmen.

D 50725

From these admirable qualities sprang Sir John's outlook on life which was at once tolerant and generous. From this outlook, combined with the vision which came with youth and the wisdom which ripened with the years, there arose an ability to lead and to inspire men which lasted throughout the whole of his life.

At the outset of my remarks I mentioned that this was not intended as a political occasion, but rather as one for remembering the human, kindly qualities of a great Canadian. I suppose it is true of great men - and this club has known not a few of them - that the qualities they shared in common far outdistanced individual dissimilarities among them. As the figures of leading citizens recede into the past, the differences of view which may have sought to gain the favour or to arouse the opposition of contemporaries are lost to sight. But against true greatness, the waves of time and change beat in vain. The truly great men are those who, by their merits, have caused others to cherish their memory. For these truly great, the years reveal those granite-like qualities of character which became the pedestal of their fame.

So it is, I think, with Sir John A. Macdonald, and so I think it will always be. I am glad to think that this portrait will stand as a further memorial to a staunch Canadian and a great leader of the Canadian people.

D 50726

It is fitting that here, in this capital city of Canada, we should remember today the vision of a broader Canada which far more than half a century had a foremost place in Sir John's thoughts. From the moment when he was first elected to the Legislature of the United Province of Canada in 1844, until his death, in harness, nearly fifty years later, he watched the outreach and the growth of our country. Not far from where we sit this evening, he watched the new Parliament Buildings arising above the Ottawa River. One can imagine his sly smile in reading the letter from George Brown, in 1864, in which the latter said that "such monstrous folly was never before perpetrated" as the construction of the government buildings, and that "it would cost half the revenue of Canada" to light and heat the buildings and keep them clean.

D 50727

When Hon. George Brown had visited Ottawa in the summer of 1864, he had been much impressed by the magnificence, style, and workmanship of the new buildings. Writing to John A. Macdonald on August 18 he said:

> But they are just five hundred years in advance of the time. It will cost half the revenue of the province to light them, to heat them and to keep them clean. Such monstrous folly was never perpetrated in this world before. But as we are in for it I do think the idea of stopping short of completion is out of the question. I go in for tower, rotunda, fountains and every conceivable embellishment. If we are to be laughed at for our folly at least let us not be ridiculed for a half-finished pile.

D 50728

It is, I believe, a matter of pride to us all that Sir John Macdonald's home at Earnscliffe has been preserved and that it serves today as the residence of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom. Sir John came to Canada from Scotland as a small boy, and even amid his devoted attachment to Canada, he never outgrew a latent affection for the land of his birth. He was, of course, no stranger to London, nor indeed to Washington. There is an interest in recalling today, when the external representation of Canada reaches into many lands abroad, that Macdonald was the first Canadian to be given full powers as a negotiator in discussions between the United Kingdom and the United States involving Canadian affairs. (The Washington Conference of 1871). The record of the proceedings does not suggest that Macdonald was always in agreement with his two United Kingdom colleagues; but his participation at Washington represented a considerable step forward in the development of Canadian autonomy.

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D 50729

I should like, if I may, to express our congratulations to Mr. Ernest Fosbery on the completion of this interesting commission. As President of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts he occupies a deservedly high place in the artistic life of Canada. I am glad to think his work is now represented within the halls of the Rideau Club, and that the memory of its first President has now been honoured by this striking portrait.

(JAG :: 13 1 47) D 50730

SPEECH by Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, at special dinner of the Rideau Club on occasion of unveiling of painting of Sir John A. Macdonald done by Mr. Ernest Fosbery, December 9, 1946.

Mr. King began by recalling that he joined the Club in 1900. He used it a great deal for many years but latterly less so, not because he didn't find it congenial enough but because it was too congenial.

Mr. King felt honoured at being asked to unveil the painting of Sir John A. Macdonald. Sir John was not only one of the founders and the first president of the Rideau Club, but was the chief architect of Confederation. A large part of the history of Canada over a fifty year period was told in the story of his life.

Mr. King found himself one of the oldest members of the Club - a member for over 46 years - a distinction, but not one he liked to dwell upon. When he came to Ottawa as Deputy Minister of Labour and editor of The Labour Gazette in 1900, Sir William Mulock thought it might help him to become a member. The question was how to get in. The Club hadn't then any great reverence for youth. Not only was he young, but he was a Liberal and of rebel stock. Moreover, he had taken a post in the Department of Labour and was associated with labour! Mr. King recalled that Sir William got John Christie to nominate him and Alexander Simpson to second him,

and then said to Mr. King: "The thing for you to do now is to keep out of sight". Nobody having seen him - added Mr. King - he was elected.

The Prime Minister said there was nothing Sir John enjoyed more in others - and he possessed it in full measure himself - than political astuteness, and he was sure Sir John would have liked that story.

Sir John (continued Mr. King) was very human, fond of men because they were men. He understood human nature above everything. He would have been pleased to see the Club liberalized with fresh ideas. Sir John enjoyed the fun of politics; it kept him alive. Mr. King didn't know what politics would be like if there were not some fun in public life: the battle itself; the opportunity to attack and to be attacked. Mr. King said Sir John held "a great love for the boys because they were the boys". Sir John would have been wholly sympathetic to the broadening of opportunity for men to rise from whatever position in life they might be born

Referring to the remark by Harold Daly that he (Harold Daly) had sat on Sir John's knee, Mr. King said: "I didn't sit on Sir John's knee, but my first intr oduction to politics was sitting at his feet. The first general election I recall was in 1882. I was 7. Sir John came to Berlin (now Kitchener) where, at the time, my father was practising law. All who have had an opportunity of knowing and seeing Sir John are today

D 50732

grateful for that opportunity. I remember best not the political argument but that he was presented with some flowers by a pretty young lady whom he thanked with an embrace. I could do nothing but envy him, and decided then that politics had its rewards.

"I remember the moment I learned that Sir John had passed away. There is something about great events which registers not only the event itself upon the mind, but also the place in which one is oneself or the circumstances under which one learns of it at the time. I was then 17, and working with a gardener who was making a new path in our home grounds. I remember feeling that something very vital, something far-reaching, something almost mystical in itself had passed out of the life of the country. Sir John had been the centre of Canadian political life for so many years.

"Time has a way of bringing events into their true perspective. We now see that Canada has not so much lost as found a great man. We have discovered now in our first Prime Minister one of whom all political parties and faiths have reason to be proud.

"We are fortunate beyond words in having had at the time of Confederation so great a figure as Sir John Macdonald was. If anyone should doubt that, let him ask himself what might have happened to the country if we had had managing the

affairs of Canada at the time some of the lesser lights we have since known.

"Sir John was one who really reevered what was best and highest in British public life. He sought to foster British traditions and standards of government. He ~~bagn~~ life in Scotland. On coming to Canada he demonstrated that one of the greatest personal tasks for everyone was to be a citizen.

"From 1844 until 1891 Sir John A. Macdonald was in the thick of political battle all time time and all the way. A fellow feeling often makes us wondrous kind , even to our political opponents. Sir John was much more of a Liberal than lots of the fellows around him. Sir John's outlook was wide, but in no particular was keener than in what he felt about this country and its future. I am sure if you ask others you would find agreement in this. Mr. Grattan O'Leary, for instance, would say that Sir John's great feeling for Canada, his love for Canada and his belief in Canada and its place in the British Commonwealth of Nations, was the guiding star of his life. It was his desire tosee Canada a nation by itself as one of a great family of nations.

"I am always impressed when reading Sir John A. Macdonald's Confederation speeches by the note of prophecy expressed there. Sir John was a man whose vision was based on experience. He had a feeling for Britain begotten in his day of her protecting arm. Canadians could count on her watchful eye and strong arm. Bu

D 50734

But Sir John saw that the day would come when Canada would not so much be protected by as that she herself would be lending protection at the side of Great Britain. That was true prophecy and very beautiful prophecy."

Mr. King stressed that Sir John's speeches and writings continually referred to British institutions and British public men, to the high standards of public life in Britain. The present always lends a certain glory to things of the past, but Mr. King believed that the emphasis placed by Sir John on the value of British institutions as they were in Sir John's day as something to which Canada could not attach too much importance.

Mr. King said that Sir John's personality was such that it must have given Mr. Fosbery great pleasure to paint him. "It wouldn't have mattered what career Sir John had sent out for himself - he would have filled it to the admiration of his fellow men. He possessed sterling qualities which abide the vicissitudes of time. His greatness was born of honesty, integrity, endurance, patience and forgiveness. Any man who seeks to run a long way in politics must be chuck full of forgiveness and of patience.

"Sir John ever sought to see that the two great races of Canada would know the best in each other and not emphasize the worst in each other. National unity was his aim".

Mr. King said that the Members ought to be proud of the

heritage of their Club. The Club had as founders many great men, as mentioned by Mr. Greene in his opening remarks. Members ought not to forget that these men met here, lunched here, and talked over the future of their country here, even as today's Mmmbers discussed today's affairs. To Mr. King there was something very impressive in thinking of this continuity.

The Prime Minister believed it most fitting that a portrait of Sir John A. Macdonald should hang in the Club. He believed a portrait of Sir Wilfrid Laurier would be equally cherished. The Club was distinguished through having had these two great leaders in its membership. They were men supporting different policies in many matters of state, but of the same aims and ideals. It xxxx should be an inspiration to all who came into the Club to feel, as they looked at the portraits of its distinguished members, to relaize that they were sharing not only the environments which once were theirs, but the opportunity to share as well their ambitions and ideals.

Mr. King, who spoke without notes of any kind, concluded his remarks before the unveiling by saying that the value to the Club of the portrait of Sir John A. Macdonald was that they as members might pause before it and ask themselves whether they too were making a contribution worthy of Canada; it was not enough that they should admire Sir John Macdonald's qualities and his character; they should profit by his example in considering what they might do to further the interest of the Nation.

D 50736

The President then thanked Mr. King for his talk, and the Members and guests moved from the dining room into the lounge, where Mr. King unveiled the painting that was hanging on the east wall. In so doing, the Prime Minister said that he had purposely reserved until that moment the expression of congratulation and appreciation which he wished to convey to Mr. Fosbery, and which he was sure was shared by every member of the Rideau Club.

(JAG :: 13 i 47) D 50737

SPEECH by Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, at special dinner of the Rideau Club on occasion of unveiling of painting of Sir John A. Macdonald done by Mr. Ernest Fosbery, December 9, 1946.

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Mr. King began by recalling that he joined the Club in 1900. He used it a great deal for many years but latterly less so, not because he didn't find it congenial enough but because it was too congenial.

Mr. King felt honoured at being asked to unveil the painting of Sir John A. Macdonald. Sir John was not only one of the founders and the first president of the Rideau Club, but was the chief architect of Confederation. A large part of the history of Canada over a fifty year period was told in the story of his life.

Mr. King found himself one of the oldest members of the Club - a member for over 46 years & a distinction, but not one he liked to dwell upon. When he came to Ottawa as Deputy Minister of Labour and editor of The Labour Gazette in 1900, Sir William Mulock thought it might help him to become a member. The question was how to get in. The Club hadn't then any great reverence for youth. Not only was he young, but he was a Liberal and of rebel stock. Moreover, he had taken a post in the Department of Labour and was associated with labour! Mr. King recalled that Sir William got John Christie to nominate him and Alexander Simpson to second him,

D 50738

and then said to Mr. King: "The thing for you to do now is to keep out of sight". Nobody having seen him - added Mr. King - he was elected.

The Prime Minister said there was nothing Sir John enjoyed more in others - and he possessed it in full measure himself - than political astuteness, and he was sure Sir John would have liked that story.

Sir John (continued Mr. King) was very human, fond of men because they were men. He understood human nature above everything. He would have been pleased to see the Club liberalized with fresh ideas. Sir John enjoyed the fun of politics; it kept him alive. Mr. King didn't know what politics would be like if there were not some fun in public life: the battle itself; the opportunity to attack and to be attacked. Mr. King said Sir John held "a great love for the boys because they were the boys". Sir John would have been wholly sympathetic to the broadening of opportunity for men to rise from whatever position in life they might be born

Referring to the remark by Harold Daly that he (Harold Daly) had sat on Sir John's knee, Mr. King said: "I didn't sit on Sir John's knee, but my first intr oduction to politics was sitting at his feet. The first general election I recall was in 1882. I was 7. Sir John came to Berlin (now Kitchener) where, at the time, my father was practising law. All who have had an opportunity of knowing and seeing Sir John are today

D 50739

grateful for that opportunity. I remember best not the political argument but that he was presented with some flowers by a pretty young lady whom he thanked with an embrace. I could do nothing but envy him, and decided then that politics had its rewards.

"I remember the moment I learned that Sir John had passed away. There is something about great events which registers not only the event itself upon the mind, but also the place in which one is oneself or the circumstances under which one learns of it at the time. I was then 17, and working with a gardener who was making a new path in our home grounds. I remember feeling that something very vital, something far-reaching, something almost mystical in itself had passed out of the life of the country. Sir John had been the centre of Canadian political life for so many years.

"Time has a way of bringing events into their true perspective. We now see that Canada has not so much lost as found a great man. We have discovered now in our first Prime Minister one of whom all political parties and faiths have reason to be proud.

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D 50740

affairs of Canada at the time some of the lesser lights we have since known.

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"From 1844 until 1891 Sir John A. Macdonald was in the thick of political battle all time time and all the way. A fellow feeling often makes us wondrous kind, even to our political opponents. Sir John was much more of a Liberal than lots of the fellows around him. Sir John's outlook was wide, but in no particular was keener than in what he felt about this country and its future. I am sure if you ask others you would find agreement in this. Mr. Grattan O'Leary, for instance, would say that Sir John's great feeling for Canada, his love for Canada and his belief in Canada and its place in the British Commonwealth of Nations, was the guiding star of his life. It was his desire tosee Canada a nation by itself as one of a great family of nations.

"I am always impressed when reading Sir John A. Macdonald's Confederation speeches by the note of prophecy expressed there. Sir John was a man whose vision was based on experience. He had a feeling for Britain begotten in his day of her protecting arm. Canadians could count on her watchful eye and strong arm. But

D 50741

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Mr. King, who spoke without notes of any kind, concluded his remarks before the unveiling by saying that the value to the Club of the portrait of Sir John A. Macdonald was that they as members might pause before it and ask themselves whether they too were making a contribution worthy of Canada; it was not enough that they should admire Sir John Macdonald's qualities and his character; they should profit by his example in considering what they might do to further the interest of the Nation.

D 50743

The President then thanked Mr. King for his talk, and the Members and guests moved from the dining room into the lounge, where Mr. King unveiled the painting that was hanging on the east wall. In so doing, the Prime Minister said that he had purposely reserved until that moment the expression of congratulation and appreciation which he wished to convey to Mr. Fosbery, and which he was sure was shared by every member of the Rideau Club.

D 50744

SPEECH by Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, at special dinner of the Rideau Club, December 9, 1946, on occasion of unveiling of painting of Sir John A. Macdonald, done by Mr. Ernest Fosbery.

Mr. King began by recalling that he had joined the Club in 1900. He used it a great deal for many years but latterly less so, not because he didn't find it congenial enough, but because it was too congenial.

Mr. King felt honoured at being asked to unveil the painting of Sir John A. Macdonald. Sir John was not only one of the founders and the first president of the Rideau Club, but was the chief architect of Confederation. A large part of the history of Canada over a fifty-year period was told in the story of his life.

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Referring to the remark by Harold Daly that he (Harold Daly) had sat on Sir John's knee, Mr. King said: "I didn't sit on Sir John's knee, but my first introduction to politics was sitting at his feet.

The first general election I recall was in 1882. I was 7. Sir John came to Berlin (now Kitchener) where, at the time, my father was practising law. All who have had an opportunity of knowing and seeing Sir John are today grateful for having had that opportunity. I remember best not the political argument but that Sir John was presented with some flowers by a pretty young lady whom he thanked with an embrace. I could do nothing but envy him, and decided then that politics had its rewards.

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D 50747

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The President then thanked Mr. King for his talk, and the Members and guests moved from the dining room into the lounge, where Mr. King unveiled the painting that was hanging on the east wall. In so doing, the Prime Minister said that he had purposely reserved until that moment the expression of hearty congratulation and warm appreciation which he wished to convey to Mr. Fosbery, and which he was sure was shared by every member of the Rideau Club.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
80		Dinner in Honour of Mr. R.M. Barrington-Ward, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	1 Nov. 1946	D 50454 - D 50483	
80		Tribute to Louis St. Laurent. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Nov. 1946	D 50484 - D 50687	
80		Unveiling of Portrait to Sir John A. Macdonald, Ottawa, Rideau Club	9 Dec. 1946	D 50688 - D 50751	
80		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Dec. 1946	D 50752 - D 50759	
80		The Character of Canadian Citizenship, Ottawa, National Citizenship Ceremony. Speeches outside Parliament.	3 Jan. 1947	D 50760 - D 50854	
80		Tribute to Hon. P.J.A. Cardin and Mr. W.C. Macdonald. Speeches in Parliament	30 Jan. 1947	D 50855 - D 50874	
80		National Liberal Federation Advisory Council, Ottawa. Speeches Parliament	5 Feb. 1947	D 50875 - D 50878	
80		Withdrawal of Occupational Forces from Germany, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Mar. 1947	D 50879 - D 50904	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

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Mr. King Again Deplores Too Many Parties

Warns of "Folly" In Multiplicity

Prime Minister Mackenzie King last night warned Canadians against the "folly" of a multiplicity of political parties which he said would tend to "bring down the whole structure of responsible political organization and to weaken the nation itself."

In an address prepared for delivery over the CBC free-time political broadcast known as "The Nation's Business," Mr. King said much was heard these days about the "old" political parties as though tradition and experience counted for nothing, and added that there was no reason why a political party should "not be equally proud of its many years of existence and of office."

Then he continued:

"The danger to representative government, in many countries today, does not arise from the perpetuation of parties which have a long and honorable past. The danger arises from a bewilderment of political parties that have no past, and little promise of any future.

Proven Misfortune

"A multiplicity of parties has proven a misfortune in all countries where they have existed. Under democratic government, party organization is the one sure method by which the majority can give effect to its will.

"A multiplicity of parties tends to bring down the whole structure of responsible political organization, and to weaken the nation itself. That, as we all know, was the misfortune of France at the beginning of the war.

"Let us beware of repeating a like folly in our own land.

"What is needed in Canada is not a confusion of political parties which tend to set class against class and province against province. What Canada needs are parties which serve to unite its people and its provinces as one nation from coast to coast."

He said the Liberal party was such a party, with its basic principles of unity, security and freedom.

Shades of Opinion

There may be many shades and varieties of opinion on specific points within the ranks of a political party, he said.

"If, however, those who, broadly speaking, feel and think alike on the great questions of the day, do not combine under some banner which enables them to proceed as one, they may be sure that those who hold other views will be only too ready to profit by their divisions."

Mr. King said it was a basic principle of Liberalism that all its policies should make for national unity and another fundamental was that the party's policies should "serve the general interest rather than particular interests."

There were, too, the basic principles of security and freedom, which could be said to be opposite sides of the same shield.

"One cannot be free without a sense of security. One cannot feel secure so long as freedom itself is threatened. The essence of both security and freedom, it seems to me, lies in the elimination of fear.

"Fear, in some measure, will always be present. In one respect, it is nature's method of breeding caution. Excessive fear, however, is paralysing in its effect. As fears increase, men lose their sense of security. With the loss of security, freedom also disappears.

More To Freedom

"There is, however, more to freedom than merely freedom from fear. Freedom also has its positive side. On the positive side, freedom may perhaps best be defined as opportunity for the individual, free from undue fear, to develop his whole personality."

Canada was happily free from any of the fears of other lands and it was a no less important duty of Liberals that they should strive without ceasing to extend the frontiers of freedom.

"But," said Mr. King, "if we are to enjoy freedom, it is not in our country alone that freedom must be maintained and extended by the elimination of fear.

"Everybody knows that the greatest of all fears today continues to be the fear of aggression and of war. The fear of a possible future war is the greatest of all obstacles to the achievement of security and freedom.

"Nations today are dependent upon one another. Ours is an interdependent world. Nations, like men, must learn to co-operate to bear one another's burdens. Mutual aid is the key to peace and security.

"Enduring peace is much more than a mere absence of fighting. Peace, to endure, must be organized. Positive machinery must exist to keep the peace among nations as well as among individuals. To work for the elimination of the fear of war, to strive for world security and peace, is one of the highest aims of the Liberal party."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL 5166

Date DEC 1 2 1946

Subject

50753

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

Date DEC 1 21946

D 50754

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE

DEC 1 21946

Date

D 50755

Subject

Prime Minister King To Be Speaker Tonight

Ottawa, December 11.—(CP)—Prime Minister Mackenzie King will be the Liberal Party speaker tonight in the CBC's weekly freetime political broadcast known as "the nation's business."

Mr. King, who will speak on Liberal Party principles, will be heard over the trans-Canada network in Eastern Canada from 8.30 to 8.45 p.m., E.S.T., and in Western Canada from 11.00 to 11.15 p.m., E.S.T.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star

Date Dec 12/46

Subject

D 50756

Liberalism Is Unity, Security, Freedom, Says Premier King

The following is the text of a speech broadcast last night by Prime Minister Mackenzie King:

THE present broadcast is one in a series designed by the C.B.C. to give the Canadian public a better understanding of the principles and policies of the several political parties. On earlier occasions, some of my colleagues have spoken on particular policies of the present Administration. Tonight, I intend to speak to you in more general terms. I wish to re-state, in the light of conditions as they exist today, and more particularly as they are related to the future, certain fundamental principles of the Liberal Party of Canada.

But, first, a word about political parties themselves. Principles and policies are of little avail unless means can be found whereby like-minded men and women are able to make their principles and policies prevail. A political party is a means to this end.

A political party is not an end in itself. It is the means whereby men and women gain the public support required to enable them to carry out their policies.

Divisions Deplored

There may be many shades and varieties of opinion on specific points within the ranks of a political party. If, however, those who, broadly speaking, feel and think alike on the great questions of the day, do not combine under some banner which enables them to proceed as one, they may be sure that those who hold other views will be only too ready to profit by their divisions.

One hears, from time to time, a great deal about the old political parties, as though tradition and experience should count for nothing in politics. In other spheres of activity, tradition and experience are regarded as the most valuable of assets. The members of churches, of regiments, of institutions of learning, of business concerns, all point with pride to what years of continuous service have meant to these organizations. There is no reason why a political party should not be equally proud of its many years of existence and of office. The danger to representative government, in many countries today, does not arise from the perpetuation of parties which have a long and honorable past. The danger arises from a bewilderment of political parties that have no past, and but little promise of any future.

A multiplicity of parties has proven a misfortune in all countries where they have existed. Under democratic government, party organization is the one sure method by which the majority can give effect to its will. A multiplicity of parties tends to bring down the whole structure of responsible political organization, and to weaken the nation itself. That, as we all know, was the misfortune of France at the beginning of the war. Let us beware of repeating a like folly in our own land. What is needed in Canada is not a confusion of political parties which tend to set class against class and province against province. What Canada needs are parties which serve to unite its people and its provinces as one nation from coast to coast. Such a party we have in the Liberal Party of Canada today. Let us guard that heritage.

The basic principles of the Liberal Party may be summed up in the words: unity, security, freedom. To maintain national unity and to strive for world unity; to etxend social security and to co-operate for international security; to defend and to extend the frontiers of freedom; these are the fundamental aims of the Liberal Party.

National Unity

It is a basic principal of Liberalism that all its policies should make for national unity. That unity, Liberals believe, cannot be achieved unless the party itself is nation-wide in its organization and membership. Its strength may vary from province to province. Its fortunes may fluctuate from time to time. What is important, however, is that the same principles and policies should be advocated by the party in each and every province, and that the party's outlook should at all times be national, not provincial nor local.

Another fundamental principle of Liberalism is that the party's policies should serve the general interest rather than particular interests. In all Liberal policies, class interests must be subordinated to the interests of the community. Liberalism recognizes that we are all members one of another, and that, for this reason, the liberty of each is circumscribed by the liberty of all. It recognizes equally that, in the long run, the good of all is good of each.

Giving to this principle its immediate and practical application, let me say that the Liberal Party in Canada exists to serve the interests of the people as a whole, not the interest of any particular class or group in the country, or of any particular section of the country. This, too, is an essential of national unity.

The first question which should be asked about any political party which aims at government in the federal field is: are its policies framed in the interests of all. And next: has the party a broad national outlook. Indeed, in the world of today, in times like the present, it is imperative, in the national interest, to go even further, and ask: has the party a world outlook. Of the Liberal Party of Canada, all these questions can be answered in the affirmative.

Of security and freedom it may be said that they are opposite sides of the same shield. One cannot be free without a sense of security. One cannot feel secure so long as freedom itself is threatened. The essence of both security and freedom, it seems to me, lies in the elimination of fear. Fear, in some measure, will always be present. In one respect, it is Nature's method of breeding caution. Excessive fear, however, is paralyzing in its effect. As fears increase, men lose their sense of security. With the loss of security, freedom also disappears.

Positive Side

There is, however, more to freedom than merely freedom from fear. Freedom also has its positive side. On the positive side, freedom may perhaps best be defined as opportunity for the individual, free from undue fear, to develop his whole personality.

In Canada, we are happily free from many of the fears which in other lands circumscribe security and freedom. We have freedom of speech and of the press; we have religious freedom; we have freedom of assembly; we have freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment; we are free to choose and change our governments. We did not always have these freedoms. To defend personal freedom, religious freedom, political freedom will always remain a first duty of Lib-

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication .....

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Subject .....

50757

erals. A no less important duty which Liberalism demands of its followers is that they strive without ceasing to extend the frontiers of freedom.

While some of the old fears have disappeared or lessened, other fears have made their presence more strongly felt. Next to the fear of war, the great fears in men's minds today are social and economic fears. The fear of unemployment; the fear of sickness, accident and disability; the fears that come with the death of the bread-winner; the fear of poverty in old age; the fear for the home and the family; these are the great fears born of modern industrialism, subject as it has been to the recurrent dangers of inflation and depression. Until these fears are removed, complete freedom will not have been achieved.

This is a large task. It will not be completed in a year. Perhaps not in generations. Nevertheless, to press on towards the goal of social and economic freedom is the great task of Liberalism. Of recent years, much has been accomplished. Old age pensions, pensions for the blind, unemployment insurance, floors under farm prices, family allowances: all these are examples of measures introduced by Liberal Administrations. But something more is needed than remedies for social disabilities and economic misfortunes. Prevention, where possible, is always better than cure. What are most needed are policies to encourage production, and enterprise and trade, a high level of employment and a rising national income. In this period of transition from war to peace, these have been foremost among the objectives of the Liberal Party in Canada.

Fear of War

But, if we are to enjoy freedom, it is not in our country alone that freedom must be maintained and extended by the elimination of fear. Everyone knows that the greatest of all fears today continues to be the fear of aggression and of war. The fear of a possible future war is the greatest of all obstacles to the achievement of security and freedom.

Nations today are dependent upon one another. Ours is an interdependent world. Nations, like men, must learn to co-operate, to bear one another's burdens. Mutual aid is the key to peace and security.

In re-stating tonight some fundamental principles of Liberalism, I should like to quote what I said to Liberal supporters at the time I was chosen leader of the party in 1919. The words gain added emphasis in the light of the party's record as disclosed in the 27 years which have since intervened. I then said:

"The Liberal Party will continue to stand as its illustrious leaders stood in the past, for unity, good-will and the open mind. It has no prejudice of race, creed or class. It is for equal rights and justice to all. It believes that problems of industry and of nationality, like all questions of race and religion, can best be solved by the application of these principles. In Imperial relations we are opposed to centralization. We are advocates of unity based upon self-government and equality in the British community of nations. We are for friendly relations with the United States. We are in sympathy with the movement to substitute friendly co-operation for conflict in all international relations."

That is the end of the quotation. Let me now conclude what I have to say tonight.

Organized Peace

Enduring peace is much more than a mere absence of fighting. Peace, to endure, must be organized. Positive machinery must exist to keep the peace among nations as well as among individuals. To work for the elimination of the fear of war, to strive for world security and peace, is one of the highest aims of the Liberal Party.

At no time in the history of Canada has the need for the continuance of a strong Liberal Party been greater than it is today, when the alternatives which face mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. In our country, as in many other countries, where the pull of geography and of social differences is toward division, the Liberal Party stands for unity. In a world where security for men and women is rare and precious, the Liberal Party stands for security. At a time when freedom continues to be menaced by tendencies toward dictatorship and totalitarianism, the Liberal Party continues to stand for freedom. Unity, security, freedom: these are the great principles for which the Liberal party stands; unity, security, freedom: these are the banners under which, throughout the whole of Canada, the Liberal Party will continue to serve.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Star

Date Dec 12/46

D 50758

Subject

DEFEND CIVIL LIBERTIES DUTY OF LIBERAL—MR. KING

By ROBERT TAYLOR
Star Staff Correspondent

Ottawa, Dec. 12—"To press on toward the goal of social and economic freedom is the great task of Liberalism," Prime Minister Mackenzie King declared in a national radio address last night.

Liberal administrations have accomplished much in recent years, he said, recalling measures such as family allowances, old age pensions, pensions for the blind, floors under agricultural products and unemployment insurance.

