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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.

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

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

1996-02-02

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

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

Accès contrôlé.

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers publics. Original,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Papiers personnels.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Section des archives politiques.

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
93		New Year's Eve Message, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Dec. 1942	D 59765 - D 59772	
94		Address in Reply to the Speech From the Throne. Speeches in Parliament	26 Jan. 1942	D 59773 - D 59869	
94		Trade Agreements. Speeches in Parliament	23 Feb. 1942	D 59870 - D 59871	
94		War, Far East. Speeches in Parliament	1942	D 59872 - D 59874	
94		Plebiscite. Speeches in Parliament	10 June 1942	D 59875 - D 59897	
94		National Resources Mobilization Act. Speeches in Parliament	10 June 1942	D 59898 - D 60095	
94		Legations. Speeches in Parliament	1942	D 60096	
94		National Selective Service. Speeches in Parliament	24 Mar. 1942	D 60097 - D 60133	
94		Defence of Canada. Speeches in Parliament	25 Mar. 1942	D 60134 - D 60148	
94		Canadian Interests in Japan. Speeches in Parliament	7 May 1942	D 60149 - D 60150	

D 59898

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

BY

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PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

ON

OVERSEAS SERVICE IN THE CANADIAN ARMY

AMENDMENT OF THE NATIONAL RESOURCES MOBILIZATION ACT

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10, 1942*

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AMENDMENT RESPECTING OVERSEAS SERVICE

On Monday, May 11, I moved for leave to introduce the bill which is now before the house. Leave being granted, it was introduced and read the first time. As then explained, the bill seeks to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, which was assented to on the 21st of June, 1940. There is but one amendment of significance. It is to repeal section 3 of the Act. Such further amendments as are sought are consequential upon the striking out of section 3. They do not go beyond deleting from section 2 of the Act, the words "subject to the provisions of section 3 hereof" in the first line of the section as it stands at present, and the renumbering of the sections affected.

Section 2 of the National Resources Mobilization Act reads as follows:

2. Subject to the provisions of section three hereof, the governor in council may do and authorize such acts and things, and make from time to time such orders and regulations, requiring persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty in the right of Canada, as may be deemed necessary or expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of Canada, the maintenance of public order, or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies or services essential to the life of the community.

Section 3 of the Act reads:

3. The powers conferred by the next preceding section may not be exercised for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof.

The meaning of the existing law

Let me immediately direct the attention of hon. members to the wording and exact meaning of these two clauses. They give expression to the law as it is at the present time. They help to make clear the precise effect of the proposed amendment.

By section 2, special powers are conferred upon the governor in council. By another section of the act, the powers conferred are to remain in force only during the continuance of the present war. There can be no doubt whatever as to what these powers are. The governor in council possesses and has possessed ever since June 21, 1940, power to require

*The divisions and headings of the text have been inserted for the convenience of readers, and for purposes of ready reference. They do not appear in the official report.

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persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty, as may be deemed necesary or expedient for the defence of Canada, or the efficient prosecution of the war.

Power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty—is nothing more or less than what is meant by conscription. The power here given is that of conscripting all persons, which, in law, include corporations, all their services, and all their property, for the defence of Canada, or the efficient prosecution of the war.

It is well that this fact should not only be made perfectly clear, but that it should be emphasized. Because ever since the act was passed, and even up to to-day, there are many who say, others who think, and yet others who believe, or who would have it appear, that conscription does not exist in Canada. These people say that conscription is the right principle; that conscription is in force in other countries, and that we ought to have conscription in Canada. They say that it is wrong and unfair that, in any part of the country, men should not be conscripted for military or other service while the men in other parts give their services voluntarily. That, above all, "slackers" and "shirkers" should not be allowed to "go free," while others are left to do the fighting.

Extraordinary as it may seem, the persons who say or who would have others believe that we do not have conscription in Canada are not confined to citizens of other countries. If we are to judge by what we hear, and what we read in the press from time to time, they include a very large number of our own citizens. They certainly are among the number who are loudest in their utterances.