"But something more is needed than remedies for social disabilities and economic misfortunes," the prime minister declared. "Prevention, where possible, is always better than cure. What are most needed are policies to encourage production and enterprise and trade, a high level of employment and a rising national income. In this period of transition from war to peace, these have been foremost among the objectives of the Liberal party in Canada.

New Liberal Crusade

The speech was one of a series given by national political parties' spokesmen. Unlike speeches by earlier Liberal ministers, which dealt with direct administrative problems and policies, Mr. King's speech was a statement of the fundamental principles of the Liberal party today and a clarion cry for like-minded men and women to unite in a new Liberal crusade.

"At no time in the history of Canada has the need for the continuance of a strong Liberal party been greater than it is today, when the alternatives which face mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom," Mr. King declared.

"If those who, broadly speaking, feel and think alike on the great questions of the day, do not combine under some banner which enables them to proceed as one, they may be sure that those who hold other views will be only too ready to profit by their divisions," he said.

It is believed Mr. King was making a direct reference to the political plotting under way that would unite the strange bedfellows of the Progressive Conservative party with Premier Duplessis' Union Nationale in Quebec and the Social Credit party in Alberta.

Need World Outlook

"The first question which should be asked about any political party which aims at government in the federal field is: 'Are its policies framed in the interests of all?' And next: 'Has the party a broad national outlook?' It is imperative in the national interest to go even further, and ask 'has the party a world outlook?'

"Of the Liberal party of Canada," Mr. King said, "all those questions can be answered in the affirmative."

His reminder that "a first duty of Liberals is to defend personal freedom, religious freedom and political freedom," had added significance in the light of what observers regard as a serious threat to civil liberties in Quebec, racial discrimination in several parts of Canada, and action of the Drew government in preventing citizens of the five large Ontario cities from voting on the return of bars.

Security Fears

"Next to the fear of war," Mr. King said, "the great fears in men's minds today are social and economic fears. The fear of unemployment; fear of sickness, accident and disability; the fears that come with the death of the breadwinner; the fear of poverty in old age; the fear for the home and the family; these are the fears born of modern industrialism subject as it has been to the recurrent dangers of inflation and depression.

"Until these fears are removed," Mr. King said, "complete freedom will not have been achieved. This is a large task. It will not be completed in a year, and perhaps not in generations."

Mr. King reminded Canadians that if they are to enjoy freedom, they must help extend and maintain freedom in other countries of the world. "The fear of a possible future war is the greatest of all obstacles to the achievement of security and freedom," he said. "Nations, like men, must learn to cooperate, to bear one another's burdens. Mutual aid is the key to peace and security

Principles The Same

Mr. King declared that "the basic principles of the Liberal party may be summed up in the words unity, security, freedom. To maintain national unity and to strive for world unity; to extend social security and to co-operate for international security; to defend and to extend the frontiers of freedom; these are the fundamental aims of the Liberal party."

"It is a basic principle of Liberism that all its policies should make for national unity. That unity, Liberals believe, cannot be achieved unless the party itself is nationwide in its organization and membership. Its strength may vary from province to province. Its fortunes may fluctuate from time to time. What is important, however, is the same principles and policies should be advocated by the party in each and every province, and that the party's outlook should at all times be national, not provincial nor local," Mr. King stated.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Date DEC 1 2 1946

D 50759

Mr. King Warns Of Multiplicity Of Parties

Prime Minister King last night warned Canadians against the "folly" of a multiplicity of political parties which he said would tend to "bring down the whole structure of responsible political organization and to weaken the nation itself."

In an address over CBC Mr. King said much was heard these days about the "old" political parties, as though tradition and experience counted for nothing, and added that there was no reason why a political party should "not be equally proud of its many years of existence and of office".

Then he continued:

"The danger to representative government, in many countries today, does not arise from the perpetuation of parties which have a long and honorable past. The danger arises from a bewilderment of political parties that have no past, and little promise of any future.

"A multiplicity of parties has proven a misfortune in all countries where they have existed. Under democratic government, party organization is the one sure method by which the majority can give effect to its will.

"A multiplicity of parties tends to bring down the whole structure of responsible political organization, and to weaken the nation itself. That, as we all know, was the misfortune of France at the beginning of the war.

"Let us beware of repeating a like folly in our own land.

"What is needed in Canada is not a confusion of political parties which tend to set class against class and province against province. What Canada needs are parties which serve to unite its people and its provinces as one nation from coast to coast".

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Mr. King said it was a basic principle of liberalism that all its policies should make for national unity and another fundamental was that the party's policies should "serve the general interest rather than particular interests".

There were, too, the basic principles of security and freedom, which could be said to be opposite sides of the same shield.

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Canada was happily free from any of the fears of other lands and it was a no less important duty of liberals that they should strive without ceasing to extend the frontiers of freedom.

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"Everybody knows that the greatest of all fears today continues to be the fear of aggression and of war. The fear of a possible future war is the greatest of all obstacles to the achievement of security and freedom.

"Nations today are dependent upon one another. Ours is an interdependent world. Nations, like men, must learn to co-operate to bear one another's burdens. Mutual aid is the key to peace and security.

"Enduring peace is much more than a mere absence of fighting. Peace, to endure, must be organized. Positive machinery must exist to keep the peace among nations as well as among individuals. To work for the elimination of the fear of war, to strive for world security and peace, is one of the highest aims of the Liberal party."

REPEAT
REPETITION

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
80		Dinner in Honour of Mr. R.M. Barrington-Ward, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	1 Nov. 1946	D 50454 - D 50483	
80		Tribute to Louis St. Laurent. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Nov. 1946	D 50484 - D 50687	
80		Unveiling of Portrait to Sir John A. Macdonald, Ottawa, Rideau Club	9 Dec. 1946	D 50688 - D 50751	
80		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Dec. 1946	D 50752 - D 50759	
80		The Character of Canadian Citizenship, Ottawa, National Citizenship Ceremony. Speeches outside Parliament.	3 Jan. 1947	D 50760 - D 50854	
80		Tribute to Hon. P.J.A. Cardin and Mr. W.C. Macdonald. Speeches in Parliament	30 Jan. 1947	D 50855 - D 50874	
80		National Liberal Federation Advisory Council, Ottawa. Speeches Parliament	5 Feb. 1947	D 50875 - D 50878	
80		Withdrawal of Occupational Forces from Germany, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Mar. 1947	D 50879 - D 50904	

D 50760

Address by the Prime Minister for National Broadcast

- Canadian Citizenship Ceremony
- Ottawa, January 3, 1947; 9:00 p. m., E. S. T.

THE CHARACTER OF CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP

Welcome to New Citizens

As a ~~Canadian~~ citizen of Canada, and in the name of all Canadian citizens, it gives me the utmost very great pride and pleasure this evening to extend a cordial welcome to you who are ~~before me and who~~ have (this day today) become Canadian citizens in name & in fact. As I address this word of welcome to you, there are thousands of fellow Canadian citizens in countless Canadian homes throughout the land who have heard with pride the oaths of allegiance you have taken. I know that each and all of them join with me in greeting and congratulation.

We who have the name of "Canadian citizen" know that it is a proud title. We know that it is a great privilege to be able to bear it. Canada is a fortunate country. It has been endowed by God with great resources. It is peopled by citizens with energy, intelligence, and

D 50761

a sense of responsibility. In a troubled and unhappy world, it is particularly blessed with peace and plenty. These advantages and all that flows from them are the heritage of all Canadian citizens. You have to-day become equal partners in that heritage. We know that you are worthy and we welcome you.

Part 2 Second. Which will be covered in the Minister's remarks

The First Citizenship Ceremony

I have particular pleasure in extending my welcome to you to-day since you are the first persons to participate in a citizenship ceremony under the new Canadian Citizenship Act. In accordance with the democratic procedure of our country, that Act was passed by Parliament at its last session. One of the aims of the Citizenship Act is to draw the people of this great country more closely together in unity and understanding.

The Canadian Citizenship Act was proclaimed by His Excellency the Governor General on our national holiday - July 1, 1946, and came into effect just two days ago, on January 1. It has given to Canadians a new national status in their own country and in the world. The recognition and definition of that status - the status of Canadian citizens -

D 50762

will, I know, be a source of pride and of community to all of us.

(A) You, who are ~~before me,~~ sharing in this ceremony symbolize in a real sense the character of Canada. You come from many parts of our country and spring from many different origins. We are a scattered people. We are a nation of minorities. But the fact that

(A) This ceremony this evening is a vivid reminder of ~~the background of our history as~~ the character of our nationhood. It has seemed to bring alive, here in this Capital of Canada, a sense of our historic past and of the beckoning prospect of the future

Citizenship Involves Responsibilities

I have spoken thus far of welcome, of pride and of privileges. You will find all of these in your new citizenship. However, I would do less than justice to our common country, less than justice to our citizenship, and much less than justice to you, were I to speak only of these. Canadian citizenship also involves responsibilities. None of us can be good citizens and none of us can be worthy of Canada if we do not assume, in full measure, the responsibilities of citizenship.

D 50762

will, I know, be a source of pride and of community to all of us.

(A) You, who are sharing in this ceremony ~~before me,~~ symbolize in a real sense the character of Canada. You come from many parts of our country and spring from many different origins. We are a scattered people. We are a nation of minorities. But the fact that you are separated one from another by geography or by origin is unimportant. There is one thing that you and we all have in common - one thing which binds us together and makes us a people. That is the fact that we are Canadian citizens. In that common fact - in the pride and the duty of which it is the symbol - lies our unity and our strength.

Citizenship Involves Responsibilities

I have spoken thus far of welcome, of pride and of privileges. You will find all these in your new citizenship. However, I would do less than justice to our common country, less than justice to our citizenship, and much less than justice to you, were I to speak only of these. Canadian citizenship also involves responsibilities. None of us can be good citizens and none of us can be worthy of Canada if we do not assume, in full measure, the responsibilities of citizenship.

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 50763

Canada, a Country to be proud of

One responsibility which all Canadian citizens have is to the good name and reputation of our country. Today has been described as "a supreme act of faith" The Canada ~~is a country to be~~ proud of. ~~It~~ The Canada was built out of the wilderness, often in defiance of nature, by the courage and vision of men and women. It has grown in living memory from a small and virtually unknown region of farm and forest to one of the great industrial nations of the world. The men of Canada have served, and thousands have died, valiantly and selflessly in the cause of freedom and in the name of Canada, ~~our land~~. Our country and our people have established the highest standards of political, social and individual life. ~~Canada~~ our country has a record of responsibility and integrity in world affairs. ~~Canada is respected among~~ the nations of the world. Our country's record of peace and war has commanded universal respect.

All Canadian citizens, new and old alike, have a duty to measure up to the traditions of courage, enterprise and devotion set by the glorious names of those who have made Canada - such names as Champlain and Frontenac; Wolfe and Montcalm; Papineau and Mackenzie; Baldwin and Lafontaine; Macdonald and Laurier. They served greatly and nobly to make Canada. It is for us to ensure that the greatness of

D 50764

this work remains unmarred -- that the future of Canada bears out the promise of its past.

A Second Responsibility

The responsibility I have spoken of is one that we owe to the good name of our country. It is an obligation which, I think, everyone appreciates. There is, however, a further measure of responsibility which we are apt to overlook. That responsibility arises out of the divisions and differences that exist within Canada and which place an unusual strain on the maintenance of national strength and national unity.

Geographic and Ethnic Differences

In one aspect the divisions of which I speak are geographical. Our country is immense; its chief areas of settlement are divided one from another by long distances and by rugged terrain. Many of you who have become Canadian citizens to-day are well aware of this fact, for you have come long distances to join in this ceremony. Some of you are from British Columbia and the Prairies. Some of you are from the Maritimes. Thousands of miles may separate

distance itself has served to place ~~create an~~ an emphasis upon ideas which tend to divide rather than to unite. ~~But~~ The fabric of our nationhood has thereby been subjected to

you, just as they separate many Canadians from one another. Those distances, and the geographic differences between the various parts of Canada lead to a diversity of interest and attitude. ~~They impose a sectional interest which tends constantly to weaken our national fabric.~~

contrast of views and attitudes

In another aspect, the divisions I refer to are social and ethnic. The people of Canada, like you who are in this Supreme Court Chamber to-day, come from many diverse stocks. We differ from one another in religion, in social outlook and in culture.

D 50765

In the minds of some people these differences in our country and our people ~~can~~ are likely to be a source of weakness. But they need not be. If we recognize the fact of their existence we can guard against ~~their~~ possible effects. We can, indeed, make ~~them~~ a source of strength, for they can ~~teach us~~ point the way to the moderation and spirit of conciliation that is so sorely needed in the world to-day. But to ~~gain~~ make sure ~~that~~ this strength can be built out of possible weakness, we must recognize the special obligations which are placed on all Canadians. Our differences and divisions impose on each ~~and all~~ one of us a particular duty to be ~~tolerant, to be~~ patient, to be tolerant, and to be understanding ~~and to be patient.~~ We have to realize that if other Canadians see things a little differently than we do, it does not mean that they are wrong or ill-intentioned. We should expect differences and we should respect ~~them~~ those differences. If we do expect them, and if we respect and try to understand them, we will be a stronger and

D 50766

better people--and much better citizens of the world. ~~Our very differences can be one of our greatest strengths.~~

That special responsibility - the responsibility of people who are different in many things, but who are prepared to risk ~~sinking~~ those differences ~~to~~ in working together for great ends - is a fundamental obligation of every Canadian citizen. He will be helped in his task if he realizes that his fellows, however differently they may think in some matters, are Canadian citizens too, and that they are working, in their way, for the good of our common country.

<u>The Responsibility of Freedom</u>

There is a third responsibility which every Canadian citizen has. It is the most important of all. It is the responsibility of men and women who are free. responsibility

Canada is a democracy. Canadians, as a democratic people, believe that the state exists for man, and not man for the state. The people of Canada ~~Canadians~~ believe that social and political organization is not an end in itself. They believe that it has one purpose and one purpose only -- to enable men and women to live and grow in freedom.

D 50767

We, in Canada, interpret freedom broadly. On the one hand we mean by freedom the banishment of all those fears which can oppress and paralyze men and rob them of their security. We include freedom, under the rule of law, from the fear of arbitrary restraint and oppression by the state. We include freedom from the fear of oppression by other individuals. We include freedom from those constant perils of war and want and social insecurity. On the other hand, we include in freedom a positive side. The freedom we have in Canada provides an opportunity for the individual to develop his whole personality. It gives to every citizen the right to live his own life in his own way subject only to the equal right of all his fellows to the same freedom.

Democracy on the Defensive

Our fathers, in the nineteenth century, believed in democracy and in freedom. They believed that freedom and democracy were right, and because they were right, men had confidence that their rightness would cause freedom and democracy to prevail. Canadians today believe just as strongly in democracy and freedom as did our fathers. ~~We share their belief -- but we have no right to share their confidence.~~ If we are to share their confidence we must see that our own belief rests on strong foundations of order and justice and equal rights before the law.

D 50768

It is far from certain today that freedom and democracy will ultimately prevail throughout the world. It is ~~far from~~ not certain that they will ~~even~~ survive the onslaughts of totalitarian dreams of world domination. ~~Other~~ systems of society and government, in which there is no freedom, have arisen in our day and have become strong contenders for the allegiance of men in considerable areas of the world. The democratic way of life faces grave competition. In many countries it has fallen before that competition and disappeared. Free government can disappear elsewhere--yes, even in our country, if we blindly take it for granted; if we underestimate the competition which it faces; and if we do not recognize our individual responsibility for the successful working of democracy and for the steadfast defence of freedom.

The Individual in a Democracy

Because democracy is based on the freedom of the individual, it depends on the individual to defend it. It depends on the intelligence, the maturity, the restraint, and the self-control discipline of its citizens. It depends upon the recognition by each individual of the equal rights of his fellows and of his own obligation to defend those rights. It depends on every man to show in his own life and by his own conduct, that free men are responsible men; that liberty is not licence; that opportunity does not mean disregard for the rights of others.

We, in Canada, believe that Canadians can and will vindicate the faith that democracy places in freedom. It is on that faith that our democracy is based. It is in that belief that Canada lives. It is for each of us to do our part, and to realize that in the troubled world of today it is for us, like the American people of Lincoln's day, to help to decide whether democracy in this nation "or any nation so conceived can long endure".

The Future of Canada

I believe that democracy can endure in Canada. But it will not endure if we take our freedom for granted. It is the duty of every Canadian citizen to help make democracy work. It is the duty of every Canadian citizen, in his personal life; in his rural municipality; in his village or town or city; in his province and in this whole great country to show that he knows that he is democracy. As each citizen stands or fails in the face of his duties, so stands or fails democracy.

The key to the future of Canada is in the hands of every Canadian citizen. You who are before me have taken a solemn oath of allegiance. You have this day

D 50770

become Canadian citizens. The responsibility for the future of Canada is your responsibility. Yours is a great heritage and a great future. We welcome you to that heritage; we count upon you to help make that future.

D 50771

Address by the Prime Minister for National Broadcast

- Canadian Citizenship Ceremony
- Ottawa, January 3, 1947; 9:00 p.m., E. S. T.

THE CHARACTER OF CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP

Welcome to New Citizens

As a citizen of Canada, and in the name of all Canadian citizens, it gives me very great pride and pleasure this evening to extend a cordial welcome to you who have today become Canadian citizens in name and in fact. As I address this word of welcome to you, there are thousands of fellow Canadian citizens in homes throughout the land who have heard with pride the oaths of allegiance you have taken. I know that all of them join with me in greeting and congratulation.

We who have the name of "Canadian citizen" know that it is a proud title. We know that it is a great privilege to be able to bear it. Canada is a fortunate country. It has been endowed by God with great resources. It is peopled by citizens with energy, intelligence, and a sense of responsibility. In a troubled and unhappy world, it is particularly blessed with peace and plenty. These advantages and all that flows from them are the

D 50772

heritage of all Canadian citizens. You have to-day become equal partners in that heritage. We know that you are worthy and we welcome you.

The First Citizenship Ceremony

This ceremony this evening is a vivid reminder of the character of our nationhood. It has served to bring alive, here in this Capital of Canada, a sense of our historic past and of the beckoning prospect of the future.

You, who are sharing in this ceremony, symbolize in a real sense the character of Canada. You come frommany parts of our country and spring from many different origins. We are a scattered people. We are a nation of minorities. But the fact that you are separated one from another by geography or by origin is unimportant. There is one thing that you and we all have in common - one thing which binds us together and makes us a people. That is the fact that we are Canadian citizens. In that common fact - in the pride and the duty of which it is the symbol - lies our unity and our strength.

Citizenship Involves Responsibilities

I have spoken thus far of welcome, of pride and of privileges. In your new citizenship you will find all of these. I would do less than justice, however, to our common country, less than justice to our citizenship, and much less

D 50773

than justice to you, were I to speak only of these. Canadian citizenship also involves responsibilities. None of us can be good citizens and none of us can be worthy of Canada if we do not assume, in full measure, the responsibilities of citizenship.

Canada, a Country to be proud of

One responsibility which all Canadian citizens have is to the good name and reputation of our country. The Canada of to-day has been described as "a supreme act of faith". This Canada was built out of the wilderness, often in defiance of nature, by the courage and vision of men and women. It has grown in living memory from a small and virtually unknown region of farm and forest to one of the great industrial nations of the world. The men of Canada have served, and thousands have died, valiantly and selflessly in the cause of freedom and in the name of Canada. Our country and our people have established the highest standards of political, social and individual life. In world affairs our country has a record of responsibility and integrity. Among the nations of the world the record of our country in peace and war has commanded universal respect.

D 50774

A Second Responsibility

The responsibility I have spoken of is one that we owe to the good name of our country. It is an obligation which, I think, everyone appreciates. There is, however, a further measure of responsibility which we are apt to overlook. That responsibility arises out of the divisions and differences that exist within Canada and which place an unusual strain on the maintenance of national strength and national unity.

Geographic and Ethnic Differences

In one aspect the divisions of which I speak are geographical. Our country is immense; its chief areas of settlement are divided one from another by long distances and by rugged terrain. Many of you who have become Canadian citizens to-day are well aware of this fact, for you have come long distances to join in this ceremony. Some of you are from British Columbia and the Prairies. Some of you are from the Maritimes. Thousands of miles may separate you, just as they separate many Canadians from one another. Those distances, and the geographic differences between the various parts of Canada lead to a diversity of interest and attitude. Distance itself has served to place an emphasis upon ideas which tend to divide rather than to unite. The fabric of our nationhood has thereby been subjected to constant stress/es and strains.

In another aspect, the divisions I refer to are social and ethnic. The people of Canada, like you who are in this Supreme Court Chamber to-day, come from many diverse stocks. We differ from one another in religion, in social outlook and in culture.

In the minds of some people these differences in our country and our people are likely to be a source of weakness. But they need not be. If we recognize the fact of their existence we can guard against the possible effects of differences in outlook and in local interest. We can, indeed, make of our very differences a source of strength, for they can point the way to the moderation and the spirit of conciliation that is so sorely needed in the world to-day. But to make sure that strength can be built out of possible weakness, we must recognize the special obligations which are placed on all Canadians. Our differences and divisions impose on each one of us a particular duty to be patient, to be tolerant, and to be understanding. We have to realize that if other Canadians see things a little differently than we do, it does not mean that they are wrong or ill-intentioned. We should expect differences and we should respect those differences. If we do expect them, and if we respect and try to understand them, we will be a stronger and better people--and much better citizens of the world.

That special responsibility - the responsibility of people who are different in many things, but who are prepared to sink those differences in working together for great ends - is a fundamental obligation of every Canadian citizen. He will be helped in his task if he realizes that his fellows, however differently they may think in some matters, are Canadian citizens too, and that they are working, in their way, for the good of our common country.

The Responsibility of Freedom

There is a third responsibility which every Canadian citizen has. It is the most important responsibility of all. It is the responsibility of men and women who are free.

The people of Canada believe that social and political organization is not an end in itself. They believe that it has one purpose and one purpose only -- to enable men and women to live and grow in freedom.

We, in Canada, interpret freedom broadly. On the one hand we mean by freedom the banishment of all those fears which can oppress and paralyse men and rob them of their security. We include freedom, under the rule of law, from the fear of arbitrary restraint and oppression by the state.

We include freedom from the fear of oppression by other individuals. We include freedom from those constant perils of war and want and social insecurity.

On the other hand, we include in freedom a positive side. The freedom we have in Canada provides an opportunity for the individual to develop his whole personality. It gives to every citizen the right to live his own life in his own way subject only to the equal right of all his fellows to the same freedom.

Democracy on the Defensive

Our fathers, in the nineteenth century, believed in democracy and in freedom. They believed that freedom and democracy were right, and that because they were right, men had confidence that their rightness would cause freedom and democracy to prevail. Canadians today believe just as strongly in democracy and freedom as did our fathers. If we are to share their confidence we must see that our own belief rests on strong foundations of order and justice and equal rights before the law.

It is far from certain today that freedom and democracy will ultimately prevail throughout the world. It is not certain that they will survive the onslaught of totalitarian dreams of world domination . Systems of society

and government, in which there is no freedom, have arisen in our day and have become strong contenders for the allegiance of men in considerable areas of the world. The democratic way of life faces grave competition. In many countries it has fallen before that competition and disappeared. Free government can disappear elsewhere -- yes, even in our country, if we simply take it for granted; if we underestimate the competition which it faces; and if we do not recognize our individual responsibility for the successful working of democracy and for the steadfast defence of freedom.

The Individual in a Democracy

Because democracy is based on the freedom of the individual, it depends on the individual to defend it. It depends on the intelligence, the maturity, the restraint, and the self-discipline of its citizens. It depends upon the recognition by each individual of the equal rights of his fellows and of his own obligation to defend those rights. It depends on every man to show in his own life and by his own conduct, that free men are responsible men; that liberty is not licence; that opportunity does not mean disregard for the rights of others.

D 50779

We, in Canada, believe that Canadians can and will vindicate the faith that democracy places in freedom. It is on that faith that our democracy is based. It is in that belief that Canada lives. It is for each of us to do our part, and to realize that in the troubled world of today it is for us, like the American people of Lincoln's day, to help to decide whether democracy in this nation "or any nation so conceived can long endure".

The Future of Canada

I believe that democracy can endure in Canada. But it will not endure if we take our freedom for granted. It is the duty of every Canadian citizen to help make democracy work. It is the duty of every Canadian citizen, in his personal life; in his rural municipality; in his village or town or city; in his province and in this whole great country to show that he knows that he is democracy. As each citizen stands or fails in the face of his duties, so stands or fails democracy.

The key to the future of Canada is in the hands of every Canadian citizen. You who are before me have taken a solemn oath of allegiance. You have this day become Canadian citizens. The responsibility for the future of Canada is your responsibility. Yours is a great heritage and a great future. We welcome you to that heritage; we count upon you to help make that future.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

for the Prime Minister

D 50780

Citizenship Ceremony, January 3, 1947

I attach a "refurbished" copy of the draft address for this occasion.

In this connection you will wish to know that it is now proposed that Mr. Martin should speak briefly in English and French (3 - 4 minutes maximum) in presenting one group of recipients for Citizenship certificates; and that Hon. Colin Gibson should speak briefly in introducing the second group of recipients.

The accompanying folder contains other miscellaneous material which you may wish to read through.

J.A.G.

28 xii 46

D 50781

Address by the Prime Minister for National Broadcast

- Canadian Citizenship Ceremony
- Ottawa, January 3, 1947; 9.00 p.m., EST

THE CHARACTER OF CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP

Welcome to New Citizens

I speak as a citizen of Canada. On behalf of all Canadian citizens I congratulate you who have just ~~on having~~ received your certificates of citizenship ~~on having~~ become Citizens of Canada. I welcome you into the enjoyment of the rights of ~~full~~ Canadian citizenship. In homes throughout our land thousands of fellow Canadian citizens have been listening with pride to ~~today's~~ tonight's ceremony. I know that all would wish to join ~~with me~~ in these words of greetings and congratulations.

Citizenship is the highest honour a nation can confer upon an individual. ~~Without it, much else is meaningless.~~ It is the reason why one has not been born into this Heritage. There is no country in the world of which its citizens have a greater ~~right~~ reason to be proud than Canada. There are older countries; there are larger countries, but no country in the world holds today a higher place in the esteem of other nations ~~than Canada.~~ To be a citizen of Canada is to hold a ~~privilege~~ passport which will be honoured everywhere.

Some of us who have received certificates tonight have enjoyed those rights ~~since birth~~ all our lives; others only for a time ~~for many years. In our time part.~~

D 50782

heritage of all Canadian citizens. You have to-day become equal partners in that heritage. We know that you are worthy and we welcome you.

~~The First Citizenship Ceremony~~ Character of Canadian Nationhood

~~This~~ The ceremony this evening is a vivid reminder of the character of our nationhood. It has served to bring alive, here in this Capital of Canada, a sense of our historic past and of the beckoning prospect of the future.

~~You~~ We, who are sharing in this ceremony, symbolize in a ~~sense~~ very real way ~~the character of Canada.~~ ~~You~~ We who have received ~~come from many~~ communities throughout Canada, are of many (1) ~~parts of our country and spring from many~~ different origins. (1)

~~We are a scattered people. We are a nation of minorities.~~ But the fact that ~~you are~~ we may be separated one from another by geography ~~or by origin~~ is unimportant. ~~There is one thing that you and we all~~ have in common ~~is~~ There is one thing which binds us together and makes us a people. ~~That~~ is the fact that we are all Canadian citizens. ~~In that common fact - in the pride and the duty of which it is the symbol - lies our unity and our strength.~~

Citizenship Involves ResponsiBilities

I have spoken thus far of welcome, of pride and of privileges. In your new citizenship you will find all of these. I would do less than justice, however, to our common country, less than justice to our citizenship, and much less

D 50783

than justice to you, were I to speak only of these. Canadian citizenship also involves responsibilities. None of us can be good citizens and none of us can be worthy of Canada if we do not assume, in full measure, the responsibilities of citizenship.

Canada, a Country to be proud of

~~One responsibility which all Canadian citizens have is to the good name and reputation of our country.~~ The Canada of to-day has been described as "a supreme act of faith". ~~This~~ Canada ~~was built~~ out of the wilderness, often in defiance of nature, ~~by~~ the courage and vision of men and women. ~~It has grown~~ in living memory from ~~a~~ small and virtually unknown regions of farm and forest to one of the great industrial nations of the world. ~~The~~ men ~~of Canada~~ have served, and thousands have died, ~~valiantly and selflessly in the cause of freedom,~~ and in the name of Canada. ~~Our country and our people have established the highest standards of political, social and individual life.~~ In world affairs our country has ~~a~~ record of responsibility and integrity. ~~Among the nations of the world the record of our country in peace and war has commanded universal respect.~~

D 50784

A Second Responsibility

The responsibility I have spoken of is one that we owe to the good name of our country. It is an obligation which, I think, everyone appreciates. There is, however, a further measure of responsibility which we are apt to overlook. That responsibility arises out of the divisions and differences that exist within Canada and which place an unusual strain on the maintenance of national strength and national unity.

Geographic and Ethnic Differences

~~In one aspect the divisions of which I speak are geographical.~~ Our country is immense; its chief areas of settlement are divided one from another by long distances and by rugged terrain. Many of you who have become Canadian citizens to-day are well aware of this fact, for you have come long distances to join in this ceremony. Some of you are from British Columbia and the Prairies. Some of you are from the Maritimes. ~~Thousands of miles may separate you, just as they separate many Canadians from one another.~~ Those distances, and the geographic differences between the various parts of Canada lead to a diversity of interest and attitude. ~~Distance [illegible] has served to place an emphasis upon ideas which tend to divide rather than to unite. The fabric of our nationhood has thereby been subjected to constant stress and strains.~~

D 50785

In another aspect, the divisions I refer to are social and ethnic. The people of Canada, like you who are in this Supreme Court Chamber to-day, come from many diverse stocks. We differ from one another in religion, in social outlook and in culture.

In the minds of some people these differences in our country and our people are ~~likely~~ thought to be a source of weakness. But they need not be. ~~If we recognize the fact of their existence we can guard against the possible effects of differences in outlook and in local interest.~~ We can, indeed, make of our ~~very~~ differences a source of strength, for they can point the way to the moderation and the spirit of conciliation that is so sorely needed in the world to-day. But to make sure that strength can be built out of possible weakness, we must recognize the special obligations which are placed on all Canadians. Our differences and divisions impose on each one of us a particular duty to be patient, to be tolerant, and to be understanding. We have to realize that if other Canadians see things a little differently than we do, it does not mean that they are wrong or ill-intentioned. We should expect differences and we should respect those differences. If we do expect them, and if we respect and try to understand them, we will be a stronger and better people--and much better citizens of the world.

D 50786

That special responsibility - the responsibility of people who are different in many things, but who are prepared to sink those differences in working together for great ends - is a fundamental obligation of every Canadian citizen. He will be helped in his task if he realizes that his fellows, however differently they may think in some matters, are Canadian citizens too, and that they are working, in their way, for the good of our common country.

<u>The Responsibility of Freedom</u>

too Raw

There is a third responsibility which every Canadian citizen has. It is the most important responsibility of all. It is the responsibility of men and women who are free.

The people of Canada believe that social and political organization is not an end in itself. They believe that it has one purpose and one purpose only -- to enable men and women to live and grow in freedom.

We, in Canada, interpret freedom broadly. On the one hand we mean by freedom the banishment of all those fears which can oppress and paralyze men and rob them of their security. We include freedom, under the rule of law, from the fear of arbitrary restraint and oppression by the state.

D 50787

We include freedom from the fear of oppression by other individuals. We include freedom from those constant perils of war and want and social insecurity.

On the other hand, we include in freedom a positive side. The freedom we have in Canada provides an opportunity for the individual to develop his whole personality. It gives to every citizen the right to live his own life in his own way subject only to the equal right of all his fellows to the same freedom.

Democracy on the Defensive

Our fathers, in the nineteenth century, believed in democracy and in freedom. They believed that freedom and democracy were right, and that because they were right, men had confidence that their rightness would cause freedom and democracy to prevail. Canadians today believe just as strongly in democracy and freedom as did our fathers. If we are to share their confidence we must see that our own belief rests on strong foundations of order and justice and equal rights before the law.

It is far from certain today that freedom and democracy will ultimately prevail throughout the world. It is not certain that they will survive the onslaught of totalitarian dreams of world domination . Systems of society

D 50788

and government, in which there is no freedom, have arisen in our day and have become strong contenders for the allegiance of men in considerable areas of the world. The democratic way of life faces grave competition. In many countries it has fallen before that competition and disappeared. Free government can disappear elsewhere -- yes, even in our country, if we simply take it for granted; if we underestimate the competition which it faces; and if we do not recognize our individual responsibility for the successful working of democracy and for the steadfast defence of freedom.

The Individual in a Democracy

Because democracy is based on the freedom of the individual, it depends on the individual to defend it. It depends on the intelligence, the maturity, the restraint, and the self-discipline of its citizens. It depends upon the recognition by each individual of the equal rights of his fellows and of his own obligation to defend those rights. It depends on every man to show in his own life and by his own conduct, that free men are responsible men; that liberty is not licence; that opportunity does not mean disregard for the rights of others.

D 50789

We, in Canada, believe that Canadians can and will vindicate the faith that democracy places in freedom. It is on that faith that our democracy is based. It is in that belief that Canada lives. It is for each of us to do our part, and to realize that in the troubled world of today it is for us, like the American people of Lincoln's day, to help to decide whether democracy in this nation "or any nation so conceived can long endure".

The Future of Canada

I believe that democracy can endure in Canada. But it will not endure if we take our freedom for granted. It is the duty of every Canadian citizen to help make democracy work. It is the duty of every Canadian citizen, in his personal life; in his rural municipality; in his village or town or city; in his province and in this whole great country to show that he knows that he is democracy. As each citizen stands or fails in the face of his duties, so stands or fails democracy.

The key to the future of Canada is in the hands of every Canadian citizen. You who are before me have taken a solemn oath of allegiance. You have this day become Canadian citizens. The responsibility for the future of Canada is your responsibility. Yours is a great heritage and a great future. We welcome you to that heritage; we count upon you to help make that future.

D 50790

Address by the Prime Minister for National Broadcast

- Canadian Citizenship Ceremony
- Ottawa, January 3, 1947; 9:00 p.m., E. S. T.

THE CHARACTER OF CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP

Welcome to New Citizens

As a citizen of Canada, and ~~in the name~~ of all Canadian citizens, ~~it gives me very great pride and pleasure this evening to extend a cordial welcome to you who have today become Canadian citizens~~ in name and in ~~fact. As I address this word of welcome to you, there are thousands~~ of fellow Canadian citizens in homes throughout ~~the~~ land ~~who~~ have ~~heard~~ with pride ~~the oath~~ of allegiance ~~you have taken~~. I know that all ~~of them~~ join with me in greetings and congratulations.

We who have the name of "Canadian citizen" know that it is a proud title. We know that it is a great privilege to be able to bear it. Canada is a fortunate country. It has been endowed by God with great resources. It is peopled by citizens with energy, intelligence, and a sense of responsibility. In a troubled and unhappy world, it is particularly blessed with peace and plenty. These advantages and all that flows from them are the

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D 50791

CITIZENSHIP

Citizenship is the proudest title attaching to any individual. Citizenship is also the fullest honour which any nation can confer upon the individual within the state. If it is a gift given freely, it has, by that very quality, a responsibility which rests in especial measure upon everyone who receives it.

Citizenship is also the basic expression of the larger loyalties which surround the individual. From the days in which the Apostle Paul was proud to say, "I am a citizen of no mean city", it has been to the local community, as an organized expression of society, that the first civil responsibility has been owed. The Greek city-state carried local patriotism to a high degree; but even in that relatively organized society the local loyalty later gave way to an expanding loyalty. In one sense, that loyalty has been expanding ever since. The fact that science and the ingenuity of man have combined to circumscribe the bounds of distance and the limits of space has brought home to each individual the "Concentric loyalties" which surround him.

There is, now as in the past, the responsibility of the citizen to his local community - the area to which his title of "citizen" properly applies. In Canada, as our civil government has developed, there are certain other responsibilities which attach to individuals as residents of a particular province. Many more responsibilities attach to that area of citizenship in which we are especially interested this

D 50792

evening - and that is to Canada as a whole. Even beyond this area which concerns all the citizens of Canada, for whose benefit and ~~to~~ on whose behalf the general government of Canada proceeds, there are responsibilities as to the fraternity of nations which we know as the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is certainly a high expression of "citizenship" that peoples of half-a-dozen sovereign nations in far-flung parts of the world should share in a common allegiance to the Crown which serves to unite them in an association unique in the history of the world.

There is, finally, a new and evolving loyalty to that general association of nations which has grown out of a titanic conflict for the maintenance of freedom in the world. Canada, in common with more than 50 other freedom-loving nations, has accepted under the Charter of the United Nations, certain obligations. These obligations may be thought of as good citizenship writ large, and carried into the areas of concern as between nation and nation.

If, in our dealings between one individual and another, we recognize the needs of patience, tolerance, and fair play, and if we make this friendly understanding the basis of our individual relationships, may we not also carry the same spirit into our ever-expanding relationships with our neighbour nations? May we not, in this ceremony here this evening, find a renewal of the inspiration which, nearly two centuries ago, began the founding of our nation, based at the b beginning on the equal partnership of two great races and

D 50793

their descendants, and, as the years went by, welcoming into the all-embracing nationality the valiant and the humble of many races. May we not find a rekindling of the vision which enabled the fathers of our country, Providence being their guide, to build better than they knew? May we not find an assurance, which will carry in due season its own rich reward, that our own country, stretching from sea to sea, ~~that Canada~~ carries for all the world a message of friendship, of understanding, of hope?

All of these thoughts are in my mind as I speak of citizenship tonight. For citizenship is not a passing phase, nor any chance observance. It is a part of the very structure of our nation; and by the quality of our citizenship will our nation be judged and respected.

D 50794

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D 50795

C I T I Z E N S H I P

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D 50796

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D 50797

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All of these thoughts are in my mind as I speak of citizenship tonight. For citizenship is not a passing phase, nor any chance observance. It is a part of the very structure of our nations and by the quality of our citizenship will our nation be judged and respected

D 50798

PARAGRAPH B

Character of Canadian Nationhood

The ceremony this evening is a vivid reminder of the character of our nationhood. We, who are sharing in this ceremony, symbolize that character in a very real way. We who have received certificates of citizenship are of many different origins and come from widely scattered communities throughout Canada. ~~But the fact that we may be separated one from another by origin or geography is no longer of significance to our citizenship. There is now one thing which binds us together and makes us a people. It is the fact that we are all Canadian citizens.~~ In that our common citizenship lies our unity and our strength.

PARAGRAPH C

But ~~there has~~ more than has arisen ~~less~~ material growth, courage from the vision of our people ever to ~~strive~~ defend and to extend the frontiers of freedom. They have sought

D 50799

Canada, a Country to be proud of

The Canada of today has been described as "A supreme act of faith". The Canada we know was hewn out of the wilderness, often in defiance of Nature. The vision and courage of men and women have transformed our country almost within living memory from small and virtually unknown regions of forest and farm into one of the great industrial nations of the world. CA + CB

Our country is immense, its chief ~~areas~~ areas of settlement are divided one from another by long distances and by rugged terrain. Many of you who have become Canadian citizens today are well aware of this ~~fact, for you have come long distances to join in this ceremony~~. Some of you are from British Columbia and the Prairies. Some of you are from the Maritimes. Great ~~Those~~ distances, and the ~~geographic~~ differences ~~between~~ the various parts of Canada ~~often lead~~ result in to a diversity of attitude and interest. Of themselves, they ~~Distance has served~~ tend to place an emphasis upon ideas which ~~tend to~~ divide rather than ~~be~~ unite.

In the minds of some people the differences ~~in our country and our people~~ are thought to be a source of weakness. But they need not be. We can, indeed, make of our differences a source of strength, for they can point the

way to the moderation and the spirit of conciliation that is so sorely needed in the world today.

In world affairs our country has ~~an~~ outstanding record of responsibility and integrity. In the name of Canada men and women have ~~voluntarily~~ served, and thousands have died to save the world's freedom.

PARAGRAPH B

D 50801

Character of Canadian Nationhood

The ceremony this evening is a vivid reminder of the character of our nationhood. We, who are sharing in this ceremony, symbolize that character in a very real way. We who have received certificates of citizenship come from widely scattered communities throughout Canada. We are of many different origins.

Over the years, the widely scattered communities have been welded into a single country. In the past divergent racial origins have often divided our people. Newcomers, while severing ties with their original homelands, have often felt no binding claim by the land of their adoption. Today we have a new conception of Canadian citizenship. This new conception of citizenship is designed to bridge the gaps created by geography and by racial distrust. The deeper significance we have given to our citizenship in this new year, will bind us as a people more closely together. In our common citizenship lies our unity and our strength. We will be found more closely together as a people by the emphasis now placed upon our common citizenship.

PARAGRAPH B

D 50802

Character of Canadian Nationhood

~~The ceremony this evening is a vivid reminder of the character of our nationhood.~~ We, who are sharing tonights in this ceremony, symbolize ~~that~~ the character of by Canadian nationhood in a very real way. Those of our number ~~We~~ who have received certificates of citizenship come from widely-scattered communities throughout Canada. Over the years, the ~~widely-scattered~~ communities have been welded into a single country. ~~We are of many different~~ who assembled here are like here, like the people of Canada, are of many different origins. In the past divergent racial origins have repeatedly ~~often~~ been a source of divisions ~~divided our people.~~ Moreover, Newcomers, while severing ties with their original homelands, have often felt no binding claim by the land of their adoption. Today we have established a new conception of Canadian citizenship. ~~This~~ & new conception of citizenship is designed to bridge the gaps created by geography and by racial descent. Canadians ~~We~~ will be bound more closely together as a people by the ~~deeper significance~~ statutory recognition we have given to our Canadian citizenship in this new year. Our unity and our strength will be increased by the ~~emphasis now placed upon~~ deeper significance now given to our common citizenship.

PARAGRAPH E

Citizenship has its ~~duties~~ and its responsibilities. What these may be are, ~~I~~ think, fairly apparent to all who give much thought to such matters. I doubt, however, if many of us begin to realise how wide is the range and how great the opportunity of service which citizenship ~~in~~ Canada affords.

A little over twenty-one years ago, I visited the town ~~in which~~ where I was born and ~~which I~~ spent most of my boyhood years. I had ~~come~~ gone there to attend an Old Boys' Reunion. ~~I chose for~~ The theme of ~~an~~ the address on that occasion was the responsibility ~~implied in being~~ and opportunities a citizen of Canada. Last night I ~~took occasion to~~ read over what ~~had said concerning citizenship in our country.~~ I had said at that time. I sought to define ~~it~~ citizenship in terms of public service. That, ~~in fact,~~ is what ~~in practice~~ active citizenship really comes to mean. (means)

To make ~~more~~ graphic the impression ~~that~~ I wished to leave, I ~~reminded the gathering of the fascination with which~~ described how as boys some of us ~~in our earlier years~~ had found pleasure in throwing ~~a~~ pebbles into a pool and how fascinating it was to watch the ripples of water radiating ~~from the centre to the circumference~~ - expanding circles to the circumference of the pool. In this way I sought to bring home to my friends what experience as a young man had taught me of the opportunities ~~and responsibilities which to the degree to which each was prepared to devote his time to~~ of public service. I pointed out ~~that first of all there~~

PARAGRAPH E- 2

~~was the responsibility to one's immediate~~ opportunity for service first to the local municipality, the town or city, next to the county, and then to the province, and then to the country. Canada as a whole

~~mentioned, that as a citizen we had a duty to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of all, as it was the interest taken by individuals in these several circles that human society was held together, and gave it the opportunity to advance.~~

I went a step further, and pointed out that citizenship in Canada was not confined to the bounds of the Dominion, extensive as they are, and wide as they may be apart; that there was a larger citizenship still ~~for which some share a responsibility, from which we cannot escape and should not wish to escape~~ - namely our citizenship within the British Commonwealth of Nations. ~~Of this I said "How that citizenship has come about is a matter of history, and history is still in the making"~~ What form it was ultimately taking is ours in a large measure to determine.

It was the summer of 1925 when I was speaking.

~~I went on to say that since the war,~~ that was the first great war, an even wider citizenship ~~had come~~ into being. This I described as a kind of world citizenship, a responsibility ~~we owe~~ not only to our country ~~or~~ and to the British Commonwealth ~~of Nations~~, but to other countries as well. It had found expression in the League of Nations, of which our country was a member, and for the government of which

(3)

PARAGRAPH A

D 50805

Welcome to New Citizens

I speak as a citizen of Canada. On behalf of all Canadian citizens I congratulate you who have just become citizens of Canada on having received your certificates of citizenship. I welcome you into the full enjoyment of the rights of Canadian citizenship. Some of us who have received certificates tonight have enjoyed those rights all our lives; others only for a time. In homes throughout our land thousands of fellow Canadian citizens have been listening with pride to tonight's ceremony. I know that all would wish to join in these words of greeting and of congratulation.

Citizenship is the highest honour a nation can confer upon an individual who has not been born into this heritage. There is no country in the world of which its citizens have greater reason to be proud than Canada. There are older countries, there are larger countries, but no country in the world holds today a higher place in the esteem of other nations. To be a citizen of Canada is to hold a passport which will be honoured everywhere.

D 50806

Character of Canadian Nationhood

Tonight's ceremony symbolizes in a very real way the character of Canadian Nationhood. Those of our number who have received certificates of citizenship come from communities widely scattered throughout Canada. Over the years, these widely scattered communities have been welded into a single country. We here, like the people of Canada, are of many different origins. In the past, divergent racial origins have repeatedly been a source of division. Moreover, newcomers, while severing ties with their original homelands, have often felt no binding claim by the land of their adoption. Today, we have established a new conception of Canadian citizenship. The new conception of citizenship is designed to bridge the gaps created by geography and by racial descent. As a people, Canadians will be bound more closely together by the statutory recognition we have given to our Canadian citizenship in this new year. Our unity and our strength will be increased by the deeper significance now given to our common citizenship.

A little over twenty-one years ago, I visited the town where I was born and in which I spent most of my boyhood years. I had come there to attend an Old Boys' Reunion.

PARAGRAPH C

D 50807

Canada, a Country to be proud of

The Canada of today has been described as "A supreme act of faith". The Canada we know was hown out of the wilderness, often in defiance of Nature. In extent, our country is immense. Its chief areas of settlement are divided one from another by long distances and by rugged terrain. Many of you who have become Canadian citizens today are well aware of this. Some of you are from British Columbia and the Prairies. Some are from the Central Provinces Some ~~of you~~ are from the Maritimes. The vision and courage of men and women have transformed our country, almost within living memory, from small and virtually unknown regions of forest and farm into one of the great industrial nations of the world. But more than material growth has arisen from the vision and courage of our people. They have also sought to defend and to extend the frontiers of freedom. More than once, in the name of Canada, men and women have valiantly served, and thousands have died, to save the world's freedom. In world affairs our country has an outstanding record of responsibility and integrity.

To all of us, much of the most Canada is still unknown.

PARAGRAPH D

D 50808

Canada's Contribution in Community Co-operation

Canada was founded on the faith that two of the proudest races in the world, despite barriers of tongue and creed, could work together, in mutual tolerance and mutual respect, to develop a common nationality. Our nationhood is not based on the superiority of a single race, or of a single language.

Into our equal partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, we have admitted thousands who were born of other racial stocks, and who speak other tongues. They, one and all, have sought a homeland where nationhood means not domination and slavery, but equality and freedom. Without the ideal of equality among men, without the vision of human brotherhood, the Canadian nation could never have come into being.

The unity of Canada is vital to the continued existence of Canada. But the unity of Canada belongs not ~~only~~ alone to Canada, it belongs to mankind. Only by extending throughout the world the ideals of mutual tolerance, of racial co-operation, and of equality among men, which form the basis of Canada's nationhood, can nationality come to serve humanity. Only as nationality serves humanity, can mankind hope to

PARAGRAPH D - 2

substitute co-operation for conflict, in the relations between the nations of the world. In making nationality the servant, and not the master of Humanity, Canada today is giving to the world its greatest hope for the future.

a little over 25 years ago, I visited the town where I was born and in which I spent most of my boyhood years. I had come there to attend an Old Boys' Reunion.

The theme of my address on that occasion was the opportunities and responsibilities implied in being a citizen of Canada. Last night, I read over what I had said at that time. I then sought to define Citizenship in terms of public service. That is what active citizenship really means.

To make graphic the impression I wished to leave, I described how, as boys, some of us had found pleasure in throwing pebbles into a pool, and how fascinating it was to watch the ripples of water radiating in ever-expanding circles to the circumference of the pool. In this way, I sought to bring home ~~to my friends what experience as a young man had taught me of~~ citizenship in terms of the opportunities of public service. I pointed out the opportunity for service, first of all, to the local municipality, the town or the city; next, to the county; then, to one's province; and then to Canada as a whole. As the circumference of the circle of opportunity expands for the citizen, so do his duties and his responsibilities. It is the interest taken by individuals in the ~~several~~ expanding circles of citizenship that holds human society together.

In the address I made at that time, I went a step further. I pointed out that citizenship in Canada was not confined to the bounds of the Dominion, extensive as they are. I said that there was a larger citizenship still, namely, our citizenship within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

E

D 50810

a little over 21 years ago, I visited the town where I was born and in which I spent most of my boyhood years. I had come there to attend an Old Boys' Reunion.

The theme of my address on that occasion was the opportunities and responsibilities implied in being a citizen of Canada. Last night, I read over what I had said at that time. I then sought to define Citizenship in terms of public service. That is what active citizenship really means.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 50811

It was the summer of 1925 when I was speaking. That was after the first Great War. I went on to say that, since that war, an even wider citizenship was coming into being. This I described as a kind of world citizenship, which was bringing with it a responsibility not only to our own country and to the countries of the British Commonwealth, but to other countries as well. In other words, Canadian citizenship is not a citizenship which relates itself merely to the immediate community in which we live. As Canadians, we have a national citizenship; a Commonwealth citizenship, and a world citizenship. Each carries with it a certain responsibility, a responsibility which it is our duty to recognize, and our privilege to assert.

Since 1925, Canada, in common with many other nations, has passed through the anguish and agony of another world war. Our whole experience as a nation from that time to this has emphasized the ever-widening ~~meaning~~ significance of Canadian citizenship. The magnificent manner in which Canada measured up to her responsibilities in both world wars, the splendid part our country took in helping to bring the United Nations into being, our effective participation in its various activities, are prophetic of the increasingly important part Canada may be expected to have in shaping the world of the future.

PARAGRAPH E-3

D 50812

we had assumed a share. I said that this, too, was a responsibility we could not escape. It was, in fact, a part of our own making, our own representatives at the Peace Conference had helped to bring it into being, and to give it form and substance. Moreover, they had demanded that Canada should be a member only really of the League not as a part of the British Empire, but of and in her own right. In other words, ~~under~~ Canadian citizenship, ~~we have~~ not ~~merely~~ a citizenship which relates itself merely to the immediate community in which we live. We (as Canadians) have a national citizenship; a Commonwealth citizenship and a world citizenship, ~~x~~ Each ~~of which~~ carries with it a certain responsibility, a responsibility which it is our duty to recognize and our privilege to assert.

Canadian citizenship in its highest form can only be measured by what best will serve the good of our own country, the good of the nations of the Commonwealth, the good of the family of nations; in a word, what, in the last analysis, will best serve the well-being of mankind.

Since 1925 ~~these words or something equivalent to them were spoken~~, Canada, in common with many other nations, has passed through the anguish and agony ~~trials and terrors~~ of another world war. ~~There is not a line in what was then said that has not served to~~ Our whole experience as a nation to these years ever-widening and emphasize the truth of the ~~ever-growing~~ meaning of Canadian citizenship. ~~Fortunately in~~ The magnificent manner in which Canada measured up to ~~the greatness~~

D 50813

~~of~~ her responsibilities in both world wars, ~~in~~ the splendid part ~~she~~ has ~~played~~ in helping to ~~bring into being~~ the new ~~United Nations Organization~~ and the part she has taken as ~~a member of the Assembly of the United Nations, in the work of the Council as a member of the atomic commission and other associated bodies, there is prophetic evidence of the increasingly helpful part our country~~ may be expected to ~~play in helping to shape the future of the world.~~

From our national citizenship, our Commonwealth citizenship, our world citizenship, we glimpse something of the vision of the world that is to be.

The circumference is now the defining circle of our international relations. As a country, as a nation, we have arrived at man's estate and it is for us to do our part in world affairs.

As citizens we now see that our opportunity of service in world affairs is vastly greater than we had ever thought or dreamt.

~~(The ideal of peace and good will is the ultimate aim of all true citizenship.)~~

~~(END UP SOMETHING LIKE THIS:)~~

~~The future of Canada is in the hands of her citizens.~~ We who today have become Canadian citizens in a truer and larger sense than ever before have responsibility

D 50814

for Canada's future which is also a greater responsibility than ever. Ours is a great heritage. Canada's is a great future. We welcome all who today have come into that heritage. We count upon all to make the future what we hope it may be.

In this ceremony this evening, ~~xhx~~ may we not find the renewal of the inspiration which, nearly two centuries ago, began the founding of our nation. Based at the beginning on equal partnership of two great nations and of their descendants, and, as the years went by, ...

omit

CONCLUSION

D 50815

I have spoken of citizenship in terms of public service and in terms of responsibility. We who have today become Canadian citizens in a truer and larger sense than ever before have a responsibility for Canada's future which is also a greater responsibility than ever. The future of Canada is a great heritage for all who will share in it. We welcome all who today have come into that heritage as citizens of Canada.

This ceremony in Canada's capital this evening is but one of a number which throughout the land are being held to commemorate the statutory recognition of Canadian citizenship. We can have no higher hope than that in these several ceremonies all the citizens of Canada will find a renewing of the inspiration, the courage, and the vision by which our nation has been built. This hope, and this inspiration will help us all to march on to new frontiers of useful achievement for the well-being of our fellow-men.

CONCLUSION

D 50816

I have spoken of citizenship in terms of public service and in terms of responsibility. We who have today become Canadian citizens in a truer and larger sense than ever before have a responsibility for Canada's future which is also a greater responsibility than ever. The future of Canada is a great heritage for all who will share in it. We welcome all who today have come into that heritage as citizens of Canada.

This ceremony in Canada's capital this evening is but one of a number which throughout the land are being held to commemorate the statutory recognition of Canadian citizenship. We can have no higher hope than that in these several ceremonies all the citizens of Canada will find a renewing of the inspiration, the courage, and the vision by which our nation has been built. This hope, and this inspiration will help us all to march on to new frontiers of useful achievement for the well-being of our fellow-men.

D 50817

It was the summer of 1925 when I was speaking. That was seven years after the first Great War. I went on to say that an even wider citizenship was then coming into being. This I described as a kind of world citizenship, which was bringing with it duties and responsibilities not only to our own country, and to the countries of the British Commonwealth, but to other countries as well. In other words, ~~and to express its conception~~ as we now are able to vizualize it, Canadian citizenship is not a citizenship which relates itself merely to the immediate community in which we live: as Canadians, we have a national citizenship; a Commonwealth citizenship, and a world citizenship. Each carries with it a certain responsibility, a responsibility which it is our duty to recognize, and our privilege to assert.

Canada's Part in Shaping the World of the Future

Since 1925, Canada, in common with most other nations, has passed through the anguish and agony of another world war. From that time to this our whole experience as a nation has emphasized the ever-widening significance of Canadian citizenship. The magnificent manner in which, in both world wars, Canada measured up to her responsibilities, the splendid part taken by our country in helping to bring the United Nations into being, our effective participation in the various activities of the United Nations, are

The rapidity with which our world citizenship has developed is one of the most amazing developments of all time.

in ~~its~~ the various activities of the United Nations, are prophetic of the increasingly important part Canada may be expected to have in shaping the world of the future.

D 50819

~~Suggested~~ Conclusion

Canadian citizenship is a great heritage. All over our country, in this first week of the new year, we are welcoming new citizens into that heritage. All of us, new citizens and old alike, have become Canadian citizens in a truer and a larger sense than ever before. We have a responsibility for Canada's future which is likewise greater than ever.

Whether we like it or not,
The future of our country is wrapped up with the future of all countries. In this atomic age, the alternatives which face Mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. Canada will help to decide in which of these opposing directions Humanity will ~~travel.~~ move. Canada's decision and Canada's influence among the nations of the world will be determined by her citizens, ~~If~~ so long as our citizens continue to possess the vision and courage of the founders of our nation, ~~if they~~ continue to cherish the high ideals of our common citizenship, our country will make a great, and it may be a decisive contribution to the preservation of bilingual freedom, and to the establishment of ~~lasting~~ enduring peace ~~among men and nations.~~ That is the heaviest responsibility ~~and the highest privilege~~ of Canadian citizenship.

Omit

Canada's influence will be in the right direction.

So long as we continue

(5)
D 50820

National Citizenship Ceremony

Supreme Court Building
Ottawa, January 3, - 1947

Address by
Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

Welcome to New Citizens

I speak as a citizen of Canada. On behalf of all Canadian citizens, I congratulate the new citizens who have just received their certificates on having become citizens of Canada. I welcome you into the full enjoyment of the rights of Canadian citizenship. Some of us who have received certificates tonight have enjoyed those rights all our lives; others only for a time. In homes throughout our land, thousands of our fellow-citizens have been listening with pride to tonight's ceremony. I know that all would wish to join in these words of greeting and of congratulation.

Citizenship is the highest honour a nation can confer upon an individual who has not been born into this heritage. Without citizenship much else is meaningless. There is no country in the world of which its citizens have greater reason to be proud than Canada. There are older countries, there are larger countries, but no country holds today a higher place in the esteem of other nations. To be a citizen of Canada is to hold a passport which will be honoured everywhere.

D 50821

Character of Canadian Nationhood

Tonight's ceremony symbolizes in a very real way the character of Canadian Nationhood. Those of our number who have received certificates of citizenship come from communities widely scattered throughout Canada. Over the years, these widely scattered communities have been welded into a single country. We here, like the people of Canada, generally are of many different origins. In the past, divergent racial origins have repeatedly been a source of division. Moreover, newcomers, while severing ties with their original homelands, have often felt no binding claim by the land of their adoption. Today, we have established a new conception of Canadian citizenship. The new conception of citizenship is designed to bridge the gaps created by geography and by racial descent. As a people, Canadians will be bound more closely together by the statutory recognition accorded our Canadian citizenship in this new year. Our unity and our strength will be increased by the deeper significance now given to our common citizenship.