"Conscription" already in force in Canada

This demand for conscription in Canada has been made right along and continues to be made, notwithstanding the fact that, for all Canada, conscription has been the law of the land since June 21, 1940, and that, under the special powers conferred upon the governor in council by the National Resources Mobilization Act, compulsory military training, in other words "conscription", has been in operation since October, 1940, and compulsory service, for the duration of the war, since February, 1941.

Under the original plan, some 80,000 young men received thirty days military training. Under the revised plan, which provided for four months training to be followed by service for the duration, more than 30,000 young men are now in course of training or service. This number does not include the very considerable proportion of those called up who, subsequently, volunteered for the navy and the air force, or for service in the army anywhere in the world.

There are two methods by which most ends are attained by government. The one is the voluntary method, the other the compulsory method. Power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty—is the power of government to employ the compulsory method. In other words it is the power to conscript. How then can there be any question as to there being conscription in Canada, or any doubt that the principle of conscription has been approved by the parliament of Canada? The principle is there. It is embodied in the National Resources Mobilization Act. It is part of the law of the land, and has been so by statute ever since June 21, 1940. The whole purpose of the National Resources Mobilization Act was to give to the governor in council power to conscript the property and services of individuals or corporations. That power, where it has been deemed necessary or expedient to do so, has been exercised ever since, and is being exercised by the government to-day.

Limitation not on power but on extent of application

There was, it is true, at the time the act was passed, a limitation placed upon the exercise of the special powers conferred upon the governor in council. That limitation still exists. It is set forth in section 3, which provides that the powers conferred may not be exercised for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof. The meaning of the section is perfectly clear. Section 3 was not intended to deny the existence of the powers of compulsion or conscription conferred upon the governor in council, much less was it intended to take away any of those powers. Indeed, the section begins with the words "the powers conferred by the next preceding section", and thereby constitutes an affirmation of the existence of the powers. What the section does, and all it does, is to limit the exercise of those powers, and to limit them in one particular only. That limitation is in respect of their exercise "for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada, and the territorial waters thereof".

This is the one and only limitation upon the exercise of the powers conferred on the governor in council, on June 21, 1940. The amendment proposes to remove this limitation.

The adoption of the amendment clearly does not mean the adoption of any new principle with respect to the method of raising men for military service. It extends the area in which the powers of the governor in council may be exercised but does not change the character of those powers. In other words, the amendment is not related to the principle of conscription, but to the extent that its application may be deemed necessary or expedient for the defence of Canada or for the efficient prosecution of the war.

Enabling legislation

I come now to a most important fact with respect to the powers conferred upon the governor in council under the National Resources Mobilization Act. The act itself is enabling legislation. It does not necessarily contemplate the immediate, and certainly does not contemplate the total exercise of the powers conferred. Were those powers to be immediately and totally exercised we should have established at once a communist state. What the act does contemplate, as is expressed in the statute itself, is the exercise "from time to time" of such of the powers conferred as may be deemed "necessary or expedient". While full and complete powers for the exercise of compulsion are given to the governor in council by the act, under its provisions, it is left to the governor in council to decide when, and to what extent, it may be necessary or expedient to exercise the powers thus conferred. This will be equally true of the powers of the governor in council under the act as amended. The discretion of the government will remain precisely what it is at the present time.

Perhaps I cannot do better, by way of illustration of the difference between the possession of unlimited powers of conscription by the government and the exercise of these powers in the manner deemed "necessary or expedient" at a particular stage of the war, than by quoting what I said in this house on February 25 last.

In *Hansard* at pages 913, 914, I am reported as follows:

> In order to carry on war, men are necessary, money is necessary. Both have to be raised, one in large numbers and the other in large quantities. With respect to the men that are being raised at the present time, we have two methods. They are not ends in themselves but methods, and we are taking the methods which we believe will be most effective and serviceable to Canada's war effort when we resort to the one or to the other. We have two methods of raising men for the army. Some of them are raised by compulsion; they are serving within the territorial limits of Canada. Others are being raised by voluntary enlistment, some of them also are serving in Canada. But all that are going overseas are being raised by the voluntary enlistment system, which has proved effective up to the present.
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> Now with respect to the raising of money, we are using the same two methods. We are raising money by compulsion, under taxation in its different forms; and we are raising money voluntarily by the loan system which is in progress at the present time, and which the people of the country are supporting splendidly and, I believe, will continue to support. Supposing my hon. friend were to ask me: "What are you going to do if the voluntary system fails in the matter of the loan? Will you tell the people that now?" Could I tell them that? Would it be wise to tell them that? But a decision will have to be made if the voluntary system in the matter of loans should fail to produce the results which it is necessary should be produced in the securing of an amount of money requisite for the purpose. Under such circumstances, I think probably there would be resort to the conscription of wealth. I do not see any other alternative than for the government just to come along and take the wealth that exists, if the required sums cannot be raised voluntarily.
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> . . . I wish to have that parallel kept in mind. What the government is going to do when the voluntary method fails in the matter of loans it will decide when the time comes; and it will do exactly the same thing as respects the matter of raising men. . . . And may I say this: I think the people of the country will see to it that both things are linked pretty closely together if one or the other becomes necessary.

I hope I have made it quite clear that the National Resources Mobilization Act, as it stands, is not mandatory but enabling legislation; and that, if amended as proposed, it will continue to be enabling legislation.

The extent of the use of the powers conferred upon the government by the provisions of the National Resources Mobilization Act is, and has been from the outset, a matter of government policy. Government policy has always to be decided in the light of all relevant circumstances. This will remain true of the unrestricted powers which the amendment, if enacted, will afford.

Relationship of plebiscite to amendment

I come now to the plebiscite and its bearing upon the amendment before the house. I shall endeavour to anticipate the various questions that may arise in the course of debate, and to answer them in turn.

First of all, why was the plebiscite held? The answer to that question will be found in three paragraphs which appear in the speech from the throne:

> My advisers believe that the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort is being obscured and impaired by controversy concerning commitments with respect to the methods of raising men for military service which were made prior to the spread of the war to all parts of the world.
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> The government is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should in this connection

and irrespective of any previous commitments, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

My ministers accordingly will seek, from the people, by means of a plebiscite, release from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service.

You will observe that there were three purposes in holding the plebiscite. The first was that nothing should be allowed to obscure or impair the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort; the second, that the administration, subject only to its responsibiliy to parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise in the prosecution of the war; and the third, which has a direct bearing upon the first two, that the government and parliament should not be bound by past commitments, but be free to discuss and to decide, on its merits, the extent of the use of conscription.

The real nature and extent of Canada's war effort has, for more than a year past, been obscured because of a persistent effort to make conscription for overseas service the symbol of a total war effort, regardless of whether or not the voluntary method was proving wholly adequate. For example, it was said that Canada's effort was not an all-out effort, and could not be an all-out effort because the possibility of conscripting men for service overseas was excluded by existing commitments. This was said regardless of the fact that it has been unnecessary to resort to compulsion, because volunteers in the required numbers have been available.

No one could deny that such commitments had been made. It was useless to argue that in reality, the commitments were not a limiting factor. So long as the government was held in honour bound by these commitments, it was next to impossible to demonstrate that this seeming restriction was not a limiting factor on an all-out effort.

A release from the moral obligation not to resort to conscription for overseas service was a necessary first step before Canada's war effort could be placed in its true light. Release, on that score, was sought by means of the plebiscite, and release has been obtained as a result of the plebiscite. The government and members of parliament are no longer bound by any moral obligation arising out of past commitments. There is now entire freedom to discuss and to decide upon its merits the question of the method to be employed in enlisting men for service overseas. The government is now free to propose without breach of faith, any extension of the application of conscription which may be thought desirable or necessary to a furtherance of Canada's war effort. In the consideration of the matter, both in parliament and in the country, controversy arising out of past commitments can no longer be used to obscure the magnitude and balanced nature of our war effort.

A release from the moral obligation not to resort to conscription for overseas service was equally a necessary first step before the government could seek from parliament freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation, as they might arise in the prosecution of the war. That release the government obtained as a result of the plebiscite. Complete freedom to act in accordance with its best judgment will, however, not exist until parliament has removed section 3 of the mobilization act.