D 50822

The Canada of Today

The Canada of today has been described as "a supreme act of faith". The Canada we know was hewn out of the wilderness, often in defiance of Nature. In extent, our country is immense. Its chief areas of settlement are divided, one from another, by long distances and by rugged terrain. Many of you who today have become Canadian citizens are well aware of this. Some of you are from British Columbia and the Prairies. Some are from the Central Provinces; some from the Maritimes. To all of us the most of Canada is still unknown.

The vision and courage of men and women have transformed our country, almost within living memory, from small and virtually unknown regions of forest and farm into one of the great industrial nations of the world. But more than material growth has arisen from the vision and courage of our people. They have also sought, continuously, to defend and to extend the frontiers of freedom. More than once, in the name of Canada, the sons and daughters of Canada have valiantly served, and thousands have died, to save the world's freedom. In world affairs our country has an outstanding record of responsibility and integrity.

D 50823

Canada's Contribution in Community Co-operation

Our nationhood is not based on the superiority of a single race, or of a single language. Canada was founded on the faith that two of the proudest races in the world, despite barriers of tongue and creed, could work together, in mutual tolerance and mutual respect, to develop a common nationality.

Into our equal partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, we have admitted thousands who were born of other racial stocks, and who speak other tongues. They, one and all, have sought a homeland where nationhood means not domination and slavery, but equality and freedom. Without the ideal of equality among men, without the vision of human brotherhood, the Canadian nation could never have come into being.

The unity of Canada is vital to the continued existence of Canada. But the unity of Canada belongs not to Canada alone, it belongs to mankind. Only by extending throughout the world the ideals of mutual tolerance, of racial co-operation, and of equality among men, which form the basis of Canada's nationhood, can nationality come to serve Humanity.

D 50824

Only as nationality serves Humanity can mankind hope to substitute co-operation for conflict, in the relations between the nations of the world. In making nationality the servant, and not the master in world affairs, Canada today is giving to mankind its greatest hope for the future.

The Duties and Responsibilities of Citizenship

Let me, before I conclude, say just a word or two about the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship. For citizenship is not any chance observance or mere obligation of the moment. It is part of the very structure of our nation. On the degree to which our citizens intelligently use their opportunities will depend our country's future; and, perhaps, in larger measure than we suppose, the possible future of other lands.

A little over twenty-one years ago, I visited the town where I was born, and in which I spent most of my boyhood years. I had gone there to attend an Old Boys' Reunion. The theme of my address on that occasion was the opportunities and responsibilities implied in being a Citizen of Canada. Last night, I read over what I had said at that time. I then sought to define Citizenship in terms of public service. That is what citizenship, as something vital, really means: public service in one form or another, in one sphere of activity or another.

Expanding Circles of Citizenship

To make graphic the impression I wished to leave, I recalled how, when very young, some of us had found pleasure in throwing pebbles into a pond, and how fascinating it was to watch the ripples of water radiating in ever-expanding circles to the pond's circumference. In this way I sought to bring home the opportunities of citizenship in terms of service to the public. I pointed out the opportunity for service, first of all to the local municipality, the town or the city, and to the county in which one lived; then, thinking of expanding areas, to one's province; and then to Canada as a whole. I sought as well to bring home the truth that, as the circumference of the circle of opportunity expands for the citizen, so do his duties and his responsibilities. It is the interest taken by individuals in the expanding circles of citizenship that holds human society together.

In the address I made at that time, I went a step further. I pointed out that citizenship in Canada was not confined to the bounds of the Dominion, extensive as they are. I said that we enjoyed a larger citizenship still, namely, our citizenship within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Revised
D 50826

It was the summer of 1925 when I was speaking. That was seven years after the first Great War. I went on to say that an even wider citizenship was then coming into being. This I described as a kind of world citizenship, which was bringing with it for us duties and responsibilities not only to our own country, and to the countries of the British Commonwealth, but to other countries as well. In other words, as we now are able to vizualize it, Canadian citizenship is not a citizenship which relates itself merely to the immediate community in which we live: as Canadians, we have a national citizenship; a Commonwealth citizenship, and a world citizenship. Each carries with it a certain responsibility, a responsibility which it is our duty to recognize, and our privilege to assert.

Canada's Part in Shaping the World of the Future

Since 1925, Canada, in common with most other nations, has passed through the anguish and agony of another world war. From that time to this, our whole experience as a nation has emphasized the ever-widening significance of Canadian citizenship. The rapidity with which our world citizenship has been achieved is one of the most amazing developments of all time. The magnificent manner in which, in both world wars, Canada measured up to her responsibilities, the splendid part taken by our country in helping to bring the United Nations into being, our effective participation

D 50827

of the United Nations in the various activities, are prophetic of the increasingly important part Canada may be expected to have in shaping the world of the future.

Whether we like it or not, the future of our country is wrapped up with the future of all countries. In this atomic age, the alternatives which face Mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. Canada will help to decide in which of the opposing directions Humanity will move. So long as our citizens continue to possess the vision and courage of the founders of our nation, Canada's influence will be in the right direction. So long as we continue to cherish the high ideals of our common citizenship, our country will make a great, and it may be a decisive contribution to the preservation of human freedom, and to the establishment of enduring peace. That is the largest opportunity and the heaviest responsibility of Canadian citizenship.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM for Mr. Pickersgill:

On the 2nd reading of the Bill Mr. Paul Martin said:

"Under this Bill we are seeking to establish a basic Canadian citizenship which will be the fundamental status upon which the rights and privileges of Canadians will depend."

RGR

D 50828

D 50829

N.

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Published at 136 Sparks St.

What Canadian Citizenship Means

An outline of the new act and its effect when it becomes operative on New Year's day.

On the first of January, 1947, The Canadian Citizenship Act comes into force. Thereafter, the citizens of this country can say that they are Canadian citizens. They can rejoice that their status, as citizens with all the rights of citizenship in an autonomous country exercising all the powers of a sovereign state, has at last received statutory recognition.

A short study of the background, both historical and legal, of this act of parliament, and a valuable description of its provisions has been given in a little book, "Canadian Citizenship and Our Wider Loyalties," by Judge W. J. Lindal of Winnipeg.

Canadian citizens, says Judge Lindal, will fall under the act within three divisions: the natural-born, those that will become citizens on the act's coming into force, and those that will later become citizens by applying for certificates of citizenship.

Natural-born citizens are divided by the act into two classes: those born before, and those born after its coming into force. A person born before is natural-born if (a) he was born in Canada and has not since become an alien, or if (b) he was born outside Canada of a father either born in Canada and not since become an alien, or else a British subject domiciled in Canada, provided that he himself has not become an alien and is either living in Canada or, if elsewhere, is a minor. A person born after the act's coming into force will be natural born if (a) he is born in Canada, or if (b) he is born outside Canada of a father who is a Canadian citizen provided that the birth is registered at a commonwealth consulate or with the Secretary of State of Canada within two years.

* * *

Three classes of persons, other than the natural-born, will become Canadian citizens on January 1: all persons who already hold naturalization papers, who have not become aliens since getting them, all persons from other parts of the commonwealth who have resided in Canada for over five years, and all wives of men who would have been Canadian citizens if the act had come into effect immediately before their marriage.

Two classes of persons can become Canadian citizens by later compliance with the terms of the act: British subjects from other countries, and aliens. British subjects, no matter how long they live here, will not automatically become Canadian citizens—they must ask for citizenship, and qualify for it. Aliens must ask for citizenship, and qualify for it, in a manner not much different from the present way in which they apply for naturalization certificates.

The same personal qualifications for citizenship are asked of British subjects as of aliens, and are four in number. Good character is the first. The second is an adequate knowledge of English or French, or if that is lacking, then twenty years continuous residence in Canada. The third is a new qualification—"an adequate knowledge of the responsibilities and privileges of Canadian citizenship"—and the Secretary of State is given authority to arrange that instruction concerning these points be available to applicants. The fourth is an intention either to reside permanently in Canada or to enter into the service of its government.

In addition, there are two residence qualifications, one being that the applicant has been lawfully admitted to Canada for permanent residence, and the other that he has resided continuously in Canada for one year immediately preceding the date of the application, and has resided here for at least four of the preceding five years as well, making a total residence of at least five years.

* * *

It should be pointed out that the application arrangements themselves are made easier in several ways for British subjects, and that it is not necessary for them to appear before a judge for a hearing on their applications, nor for them subsequently to take the oath of allegiance.

But, Judge Lindal points out, Canadian citizens will be more than just that—they will be British subjects as well. Section 26 of the act reads: "A Canadian citizen is a British subject." Such an enactment is new in the commonwealth. Canada is the only member of it to have created this dual citizenship.

There are two reasons for it. One is largely a matter of legislative mechanics. The term "British subject" appears over and over again throughout the mass of federal and provincial statutes, and even in municipal by-laws, and the routine task of striking it out and replacing it by the term "Canadian citizen" would be enormous. But, more than that, the vast majority of Canadians want the commonwealth relationship to continue, both on grounds of sentiment, and of the several important advantages it brings.

D 50830

Citizenship is the highest honour that can be bestowed on any man or woman. It is a gift of the nation as a whole. It gives the status to equality with your fellowmen in all that relates to your rights in the community. It gives you standing when you go abroad.

For release when delivered.

D 50831

National Citizenship Ceremony

Supreme Court Building
Ottawa, January 3, - 1947

Address by

Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

Welcome to New Citizens

I speak as a citizen of Canada. On behalf of all Canadian citizens, I congratulate the new citizens who have just received their certificates of citizenship on having become citizens of Canada. I welcome you into the full enjoyment of the rights of Canadian citizenship. Some of us who have received certificates tonight have enjoyed those rights all our lives; others only for a time. In homes throughout our land, thousands of our fellow citizens have been listening with pride to tonight's ceremony. I know that all would wish to join in these words of greeting and of congratulation.

Citizenship is the highest honour a nation can confer upon an individual who has not been born into this heritage. Without citizenship much else is meaningless. There is no country in the world of which its citizens have greater reason to be proud than Canada. There are older countries, there are larger countries, but no country holds today a higher place in the esteem of other nations. To be a citizen of Canada is to hold a passport which will be honoured everywh

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D 50833

The Canada of Today

The Canada of today has been described as "a supreme act of faith". The Canada we knew was hewn out of the wilderness, often in defiance of Nature. In extent, our country is immense. Its chief areas of settlement are divided, one from another, by long distances and by rugged terrain. Many of you who today have become Canadian citizens are well aware of this. Some of you are from British Columbia and the Prairies. Some are from the Central Provinces; some from the Maritimes. To all of us the most of Canada is still unknown.

The vision and courage of men and women have transformed our country, almost within living memory, from small and virtually unknown regions of forest and farm into one of the great industrial nations of the world. But more than material growth has arisen from the vision and courage of our people. They have also sought, continuously, to defend and to extend the frontiers of freedom. More than once, in the name of Canada, the sons and daughters of Canada have valiantly served, and thousands have died, to save the world's freedom. In world affairs our country has an outstanding record of responsibility and integrity.

D 50834

Canada's Contribution in Community Co-operation

Our nationhood is not based on the superiority of a single race, or of a single language. Canada was founded on the faith that two of the proudest races in the world, despite barriers of tongue and creed, could work together, in mutual tolerance and mutual respect, to develop a common nationality.

Into our equal partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, we have admitted thousands who were born of other racial stocks, and who speak other tongues. They, one and all, have sought a homeland where nationhood means not domination and slavery, but equality and freedom. Without the ideal of equality among men, without the vision of human brotherhood, the Canadian nation could never have come into being.

The unity of Canada is vital to the continued existence of Canada. But the unity of Canada belongs not to Canada alone, it belongs to mankind. Only by extending throughout the world the ideals of mutual tolerance, of racial co-operation, and of equality among men, which form the basis of Canada's nationhood, can nationality come to serve Humanity. Only as nationality serves Humanity can mankind

D 50835

hope to substitute co-operation for conflict, in the relations between the nations of the world. In making nationality the servant, and not the master in world affairs, Canada today is giving to mankind its greatest hope for the future.

The Duties and Responsibilities of Citizenship

Let me, before I conclude, say just a word or two about the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship. For citizenship is not any chance observance or mere obligation of the moment. It is part of the very structure of our nation. On the degree to which our citizens intelligently use their opportunities will depend our country's future; and, perhaps, in larger measure than we suppose, the possible future of other lands.

A little over twenty-one years ago, I visited the town where I was born, and in which I spent most of my boyhood years. I had gone there to attend an Old Boys' Reunion. The theme of my address on that occasion was the opportunities and responsibilities implied in being a Citizen of Canada. Last night, I read over what I had said at that time. I then sought to define Citizenship in terms of public service. That is what citizenship, as something vital, really means:- public service in one form or another, in one sphere of activity or another.

D 50836

Expanding Circles of Citizenship

To make graphic the impression I wished to leave, I recalled how, when very young, some of us had found pleasure in throwing pebbles into a pond, and how fascinating it was to watch the ripples of water radiating in ever expanding circles to the pond's circumference. In this way I sought to bring home the opportunities of citizenship in terms of service to the public. I pointed out the opportunity for service, first of all to the local municipality, the town or the city, and to the county in which one lived; then, thinking of expanding areas, to one's province; and then to Canada as a whole. I sought as well to bring home the truth that, as the circumference of the circle of opportunity expands for the citizen, so do his duties and his responsibilities. It is the interest taken by individuals in the expanding circles of citizenship that holds human society together.

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D 50837

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responsibilities, the splendid part taken by our country in helping to bring the United Nations into being, our effective participation in the various activities of the United Nations, are prophetic of the increasingly important part Canada may be expected to have in shaping the world of the future.

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For release when delivered.

D 50839

National Citizenship Ceremony

Supreme Court Building
Ottawa, January 3, - 1947

Address by

Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

Welcome to New Citizens

I speak as a citizen of Canada. On behalf of all Canadian citizens, I congratulate the new citizens who have just received their certificates of citizenship on having become citizens of Canada. I welcome you into the full enjoyment of the rights of Canadian citizenship. Some of us who have received certificates tonight have enjoyed those rights all our lives; others only for a time. In homes throughout our land, thousands of our fellow citizens have been listening with pride to tonight's ceremony. I know that all would wish to join in these words of greeting and of congratulation.

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D 50841

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D 50842

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D 50843

hope to substitute co-operation for conflict, in the relations between the nations of the world. In making nationality the servant, and not the master in world affairs, Canada today is giving to mankind its greatest hope for the future.

The Duties and Responsibilities of Citizenship

Let me, before I conclude, say just a word or two about the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship. For citizenship is not any chance observance or mere obligation of the moment. It is part of the very structure of our nation. On the degree to which our citizens intelligently use their opportunities will depend our country's future; and, perhaps, in larger measure than we suppose, the possible future of other lands.

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D 50846

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PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

D 50847

Date JAN 4 - 1947

Subject

Mr. King No. 1 Canadian As Official Ceremony Honors Citizenship Act

By WARREN BALDWIN

OTTAWA, Jan. 3 (Staff).—Prime Minister of Canada for 20 years, Ontario-born W. L. Mackenzie King tonight received first documentary proof that he is a Canadian citizen. He took his place at the head of the line of 26 applicants grouped before Chief Justice Thibaudeau Rinfret in Canada's walnut-paneled Supreme Court chamber in the ceremony which put the new Citizenship Act into operation.

There is still some wrangling over exact interpretation of the act passed by parliament at its last session but there was no doubt of what the carefully planned procedure within the court chamber had been designed to mean. In the words of the Prime Minister it was the ushering in of a "new conception of citizenship designed to bridge the gap created by geography and by racial descent."

From the Prime Minister to the Polish-born mother of a Canadian Victoria Cross winner who gave his life for her adopted country in the war, the applicants were picked to bridge these gaps.

Many Countries

Palestine, Lithuania, Germany, Russia, Romania, Norway, Yugoslavia and the United States were all represented by the birth certificates of the applicants but they all received an identical document from the hands of the chief justice.

The oath of allegiance was taken by 12 "new Canadians" and 14 "old Canadians."

"Our nationhood," Mr. King declared in the address which followed the ceremony, "is not based on the superiority of a single race or of a single language. Canada was founded on the faith that two of the proudest races in the world, despite barriers of tongue and creed, could work together in mutual tolerance and mutual respect, to develop a common nationality."

It may be doubtful whether Mr. King felt very different after his investiture as a Canadian citizen. If a double ordeal under Kleig lights for the benefit of movie and still cameras had made him uncomfortablely warm he didn't show it to any marked extent.

But there was no doubt of the impression on some of those who followed him of this making of new citizens as they gathered before the seven ermine-bedecked judges. From the solemn pronouncement of the chief justice to the new Canadian anthem written by Percy J. Philip, New York Times parliamentary correspondent in Ottawa, the evening was planned to bring home the concept of:

"A nation where all men are free
"In harmony from sea to sea."

Dress Rehearsal

It was all a very serious business, too, for the stage managers who organized a dress rehearsal for the benefit of the cast as well as the photographers earlier in the day. Mr. King himself turned up for the rehearsal, together with Hon. Paul Martin who was chiefly responsible for the Citizenship Act as Secretary of State, and Hon. Colin Gibson who officiated as the present citizenship minister.

Rehearsals, even dress rehearsals, are inclined to be rather tedious affairs and it was obviously not the intention of the stage management that Mr. King should go through his part. The Prime Minister, however, was determined to play his full part. He was not content with being given his cue for evening. He insisted on receiving a piece of paper to represent his new certificate and bowed low before a rather embarrassed civil servant before he resumed his seat.

Then, when all other applicants had gone through the motions he took his place at a dead microphone prepared to carry through to the bitter end. However, at this point it was suggested that he might be relieved of further duties under the Kleig lights.

16 Ceremonies Held

Health Minister Martin told tonight's gathering that the ceremony inaugurated a number of such ceremonies which would be held in some 16 cities across the country.

"All of these ceremonies have been arranged to mark the coming into effect of the statute which gives us the right to call ourselves Canadian citizens."

"There are two main purposes underlying the Canadian Citizenship Act," said Mr. Martin. "The first purpose is to define who a Canadian citizen is, and how one becomes a Canadian citizen. Second, to establish a community of status for all our people which will bring them together as Canadians."

Before presenting certificates in proof of citizenship to Mr. King and others, Chief Justice Rinfret said the Fathers of Confederation had laid the foundation "for our freedom and our opportunity."

Loyalty and Sacrifice

"Their hope for Canada rested not upon a single generation nor upon a single race, nor yet upon a dull political uniformity. So it has come to be that this nation has been enriched by the loyalty and sacrifice of persons who have come from many lands and traditions.

"To each this nation has given an opportunity to live and grow and share in the common weal. From each Canada has accepted the gifts of diverse cultures, and made them into an enduring heritage. From sea to sea this rich inheritance is yours, as it is mine, because we are Canadian."

Mr. King slowly walked up to receive certificate No. 1 from the chief justice. He was followed by 25 others.

In administering the oath of allegiance to the "new" Canadians, Chief Justice Rinfret said:

"Whatever rights and privileges pertain to Canadian citizenship are yours as long as you faithfully fulfil what you now undertake. But I would be remiss in my duty to you if I did not remind you that every right enjoyed begets a corresponding duty, every measure of freedom demands an equal measure of self-control, and every benefit of equality requires the acceptance of mutual responsibility. It is only

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as you are willing fully to accept these obligations that the common good, your welfare and my welfare, and the welfare of our children, can be achieved."

Mankind's Greatest Hope

Prime Minister King told the gathering at the ceremony that "in making nationality the servant, and not the master in world affairs, Canada today is giving to mankind its greatest hope for the future."

Mr. King said Canada's nationhood was not based on the superiority of a single race, or of a single language.

"Canada was founded on the faith that two of the proudest races in the world, despite barriers of tongue and creed, could work together, in mutual tolerance and respect, to develop a common nationality.

"Into our equal partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, we have admitted thousands who were born of other racial stocks, and who speak other tongues. They, one and all, have sought a homeland where nationhood means not domination and slavery, but equality and freedom.

Ideal and Vision

"Without the ideal of equality among men, without the vision of human brotherhood, the Canadian nation could never have come into being.

"The unity of Canada is vital to the continued existence of Canada. But the unity of Canada belongs not to Canada alone, it belongs to mankind. Only by extending throughout the world the ideals of mutual tolerance, of racial co-operation, and of equality among men, which form the basis of Canada's nationhood, can nationality come to serve humanity.

"Only as nationality serves humanity can mankind hope to substitute co-operation for conflict, in relations between the nations of the world."

Mr. King said the new Citizenship Act, passed at the last session of parliament, would bring Canadians more closely together.

"In the past, divergent racial origins have repeatedly been a source of division," he said. "Moreover, newcomers, while severing ties with their original homelands, have often felt no binding claim by the land of their adoption.

New Conception

"Today, we have established a new conception of Canadian citizenship. The new conception of citizenship is designed to bridge the gaps created by geography and by racial descent. As a people, Canadians will be bound more closely together by the statutory recognition accorded our Canadian citizenship in this new year. Our unity and our strength will be increased by the deeper significance now given to our common citizenship."

Referring to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, Mr. King recalled how 21 years ago he had returned to his home town of Kitchener, Ont., to address an old boys' reunion. In his speech he had likened citizenship to ripples of water radiating in ever-expanding circles on a pond's circumference.

"I sought . . . to bring home the truth that, as the circumference of the circle of opportunity expands for the citizen, so do his duties and his responsibilities," said Mr. King. "It is the interest taken by individuals in the expanding circle of citizenship that holds human society together.

World Circle

"I went on to say that an even wider citizenship was then coming into being. This I described as a kind of world citizenship, which was bringing with it for us duties and responsibilities not only to our own country, and to the countries of the British Commonwealth, but to other countries as well."

Since that speech was made in 1925 the world had gone through another war.

"From that time to this our whole experience as a nation has emphasized the ever-widening significance of Canadian citizenship," he said. "The rapidity with which our world citizenship has been achieved here is one of the most amazing developments of all times.

"The magnificent manner in which, in both world wars, Canada measured up to her responsibilities, the splendid part taken by our country in helping to bring the United Nations into being, our effective participation in the various activities of the United Nations, are prophetic of the increasingly important part Canada may be expected to have in shaping the world of the future."

All Countries Concerned

He continued:

"Whether we like it or not, the future of our country is wrapped up with the future of all countries. In this atomic age, the alternatives which face mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. Canada will help decide in which of these opposing directions humanity will move.

"So long as our citizens continued to possess the vision and courage of the founders of our nation, Canada's influence will be in the right direction. So long as we continue to cherish the high ideals of our common citizenship, our country will make a great, and, it may be, a decisive contribution to the preservation of human freedom, and, to the establishment of enduring peace. That is the largest opportunity and the heaviest responsibility of Canadian citizenship."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date JAN 4 - 1947

D 50849

Subject

Text Of Address By Prime Minister King

Recipients Of Citizenship Certificates Welcomed by PM At National Ceremony Here

Following is the text of the address delivered by Prime Minister King last night at the national citizenship ceremony in welcoming the new Canadian citizens:

I speak as a citizen of Canada. On behalf of all Canadian citizens, I congratulate the new citizens who have just received their certificates of citizenship on having become citizens of Canada. I welcome you into the full enjoyment of the rights of Canadian citizenship. Some of us who have received certificates tonight have enjoyed those rights all our lives; others only for a time. In homes throughout our land, thousands of our fellow citizens have been listening with pride to tonight's ceremony. I know that all would wish to join in these words of greeting and of congratulation.

Citizenship is the highest honor a nation can confer upon an individual who has not been born into this heritage. Without citizenship much else is meaningless. There is no country in the world of which its citizens have geater reason to be proud than Canada. There are older countries, there are larger countries, but no country holds today a higher place in the esteem of other nations. To be a citizen of Canada is to hold a passport which will be honored everywhere.

Character of Nationhood

Tonight's ceremony symbolizes in a very real way the character of Canadian nationhood. Those of our number who have received certificates of citizenship come from communities widely scattered throughout Canada. Over the years, these widely scattered communities have been welded into a single country. We here, like the people of Canada generally, are of different origins. In the past, divergent racial origins have repeatedly been a source of division. Moreover, newcomers, while severing ties with their original homelands, have often felt no binding claim by the land of their adoption. Today, we have established a new conception of Canadian citizenship. The new conception of citizenship is designed to bridge the gaps created by geography and by racial descent. As a people, Canadians will be bound more closely together by the statutory recognition accorded our Canadian citizenship in this new year. Our unity and our strength will be increased by the deper significance now given to our common citizenship.

Canada of Today

The Canada of today has been described as "a supreme act of faith." The Canada we know was hewn out of the wilderness, often in defiance of nature. In extent, our country is immense. Its chief areas of settlement are divided, one from another, by long distances and by rugged terrain. Many of you who today have become Canadian citizens are well aware of this. Some of you are from British Columbia and the Prairies. Some are from the central provinces, some from the Maritimes. To all of us the most of Canada is still unknown.

The vision and courage of men and women have transformed our country, almost within living memory, from small and virtually unknown regions of forest and farm into one of the great industrial nations of the world. But more than material growth has arisen from the vision and courage of our people. They have also sought, continuously, to defend and to extend the frontiers of freedom. More than once, in the name of Canada, the sons and daughters of Canada have valiantly served, and thousands have died, to save the world's freedom. In world affairs our country has an outstanding record of responsibility and integrity.

Canada's Contribution

Our nationhood is not based on the superiority of a single race, or of a single language. Canada was founded on the faith that two of the proudest races in the world, despite barriers of tongue and creed, could work together, in mutual tolerance and mutual respect, to develop a common nationality.

Into our equal partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, we have admitted thousands who were born of other racial stocks, and who speak other tongues. They, one and all, have sought a homeland where nationhood means not domination and slavery, but equality and freedom. Without the ideal of equality among men, which form the basis of Canada's nationhood, can nationality come to serve humanity. Only as nationality serves humanity can mankind hope to substitute co-operation for conflict, in the relations between the nations of the world. In making nationality the servant, and not the master in world affairs, Canada today is giving to mankind its greatest hope for the future.

Duties of Citizenship

Let me, before I conclude, say just a word or two about the duties and resonsibilities

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of Canadian citizenship. For citizenship is not any chance observance or mere obligation of of the moment. It is part of the very structure of our nation. On the degree to which our citizens intelligently use their opportunities will depend our country's future; and, perhaps, in larger measure than we suppose, the possible future of other lands.

A little over twenty-one years ago, I visited the town where I was born, and in which I spent most of my boyhood years. I had gone there to attend an old boys' reunion. The theme of my address on that occasion was the opportunities and responsibilities implied in being a citizen of Canada. Last night, I read over what I had said at that time. I then sought to define citizenship in terms of public service. That is what citizenship, as something vital, really means: public service in one form or another, in one sphere of activity or another.

Expanding Circles

To make graphic the impression I wished to leave, I recalled how, when very young, some of us had found pleasure in throwing pebbles into a pond, and how fascinating it was to watch the ripples of water radiating in ever expanding circles to the pond's circumference. In this way I sought to bring home the opportunities of citizenship in terms of service to the public. I pointed out the opportunity for service, first of all to the local municipality, the town or the city, and to the county in which one lived; then, thinking of expanding areas, to one's province; and then to Canada as a whole. I sought as well to bring home the truth that, as the circumference of the circle of opportunity expands for the citizen, so do his duties and his responsibilities. It is the interest taken by individuals in the expanding circles of citizenship that holds human society together.

In the address I made at that time, I went a step further. I pointed out that citizenship in Canada was not confined to the bounds of the Dominion, extensive as they are. I said that we enjoy a larger citizenship still, namely, our citizenship within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

It was the summer of 1925 when I was speaking. That was seven years after the First Great War. I went on to say that an even wider citizenship was then coming into being. This I described as a kind of world citizenship, which was bringing with it for us duties and responsibilities not only to our own country, and to the countries of the British Commonwealth, but to other countries as well. In other words, as we now are able to visualize it, Canadian citizenship is not a citizenship which relates itself merely to the immediate community in which we live: as Canadians, we have a national citizenship; a Commonwealth citizenship, and a world citizenship. Each carries with it a certain responsibility, a responsibility which it is our duty to recognize, and our privilege to assert.

Canada's Part

Since 1925, Canada, in common with most other nations, has passed through the anguish and agony of another world war. From that time to this our whole experience as a nation has emphasized the ever-widening significance of Canadian citizenship. The rapidity with which our world citizenship has been achieved here is one of the most amazing developments of all times. The magnificent manner in which, in both world wars, Canada measured up to her responsibilities, the splendid part taken by our country in helping to bring the United Nations into being, our effective participation in the various activities of the United Nations, are prophetic of the increasingly important part Canada may be expected to have in shaping the world of the future.

Whether we like it or not, the future of our country is wrapped up with the future of all countries. In this atomic age, the alternatives which face Mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. Canada will help to decide in which of these opposing directions humanity will move. So long as our citizens continue to possess the vision and courage of the founders of our nation, Canada's influence will be in the right direction. So long as we continue to cherish the high ideals of our common citizenship, our country will make a great, and, it may be, a decisive contribution to the preservation of human freedom, and, to the establishment of enduring peace. That is the largest opportunity and the heaviest responsibility of Canadian citizenship.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication N.Y.Times

Date Jan. 4/47

Subject

D 50851

26 GET CERTIFICATES AS CANADIAN CITIZENS

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

OTTAWA, Jan. 3—Tonight twenty-six men and women were admitted to Canadian citizenship at an impressive ceremony in the Supreme Court Building, presided over by Chief Justice Thibaudeau Rinfret.

Some of these receiving citizenship were born in Canada, others had already been naturalized and twelve took the oath of allegiance for the first time.

The first citizenship certificate went to Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King who is a third-generation Canadian on both sides of his family tree.

Among the others who received certificates were Giuseppi Agostini, Italian-born music conductor; Kjeld Deichman, a Danish-born potter; Maurice Labrosse, a French-Canadian Air Force sergeant; Wasyl Elyniak, the first of Canada's 400,000 Ukrainian settlers; Yousuf Karsh, an Armenian-born photographer; Gerhard Ens, 80-year-old Russian of German ancestry; Andrew Boswell Macrae, a descendant of one of the first families to settle on Prince Edward Island, and Polish-born Mrs. Stanley Mynarski, whose son received posthumously the Victoria Cross for heroism during the war.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star 5083

Date Jan. 4/47

Subject D 50852

Citizenship Means Service, Says Premier

Following is the text of Premier King's address at the national citizenship ceremony held last night at Ottawa:

I speak as a citizen of Canada. On behalf of all Canadian citizens, I congratulate the new citizens who have just received their certificates of citizenship on having become citizens of Canada. I welcome you into the full enjoyment of the rights of Canadian citizenship. Some of us who have received certificates tonight have enjoyed those rights all our lives; others only for a time. In homes throughout our land, thousands of our fellow citizens have been listening with pride to tonight's ceremony. I know that all would wish to join in these words of greeting and of congratulation.

Citizenship is the highest honor a nation can confer upon an individual who has not been born into this heritage. Without citizenship much else is meaningless. There is no country in the world of which its citizens have greater reason to be proud than Canada. There are older countries, there are larger countries, but no country holds today a higher place in the esteem of other nations. To be a citizen of Canada is to hold a passport which will be honored everywhere.

New Conception Established

Tonight's ceremony symbolizes in a very real way the character of Canadian nationhood. Those of our number who have received certificates of citizenship come from communities widely scattered throughout Canada. Over the years, these widely scattered communities have been welded into a single country. We here, like the people of Canada generally, are of many different origins. In the past, divergent racial origins have repeatedly been a source of division. Moreover, newcomers, while severing ties with their original homelands, have often felt no binding claim by the land of their adoption. Today, we have established a new conception of Canadian citizenship. The new conception of citizenship is designed to bridge the gaps created by geography and by racial descent. As a people, Canadians will be bound more closely together by the statutory recognition accorded our Canadian citizenship in this new year. Our unity and our strength will be increased by the deeper significance now given to our common citizenship.

Supreme Act of Faith

"The Canada of today has been described as 'a supreme act of faith'. The Canada we know was hewn out of the wilderness, often in defiance of Nature. In extent, our country is immense. Its chief areas of settlement are divided, one from another, by long distances and by rugged terrain. Many of you who today have become Canadian citizens are well aware of this. Some of you are from British Columbia and the Prairies. Some are from the Central Provinces; some from the Maritimes. To all of us the most of Canada is still unknown.

The vision and courage of men and women have transformed our country, almost within living memory, from small and virtually unknown regions of forest and farm into one of the great industrial nations of the world. But more than material growth has arisen from the vision and courage of our people. They have also sought, continuously, to defend and to extend the frontiers of freedom. More than once, in the name of Canada, the sons and daughters of Canada have valiantly served, and thousands have died, to save the world's freedom. In world affairs our country has an outstanding record of responsibility and integrity.

Our nationhood is not based on the superiority of a single race, or of a single language. Canada was founded on the faith that two of the proudest races in the world, despite barriers of tongue and creed, could work together, in mutual tolerance and mutual respect, to develop a common nationality.

Ideal of Equality Supreme

Into our equal partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, we have admitted thousands who were born of other racial stocks, and who speak other tongues. They, one and all, have sought a homeland where nationhood means not domination and salvery, but equality and freedom. Without the ideal of equality among men, without the vision of human brotherhood, the Canadian nation could never have come into being.

The unity of Canada is vital to the continued existence of Canada. But the unity of Canada belongs not to Canada alone, it belongs to mankind. Only by extending throughout the world the ideals of mutual tolerance, of racial co-operation, and of equality among men, which form the basis of Canada's nationhood, can nationality come to serve humanity. Only as nationality serves humanity can mankind hope to substitute co-operation for conflict, in the relations between the nations of the world. In making nationality the servant, and not the master in world affairs, Canada today is giving to mankind its greatest hope for the future.

Duties Stressed

Let me, before I conclude, say just a word or two about the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship. For citizenship is not any chance observance or mere obligation of the moment. It is part of the very structure of our nation. On the degree to which our citizens intelligently use their opportunities will depend our country's future; and, perhaps, in larger measure than we suppose, the possible future of other lands.

A little over 21 years ago, I visited the town where I was born, and in which I spent most of my boyhood years. I had gone there to attend an Old Boys' reunion. The theme of my address on that occasion was the opportunities and responsibilities implied in being a citizen of Canada. Last night, I read over what I had said at that time. I then sought to define citizenship in terms of public service. That is what citizenship, as something vital, really means:—public service in one form or another, in one sphere of activity or another.

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Opportunities Expand

To make graphic the impression I wished to leave, I recalled how, when very young, some of us had found pleasure in throwing pebbles into a pond, and how fascinating it was to watch the ripples of water radiating in ever expanding circles to the pond's circumference. In this way I sought to bring home the opportunities of citizenship in terms of service to the public. I pointed out the opportunity for service, first of all to the local municipality, the town or the city, and to the country in which one lived; then, thinking of expanding areas, to one's province; and then to Canada as a whole. I sought as well to bring home the truth that, as the circumference of the circle of opportunity expands for the citizen, so do his duties and his responsibilities. It is the interest taken by individuals in the expanding circle of citizenship that holds human society together.

In the address I made at that time, I went a step further. I pointed out that citizenship in Canada was not confined to the bounds of the Dominion, extensive as they are. I said that we enjoyed a larger citizenship still, namely, our citizenship within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Citizens of World

It was the summer of 1925 when I was speaking. That was seven years after the First Great War. I went on to say that an even wider citizenship was then coming into being. This I described as a kind of world citizenship, which was bringing with it for us duties and responsibilities not only to our own country, and to the countries of the British Commonwealth, but to other countries as well. In other words, as we now are able to vizualize it, Canadian citizenship is not a citizenship which relates itself merely to the immediate community in which we live: as Canadians, we have a national citizenship; a Commonwealth citizenship, and a world citizenship. Each carries with it a certain responsibility, a responsibility which it is our duty to recognize, and our privilege to assert.

Since 1925, Canada, in common with most other nations, has passed through the anguish and agony of another world war. From that time to this our whole experience as a nation has emphasized the ever-widening significance of Canadian citizenship. The rapidity with which our world citizenship has been achieved is one of the most amazing developments of all times. The magnificent manner in which, in both world wars, Canada measured up to her responsibilities, the splendid part taken by our country to bring the United Nations into being, our effective participation in the various activities of the United Nations, are prophetic of the increasingly important part Canada may be expected to have in shaping the world of the future.

Whether we like it or not, the future of our country is wrapped up with the future of all countries. In this atomic age, the alternatives which face mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. Canada will help to decide in which of these opposing directions humanity will move. So long as our citizens continue to possess the vision and courage of the founders of our nation, Canada's influence will be in the right direction. So long as we continue to cherish the high ideals of our common citizenship, our country will make a great, and, it may be, a decisive contribution to the preservation of human freedom, and, to the establishment of enduring peace. That is the largest opportunity and the heaviest responsibility of Canadian citizenship.

D 50854

Proud, Historic Ceremony As New Citizens Take Oath

Glittering Pageantry Marks Great Milestone

Prime Minister King Receives First Certificate Of Citizenship And Sets Patriotic Theme

"I speak as a citizen of Canada."

So did Prime Minister King, amid applause, set the keynote for the historic oath of allegiance ceremony which took place in the Supreme Court last night. Mr. King presented at the outset with Canadian Citizenship Certificate Number 1, provided the patriotic theme of the occasion, while a glittering cross section of official Ottawa looked on.

To many a constitutionalist, last night's pageantry marked the beginning of a new constitutional epoch. For at long last, Canadians are now really Canadians, by law as well as in fact. They have become Canadians, thanks to the new citizenship law, and yet at the same time they have not lost their status as British subjects.

Hope For Future

Mr. King said that "in making nationality the servant, and not the master in world affairs, Canada today is giving to mankind its greatest hope for the future."

Declaring Canada's nationhood was not based on the superiority of a single race, or of a single language, Mr. King added, "Canada was founded on the faith that two of the proudest races in the world, despite barriers of tongue and creed, could work together, in mutual tolerance and mutual respect, to develop a common nationality.

"Into our equal partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, we have admitted thousands who were born of other racial stocks, and who speak other tongues. They, one and all, have sought a homeland where nationhood means not domination and slavery, but equality and freedom.

"Without the ideal of equality among men, without the vision of human brotherhood, the Canadian nation could never have come into being.

"The unity of Canada is vital to the continued existence of Canada. But the unity of Canada belongs not to Canada alone, it belongs to mankind. Only by extending throughout the world the ideals of mutual tolerance, of racial co-operation, and of equality among men, which form the basis of Canada's nationhood, can nationality come to serve humanity.

"Only as nationality serves humanity can mankind hope to substitute co-operation for conflict, in relations between the nations of the world."

The Supreme Court, like a Hollywood setting, particularly with cameras whirring and lights flashing, gave a Paramount plus Metro Goldwyn Mayer touch to this drama of people becoming Canadians, and when one noted the solemn arrival of the Supreme Court judges in their ermine and scarlet, complete with black shovel hats, it was hard even for the most stolid person present not to be moved by this kaleidoscopic scene, so emotional an hour, this constitutional milestone along Canada's path to nationhood.

Spectacular Figures

Into the crowded court room from the nine provinces of Canada came spectacular figures, already renowned as Canadians, but eager to reaffirm their loyalty to the Dominion by taking out the new Canadian citizenship certificates. There were also those who, having been born in far off countries, were chosen as representative individuals to come to the Supreme Court to take the oath of allegiance on behalf of others, equally loyal at heart, but not so fortunate as to be selected for this ceremony.

There were poignant moments, moving episodes, agreeable scenes. No one for instance, could be indifferent to Mrs. Stanley Mynarski of Winnipeg, proudly wearing

took the oath, joined the Dominion as citizens. They have made the start, and it is their children who will begin to appreciate the courage and efforts of their parents in bringing them to a land with such opportunities.

There was one notable touch, provided by Prime Minister King, during the ceremonies. First man to take the oath of citizenship was Naif Hanna Azar, 443 Bank street. When he walked over to get his new certificate, Prime Minister King arose and shook hands with him. This seemed to symbolize the fact that he was in spirit shaking the hand of them all, welcoming them into citizenship as fellow Canadians.

Honor Stressed

Mr. King stressed and restressed the honor of Canadian citizenship in his speech.

"Citizenship," he exclaimed, "is the highest honor a nation can confer upon an individual who has not been born into this heritage."

Again: "To be a citizen of Canada is to hold a passport which will be honored everywhere."

He said the ceremony symbolized, "in a very real way the character of Canadian nationhood."

There was applause again when Mr. King emphasized the "equal partnership" of French and English speaking Canadians.

Concluding, he predicted that Canada will make a great, and it may be, a decisive contribution for the preservation of human freedom, and to the establishment of enduring peace.

"That" he ended," is the largest opportunity and the heaviest responsibility of Canadian citizenship."

From beginning to end, the ceremony was a series of colorful impressions. Approaching the building long lines of shining motorcars swung in around the circular driveway of the Supreme Court building, their lights glinting on fresh snow and the tall towering bronze flag standards, and on buffalo coated members of the RCMP.

In the grand hall, the red coats of the constables of the RCMP band and the blue of their conductor, Inspector J. T. Brown, together with shining instruments continued the impressions.

On the dais sat the Chief Justice and five of the six justices of the Supreme Court resplendent in ermine and scarlet, with their tri-cornered hats and sashes of black. As one man, the court uncovered and placed their hats on the traditional hook on the right side of their benches.

In the spectators rows jewels glittered and flashed in the arc lights which poured a flood of brilliance over the scene for the benefit of still and motion picture cameramen.

King's Scouts, fifteen of them, their tunics bearing multi colored merit badges, escorted guests to their appointed place. They were



—Photo by Newton

OFFICIATE AT UNIQUE CITIZENSHIP CEREMONY—Officials of the Canadian government took the dais at last night's Citizenship Ceremony in the Supreme Court building when the first certificates of Canadian citizenship were handed out. Left to right are shown Hon. Paul Martin former secretary of state; Hon. Colin Gibson, secretary of state; Prime Minister King who accepted the first certificate of Canadian citizenship and Paul Leduc, Supreme Court clerk.

reviewing the coming of age of Canadians. "The first purpose is to define who a Canadian citizen is, and how one becomes a Canadian citizen. The second, to establish a community of status for all our people which will bring them together as Canadians."

"The Canadian Citizenship Act has a broad significance for all of us. It represents a milestone of our progress as a nation. For it affirms the fact of our historical development within the framework of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It attests the nationhood of Canada and the fact that Canadians are increasingly conscious of their great destiny."

Speaking of those gathered to receive citizenship certificates or Canadian citizenship, Mr. Martin said, "In their persons they represent each of our nine Canadian provinces as well as the racial groups which make up our nation. The diversity of their origins reminds us that Canada is a land of many races. Each of these races brought to Canada great gifts and a variety of cultures."

Presents Group

Mr. Martin then presented the group to receive certificates of citizenship.

Mr. Martin spoke in both English and French.

Addressing the applicants for certificates in proof of citizenship, the Chief Justice said. "What you now do here is for all of you no new thing. It is rather a re-affirmation of what your lives have been, and what you hope this nation may become."

The first name to be called was "William Lyon Mackenzie King."

Amid a burst of applause from all parts of the crowded courtroom the Prime Minister rose from his place and advanced to in front of the Chief Justice to receive his certificate. Applause followed him as he returned to his place. He smiled and bowed as he sat down.

Only once during the evening was the applause given Mr. King equalled. That was when Mrs. Stanley Mynarski of Winnipeg, wearing the Victoria Cross of her son PO Andrew Charles Mynarski, who lost his life while saving a comrade, on her right breast, rose to move before the Chief Justice to receive her certificate. Mr. King

time the anthem "This Canada of Ours," written by Percy Philip, OBE, Press Gallery representative of the New York Times, and set to music by Robert Donnell, Dominion carilloneur, was sung by the national choir as the ceremonies proper ended. The arrangement was by Mr. Rickwood.

Then the Prime Minister rose to speak. He was again welcomed with an ovation lasting several mminutes. At the conclusion of Mr. King's address, the choir sang "God Save the King." Then in rapid succession the Chief Justice and the justices withdrew followed by the Prime Minister and the ministers and the ceremony was over. The broadcast faded out to the strains of "O God Our Help in Ages Past."

Guests seemed unwilling to leave the scene of the impressive and solemn ceremonies. The grand hall took on the appearance of a gala reception and the ministers of the crown present were congratulated on the success of the function and friends exchanged greeting. Music by the RCMP band added to the occasion. Gradually one by one the couples moved off. Canada's first national citizenship ceremony was over.

Distinguished Visitors

Distinguished visitors included Dr. E. H. Coleman, under secretary of state; Paul McFarlane, Montreal; Hon. James Glen, minister of mines and resources, and Mrs. Glen; Russell Boucher, MP for Caraleton, and Mrs. Boucher; Judge A. G. McDougall; D. B. Cruikshank, Mrs. Ryland New, Oakville, Ont., national president, IODE; Hon. Joseph Thorson of the Exchequer Court; Judge Jean GGenest, and Mrs. Genest; J. O. Gour, MP for Russell; Hon. Francis Bridges, minister of fisheries.

M. J. Coldwell, CCF leader; Georoge McIlraith, parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Reconstruction, and Mrs. McIlraith; Sen. Cairine Wilson, Mayor Stanley Lewis, Rt. Rev. Robert Jefferson, bishop of Ottawa; and many others.

William McCaghren

Many friends and relatives paid final tribute to the memory of William McCaghran when they attended his funeral service Friday afternoon. Mr. McCaghren, who resided at 501 Bronson avenue passed away Wednesday.

Rev. William H. Cramm officiated at the service which was held

Gen. Eisenhower Not Going To Run For Presidency

MIAMI, Fla., Jan. 3—(AP)—Gen. Eisenhower in an interview said today that the mention of his name as a presidential candidate "is not good for the great organization with which I am associated."

Eisenhower, the army's chief of staff, made it plain that he was thinking as a soldier of the country's future security to prevent the United States from falling victim to some possible future "superblitz."

"From the beginning of the war, when my name has been mentioned in connection with a possible future political career for me, I have instantly refused to consider such a contingency," he said during an inspection of the Army's Pratt General Hospital in suburban Coral Gables.

"I have not changed my mind.

"The army is definitely nonpartisan and national in character, and any talk that tends to cloud the soundness of that feature is not to the best interest of the United States."

Asked about his possible retirement, the chief of staff said: "I have a job to do and I'm going to do it as long as I am needed."

Sees U.S. Alone

He looked forward to a future day when the U.S. might find herself alone against a hostile world, as Britain was after the fall of France.

"I am convinced that the world has got to find a way to settle differences peacefully," said Eisenhower. "Wars are emergencies. They come on unexpectedly. In the past we've had allies and factors which gave us ample time to prepare. This holds true today, but perhaps it will not in future years.

"In recognition of this we have one staff in Washington whose job it is to deal with scientists for the future super-blitz age. These men's only job is to contact these scientists and learn what may be ahead."

Butter Stocks Down

Stocks of creamery butter in

Text Of Prime Minister's Speech

Following is the text of the address delivered by Prime Minister King last night at the national citizenship ceremony in welcoming the new Canadian citizens:

I speak as a citizen of Canada. On behalf of all Canadian citizens, I congratulate the new citizens who have just received their certificates of citizenship on having become citizens of Canada. I welcome you into the full enjoyment of the rights of Canadian citizenship. Some of us who have received certificates tonight have enjoyed those rights all our lives; others only for a time. In homes throughout our land, thousands of our fellow citizens have been listening with pride to tonight's ceremony. I know that all would wish to join in these words of greeting and of congratulation.

Citizenship is the highest honor a nation can confer upon an individual who has not been born into this heritage. Without citizenship much else is meaningless. There is no country in the world of which its citizens have geater reason to be proud than Canada. There are older countries, there are larger countries, but no country holds today a higher place in the esteem of other nations. To be a citizen of Canada is to hold a passport which will be honored everywhere.

Character of Nationhood

Tonight's ceremony symbolizes in a very real way the character of Canadian nationhood. Those of our number who have received certificates of citizenship come from communities widely scattered throughout Canada. Over the years, these widely scattered communities have been welded into a single country. We here, like the people of Canada generally, are of different origins. In the past, divergent racial origins have repeatedly been a source of division. Moreover, newcomers, while severing ties with their original homelands, have often felt no binding claim by the land of their adoption. Today, we have established a new conception of Canadian citizenship. The new conception of citizenship is designed to bridge the gaps created by geography and by racial descent. As a people, Canadians will be bound more closely together by the statutory recognition accorded our Canadian citizenship in this new year. Our unity and our strength will be increased by the deper significance now given to our common citizenship.

Canada of Today

The Canada of today has been described as "a supreme act of faith." The Canada we know was hewn out of the wilderness, often in defiance of nature. In extent, our country is immense. Its chief areas of settlement are divided, one from another, by long distances and by rugged terrain. Many of you who today have become Canadian citizens are well aware of this. Some of you are from British Columbia and the Prairies. Some are from the central provinces, some from the Maritimes. To all of us the most of Canada is still unknown.

The vision and courage of men and women have transformed our country, almost within living memory, from small and virtually unknown regions of forest and farm into one of the great industrial nations of the world. But more than material growth has arisen from the vision and courage of

have died, to save the world's freedom. In world affairs our country has an outstanding record of responsibility and integrity.

Canada's Contribution

Our nationhood is not based on the superiority of a single race, or of a single language. Canada was founded on the faith that two of the proudest races in the world, despite barriers of tongue and creed, could work together, in mutual tolerance and mutual respect, to develop a common nationality.

Into our equal partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, we have admitted thousands who were born of other racial stocks, and who speak other tongues. They, one and all, have sought a homeland where nationhood means not domination and slavery, but equality and freedom. Without the ideal of equality among men, which form the basis of Canada's nationhood, can nationality come to serve humanity. Only as nationality serves humanity can mankind hope to substitute co-operation for conflict, in the relations between the nations of the world. In making nationality the servant, and not the master in world affairs, Canada today is giving to mankind its greatest hope for the future.

Duties of Citizenship

Let me, before I conclude, say just a word or two about the duties and resonsibilities of Canadian citizenship. For citizenship is not any chance observance or mere obligation of of the moment. It is part of the very structure of our nation. On the degree to which our citizens intelligently use their opportunities will depend our country's future; and, perhaps, in larger measure than we suppose, the possible future of other lands.

A little over twenty-one years ago, I visited the town where I was born, and in which I spent most of my boyhood years. I had gone there to attend an old boys' reunion. The theme of my address on that occasion was the opportunities and responsibilities implied in being a citizen of Canada. Last night, I read over what I had said at that time. I then sought to define citizenship in terms of public service. That is what citizenship, as something vital, really means: public service in one form or another, in one sphere of activity or another.

Expanding Circles

To make graphic the impression I wished to leave, I recalled how, when very young, some of us had found pleasure in throwing pebbles into a pond, and how fascinating it was to watch the ripples of water radiating in ever expanding circles to the pond's circumference. In this way I sought to bring home the opportunities of citizenship in terms of service to the public. I pointed out the opportunity for service, first of all to the local municipality, the town or the city, and to the county in which one lived; then, thinking of expanding areas, to one's province; and then to Canada as a whole. I sought as well to bring home the truth that, as the circumference of the circle of opportunity expands for the citizen, so do his duties and his responsibilities. It is the interest taken by individuals in the expanding circles of citizenship that holds human society together.

In the address I made at that time, I went a step further. I pointed out that citizenship in Canada was not confined to the bounds of the Dominion, extending to the whole British Commonwealth of Nations, and to the United Nations.

It was the summer of 1925 when I was speaking. That was seven years after the First Great War. I went on to say that an even wider citizenship was then coming into being. This I described as a kind of world citizenship, which was bringing with it for us duties and responsibilities not only to our own country, and to the countries of the British Commonwealth, but to other countries as well. In other words, as we now are able to visualize it, Canadian citizenship is not a citizenship which relates itself merely to the immediate community in which we live: as Canadians, we have a national citizenship; a Commonwealth citizenship, and a world citizenship. Each carries with it a certain responsibility, a responsibility which it is our duty to recognize, and our privilege to assert.

Canada's Part

Since 1925, Canada, in common with most other nations, has passed through the anguish and agony of another world war. From that time to this our whole experience as a nation has emphasized the ever-widening significance of Canadian citizenship. The rapidity with which our world citizenship has been achieved here is one of the most amazing developments of all times. The magnificent manner in which, in both world wars, Canada measured up to her responsibilities, the splendid part taken by our country in helping to bring the United Nations into being, our effective participation in the various activities of the United Nations, are prophetic of the increasingly important part Canada may be expected to have in shaping the world of the future.

Whether we like it or not, the future of our country is wrapped up with the future of all countries. In this atomic age, the alternatives which face Mankind are universal destruction or unparalleled freedom. Canada will help to decide in which of these opposing directions humanity will move. So long as our citizens continue to possess the vision and courage of the founders of our nation, Canada's influence will be in the right direction. So long as we continue to cherish the high ideals of our common citizenship, our country will make a great, and, it may be, a decisive contribution to the preservation of human freedom, and, to the establishment of enduring peace. That is the largest opportunity and the heaviest responsibility of Canadian citizenship.

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of human brotherhood, the Canadian nation could never have come into being.

"The unity of Canada is vital to the continued existence of Canada. But the unity of Canada belongs not to Canada alone, it belongs to mankind. Only by extending throughout the world the ideals of mutual tolerance, of racial co-operation, and of equality among men, which form the basis of Canada's nationhood, can nationality come to serve humanity.

"Only as nationality serves humanity can mankind hope to substitute co-operation for conflict, in relations between the nations of the world."

The Supreme Court, like a Hollywood setting, particularly with cameras whirring and lights flashing, gave a Paramount plus Metro Goldwyn Mayer touch to this drama of people becoming Canadians, and when one noted the solemn arrival of the Supreme Court judges in their ermine and scarlet, complete with black shovel hats, it was hard even for the most stolid person present not to be moved by this kaleidoscopic scene, so emotional an hour, this constitutional milestone along Canada's path to nationhood.

Spectacular Figures

Into the crowded court room from the nine provinces of Canada came spectacular figures, already renowned as Canadians, but eager to reaffirm their loyalty to the Dominion by taking out the new Canadian citizenship certificates. There were also those who, having been born in far off countries, were chosen as representative individuals to come to the Supreme Court to take the oath of allegiance on behalf of others, equally loyal at heart, but not so fortunate as to be selected for this ceremony.

There were poignant moments, moving episodes, agreeable scenes. No one for instance, could be indifferent to Mrs. Stanley Mynarski, of Winnipeg, proudly wearing her son's Victoria Cross, stepping forward to repeat the oath, with a notable Polish accent. The occasion was not lost on Prime Minister King, who rose and bowed in deference to this mother whose son gave his life—though he might have saved it—to the country of his family's adoption.

Old westerners were stirred—and it seemed as if even Mr. Justice Estey, now on the Bench, but formerly attorney general of Saskatchewan, was moved, as 83 year old Gerhard Ens, of Rosthern, moved slowly forward to get his certificate. For Mr. Ens, once government whip in Saskatchewan, and a tower of strength to the new immigrant, was one man who made life worth while for hundreds of new Canadians, in the early trying days, when these people were attempting to get adjusted in a strange land.

Nor was the correct and proper audience any less sentimental than audiences elsewhere, as the charming Aberdeen bride, only in the country three months, stepped in front to get her certificate. The beautiful Scottish lassie is the wife of Sergeant Wilfrid Labrosse of the RCAF.

Honored For Gesture

John Anton Helders, well known here as a Chateau Laurier head waiter in times gone by, and now catering manager for the Hotel Vancouver, proudly came all the way from the Pacific coast, to accept his new citizenship. Those who knew his story, honored him silently for his gesture.

Then there was Ottawa's own Yousuf Karsh, photographer reputedly without equal, but eager as the humblest immigrant to take his quiet part in the ceremony.

Nobody present could help being impressed by the solemnity and seriousness with which the new Canadians took the oath. They might have strange names to us, Azar, Hrushkowsky, Justinic, Rakowitza—these are not what one calls Canadian names, but they

Again: "To be a citizen of Canada is to hold a passport which will be honored everywhere."

He said the ceremony symbolized, "in a very real way the character of Canadian nationhood."

There was applause again when Mr. King emphasized the "equal partnership" of French and English speaking Canadians.

Concluding, he predicted that Canada will make a great, and it may be, a decisive contribution for the preservation of human freedom, and to the establishment of enduring peace.

"That" he ended," is the largest opportunity and the heaviest responsibility of Canadian citizenship."

From beginning to end, the ceremony was a series of colorful impressions. Approaching the building long lines of shining motorcars swung in around the circular driveway of the Supreme Court building, their lights glinting on fresh snow and the tall towering bronze flag standards, and on buffalo coated members of the RCMP.

In the grand hall, the red coats of the constables of the RCMP band and the blue of their conductor, Inspector J. T. Brown, together with shining instruments continued the impressions.

On the dais sat the Chief Justice and five of the six justices of the Supreme Court resplendent in ermine and scarlet, with their tri-cornered hats and sashes of black. As one man, the court uncovered and placed their hats on the traditional hook on the right side of their benches.

In the spectators rows jewels glittered and flashed in the arc lights which poured a flood of brilliance over the scene for the benefit of still and motion picture cameramen.

King's Scouts, fifteen of them, their tunics bearing multi colored merit badges, escorted guests to their appointed place. They were commanded by W. T. Webster, district scout master.

Fitting Backdrop

The satin finished wood panels of the spacious courtroom, the marble of the trimming, and the bronze light brackets provided a fitting backdrop to the solemn ceremony and the dignity of the occasion.

Microphones of the CBC sparkled in the lights, and cameras ground in a monotone from the sidelines and from specially erected platforms. A long line of newsmen stretched across one end of the room at the official press table. An occasional flash bulb popped though still picture taking was kept at the minimum.

The Canadian coat of arms emblazoned in full colors surmounted the benches of the justices, and a dignified figure the Chief Justice took his place on his heavy carved oak chair surmounted by the crown which marks his high position.