Relationship of plebiscite to conscription

Let me now deal with the relationship of the plebiscite to conscription, and in particular, as to whether a "yes" or "no" vote was a vote for or against conscription. On this point, I should, first of all, remind hon. members of what was said in the course of the plebiscite campaign. Both in this house and throughout the country, it was made perfectly clear by myself as leader of the government, by the leader of the official opposition, and by the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, and by members of their respective parties, that an affirmative vote was not a vote for conscription. I am afraid I cannot tell the house what stand the leader of the Social Credit party took. I have, however, found nothing in any of his utterances which would enable it to be said that he regarded an affirmative vote as a vote for conscription for service overseas.

The question on the ballot is, however, the best answer as to whether or not the plebiscite was a vote for or against conscription.

The question on which the people of Canada were asked to express an opinion was:

> Are you in favour of releasing the government from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service?

Clearly the plebiscite merely released the government from its obligation not to resort to conscription for service overseas. It did not commit the government to conscription for services overseas. The result of the plebiscite leaves no doubt as to the freedom of the government and of parliament to discuss the question of conscription for service overseas upon its merits. It equally leaves no doubt as to the freedom of the government and of parliament to decide, for or against conscription for service overseas, either conditionally or unconditionally.

The result of the plebiscite is no more to be construed as a vote for conscription for service overseas than it is to be construed as a vote of confidence in the present administration, or a vote for any political party. That, too, was stressed throughout the plebiscite campaign.

The people were not called upon to express any opinion on the merits of conscription, or on its desirability or necessity. In fact, the plebiscite was selected as the method of obtaining their views precisely because it afforded the best known means of obtaining an expression of opinion regardless of political affiliations, and regardless of military considerations.

Plebiscite not a mandate

Since conscription was not the question on which the vote was taken, the result of the plebiscite cannot be considered or construed as a mandate for conscription. It was not even in the category of a mandate. It was wholly and solely an expression of opinion. The vast majority of the citizens of Canada indicated that in their opinion the government, in deciding upon the course to be pursued in the prosecution of Canada's war effort, should not be hampered by any restriction respecting the methods of raising men for military service.

Some, however, will say: Would the government have asked to be released from its commitments unless it envisaged the possibility, at some future time, of a need arising for conscription for service overseas? As I have just said, one of the purposes of the plebiscite was to give to the government freedom thereafter to recommend to parliament any measure respecting military service deemed essential to the security of our country and the effectiveness of an all-out war effort. We were thereby taking, in plenty of time, a precaution which would enable the government to meet, in the most effective manner without any possible breach of faith, any emergency that might arise in the future course of the war.

To sum up concisely the relationship of the plebiscite to the issue of conscription, I would say: (1) that the plebiscite cleared the deck for unrestricted discussion and debate; (2) that the amendment if adopted will clear the deck for unrestricted decision and action by the government, subject only to its constitutional responsibility to parliament.

Resignation of Minister of Public Works

The vote on the plebiscite was taken on Monday, April 27. On Friday, May 8, I informed the house of the government's intention to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, and on Monday, the 11th of May, the bill containing the proposed amendment was introduced and given its first reading. In the interval, on Saturday the 9th of May, the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Cardin) tendered his resignation. I felt that the reasons given by the minister evidenced a mistaken view of the government's purpose and intention and therefore sought to have him reconsider his resignation. But the minister felt he could not change his views, so I had no alternative but to inform His Excellency of the correspondence which had passed between us, and to advise the acceptance of the minister's resignation.

In the minister's letter of resignation, there will be found, I believe, not only the reasons which occasioned the resignation, but an explanation of the misgivings which lie at the root of the reasons themselves. Similar reasons and misgivings are naturally in the minds of some supporters of the government, not only from the province of which the minister was one of the representatives in the cabinet, but from other provinces as well. In the case of all but a few of the government's supporters, they account, I believe, for such objections as have been raised to the amendment. It is important, therefore, that the arguments set forth by the minister in justification of his resignation should be examined with the utmost care. In presenting these arguments, I cannot do better than quote from the words of the minister's letter.