The charter was ended when the court usher called "order" and the guests hushed to silence. From the entrance came the massed voices of the choir in "O Canada" sung in English and French. The choir was directed by C. L. J. Rickwood.

The Chief Justice entered followed by the five justices of the Supreme Court in order of seniority, as the audience rose in tribute to the dignity of Canada's highest court.

Led by the clerk of the court, the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State, Hon. Colin Gibson, and the former Secretary of State, Hon. Paul Martin, came from a door at the right of the front of the court and advanced to their places.

Two Purposes

With the words "My Lord the Chief Justice." Mr. Martin, now minister of national health and welfare, began his address.

"There are two main purposes underlying the Canadian Citizenship Act," Mr. Martin said in affirms the fact of our historical development within the framework of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It attests the nationhood of Canada and the fact that Canadians are increasingly conscious of their great destiny."

Speaking of those gathered to receive citizenship certificates or Canadian citizenship, Mr. Martin said, "In their persons they represent each of our nine Canadian provinces as well as the racial groups which make up our nation. The diversity of their origins reminds us that Canada is a land of many races. Each of these races brought to Canada great gifts and a variety of cultures."

Presents Group

Mr. Martin then presented the group to receive certificates of citizenship.

Mr. Martin spoke in both English and French.

Addressing the applicants for certificates in proof of citizenship, the Chief Justice said. "What you now do here is for all of you no new thing. It is rather a re-affirmation of what your lives have been, and what you hope this nation may become."

The first name to be called was "William Lyon Mackenzie King."

Amid a burst of applause from all parts of the crowded courtroom the Prime Minister rose from his place and advanced to in front of the Chief Justice to receive his certificate. Applause followed him as he returned to his place. He smiled and bowed as he sat down.

Only once during the evening was the applause given Mr. King equalled. That was when Mrs. Stanley Mynarski of Winnipeg, wearing the Victoria Cross of her son PO Andrew Charles Mynarski, who lost his life while saving a comrade, on her right breast, rose to move before the Chief Justice to receive her certificate. Mr. King joined in this tribute as he rose and bowed as the mother of the national hero, second RCAF member to receive the Victoria Cross, passed near his seat.

Receive Certificates

Citizenship certificates were given to Giusseppe Agostini, Italian-born music conductor who has been attached to the CBC since 1932; Kjeld Beichman, well-known Danish born potter from Moss Glen, NB; Maurice Labrosse of Ottawa, young French Canadian sergeant in the RCAF and his Aberdeenshire bride; Wasyl Elyniak of Chipman, Alta., Canada's first Ukrainian settler; Yousuf Karsh of Ottawa, internationally known Armenian-born photographer; Mrs. R. P. Steeves of Vancouver, former CCF member of the British Columbia legislature, Gerhard Ens of Rosthern, Sask., former member of the Saskatchewan legislature, and Andrew Boswall MacRae of East Royalty, PEI, descendant of one of the oldest families on the island.

Immediately following the presentation of certificates of proof, Hon. Colin Gibson, secretary of state, rose to present applicants for Canadian citizenship to the court. The Chief Justice, Hon. Thibaudeau Rinfret, then delivered the charge to the new applicants explaining the meaning and solemnity of the oath of allegiance in English and French.

Then in quick succession eleven residents of the Ottawa district advanced to receive certificates of citizenship. They included: Naif Hanna Azar, 443 Bank Street; Zigurd Larsen, 376 Piccadilly Avenue; Joseph Litvinchuk, 276 Laurier Avenue; Nestor Rakawitza, R. R. No. 1, Osgoode, Ont.; Joachim Heinrich Hellmann, 740 Albert Street; Anton Justinic, 218 Laurier Avenue West; Helena Sawicka, 181 Frank Street; Vincas Bigilis; Jacko Hrushkowsky, 255 Cambridge Street; J. W. Meier; Louis Brodbeck, 172 Cecil Street, Eastview.

Presented publicly for the first Mr. King's address, the choir sang "God Save the King." Then in rapid succession the Chief Justice and the justices withdrew followed by the Prime Minister and the ministers and the ceremony was over. The broadcast faded out to the strains of "O God Our Help in Ages Past."

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Rev. William H. Cramm officiated at the service which was held in the parlors of the Fred N. Garrett Funeral Home. The remains will rest in the Pinecrest cemetery vault until spring when interment will take place at Bellevue cemetery.

Butter Stocks Down

Stocks of creamery butter in nine principal Canadian cities at Jan. 1 totalled 25,564,249 pounds, a seasonal decline of 8,630,806 pounds from Dec. 1, but an increase of 3,057,033 over the stocks held a year ago, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics reports.

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The vision and courage of men and women have transformed our country, almost within living memory, from small and virtually unknown regions of forest and farm into one of the great industrial nations of the world. But more than material growth has arisen from the vision and courage of our people. They have also sought, continuously, to defend and to extend the frontiers of freedom. More than once, in the name of Canada, the sons and daughters of Canada have valiantly served, and thousands

opportunities will depend our country's future; and, perhaps, in larger measure than we suppose, the possible future of other lands.

A little over twenty-one years ago, I visited the town where I was born, and in which I spent most of my boyhood years. I had gone there to attend an old boys' reunion. The theme of my address on that occasion was the opportunities and responsibilities implied in being a citizen of Canada. Last night, I read over what I had said at that time. I then sought to define citizenship in terms of public service. That is what citizenship, as something vital, really means: public service in one form or another, in one sphere of activity or another.

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In the address I made at that time, I went a step further. I pointed out that citizenship in Canada was not confined to the bounds of the Dominion, extensive as they are. I said that we enjoy a larger citizenship still, namely, our citizenship within the British Commonwealth of

Canada may be expected to have in shaping the world of the future.

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80		Tribute to Louis St. Laurent. Speeches outside Parliament	29 Nov. 1946	D 50484 - D 50687	
80		Unveiling of Portrait to Sir John A. Macdonald, Ottawa, Rideau Club	9 Dec. 1946	D 50688 - D 50751	
80		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Dec. 1946	D 50752 - D 50759	
80		The Character of Canadian Citizenship, Ottawa, National Citizenship Ceremony. Speeches outside Parliament.	3 Jan. 1947	D 50760 - D 50854	
80		Tribute to Hon. P.J.A. Cardin and Mr. W.C. Macdonald. Speeches in Parliament	30 Jan. 1947	D 50855 - D 50874	
80		National Liberal Federation Advisory Council, Ottawa. Speeches Parliament	5 Feb. 1947	D 50875 - D 50878	
80		Withdrawal of Occupational Forces from Germany, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Mar. 1947	D 50879 - D 50904	

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Severe loss to membership of H. of C.

Hon. P.J.A. Cardin, K.C. -
Richelieu-Verchères -
age: 67 - Died October 20.

William Chisholm Macdonald, K.C.
Halifax.
age: 56 - Died November 19.

CARDIN

Oldest member - 1911 - '46 ■ 35 years
Continuous representation -
- 2 records.

Life given to politics - law & judiciary.

Able parliamentarian - effective & eloquen

Influence over Quebec - love for people.

13 years member of government.

Own close association - prosperity and adversity.

Service during war -

for Unity.

Resigned in 1942 -

Removing certain restrictions regarding military service from National Resources Mobilization Act.

-motives clear
-chivalrous nature
-no difference, friendship

D50855

MACDONALD D 50856

Place in Community and profession

Patriotic - service in World War

Parliamentry Career

first elected, 1940

impression in Parliament

representative of Halifax,-
special responsibility.

knowledge of defence matters

parliamentary assistant

Remembered for -

upright,
disinterested
loyal
faithful and
devoted.

Sympathy by Speaker

MACDONALD D 50857

Place in Community and profession

Patriotic - service in World War

Parliamentry Career

first elected, 1940

impression in Parliament

representative of Halifax,-
special responsibility.

knowledge of defence matters

parliamentary assistant

Remembered for -

upright,
disinterested
loyal
faithful and
devoted.

Sympathy by Speaker

D 50858

Position as Independent Liberal-

regret M.Ps not here, at best

Conclusion -Third of Century

impression on House

character, ability, industry, integrity.

example in public life

high place in public esteem

left to country - and province

name - hold enduring place.

D 50859

Tribute to the Memory of

Hon. P. J. A. Cardin
and
Mr. W. C. Macdonald, M.P.

Since the last session of Parliament, this House of Commons has experienced a severe loss in its membership in the passing of two of its best known Members: the Honourable P. J. A. Cardin, Member for Richelieu-Vercheres, whose death at the age of 67 occurred on October 20, 1946, and Mr. William Chisholm Macdonald, K.C., Member for Halifax, whose death occurred on November 19, 1946. The passing of these two well known Members is a loss to the Parliament of Canada, to our country, and I need not say a very great loss to the Liberal party.

The Honourable Mr. Cardin, in years of service, was the oldest Member of the House of Commons. He was first returned to the House of Commons at the general election of 1911, and was re-elected at all subsequent elections and by-elections, including the election of 1945. Each in itself was a real distinction. To have been a Member of this House continuously from 1911 to 1946 - 35 years in all - is a record that has seldom been equalled in the history of politics in Canada. To have enjoyed the

D 50860

unbroken confidence of the electors of the constituency in which he was born and lived his entire life is evidence of high regard and esteem in which he was held by those who knew him best. To have served the same constituency for so long a period of time is also a record of public service which has seldom been equalled in the history of politics in Canada.

Mr. Cardin's life was given largely, in fact over a condiserable time almost entirely, to politics. As a young man, he began practice as a lawyer in Sorel and at an early age made a distinct mark in his profession. Had he given his time exclusively to the practice of law, he would undoubtedly have risen to a foremost position at the Bar and, had he so desired, in the Judiciary. However, like not a few of the members of the legal profession who have entered political life, he found there the opportunities of public service which appealed most strongly to him and, as I have said, most of his time was given to promoting the interests of his constituents in Parliament and to public business and affairs.

I need not remind honourable members how able Mr. Cardin was as a parliamentarian, nor how effective and eloquent he was as a speaker in both languages, both in parliament and on the platform.

D 50861

In his own province of Quebec, there was, in his day, no man who exercised a greater influence over his audience than Mr. Cardin. He was a man of deep and sincere convictions with an intense love for the people and enjoyed nothing quite so much as the advocacy of causes which he believed would serve to enlarge their opportunities and to improve their condition. He, himself, was so humble minded and unassuming that the latent fire which displayed itself in many of his public utterances often came as a surprise even to those with whom he was associating from day to day. He had a special love for the people of his own province and was immensely jealous of its rights and interests.

For over 13 years, Mr. Cardin was a member of the government, holding for some years the portfolio of Minister of Marine and Fisheries and later the portfolio of Minister of Public Works with which, during the early years of the war, was combined the portfolio of transport.

In all of those years, Mr. Cardin and I were colleagues at the Council table. We shared together years of prosperity and adversity. It was a fortunate thing for Canada and for Canadian unity that Mr. Cardin was an member of the Ministry in the years immediately preceding and in the early years of the Great War.

I doubt if the people of Canada will ever know the extent of the service rendered our country in keeping its provinces united at that time of crisis in world affairs. Had Mr. Cardin's leadership and that of the late Ernest Lapointe been less courageous, less farsighted, or less patriotic than it was, the story of Canada's war effort and her contribution to victory might have been very different from what it was.

It is true that in 1942, Mr. Cardin felt it necessary to resign from the Ministry because of the government's policy of removing certain restrictions regarding military service from the National Resources Mobilization Act. At the time I did my best to persuade Mr. Cardin to remain in the Ministry, but he felt that he owed it to pledges given some time before not to continue in the Ministry so long as any measure of conscription, however slight, might be possible. I never questioned Mr. Cardin's motives or sincerity in tendering his resignation, nor did he question mine, in taking the position I did in the light of the world situation as it then existed and threatened to become. Mr. Cardin himself was the most chivalrous of men. I sometimes have felt that had a like measure of understanding been extended to him, which he was prepared to extend to others, and had his health been more vigorous than it was at the time, he might have seen his way to remain in office. This is not the time, however, to weigh

those matters, but what I am anxious the House should know is that such political differences as may have arisen at the time made no difference whatever in the personal friendship, which, born of many years of membership in Parliament and years of intimate association in the Cabinet, exited between us. He remained, for me, throughout his life, a close and deeply valued personal friend.

In the few years following his resignation from the Ministry, Mr. Cardin continued to occupy a seat on this side of the House and to give the government his support on most occasions. It is true his attitude was more or less independent and that it was as an Independent Liberal that he contested and was returned to Parliament at the last general election. My one regret for Members who were not present in former sessions of this Parliament is that they had not the privilege of sharing Mr. Cardin's oratory as we who were with him in previous Parliaments were privileged to do.

May I say in conclusion, Mr. Speaker, that in the third of a century during which Mr. Cardin occupied a seat in this House of Commons, he left upon its Members the impression of a man of great industry and integrity, high attainments of character and ability.

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In the passing of Mr. Cardin, this house lost one who, because of his years, was nearing the close of his long and distinguished career.

D 50865

In the passing of Mr. William Chisholm Macdonald the House sustained the loss of one whose career was just beginning and was full of promise.

In his own community and in his profession Mr. Macdonald had won for himself a high place in the esteem of his fellows. Throughout his life he had shwon great devotion to his country. In the first World War he served overseas in France and in Belgium during 1917 and 1918 as a Lieutenant in the Canadian Artillery.

Mr. Macdonald was first elected to the House of Commons in the General Election of 1940. He was reelected in 1945. Throughout the period during which he sat in the House he was one of its most respected, active though at the same time self-effacing members. His modesty, however, did not conceal a fine capacity for devoted service. He was, at all times, a faithful representative of his constituency and of his province. As one of the representatives of the City of Halifax, Mr. Macdonald carried through the war years many of the responsibilities arising from the wartime activity in his home city. His knowledge of and interst in defence questions generally was of special value to Canada at the time of greatest need, By his conscientious and efficient discharge of his duty as parliamentary assistant he rendered exceptionally useful service to the Department of National Defence.

Mr. Macdonald's passing is a great loss to our Parliament and to our country. Despite his limited time of his membership in this house he will be remembered by all who knew him as one of the most upright, disinterested, loyal, faithful and devoted of the men whose presence in this House of Commons has helped to dignify its proceedings and uphold its place in public esteem.

D 50867

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D 50870

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D 50874

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80		Radio Broadcast. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Dec. 1946	D 50752 - D 50759	
80		The Character of Canadian Citizenship, Ottawa, National Citizenship Ceremony. Speeches outside Parliament.	3 Jan. 1947	D 50760 - D 50854	
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80		National Liberal Federation Advisory Council, Ottawa. Speeches Parliament	5 Feb. 1947	D 50875 - D 50878	
80		Withdrawal of Occupational Forces from Germany, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Mar. 1947	D 50879 - D 50904	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Montreal Star D 50875

Date Feb 5/47

Subject .....

Premier Deals With His Succession

Only Outstanding Liberal Will Take His Place

OTTAWA, Feb. 5—(C. P.) — Prime Minister Mackenzie King today assured delegates to the advisory council of the National Liberal Federation that there was no truth in recent reports that M. J. Coldwell, C.C.F. Leader, had been asked to take over the Liberal Party leadership.

Briefly addressing a closed meeting of the council, the Prime Minister said:

"Do not let anyone tell you that the leader of the C. C. F. has been asked to take over the Leadership of this (Liberal) Party when I drop out And don't let anyone be too sure about my dropping out. . ."

"I do not know where they got the idea that the C.C.F. Leader would be called upon to succeed me. Perhaps the wish is father to the thought. But I say right here the only person who will succeed me is one who has contributed outstanding Liberal service; some one who will fight Toryism on the one hand and fight Socialism on the other."

J. Gordon Fogo of Halifax, President of the Liberal Federation, also stated, on behalf of the Federation, that there had been no movement to ask the C.C.F. Leader to head the Liberal Party and that there was no intention of making such an approach when the time came to choose a new leader.

Most of today's sessions were taken up with the presentation of provincial association reports. The Prime Minister was scheduled to address a council banquet tonight.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL 5172

Date FEB 6 1947 D 50876

Subject

His Successor Not Coldwell, Mr. King Stresses

Ottawa, Feb. 5 (CP).—Prime Minister Mackenzie King today assured delegates to the Advisory Council of the National Liberal Federation that there was no truth in recent reports that M. J. Coldwell, CCF leader, had been asked to take over the Liberal Party leadership.

Addressing a closed meeting of the council, the Prime Minister said:

"Do not let any one tell you that the leader of the CCF has been asked to take over the leadership of this (Liberal) Party when I drop out. And don't let any one be too sure about my dropping out. . . .

"I do not know where they got the idea that the CCF leader would be called upon to succeed me. Perhaps the wish is father to the thought. But I say right here the only person who will succeed me is one who has contributed outstanding Liberal service: some one who will fight toryism on the one hand and fight socialism on the other."

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Winnipeg Free Press

Date Feb 6/47

Subject

5172/47

D 50877

King Outlines Party Views On Controls

BY VICTOR MACKIE

OTTAWA, Feb. 6 (Special) — A guide to the philosophies of the political parties was the attitude each adopted towards the question of continuing controls, Prime Minister Mackenzie King told his followers when delegates from every province attending the National Liberal Federation council meetings here gathered at the annual dinner function in the Chateau Laurier Wednesday.

Thursday the council re-elected J. Gordon Fogo of Halifax as its president, and Hon. C. Rhodes Smith, Manitoba minister of labor, an honorary secretary.

Mr. King described each party's stand on controls as follows:

Progressive Conservatives: "The Tories say let us do away with control by the state as quick as possible; they are seeking to restore special priviliges for the few."

C.C.F.: "They want controls maintained indefinitely. They too represent a class, rather than the people as a whole. They are aiming at socializing industry and installing political masters over the country's economy, leading to regimentation and ending freedom for the individual".

Liberals: "Our party's view lies between these two extremes. The Liberals stand for continuing controls so long as they are necessary and no longer. The Liberal party acts in the interest of the many, not a few. The very essence of Liberalism is freedom for the individual, not regimentation.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication La Presse

Date Feb 6/47

S-172
D 50878

Subject

Une déclaration du premier ministre King

Seul le libéralisme peut assurer à chacun sa liberté individuelle

par Georges Langlois

Ottawa, 6. — Le parti libéral s'est nettement affirmé hier comme étant aussi éloigné du socialisme que du conservatisme ou "torysme", comme l'adversaire déterminé des privilèges de castes et des préjugés de classes.

Ce fut le thème des réunions d'hier du conseil de la fédération libérale nationale et tout particulièrement du discours que prononça dans la soirée le chef du parti libéral et chef du gouvernement fédéral, le très hon. Mackenzie King.

C'est la saison des congrès politiques. Le parti du socialisme canadien, le C.C.F., a tenu le sien le mois dernier, un peu avant l'ouverture de la session. Le parti conservateur - progressiste réunira ses fidèles au mois de mars. Cette semaine, c'est le parti libéral qui tient ses assises et ses chefs ne négligent rien pour ranimer le feu sacré de leurs troupes.

Les chefs libéraux ont voulu hier dissiper la confusion que certains de leurs adversaires avaient cherché à créer depuis quelque temps en représentant le parti de M. King comme inclinant tantôt vers le socialisme, tantôt vers le grand capitalisme, selon les besoins de la cause. Le premier ministre, le ministre des finances, l'hon. D.-C. Abbott, le ministre des transports, l'hon. Lionel Chevrier, et le président de la fédération libérale nationale, M. J.-Gordon Fogo, ont tour à tour proclamé, soit au cours des séances d'étude de la journée, soit au banquet d'hier soir, que le parti libéral est, au Canada, le seul véritable champion de la liberté individuelle, de cette liberté dont le monde a plus besoin que jamais.

Le très hon M. King

Dans une brillante improvisation où il précisa la position du parti libéral par rapport à celle de ses adversaires et illustra sa thèse par de exemples concrets et des comparaisons saisissantes, M. King définit le libéralisme canadien comme la voie du juste milieu entre l'individualisme stérilisant et le collectivisme dominateur, comme le triomphe du bien commun sur les intérêts particuliers.

Jetant un regard circulaire sur les délégations venues de tous les coins du Canada et même du Yukon, il vit dans l'auditoire même qui l'écoutait une image de la variété et de la multitude des intérêts particuliers qui peuvent s'opposer les uns aux autres dans un pays aussi vaste que le nôtre. Il en tira la conclusion que la seule politique possible dans un tel pays est celle qui aura subordonner ces intérêts particuliers à l'intérêt général.

Position des autres partis

Quelle est la position des autres partis?, se demande-t-il. Il voit dans le parti conservateur-progressiste, qu'il désigne par le vieux mot de "tory", le parti qui a toujours fait l'affaire des intérêts particuliers, des privilégiés. Quant au socialisme, il représente surtout une classe plutôt que le peuple dans son ensemble, et par "la socialisation de l'industrie, de la production, de la distribution, il vise à substituer des maîtres politiques aux maîtres professionnels dans les grandes industries et dans l'économie du pays". Le socialisme, dit M. King, tend à faire passer tous les hommes dans un même moule, à les enregimenter au service de l'Etat, à soumettre la direction de leurs vies mêmes au gouvernement.

Un exemple concret: le rationnement. Les "tories" voudraient supprimer d'un coup tous les contrôles d'Etat. Les socialistes du C.C.F. voudraient non seulement les maintenir, mais les multiplier et les établir indéfiniment. Les libéraux se gardent de ces deux extrêmes: ils ne veulent ni abolir les contrôles au bénéfice d'intérêts particuliers ni les prolonger sans besoin, mais maintenir ceux que certaines circonstances rendent nécessaires dans l'intérêt général.

Nécessité de l'initiative privée

Une comparaison: Le triomphe sportif de la jeune Canadienne d'Ottawa, Barbara-Ann Scott, qui vient de remporter brillamment un championnat européen du patinage de fantaisie. M. King se demande si la résignation peut rendre possible la confiance en soi qui permet d'atteindre ainsi les sommets, si la formule socialiste imposant à chacun de faire exactement comme les autres permettrait un tel succès. La même idée s'applique à la nécessité pour le Canada de maintenir le stimulant de l'initiative privée et de l'ambition pour faire face à la concurrence dans le domaine du commerce international, si important pour notre pays.

Reprenant sa comparaison avec le domaine des sports, le chef libéral poursuit: "C'est l'essence même de la pratique des sports de laisser la plus grande somme de liberté et d'initiative possible à l'individu tout en appliquant les règles nécessaires pour assurer le franc jeu. Mais tout en respectant les règles indispensables au "fair play", le sport ne peut admettre des règles qui domineraient le jeu au point de paralyser l'action des joueurs.

Tel est, selon M. King, le libéralisme qui assure à chacun la liberté individuelle dans la limite où cette liberté est conciliable avec celle des autres.

Et, dans une impressionnante généralisation, le premier ministre étend au reste du monde cette conception du libéralisme qui, à ses yeux, doit engendrer l'unité, la sécurité et la liberté, non seulement dans les limites de nos frontières, mais dans celles d'un monde devenu "un", où les océans et les continents, selon les termes de M. Chevrier, sont devenus des liens qui unissent au lieu d'être des distances qui séparent. La sécurité et la liberté ne peuvent exister chez nous si elles n'existent dans les autres parties du monde, et c'est pourquoi, conclut M. King, le monde a plus besoin que jamais du libéralisme et la tâche des libéraux est plus grande et plus importante que jamais.

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W.L.M.K.

March 10, 1947 D 30879

1. WWII - Occupation Forces

Statement by the Prime Minister,
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

Re: Withdrawal of Occupational Forces from Germany

This motion is in similar terms to that which was made by the hon. member from Nanaimo during the last session. It came up for consideration on April 8th. At the time, I felt obliged to point out that correspondence of the kind was, according to long-standing precedent, privileged. I asked the honourable member not to press for it, because it would not be possible to meet his wishes. To the motion as it stands on today's order paper I would have to make a similar reply: Correspondence between Governments, if of a secret or confidential nature, is not normally made public unless the consent of all the Governments concerned has first been asked and obtained. It is the practice for the Governments of the nations of the British Commonwealth to communicate with one another freely and frankly on all questions of common concern. Such communications are not in general intended to be made public. To create a precedent under which communications of this character were made public in little more than a year after they were written, might inhibit in future full and frank communications between the Governments of nations of

D 50880

the British Commonwealth. It is therefore the view of the Canadian Government that it would not be in the public interest to table, at the present time, the correspondence between the Canadian and the United Kingdom Governments on the withdrawal of Canadian occupational forces from Europe.

Having said this much, I hasten to add that in bringing forward this motion a year ago, the honourable member stated in reply to what I had then said:

> "If the Prime Minister is unable to produce all the papers, perhaps he could produce sufficient to clear up the matter, or he may be prepared to make a statement with regard to the reasons behind the withdrawal of this force."

To this I replied that I had no doubt the matter would come up when the Minister of Defence would be dealing with his Estimates or at some other appropriate moment; that I knew the Minister would be only too ready to make a statement at that time.

I was absent in the United Kingdom when the defence estimates were being discussed in the House and unable, therefore, to say just how far statements made by the Minister at the time may have covered the

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D 50881

matter to the satisfaction of my honourable friend.

May I say that the request of the honourable member, in asking, if the Prime Minister was unable to produce all the papers, perhaps he could produce sufficient to clear up the matter, or might be prepared to make a statement with regard to the reasons behind the withdrawal of this force, seems to me a wholly reasonable one, and had I been in the House when the Defence estimates were before the House a year ago, I would have been prepared to make the statement requested. The Government has every reason for desiring that the facts be known and understood.

In the expectation that my honourable friend would be prepared to take the same attitude today as he did a year ago, I have endeavoured to meet his wishes by preparing a statement with regard to the reasons behind the withdrawal of the force. The statement is based on the communications exchanged between our government and the government of the United Kingdom and will, I believe, meet in full the request for the reasons relative to the withdrawal of the Canadian army occupational forces from Germany without creating a precedent which might inhibit in future full and frank communications between the governments of nations of the British Commonwealth.

D 50882

The question of the provision of Canadian forces for occupational duty in Germany, after the defeat of Germany had been achieved, was one which was given very careful consideration over a considerable period of time. As a matter of fact, the matter was referred to in several telegrams between the governments of the United Kingdom and Canada over a period of a year and a half prior to January 1945. It was also discussed with Mr. Churchill and the United Kingdom Chiefs of Staff on the occasion of the Quebec Conference in September, 1944. There were further consultations through service channels.

On January 9th, 1945, the United Kingdom Government was informed that our government had decided to provide, for a period yet to be determined, one Army occupational group of approximately 25,000 all ranks for duty within the British zone of occupation in Germany and eleven R.C.A.F. squadrons to be stationed partly in Germany and partly in the United Kingdom.

At the time of sending this word, however, the Government of the United Kingdom was informed that there were some overall considerations of policy which the Canadian Government felt should be communicated intergovernmentally.

In this connection, I quote the following from the communication sent the British Government:

"We hold most firmly to the view that, upon the cessation of hostilities with Germany, Canadian forces should be repatriated from the European theatres as quickly as circumstances will permit. A noticeable number of our troops are now in their sixth year of service overseas. A considerable proportion have now served three years abroad. In any event, the average length of overseas service of Canadian forces must be considerably higher than that of the United States forces. Consequently when fighting against Germany has ended there will be a natural and insistent demand here in Canada, as well as amongst our troops abroad, that they should be brought home in the shortest possible time and certainly with no less despatch than that with which American forces will be returned to the United States.

"You are well aware that the difficult problem of sea transportation will continue for a considerable time after the defeat of Germany and that the early repatriation of all our forces, no matter how much this will be desired, will not be possible of achievement. Nevertheless, we must say that it would be both unwise on our part, and misleading to you,

were we, at this stage, definitely to undertake to furnish occupational forces for the whole period of military control in Germany.

"In these circumstances we take the view that our present decision should be reviewed towards the end of the next fiscal year, i.e. prior to 31st March, 1946. By that time much that is now hypothetical should be clearer. We should by then be better able to assess the length of the period of full military control of Germany, the strength of occupational forces which can be provided by our European allies, and the requirements of the Japanese war for manpower and shipping. It is uncertain, moreover, for how long after the fighting ends it will be politically possible to provide Canadian occupation forces in view of the fact that the plans for the control of Germany give the Canadian Government no voice in the direction of policy."

It will be noted that this communication was sent in January 1945 - over four months before the war with Germany had ended - and before questions of procedure and representation in the making of treaties of peace had been determined.

In December, 1945, the Canadian Government referring to the statement made in January of that year namely that it would be necessary for us to review before the end of that

fiscal year the Canadian commitment to provide one Army occupational group of approximately 25,000 and eleven R.C.A.F. squadrons, made representations as follows to the Government of the United Kingdom:

"The Cabinet have now given careful consideration to full reports on the subject submitted by our Chiefs of Staff. These reports have emphasized the serious administrative problems that are involved in maintaining comparatively small forces at so great a distance from Canada.

"On the basis of the shipping estimated as likely to be available, it is now probable that the Canadian Army overseas, except for the occupation force and administrative staffs, will have been repatriated to Canada by March or April of next year. Until this movement is completed the occupation force can be maintained at full strength without substantial departure from established repatriation priorities and without encountering serious problems with respect to replacements. After that time, however, the retention in Europe of the whole occupation force would create administrative difficulties out of all proportion to the numbers involved. We would, furthermore, expect that by then some of the European Allies should be in a position to make a larger contribution to the forces which will continue to be required in the British zone in Germany.

D 50886

"The government have, therefore, decided that, beginning in April next, the Canadian Army occupation force should be progressively reduced on a schedule which would provide for its withdrawal by stages with the object of completing movements from the Continent before the end of next summer and repatriating all Canadian Army personnel now overseas by the autumn of 1946.

"Accordingly, the Staff have been instructed to proceed with plans for the movement of the occupation force to Canada via the United Kingdom and to work out these arrangements in such a way as to permit of the orderly release of Canadian formations in consultation with United Kingdom military authorities."

On January 3rd, 1946, the Canadian Government was requested by the United Kingdom Government to reconsider this decision on the ground that the withdrawal of the Canadian forces would inevitably result in the retention of an extra number of forces from the United Kingdom. It was also pointed out that when Canada had withdrawn her forces, the United Kingdom would still have a number of men serving in Germany who would have had as much as five years service.

It was suggested that Canada should keep a Canadian division and elements of the Royal Canadian Air Force in Europe at least until after the spring of 1947.

In his message, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom stated that it was recognized that this suggestion would present considerably difficulties for us but it was well that both governments should not hesitate in making known all aspects of their respective situations.

In reply to his communication of January the 3rd, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom was informed that our government would not be able to modify the decisions about the withdrawal of the Canadian occupational forces as previously communicated. It was pointed out that these

decisions had been reached by the full Cabinet after a close review of the problems involved in maintaining a Canadian force in Germany after March 31, 1946.

It will be recalled that, at that time, namely January of last year, the Right Honourable Mr. St. Laurent, the Right Honourable Mr. Gardiner, the Honourable Mr. Martin and officials of the Canadian Government were in London attending the inaugural meeting of the United Nations Assembly. The Honourable Mr. Gibson was also in London on other business.

On January the 22nd, a meeting was held between the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Mr. St. Laurent and his ministerial colleagues at which the question of occupational forces was fully discussed. A verbal report of this meeting was later given to the Cabinet.

On February 13, 1946, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom was informed that the Canadian Government had again reviewed the position of the Canadian contingent in the United Kingdom occupational forces in Germany, having in mind the considerations which were put forward at the meeting between himself, Mr. St. Laurent and other Canadian Ministers who were in London, in January; that, in all

D 50889

the circumstances, we could see no alternative to the course of action communicated in our message of December the 8th, 1945, and confirmed in a message of January the 14th, 1946.

In view of this decision, an announcement became urgent.

The following is the text of the public statement as made on February 15, 1946:

"The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, announced to-day that the withdrawal from Germany of the Canadian troops in the occupation Army would begin early in April and that, with the present shipping forecast, all troops now in Germany should be back in Canada by September or October.

"In making the announcement, Mr. King recalled a statement he had made in the House of Commons on April 4th of last year in which he indicated that from time to time, as considerations of safety and security permitted, reductions would be made in the size of the occupation forces.

"At the outset, Canadian participation in the occupation of Germany was a natural development from our participation in the military operations in Northwest Europe. Unlike the United Kingdom, the United States, the Soviet Union and France, Canada is not one of the occupying Powers and is not a member of the Allied Control Commission. The Canadian contingent has consisted only of one division with ancillary troops in the British occupational zone.

"Certain of the other European allies which were not in a position to supply contingents at the beginning of the Occupation are now becoming increasingly able to share in occupation duties.

"Now that the greater part of the Canadian Army has been repatriated, the maintenance of a small occupation force thousands of miles from home has become increasingly difficult. Aside from grave difficulties in certain aspects of administration, the overhead required to provide headquarters, services, amenities, etc. for the Canadian force is inevitably quite out of proportion to its size.

"As has been previously announced, one squadron of the R.C.A.F. will be withdrawn from the occupational force at the end of March, 1946, and the remaining squadrons will be withdrawn on the 30th June. If satisfactory arrangements can be made, they may be withdrawn prior to that date."

This statement, I believe, is a true and full presentation of all essential features of this matter, and will, I hope, give to hon. members the information desired.

D 50892

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Statement by the Prime Minister,
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

Re: Withdrawal of Occupational Forces from Germany

This motion is in similar terms to that which was made by the hon. member from Nanaimo during the last session. It came up for consideration on April 8th. At the time, I felt obliged to point out that correspondence of the kind was, according to long-standing precedent, privileged. I asked the honourable member not to press for it, because it would not be possible to meet his wishes. To the motion, as it stands on today's order paper, I would have to make a similar reply. Correspondence between Governments, if of a secret or confidential nature, is not normally made public unless the consent of all the Governments concerned has first been asked and obtained. apart from this, It is the practice for the Governments of the nations of the British Commonwealth to communicate with one another freely and frankly on all questions of common concern. Such communications are not in general intended to be made public. To create a precedent under which communications of this character were made public in little more than a year after they were written, might inhibit in future full and frank communications between the Governments of nations of

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Having said this much, I hasten to add that in bringing forward this motion a year ago, the honourable member stated in reply to what I had then said:

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The question of the provision of Canadian forces for occupational duty in Germany, after the defeat of Germany had been achieved, was one which was given very careful consideration over a considerable period of time. As a matter of fact, the matter was referred to in several telegrams between the governments of the United Kingdom and Canada over a period of a year and a half prior to January 1945. It was also discussed with Mr. Churchill and the United Kingdom Chiefs of Staff on the occasion of the Quebec Conference in September, 1944. There were further consultations through service channels.

On January 9th, 1945, the United Kingdom Government was informed that our government had decided to provide, for a period yet to be determined, one Army occupational group of approximately 25,000 all ranks for duty within the British zone of occupation in Germany and eleven R.C.A.F. squadrons to be stationed partly in Germany and partly in the United Kingdom.

At the time of sending this word, however, the Government of the United Kingdom was informed that there were some overall considerations of policy which the Canadian Government felt should be communicated intergovernmentally.

D 50896

In this connection, I quote the following from the communication sent the British Government:

"We hold most firmly to the view that, upon the cessation of hostilities with Germany, Canadian forces should be repatriated from the European theatres as quickly as circumstances will permit. A noticeable number of our troops are now in their sixth year of service overseas. A considerable proportion have now served three years abroad. In any event, the average length of overseas service of Canadian forces must be considerably higher than that of the United States forces. Consequently when fighting against Germany has ended there will be a natural and insistent demand here in Canada, as well as amongst our troops abroad, that they should be brought home in the shortest possible time and certainly with no less despatch than that with which American forces will be returned to the United States.

"You are well aware that the difficult problem of sea transportation will continue for a considerable time after the defeat of Germany and that the early repatriation of all our forces, no matter how much this will be desired, will not be possible of achievement. Nevertheless, we must say that it would be both unwise on our part, and misleading to you,

were we, at this stage, definitely to undertake to furnish occupational forces for the whole period of military control in Germany.

"In these circumstances we take the view that our present decision should be reviewed towards the end of the next fiscal year, i.e. prior to 31st March, 1946. By that time much that is now hypothetical should be clearer. We should by then be better able to assess the length of the period of full military control of Germany, the strength of occupational forces which can be provided by our European allies, and the requirements of the Japanese war for manpower and shipping. It is uncertain, moreover, for how long after the fighting ends it will be politically possible to provide Canadian occupation forces in view of the fact that the plans for the control of Germany give the Canadian Government no voice in the direction of policy."

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fiscal year the Canadian commitment to provide one Army occupational group of approximately 25,000 and eleven R.C.A.F. squadrons, made representations as follows to the Government of the United Kingdom:

"The Cabinet have now given careful consideration to full reports on the subject submitted by our Chiefs of Staff. These reports have emphasized the serious administrative problems that are involved in maintaining comparatively small forces at so great a distance from Canada.

"On the basis of the shipping estimated as likely to be available, it is now probable that the Canadian Army overseas, except for the occupation force and administrative staffs, will have been repatriated to Canada by March or April of next year. Until this movement is completed the occupation force can be maintained at full strength without substantial departure from established repatriation priorities and without encountering serious problems with respect to replacements. After that time, however, the retention in Europe of the whole occupation force would create administrative difficulties out of all proportion to the numbers involved. We would, furthermore, expect that by then some of the European Allies should be in a position to make a larger contribution to the forces which will continue to be required in the British zone in Germany.

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"The government have, therefore, decided that, beginning in April next, the Canadian Army occupation force should be progressively reduced on a schedule which would provide for its withdrawal by stages with the object of completing movements from the Continent before the end of next summer and repatriating all Canadian Army personnel now overseas by the autumn of 1946.

"Accordingly, the Staff have been instructed to proceed with plans for the movement of the occupation force to Canada via the United Kingdom and to work out these arrangements in such a way as to permit of the orderly release of Canadian formations in consultation with United Kingdom military authorities."

D 50900

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It will be recalled that, at that time, namely January of last year, the Right Honourable Mr. St. Laurent, the Right Honourable Mr. Gardiner, the Honourable Mr. Martin and officials of the Canadian Government were in London attending the inaugural meeting of the United Nations Assembly. The Honourable Mr. Gibson was also in London on other business.

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the circumstances, we could see no alternative to the course of action communicated in our message of December the 8th, 1945, and confirmed in a message of January the 14th, 1946.

In view of this decision, an announcement became urgent.

D 50903

The following is the text of the public statement as made on February 15, 1946:

"The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, announced to-day that the withdrawal from Germany of the Canadian troops in the occupation Army would begin early in April and that, with the present shipping forecast, all troops now in Germany should be back in Canada by September or October.

"In making the announcement, Mr. King recalled a statement he had made in the House of Commons on April 4th of last year in which he indicated that from time to time, as considerations of safety and security permitted, reductions would be made in the size of the occupation forces.

"At the outset, Canadian participation in the occupation of Germany was a natural development from our participation in the military operations in Northwest Europe. Unlike the United Kingdom, the United States, the Soviet Union and France, Canada is not one of the occupying Powers and is not a member of the Allied Control Commission. The Canadian contingent has consisted only of one division with ancillary troops in the British occupational zone.

"Certain of the other European allies which were not in a position to supply contingents at the beginning of the Occupation are now becoming increasingly able to share in occupation duties.

"Now that the greater part of the Canadian Army has been repatriated, the maintenance of a small occupation force thousands of miles from home has become increasingly difficult. Aside from grave difficulties in certain aspects of administration, the overhead required to provide headquarters, services, amenities, etc. for the Canadian force is inevitably quite out of proportion to its size.

"As has been previously announced, one squadron of the R.C.A.F. will be withdrawn from the occupational force at the end of March, 1946, and the remaining squadrons will be withdrawn on the 30th June. If satisfactory arrangements can be made, they may be withdrawn prior to that date."

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
80		Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Mar. 1947	D 50905 - D 50908	
80		Canada's Immigration Policy. Speeches in Parliament	1 May 1947	D 50909 - D 50920	
80		Unveiling Ceremony, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 June 1947	D 50921 - D 50939	
80		Welcome to President Truman. Speeches in Parliament	11 June 1947	D 50940 - D 51010	
80		Marian Congress, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	18 June 1947	D 51011 - D 51041	
80		Newfoundland Delegation. Speeches in Parliament	23 June 1947	D 51042 - D 51095	
80		Post - U.N.R.R.A. Relief. Speeches in Parliament	24 June 1947	D 51096 - D 51102	
80		Government Dinner, (Newfoundland), Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	24 June 1947	D 51103 - D 51107	
80		Newfoundland - Canada Meeting, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 June 1947	D 51108 - D 51142	

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

D50905 5192

Name of Publication OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Date MAR 20 1947

Subject

Unique Event To Honor Rt.Rev.Dr.T.W. Jones

At the first church and state function of the kind held in many years, a luncheon yesterday given by United Church Senators and members of Parliament in honor of Rt. Rev. Dr. T. W. Jones, Moderator, United Church of Canada, Prime Minister Mackenzie King referred to, "this growing nightmare of totalitarian effort".

Mr. King described it as, "the materialism and atheism that is the antithesis of the Christian spirit" and declared that "if we cease to be Christian communities we are doomed. Our choice is between materialistic and Christian philosophy. Unless we have the spirit of brotherhood among all the nations nothing is going to save us."

The Prime Minister stressed the relation between church and state, saying that it is important that it should grow and be cemented. The churches have played a great part in the development of human society and there must be co-operation between church and state."

Expressing his pleasure at being present, Mr. King paid tribute to Dr. Jones as having "a record second to none for his 34 years ministry at one Montreal church and his services to the state in the two great world wars."

He also congratulated Very Rev. Dr. John W. Woodside on his election as president of the western section of the World Alliance of Christian Churches holding the Presbyterian system. "He is one of our foremost citizens and has the warm congratulations of members of the Senate and House of Commons on the honor to him and the whole country."

Mr. King At Best

Happily recovered from recent indisposition, Mr. King was at his very best as an afterdinner speaker, again and again convulsing the gathering with laughter by his topical references, witty 'asides' and genial jokes at the expense of his own followers and members of other parties present.

Dr. Jones, in a speech rhythmical with Welsh eloquence, denied Gordon Graydon's designation of him as a "selfmade man."

"I have been made by others, by my father and mother who, of humble station, lived for their children, and by those who when I came to Canada as an immigrant at 24 years of age gave me help and inspiration.

"I am so greatly in debt to this country that I can never repay it, but I am trying my best to do something toward it. One of my great privileges was in serving soldiers who were being ministered to in hospitals from coast to coast."

The United Church Moderator paid tribute to, "the gallant men and women who represented Canada in the war. This freedom represented here today is because of the price paid by these men and women.

"One wonders how many there are overseas today looking to this country. I hope that when they are permitted to come the church will be there to welcome them. Ours, also, is the challenge to bring a richer, fuller, life to the people already in this country.

Need For Progress

"Voices in China and India and Africa are calling us. We have a stake in all these lands beyond the sea. The United Church has a large place to fill, a mighty work to do. We realize the need for progress and change, for a better way of life The church is trying to catch the new spirit and is moving forward."

Dr. Jones was introduced and thanked by the chairman, Gordon Graydon, MP. In his introductory remarks, Mr. Graydon declared this, "to be the happiest occasion for a long time in our public work." Spontaneously several MP's made the welkin ring as they sang martial hymns of the church.

Beside the charman and the guest of honor, others at the head table were Prime Minister King. John Bracken, Rt. Hon. Jas. Gardiner, Hon. J. A. Glen, Very Rev. Dr. J. W. Woodside, Rev. J. Richmond, Dr. Geo. W. Ross, and Dr R. Gordon Agnew.

The function was sponsored by 18 Senators and 61 members of the House of Commons, and the arrangements were made by Senator James Murdock and H. R. Jackman, MP.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

5192

Date MAR 20 1947

D 50906

Subject .....

King Sees Totalitarian Threat As Spirit of Church Fades

Ottawa, March 19 (CP).—Prime Minister Mackenzie King said today that Canada, as other countries, was menaced by the "terrible threat of totalitarianism."

Mr. King spoke of the relationships of church and state in the Dominion at a luncheon tendered by United Church members of the Commons and the Senate to Rt. Rev. T. W. Jones, moderator of the General Council of United Churches in Canada.

"I feel very strongly," said Mr. King, "on the importance of that relationship, and realize fully the great part the different churches play in the development of society in our country.

"The spirit of the Christian Church is disappearing all too rapidly, and in its place is growing the terrible threat of totalitarianism. That is not a Christian spirit. It is the very antithesis of it. It is the spirit of materialism, of atheism.

"If we cease to be Christians we are doomed. It will mean the end of civilization. A crusaders' cavalcade, such as you gentlemen of the United Church of Canada are engaged in, is what is most urgently required in the world today.

"The atomic bomb own't settle anything at all. Far from it, this bomb can mean the end of everything. Unless we have the spirit of brotherhood and that spirit is made to prevail among nations, nothing is to be hoped for in the way of lasting peace."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication TORONTO GLOBE & MAIL

Date MAR 20 1947

5192
D 50906

Subject

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REPEAT
REPETITION

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication MONTREAL GAZETTE 5192

Date MAR 21D 1947 D 50907

Subject

WARNING IS ISSUED BY MACKENZIE KING

Prime Minister Claims Canada Menaced by Totalitarianism Threat

Ottawa, March 19. — (CP) — Prime Minister Mackenzie King said today in an address that Canada, as other countries, was menaced by the "terrible threat of totalitarianism."

Mr. King spoke of the relationships of church and state in the Dominion at a luncheon tendered by United Church members of the Commons and the Senate to Rt. Rev. T. W. Jones, moderator of the General Council of United Churches in Canada.

"I feel very strongly," said Mr. King, "on the importance of that relationship and realize fully the great part the different churches play in the development of society in our country.

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"The atomic bomb won't settle anything at all. Far from it, this bomb can mean the end of everything. Unless we have the spirit of brotherhood and that spirit is made to prevail among nations, nothing is to be hoped for in the way of lasting peace."

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Office of
The Prime Minister

Name of Publication Toronto Telegram

Date March 20/47

5172
Speech Outside

D 50908

Subject

TOTALITARIANS CANADA'S PERIL MR. KING SAYS

Prime Minister Deplores Flight From Christianity Into Horrors of Atheistic Materialism

Ottawa, March 20—(CP)—Prime Minister Mackenzie King said that Canada, as other countries, was menaced by the "terrible threat of totalitarianism."

Mr. King spoke of the relationships of church and state in the Dominion at a luncheon tendered by United Church members of the Commons and the Senate to Rt. Rev. T. W. Jones, moderator of the General Council of United Churches in Canada.

"I feel very strongly," said Mr. King, "on the importance of that relationship and realize fully the great part the different churches play in the development of society in our country.

"The spirit of the Christian church is disappearing all too rapidly and in its place is growing the terrible threat of totalitarianism. That is not a Christian spirit. It is the very antithesis of it. It is the spirit of materialism, of atheism.

"If we cease to be Christians we are doomed. It will mean the end of civilization. A crusaders' cavalcade, such as you gentlemen of the United Church of Canada are engaged in is what is most urgently required in the world today.

"The atomic bomb won't settle anything at all. Far from it, this bomb can mean the end of everything. Unless we have the spirit of brotherhood and that spirit is made to prevail among nations, nothing is to be hoped for in the way of lasting peace."

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80		Government Dinner, (Newfoundland), Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	24 June 1947	D 51103 - D 51107	
80		Newfoundland - Canada Meeting, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 June 1947	D 51108 - D 51142	

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D 50909

CANADA'S IMMIGRATION POLICY

Statement by the Prime Minister

House of Commons

May 1st, 1947

Before the House resumes the debate on the second reading of the bill to amend the Immigration Act, I should like to set forth, in broad outline, the government's policy with respect to immigration.

The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration. The government will seek by legislation, regulation, and vigorous administration to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can advantageously be absorbed in our national economy.

Like other major problems of today, the problem of immigration must be viewed in the light of the world situation as a whole. A wise and productive policy for Canada cannot be devised by studying only the situation within our own country. For example, temporary but

effective limits on any policy that is to be applied immediately are created by the problem of providing ocean transportation and of establishing inspection facilities in certain countries to which access is difficult at present. Moreover, Canada's policy has to be related to the social, political and economic circumstances resulting from the war. Among other considerations, it should take account of the urgent problem of the resettlement of persons who are displaced and homeless, as an aftermath of the world conflict.

Under existing circumstances, therefore, Canada's policy with respect to immigration falls, necessarily, into two parts:- measures designed for immediate application and a long-term programme.

Let me point out at once that with regard to immigration at the present time, there is confusion of two fundamental points; namely, the extent to which immigrants may legally enter Canada, and the extent to which they can physically get to Canada. At present, the limiting factor is not our legislation or regulations, but the shortage of transport. Through Canada's High Commissioner in London, the Government has kept in active touch with shipping authorities and transportation companies in the United

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Kingdom to see what may be possible in the way of special shipping services. As to what may prove feasible, I am unable to make a final report at this time. Other countries interested in encouraging immigration face precisely the same conditions, and are experiencing the same difficulties. The problem of transportation is a very real one. It cannot be overcome in a week or a month, or indeed within the next year.

The shortage of shipping means that Canada cannot secure more immigrants simply by changing laws and regulations. Since those persons we would be glad to welcome will not all be able to come, the shortage of shipping also means that we have to decide to which immigrants prior opportunity to come to Canada is to be given.

Because of the limitations of transport, the government decided that, as respects immigration from Europe, the emphasis for the present should be on the admission of the relatives of persons who are already in Canada, and on assisting in the resettlement of displaced persons and refugees.

Up until the end of the war, (under Order in Council P.C.695 of March 21, 1931) four broad categories of persons were admissible to Canada. These were:

1. British subjects from the United Kingdom, Ireland, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia or the Union of South Africa, who possessed sufficient means to maintain themselves until employment was secured.

2. United States citizens, similarly possessed of means of maintenance.

3. Wives, unmarried children under 18, or fiancees of men resident in Canada.

4. Agriculturists with sufficient means to farm in Canada.

During the 1930's, due to the adverse economic conditions of the period, these provisions were necessarily interpreted in a restrictive manner. Because of improved economic conditions, it is now possible to interpret them broadly. It is the intention of the government, under present circumstances, to have the regulations so administered that British subjects from the United Kingdom, Ireland, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia or the Union of South Africa, and citizens of the United States, who desire to enter Canada will only be required to meet certain standards of health and character, and to show that they are not likely to become public charges.

At the end of the war, it was felt that conditions in Europe made it desirable to widen the categories of relatives of Canadian residents who could be admitted to Canada. As a result these categories, some time ago, were extended substantially. Recently, the terms of admissibility were extended to include still wider groups of relatives. All married relatives who are admissible are now granted the right to bring their families with them. I would ask leave of the House to table a copy of the Order in Council (P.C.1734 of May 1st, 1947) which extends the terms of admissibility.

The government has also extended admissibility to persons who are suitable for employment in the primary industries. As hon. members are aware, Canada's primary industries are experiencing an acute shortage of manpower.

The resettlement of refugees and displaced persons constitutes a special problem. In the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees, and in the discussions in the United Nations leading to the establishment of the International Refugee Organization, Canada has taken an active part. In this connection, the government has taken measures respecting the admission of refugees and displaced persons, and also of Polish ex-soldiers. These measures,

though not of wide scope, are practical steps within the present physical limitations imposed by transportation.

Canada is not obliged, as a result of membership in the United Nations or under the constitution of the International Refugee Organization, to accept any specific number of refugees or displaced persons. We have, nevertheless, a moral obligation to assist in meeting the problem, and this obligation we are prepared to recognize.

The government is sending immigration officers to examine the situation among the refugee groups, and to take steps looking towards the early admission of some thousands of their number. In developing this group movement, the Immigration Branch and the Department of Labour will determine jointly the approximate number of persons who can be readily placed in employment and absorbed into various industries and occupations. Selection officers will then consider applicants for entry into Canada, examine them on a basis of suitability and physical fitness, and make arrangements for their orderly movement and placement. Persons so admitted will, of course, be included in whatever quota Canada finally accepts as its share in meeting the general problem. In taking these steps the government is seeking to

ensure that the displaced persons admitted to Canada are of a type likely to make good citizens.

Let me now speak of the government's long term programme. It is based on the conviction that Canada needs population. The government is strongly of the view that our immigration policy should be devised in a positive sense, with the definite objective, as I have already stated, of enlarging the population of the country. This it will seek to attain through the development and energetic application of productive immigration measures.

The population of Canada at present is about 12,000,000. By 1951, in the absence of immigration, it is estimated that our population would be less than 13,000,000 and that by 1971, without immigration, the population would be approximately 14,600,000. Apart from all else, in a world of shrinking distances and international insecurity, we cannot ignore the danger that lies in a small population attempting to hold so great a heritage as ours.

The fear has been expressed that immigration would lead to a reduction in the standard of living. This need

not be the case. If immigration is properly planned, the result will be the reverse. A larger population will help to develop our resources. By providing a larger number of consumers, in other words a larger domestic market, it will reduce the present dependence of Canada on the export of primary products. The essential thing is that immigrants be selected with care, and that their numbers be adjusted to the absorptive capacity of the country.

It is of the utmost importance to relate immigration to absorptive capacity. In the past, Canada has received many millions of immigrants, but at the same time many millions of people have emigrated. Of the latter, a large proportion were young people born in Canada, and others who had benefitted by education or training received in Canada. The objective of the government is to secure what new population we can absorb, but not to exceed that number. The figure that represents our absorptive capacity will clearly vary from year to year in response to economic conditions. At the present stage, when Canada is returning to a normal situation after war-time disruption, it is impossible, with any degree of accuracy, to make forecasts as to our future power of absorption. For sometime to come,

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no matter what special shipping arrangements we may be able to achieve, conditions of transport will limit the number of immigrants. When that limitation ceases to prevail, it will be necessary to consider further what measures will best achieve the adjustment of immigration to the numbers that can be absorbed into the economy of Canada.

With regard to the selection of immigrants, much has been said about discrimination. I wish to make it quite clear, that Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a "fundamental human right" of any alien to enter Canada. It is a privilege. It is a matter of domestic policy. Immigration is subject to the control of the Parliament of Canada. This does not mean, however, that we should not seek to remove from our legislation discrimination which appears to be objectionable.

One of the features of our legislation to which strong objection has been taken on the ground of discrimination is the Chinese Immigration Act. This act seems to place persons from one particular country in an inferior category. The government has already initiated

action for the repeal of that statute. Chinese residents of Canada who are not already Canadian citizens may now be naturalized. Once naturalized, they are permitted to bring their wives and unmarried children under 18 to join them in this country.

The East Indians legally resident in Canada are British subjects who have resided here for many years. They are therefore Canadian citizens. As such, their wives and unmarried children under 18 are admissible. With regard to the Japanese, I stated on August 4, 1944, at which time we were at war with Japan, that the government felt that in the years after the war the immigration of Japanese should not be permitted. That is the present view and policy of the government. It will be for future parliaments to consider what change, if any, should be made in this policy.

There will, I am sure, be general agreement with the view that the people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population. Large-scale immigration from the Orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population. Any considerable oriental immigration would, moreover, be certain to give rise to social and economic problems of a character that

might lead to serious difficulties in the field of international relations. The Government, therefore, has no thought of making any change in immigration regulations which would have consequences of the kind.

I wish to state quite definitely that, apart from the repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act and the revocation of Order in Council P.C. 1378 of June 17, 1931, regarding naturalization, the Government has no intention of removing the existing regulations respecting Asiatic immigration unless and until alternative measures of effective control have been worked out. Canada recognizes the right of all other countries to control the entry or non-entry of persons seeking to become permanent residents. We claim precisely the same right for our country.

I wish to make it equally clear that the Canadian Government is prepared, at any time, to enter into negotiations with other countries for special agreements for the control of admission of immigrants on a basis of complete equality and reciprocity.

Through the years of depression and war, and consequently of greatly restricted immigration, the Immigration Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources

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and its offices abroad were reduced to proportions wholly inadequate to cope with an active immigration policy. With the end of the war, and in the light of changed economic conditions, the Government has already taken steps to expand and strengthen this branch of the public service. To carry out the Government's policy effectively, immigration services will be further developed to meet expanding requirements.

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The Speaker of the Senate

The Speaker of the House of Commons

UNVEILING OF PORTRAITS
of
Canada's Prime Ministers in two World Wars
The Late Rt. Hon. Sir Robert L. Borden and The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.

The Halls of Parliament, June 10, 1947.

1. At 5.20 p.m. the Senate and the House of Commons adjourn.
2. At 5.30 p.m. His Excellency, Field Marshal the Rt. Hon. the Viscount Alexander, Governor General of Canada, and his party assemble in the office of the Speaker of the House of Commons and proceed to the Main Lobby.

God Save the King

3. The Speaker of the House of Commons refers to the significance of the occasion.
4. At the invitation of the Speaker of the Senate, His Excellency the Governor General unveils the portrait of The Rt. Hon. Sir Robert L. Borden.
5. The Speaker of the Senate presents the artist, Mr. Kenneth Forbes of Toronto, Ontario.
6. At the invitation of the Speaker of the Commons, His Excellency the Governor General unveils the portrait of The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.
7. The Speaker of the House of Commons presents the artist, Mr. Frank O. Salisbury of London, England.
8. His Excellency the Governor General addresses Members of Parliament.
9. The Speaker of the Senate calls on Senator Ballantyne, who was Minister in Sir Robert Borden's Cabinet.
10. The Speaker of the House of Commons calls on the Prime Minister.

* * * * *

O Canada

June 1947

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After many years in Parliament, I cannot say what it means to me to be surrounded by those most closely associated with me in public life and to hear the expressions of good-will from all ~~xxx~~ sides of the House.

~~Thanks Members of all parties and friends of Press Gallery.~~

Some say they cannot account for it. I shall not venture to account for it myself.

Some say it is due to the confidence of the electorate,

to party and policies

to loyalty of friends in Cabinet
followers in H. of C.

consideration of opponents

members of public service

Thanks to members of all parties and to Press Gallery.

Leave to join His Excellency.

D 50923

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

CANADA

Dear Sharon

After many years of [illegible]
which it seems [illegible]
the surrounded by [illegible] and
closely connected to [illegible]
[illegible] I have expressions of good
wishes also from [illegible]
[illegible] have [illegible] morning the article in
[illegible]

I can assure you
Ottawa [illegible] [illegible] confidence of the [illegible]
a measure in the [illegible] of [illegible]
in the [illegible]
& Commonwealth of Nations.
[illegible] members of
[illegible] Service
[illegible] to come [illegible]
[illegible] for [illegible] years.

Best wishes of all for [illegible] success
& a new [illegible]

UNVEILING CEREMONY

D 50924

June 10, 1947

Remarks by the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.

Your Excellency, Mr. President, and
fellow Members of Parliament:

You, Mr. Speaker, have given me a difficult task indeed. Of the kindnesses of all present, there are many acknowledgments I should like to make. I wish I felt equal to the least of them. I doubt if in the twenty years to which reference has been made this afternoon, there has been a moment when I have been as conscious of the extent of my obligation to others, and less able to give expression to the gratitude I feel.

I know I speak not less for others than for myself when I say how grateful we are to His Excellency the Governor General for having consented to honour this occasion with his presence, and to unveil the two portraits which he has unveiled this afternoon. It is a happy circumstance that we should have, in our Governor General, especially today, one who is at once a Field Marshal and an artist. His Excellency has referred to the association of the portraits with one or other of the great wars. May I say to His Excellency that we have much in mind that he himself is a veteran of the two wars.

D 50925

We are indeed indebted to one who has had so valiant and decisive a role in war for lending to today's proceedings the association of his illustrious name.

We are also especially honoured by the presence at today's ceremony of the President of the United States. That you, Mr. Truman, almost at the moment of your arrival in our Capital, should have expressed a wish to accompany His Excellency on this occasion, is an evidence of personal and international good-will for which I cannot thank you too warmly. Your presence has added a note of exceptional significance. Those here assembled will never forget that they were privileged to see the President of the United States and the Representative of His Majesty the King side by side in the central hall of our Houses of Parliament.

It is a source of pleasure to me to recall today that in 1919, at the time I became Leader of my party and Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, it was Sir Robert Borden who was Prime Minister. No one, I imagine, is in a better position than I am today to appreciate the strain and anxieties which Sir Robert experienced throughout the years of war. No one knows better than Senator Ballantyne how cordial at all times were the personal relations between Sir Robert and myself. I am glad it has been given to so

intimate and devoted a friend of Sir Robert, one who was a member of his Cabinet, and who is the senior Privy Councillor on the opposition benches in Parliament, to speak today of the portrait of his late Leader. The Senator, I hope, will allow me to express to him my very warm thanks for his all too kind personal references to myself. They come, I know, from the heart of an old and true friend.

I am sure all of us who knew Sir Robert Borden will agree that the portrait by Mr. Kenneth Forbes, which we now see before us, is a worthy and striking likeness, and that it reflects great credit upon the artist. I should like in the name of the Government, to thank Mr. Forbes for the portrait he has painted of Sir Robert Borden, and to congratulate him upon it.

Your Excellency, I come to a very difficult part of what I have to say. How am I to express to my fellow members of Parliament my appreciation of the honour they have done me in wishing to have the portrait of myself, by my friend, Frank Salisbury, given a place on the walls of Parliament? How am I to thank them for wishing to have it given an association, with the portrait of Sir Robert Borden, in events which are outstanding in history? How am I to thank them for having selected today - the day on which I have completed twenty years of office - as the day for the unveiling of the two portraits? And how am I tothank His Honour the Speaker of the Commons for what he has just said?

In one thing I am fortunate indeed. It is that the artist, Mr. Salisbury, has found it possible to be with us today. Mr. Salisbury will be able to assure you that it was to his persuasion rather than to any expressed desire on my part that the portrait owes its existence. Perhaps nothing could better illustrate Mr. Salisbury's skill as an artist than what he has been able to make of me! I am indeed grateful to him for including me among the number of those to whom his brush has of itself helped to bring distinction.

After the many years I have been in Parliament and in office, I cannot tell you what it means to me to find myself surrounded, as I am at this moment, by those with whom I have been most closely associated in the public life of Canada. It is an expression of friendship and good-will on the part of political friends and opponents alike, much too moving to be acknowledged in words. I cannot begin to express what this occasion means to me today, or what it will mean to me for the remainder of my days. I can only thank you, one and all, and this I do with all my heart.

All too soon associations of the present melt into memories of the past. I am happy to think that those who have shared today's associations may not find the memory of them lacking in warmth or colour with the passing of the years.

D 50928

I even venture to hope that, to those who seek a noble calling, the memory of this occasion will serve to lend a glow to public life and to reveal the richness of the rewards of public service.

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The Speaker of the Senate

The Speaker of the House of Commons

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8. His Excellency the Governor General addresses Members of Parliament.
9. The Speaker of the Senate calls on Senator Ballantyne, who was Minister in Sir Robert Borden's Cabinet.
10. The Speaker of the House of Commons calls on the Prime Minister.

O Canada

D 50930

All too soon associations of the present melt into memories of the past. I am happy to think that those who have shared today's associations may not find the memory of them lacking in warmth or colour with the passing of the years. I even venture to hope that to those who seek a noble calling, the memory of this occasion will serve to lend a glow to public life and to reveal the richness of the rewards of public service.

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UNVEILING CEREMONY

June 10, 1947

Your Excellency, Mr. President, and

fellow Members of Parliament:

Introductory

You, Mr. Speaker, have given me a difficult task indeed. Of the kindnesses of all present, there are many acknowledgments I should like to make. I wish I felt equal to the least of them. I doubt if in the twenty years to which reference has been made this afternoon, there has been a moment when I have been as conscious of the extent of my obligation to others, and less able to give expression to the gratitude I feel.

Reference to Governor General

I know I speak not less for others than for myself when I say how grateful we are to His Excellency the Governor General for having consented to honour this occasion with his presence, and to unveil the two portraits which he has unveiled this afternoon. It is a happy circumstance that we should have, in our Governor General, especially today, one who is at once a Field Marshal and an artist. His Excellency has ~~said that~~ referred to the portraits have an association with one or other of the great wars. May I say to ~~Your~~ His Excellency that we have much in mind

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that he himself is a veteran of the two wars. We are indeed indebted to one who has had so valiant and decisive a role in war for leading / ~~in giving~~ to today's proceedings the association of his illustrious name.

We are also especially honoured by the presence at today's ceremony of the President of the United States. That you, Mr. Truman, almost at the moment of your arrival in our Capital, should have expressed a wish to accompany His Excellency on this occasion, is an ~~expression~~ evidence of personal and international good-will for which I cannot thank you too warmly. Your presence has added a note of exceptional significance ~~to today's proceedings~~. Those here assembled will never forget that they were privileged to see the Representative ~~in Canada~~ of His Majesty the King and the ~~and the~~ President of the United States side by side in the central hall of our Houses of Parliament.

Reference to Sir Robert Borden

It is a source of pleasure to me to recall today that in 1919, at the time I became Leader of my party, and Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, it was Sir Robert Borden who was Prime Minister. No one, I imagine is in a better position than I am today to appreciate the strain and anxieties which Sir Robert experienced throughout the

years of war. No one knows better than Senator Ballantyne how cordial at all times were the personal relations between Sir Robert and myself. I am glad it has been given to so intimate and devoted a friend of Sir Robert, one who was a member of his Cabinet, and who is the senior Privy Councillor on the opposition benches in ~~either House of~~ Parliament to ~~accept, on behalf of parliament~~ the portrait of his late Leader. The Senator, I hope, will allow me to express to him my very warm thanks for his all too kind personal references to myself. They come, I know, from the heart of an old and true friend.

Reference to Kenneth Forbes

I am sure all of us who knew Sir Robert Borden will agree that the portrait by Mr. Kenneth Forbes, which we now see before us, is a worthy and striking likeness, and that it reflects great credit upon the artist. I should like in the name of the Government, to thank Mr. Forbes for the portrait he has painted of Sir Robert Borden, and to congratulate him upon it.

Thanks to fellow members:

Your Excellency, I come to a very difficult part of what I have to say. How am I to express to my fellow members of parliament my appreciation of the honour they have done me

(1) in wishing to have the portrait of myself, by my friend, Frank Salisbury, given a place on the walls of Parliament. How am I to thank them for wishing to have it given an (2) association, with the portrait of Sir Robert Borden, in events which are outstanding in history? How am I to (3) thank them for having selected today - the day on which I have completed twenty years of office - as the day for the (4) unveiling of the two portraits? And how am I to thank His Honour the Speaker of the Commons for what he has just said?

Reference to Salisbury

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Personal Significance of the Occasion and thanks for

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been most closely associated in the public life of Canada. It is an expression of friendship and good-will on the part of political friends and opponents alike, much too moving to be acknowledged in words. I cannot begin to express what this occasion means to me today, or what it will mean to me for the remainder of my days. I can only thank you, one and all, and this I do with all my heart.

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D 50936

UNVEILING CEREMONY

June 10, 1947

Remarks by the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.

Your Excellency, Mr. President, and
fellow Members of Parliament:

You, Mr. Speaker, have given me a difficult task indeed. Of the kindnesses of all present, there are many acknowledgments I should like to make. I wish I felt equal to the least of them. I doubt if in the twenty years to which reference has been made this afternoon, there has been a moment when I have been as conscious of the extent of my obligation to others, and less able to give expression to the gratitude I feel.

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D 50937

has had so valiant and decisive a role in war for lending to today's proceedings the association of his illustrious name.

We are also especially honoured by the presence at today's ceremony of the President of the United States. That you, Mr. Truman, almost at the moment of your arrival in our Capital, should have expressed a wish to accompany His Excellency on this occasion, is an evidence of personal and international good-will for which I cannot thank you too warmly. Your presence has added a note of exceptional significance. Those here assembled will never forget that they were privileged to see the President of the United States and the Representative of His Majesty the King side by side in the central hall of our Houses of Parliament.

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D 50938

on the opposition benches in Parliament, to speak today of the portrait of his late Leader. The Senator, I hope, will allow me to express to him my very warm thanks for his all too kind personal references to myself. They come, I know, from the heart of an old and true friend.

I am sure all of us who knew Sir Robert Borden will agree that the portrait by Mr. Kenneth Forbes, which we now see before us, is a worthy and striking likeness, and that it reflects great credit upon the artist. I should like in the name of the Government, to thank Mr. Forbes for the portrait he has painted of Sir Robert Borden, and to congratulate him upon it.

Your Excellency, I come to a very difficult part of what I have to say. How am I to express to my fellow members of Parliament my appreciation of the honour they have done me in wishing to have the portrait of myself, by my friend, Frank Salisbury, given a place on the walls of Parliament? How am I to thank them for wishing to have it, given an association, with the portrait of Sir Robert Borden, in events which are outstanding in history? How am I to thank them for having selected today - the day on which I have completed twenty years of office - as the day for the unveiling of the two portraits? And how am I to thank His Honour the Speaker of the Commons for what he has just said?

In one thing I am fortunate indeed. It is that the artist, Mr. Salisbury, has found it possible to be with us today. Mr. Salisbury will be able to assure you that it was to his persuasion rather than to any expressed desire on my part that the

D 50939

portrait owes its existence. Perhaps nothing could better illustrate Mr. Salisbury's skill as an artist than what he has been able to make of me! I am indeed grateful to him for including me among the number of those to whom his brush has of itself helped to bring distinction.

After the many years I have been in Parliament and in office, I cannot tell you what it means to me to find myself surrounded, as I am at this moment, by those with whom I have been most closely associated in the public life of Canada. It is an expression of friendship and good-will on the part of political friends and opponents alike, much too moving to be acknowledged in words. I cannot begin to express what this occasion means to me today, or what it will mean to me for the remainder of my days. I can only thank you, one and all, and this I do with all my heart.

All too soon associations of the present melt into memories of the past. I am happy to think that those who have shared today's associations may not find the memory of them lacking in warmth or colour with the passing of the years. I even venture to hope that, to those who seek a noble calling, the memory of this occasion will serve to lend a glow to public life and to reveal the richness of the rewards of public service.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
80		Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Mar. 1947	D 50905 - D 50908	
80		Canada's Immigration Policy. Speeches in Parliament	1 May 1947	D 50909 - D 50920	
80		Unveiling Ceremony, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 June 1947	D 50921 - D 50939	
80		Welcome to President Truman. Speeches in Parliament	11 June 1947	D 50940 - D 51010	
80		Marian Congress, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	18 June 1947	D 51011 - D 51041	
80		Newfoundland Delegation. Speeches in Parliament	23 June 1947	D 51042 - D 51095	
80		Post - U.N.R.R.A. Relief. Speeches in Parliament	24 June 1947	D 51096 - D 51102	
80		Government Dinner, (Newfoundland), Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	24 June 1947	D 51103 - D 51107	
80		Newfoundland - Canada Meeting, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 June 1947	D 51108 - D 51142	

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER D50940

MEMORANDUM

For the Prime Minister:

Gibson suggested you would like a paragraph or two regarding Hyde Park for consideration in connection with your speech. On looking over the Hyde Park speech, I was struck with the relevance of one paragraph to the present situation and I attempted to set it in a little framework in the attached draft. 1941

--

J.W.D.

June 3, 1947.

JWP/DM
June 3, 1947.

RE: Ogdensburg and Hyde Park

D 50941

In welcoming the President of the United States to Canada, it is no idle courtesy to refer to those two great landmarks of wartime cooperation between our two countries. To us in Canada the Ogdensburg and Hyde Park Agreements are even more significant, perhaps, than to the people of the United States. Both agreements were made while the United States was still, in a technical sense, not a belligerent. Yet these agreements recognized two principles of vital importance to Canada. The first was the common interest of the two countries in the defence of the whole continent; the second was the equality in cooperation of our two nations, despite the vast difference in our population and wealth.

Both principles, I believe, have a continuing validity. At the time I informed Parliament of the Hyde Park Declaration I said:

> "Beyond its immediate significance, the Hyde Park Declaration will have a permanent significance in the relations between Canada and the United States. It involves nothing

less than a common plan of the economic defence of the western hemisphere. When we pause to reflect upon the consequences, in Europe, of the failure of the peace-loving nations to plan in concert their common defence, while yet there was time, we gain a new appreciation of the significance for the future of both Canada and the United States of the Ogdensburg Agreement and of this new Declaration which might well be called the economic corollary of Ogdensburg."

Economic cooperation is no less important, I am convinced, to the continued prosperity and welfare of the whole continent of North America in peacetime than it was to our defence and security in wartime. It is our earnest hope that good-will and community of interest which made the Ogdensburg and Hyde Park agreements possible may continue as the permanent heritage of the nations of the Northern half of this hemisphere.

D R A F T JAG/ June 3, 1947

D 50943

It is a matter for both pride and satisfaction today to recall the measures of collaboration in financial and economic matters which developed during the years of war, and especially after theconclusion of the Hyde Park Declaration in April of 1941. What served as a life-line of strength, and of assistance to Britain in the hardest months of war, was no temporary axis, formed by nations whose common tie was a mutual desire for the destruction of their neighbours. It was, indeed, a convincing demonstration that the United States and Canada were laying enduring foundations for a new order, based on international understanding, on mutual aid, on friendship and goodwill.

The Hyde Park Declaration already has been carried further into practice in dealing with problems of transition from war to peace, and we in Canada are profoundly grateful for the spirit of helpfulness which has characterized our relations with our neighbour nation on financial and economic matters since the conclusion of hostilities nearly two years ago. I can express no higher hope than that the arrangements which have worked so usefully and so cordially in the past will be continued through the present days of mutual need, and at a moment when the prosperity and the security of this continent and hemisphere will require the fullest measure of co-operation in many matters of common concern.

S.F.RAE:DH
May 12, 1947.

D 50944

NOTE FOR MR. PICKERSGILL

Attached are some draft notes for the Prime Minister's consideration on the occasion of the visit to Ottawa of President Truman. These notes are intended by way of introductory remarks by the Prime Minister when the President visits the House of Commons. Would you see that these copies are duly transmitted to the Prime Minister.

S.F.Rae

POL. III

S.F. Rae-MF

D R A F T

D 50945

VISIT TO OTTAWA OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN

Remarks by the Prime Minister of Canada
House of Commons, June 1947.

Mr. President, and honourable members of the Parliament of Canada:

This is a memorable and a happy day in the history of Canada. Today, we welcome on his first official visit to Canada, the President of the United States. More especially we welcome him to Ottawa, as the nation's capital; in this company of members of both Houses of the Parliament of Canada, that welcome speaks for all Canada.

We are delighted that the President has been able to make a visit to Ottawa this year, and we are especially pleased that Mrs. Truman and Miss Truman have accompanied the President to Ottawa. To all of them we express our most cordial greetings.

On August 25, 1943, in this same place, we had the privilege of having as our guest in Canada the former President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt. It was the first occasion on which a President of the United States had come to our capital, and those of us who were present at that time will long cherish the memory of his visit. In August 1943, we had just cause to celebrate the

D 50946

brilliant victory won in Sicily by the fighting men of the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada, and the first signs of the crumbling of Japanese military power on the Pacific front. Yet the major task of defeating the forces of totalitarianism was many months ahead and all of us know how hard was the final path to Berlin and Tokyo. The sudden passing of President Roosevelt on the eve of the victory for which he had fought so valiantly was a deep and personal loss, not only to those closest to him, and to the people of the United States, but to all the peoples of the civilized world. To Canadians it was the loss of the first among our good neighbours.

Today, almost four years later, we are honoured by your presence in this House, Mr. President. On your shoulders have fallen heavy responsibilities as the leader of one of the greatest democratic communities in the world today. May I assure you, Mr. President, that all Canadians are proud to have you as our guest. To lead a mighty nation through the havoc of modern war is a grave and unenviable responsibility. To lead that same great nation through this difficult after-war period when the grim effects of world conflict are at times more apparent than the foundations of

D 50947

peace, is perhaps an even greater challenge. You, Sir, have shouldered both these tasks. You were called upon to lead your country, and to take historic and far-reaching decisions before the final victory was won. Since the end of the war, you have carried the burden of leadership in the vital tasks of reconstruction and peacemaking.

In the war years and in the period of reconstruction our two peoples have fought and worked side by side to win and to preserve a free world. In the waging of war, we contributed our full share in men and material resources, and in the planning of peace we mean to build a world community in which there shall be security and tranquillity and opportunity for all. The years of reconstruction call for no less sacrifice and effort than the years of war. Mankind is faced with vast problems of world-wide importance and the nations of the world have united to solve them. We are today concerned with food - food for survival and food for relief; with trade, employment and monetary questions on a global basis; with labour relations on an international scale; with refugees and displaced persons in the aftermath of war; with the health of all the nations; and with the establishment of a world community which recognizes the

D 50948

dignity and worth of human personality.

In the work of peacemaking there is a growing realization that peace is not made at a single conference, but that it is only won slowly, as the war was won, by a combined effort over a wide front, and by the employment of all the means at our disposal.

Mr. President, your visit to Canada today will emphasize to the people of Canada and the United States that the friendship between our two countries is a precious inheritance. History shows few examples of a large and powerful community living at peace for over one hundred and twenty years with a smaller and independent neighbour. Yet, this relationship was achieved only by conscious and painstaking effort and by the gradual emergency of a tradition of negotiation and peaceful settlement. In each generation our two peoples have faced issues no less serious than many of the conflicts between nations which are in the headlines of the world press today. What is important is that these issues, territorial, political and economic, have been met squarely and solved, not on the basis of power politics, but by the open and orderly processes of cooperation and, when necessary, by judicial settlement.

D 50949

Today, Mr. President, the United States stands as a mighty giant on the threshold of a new world, a world which science makes smaller day by day. The strength of your country gives the Canadian people no sense of insecurity, for we know from practical experience that it will be used wisely and in the service of humanity. Our common heritage of free government and our traditional friendship based upon freedom, security, and mutual respect, are a source of strength, not to our two countries alone, but to the whole world.

Mr. President, I wish to extend to you the most cordial welcome in the name of all Canada.

Draft

JAG/Z
6-V-47 D 50950

VISIT TO OTTAWA OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN

Remarks by the Prime Minister of Canada
House of Commons - June , 1947

Mr. Speaker,
Honourable Members of the Senate,
Members of the House of Commons:

For the first time, we welcome to the Halls of Parliament today, the President of the United States of America. I should like my first words to the President to be an assurance how warm and how genuine is that welcome which we all join in extending in this place.

In what I should like to say before the President speaks, I may perhaps dwell for a moment upon the significance of this occasion. In the past, and especially during the years of war, members of the Parliament of Canada listened to addresses here by leaders of many valiant peoples: Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers, and within the shadow of the Peace Tower out of doors other leaders addressed a larger audience. Among this company we remember with especial regard, Mr. Truman's predeccesor in office, the man who during his lifetime we were proud to call the first among our Good Neighbours.

Today, we begin a new page in the Parliamentary history of Canada. The Chief Executive of our neighbour nation, the head of one of the great democratic communities of the world, is the

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, 14 5 47

NOTE:

The two accompanying drafts were made before it was known that the Address to members of Parliament would precede the Members' Luncheon.

J.A.G.

D 50951

D 50952

guest of Canada. We are delighted that on his first official visit to Canada the President is accompanied by Mrs. Truman and by Miss Truman. To all of them we bid the warmest of welcomes.

The President, of course, is not a stranger to legislative chambers. Before his election to the highest office in the United States, the President was a member of the Senate, and as a Committee Chairman he had won a reputation which extended from Capitol Hill far beyond the borders of the Republic. The problems with which he is confronted, as the executive head of the Government of the United States, are perhaps greater than those which confront any legislative body alone, But I think it is true to say, of both the United States and Canada, in Congress as in Parliament, that a strong bastion of democratic government is the care and scrutiny which are given nowadays to the myriad questions affecting the public welfare. Because his visit to the Parliament of Canada today adds a new emphasis to this aspect of democratic government, we welcome the President with a full sense of both the symbolic and the immediate importance of his position.

Most of all, we welcome the President as a neighbour and as a friend of Canada. We hope that he may find it possible to visit Ottawa, and Canada, again. He will find a genuine warmth in the greetings of the people of Canada.

JAG/Z
6-V-47

D 50953

VISIT TO OTTAWA OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN

Government Luncheon, Chateau Laurier
Wednesday, June , 1947

Mr. President, and honourable members of the Parliament of Canada:

This is a memorable and a happy day in the history of Canada. Today, we welcome on his first official visit to Canada, the President of the United States. More especially we welcome him to Ottawa, as the nation's capital; and in this company of members of both Houses of the Parliament of Canada, that welcome takes on a representative quality and color which I believe cannot be exceeded elsewhere.

We are all delighted that the President has been able to make a visit to Ottawa this year, and we are especially pleased that Mrs. Truman and Miss Truman have accompanied the President to Ottawa. To all of them we express our most cordial greetings.

This gathering of members of the Parliament of Canada is a reminder of the development of representative and democratic institutions in two neighbouring and freedom-loving communities of peoples in the western world. Nearly two hundred years have gone by since the original meeting of the first representative assemblies in what today is Canada. The United States of America was already five years old, and President Washington was in the fourth year of his first term of office, when the first representative assemblies of Lower and Upper Canada met together.

D 50954

When what we know as Responsible Government was being vindicated in Canada, now nearly a century ago, the popular imagination in the United States was being fired by the alluring prospect of gold in California. When the British North America Act created "~~our~~ one Dominion under the name of Canada", in 1867, the Congress at Washington was engaged in such a contest with the President as has, happily, never been repeated.

Throughout two centuries of representative government the customs and usages of the Parliaments of Canada have differed from those of the Congress of the United States. But through all the interchange of political ideas, economic ~~agreements~~ arguments, the ebb and flow of oratory from colorful personalities on the national scene, through all of this I believe there has been one thing in common. That one thing I would describe as a singular devotion to the idea of free government, and to the now all but universally accepted conviction that government must be of the people and by the people.

The attachment to the ideas and the conduct of free government so widely demonstrated on this continent has found increasing and fruitful expression in many avenues of co-operation between the United States and Canada. I should like to say publicly to the President what I have been glad to be able to say privately on our previous meetings, and that is how genuine has been the measure of co-operation between our two Governments,

and how friendly is the spirit which has animated the approach to the many problems the solution of which is our common and continuing concern.

That this is a fortunate circumstance for all concerned is, happily, apparent to all, and no responsible person would argue that it should be otherwise. I should like to think that the many working models of our joint co-operation might serve as examples even more widely in other parts of a distressed and distracted world. I should like to think that out of our co-operation on matters close at hand and within our everyday experience, there might arise useful co-operation in matters of world-wide interest and responsibility.

In the waging of war for the winning of victory, we contributed our full share in human and material resources, and in the planning and keeping of peace we have left no doubt as to what we thought should be the cornerstones of a world community in which there should be security and tranquility and opportunity for all. We have been concerned with food - food for survival and food for relief; with trade, employment and monetary questions on a world-wide basis; with labour relations on an international scale; with refugees and displaced persons in the aftermath of war; with the health of all the nations; and with that community of the resources of the mind which never fails to remind us of the dignity and worth of human personality

D 50956

in its myriad expressions of thinking, believing, and striving for a better world.

All of these matters of international concern are becoming more and more a part of our everyday experience. So far as Canada is concerned, I hope we shall be found worthy of our responsibilities. I welcome the presence of the President in our capital city today, not only as a reminder and a recognition of how extensive those responsibilities are, but above all as a symbol of the measure of co-operation and understanding which has been so mutually helpful.

Perhaps I may conclude by remarking that the co-operation which has contributed so usefully in many directions is no accidental creation. There are a few - perhaps only two or three - who still advocate that some portion of the claims of United States against other nations should be satisfied by cutting off slices of Canadian territory; but we have come a long distance since the bold suggestion, advanced by Benjamin Franklin at the peace negotiations in Paris in 1782, that "the whole of Canada should be surrendered as a solid pledge of peace". There were years in which serious, but ill-fated, attempts were made to conquer Canada by force, but more than a century of peace has been founded upon the solid recognition of the principle of finding peaceful means of settling disputes. If the people of Canada in the past professed

themselves as not always satisfied by the decisions arrived at, they have nevertheless strongly supported the principles of arbitration and judicial settlement. Since the conduct of our external affairs became exclusively a matter for Canada, a once-favourite disposition of the United States not to deal directly with Canada has long since been replaced by the fullest and frankest discussion in both Ottawa and Washington. The working relationship, so far from being one of a superior power and a lesser power, has been one of two neighbouring nations sharing in many common strains of outlook, aptitude and interest, and proud in their joint inheritance of free government.

Copy for Mr Gelson

JWP/DM
June 3, 1947.

RE: Ogdensburg and Hyde Park

D 50958

In welcoming the President of the United States to Canada, it is no idle courtesy to refer to those two great landmarks of wartime cooperation between our two countries. To us in Canada the Ogdensburg and Hyde Park Agreements are even more significant, perhaps, than to the people of the United States. Both agreements were made while the United States was still, in a technical sense, not a belligerent. Yet these agreements recognized two principles of vital importance to Canada. The first was the common interest of the two countries in the defence of the whole continent; the second was the equality in cooperation of our two nations, despite the vast difference in our population and wealth.

Both principles, I believe, have a continuing validity. At the time I informed Parliament of the Hyde Park Declaration I said:

> "Beyond its immediate significance, the Hyde Park Declaration will have a permanent significance in the relations between Canada and the United States. It involves nothing

less than a common plan of the economic defence of the western hemisphere. When we pause to reflect upon the consequences, in Europe, of the failure of the peace-loving nations to plan in concert their common defence, while yet there was time, we gain a new appreciation of the significance for the future of both Canada and the United States of the Ogdensburg Agreement and of this new Declaration which might well be called the economic corollary of Ogdensburg."

Economic cooperation is no less important, I am convinced, to the continued prosperity and welfare of the whole continent of North America in peacetime than it was to our defence and security in wartime. It is our earnest hope that good-will and community of interest which made the Ogdensburg and Hyde Park agreements possible may continue as the permanent heritage of the nations of the Northern half of this hemisphere.

S.F. Rae-MF

D 50960

DRAFT

VISIT TO OTTAWA OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN

Remarks by the Prime Minister of Canada
House of Commons, June 1947.

Mr. President, and honourable members of the Parliament of Canada:

This is a memorable and a happy day in the history of Canada. Today, we welcome on his first official visit to Canada, the President of the United States. More especially we welcome him to Ottawa, as the nation's capital; in this company of members of both Houses of the Parliament of Canada, that welcome speaks for all Canada.

We are delighted that the President has been able to make a visit to Ottawa this year, and we are especially pleased that Mrs. Truman and Miss Truman have accompanied the President to Ottawa. To all of them we express our most cordial greetings.

On August 25, 1943, in this same place, under the Arch of the Peace Tower we had the privilege of having as our guest in Canada the former President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt. It was the first occasion on which a President of the United States had come to our capital, and those of us who were present at that time will long cherish the memory of his visit. In August 1943, we had just cause to celebrate the

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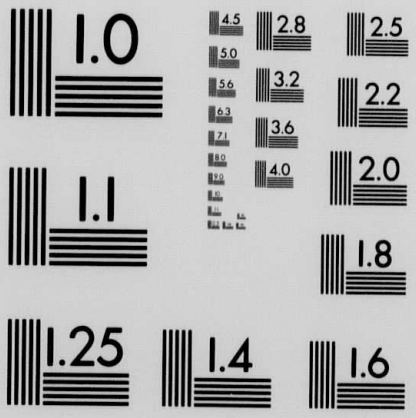
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