The minister said:

> I feel that there is no necessity for repeating here the arguments which, I sincerely believe, justify my action. Suffice it to say at present that, as far as Canada is concerned, since the question of the plebiscite was first discussed and since the vote has been taken, nothing has been said nor anything established to indicate that the war situation has rendered necessary, just a few days after the vote, the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas.

In this paragraph is set forth very clearly a circumstance which has greatly perplexed many of those who saw in the plebiscite simply a clearing of the decks for freedom of discussion and possible future action. They had not envisaged the immediate introduction of legislation; much less, as the minister said, "the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas." The misunderstanding of the exact situation has been further aggravated by the fact that since the result of the plebiscite was known, a deliberate effort has been made to construe the result as a mandate for conscription. Not only has it been said that the result of the plebiscite constitutes a mandate —but what is still farther from the truth—a mandate that necessitates immediate resort to conscription for service overseas.

Had the government's action, in introducing the amendment, been due to any such interpretation, either of the purpose of the plebiscite, or of the result of the plebiscite, I would have been the first to support the minister in his protest. I can, however, find no justification for any such interpretation, either of the purpose of the plebiscite or of its results.

Conscription not the issue in the plebiscite

I have already said this afternoon that a "yes" or "no" in the plebiscite was not to be, and could not truthfully be construed as a "yes" or "no" for conscription for service overseas. I said precisely the same thing in the debate on the speech from the throne, and in the debate on the plebiscite bill. I said the same thing in my radio broadcasts. In interpreting, through the press and in this house, the results of the plebiscite, I also repeated what I had previously said.

The issue was not conscription but whether the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, should have a free hand in the discharge of its duty in carrying on the war. This free hand the government has still to secure from parliament. Prior to the plebiscite, because of past commitments, the government was precluded from coming to parliament to request a free hand. The government is no longer in that position. It is free to come to parliament, as it does to-day, because of the release as a result of the plebiscite from all such commitments.

In order to confirm what I have just said, allow me to read from the nation-wide broadcast I delivered on April 7, in an opening appeal to the Canadian electorate for an affirmative vote:

The issue at present is not conscription; it is whether or not the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, is to be free to decide that question itself, in the light of all national considerations. The government is not asking you to say whether or not conscription should be adopted. That responsibility the government is asking you to leave to itself, and to parliament, with entire freedom to decide the question on its merits.

Let me also read what I said on April 24 in a final appeal to the electorate for an affirmative vote. This appeal was also made in a broadcast which was nationwide:

When the plebiscite was announced many did not understand what it was on which they were going to be asked to express an opinion. Many thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was placing on the people the responsibility of deciding the issue of conscription, instead of assuming that responsibility itself, and making its own recommendation to parliament.

It has now ben made clear that conscription is not the issue. Let me emphasize that fact. Those who tell you that conscription is the issue are misleading you. The sole purpose of the plebiscite is to obtain for the government, and for parliament, a perfectly free hand in dealing with this, as with all other questions. All you are being asked to say is whether or not you are in favour of the government's hands being perfectly free at this time of war. That is the meaning of the question to which you are being asked to reply yes or no. If you reply yes, you will not be committing the government to conscription for service overseas; but you will be enabling the government and parliament to discuss and decide that question solely on its merits.

I have quoted from my own nation-wide broadcasts. Let me now quote a paragraph or two from the nation-wide broadcasts delivered by the leader of the opposition on April 20. I quote:

This plebiscite is simply to give to the government and Mr. King release from a commitment not to enlist men for overseas service by compulsory methods. That, primarily, is the only issue involved. Emphatically, it is not, in this specific vote, an issue for or against compulsory service for overseas. It is merely a vote to release or refuse to release, Mr. King from a pre-electon pledge. . . . You are not called upon, by this plebiscite, to declare for or against conscription for overseas service. That may come; it does not follow from this plebiscite. . . . The only question involved is whether the government shall be free to follow any policy it may deem necessary in the future.

Let me also quote from the nation-wide broadcast delivered by the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, on April 21. I quote:

The vote on Monday is not a vote for or against the conscription of man-power for overseas service. It is a vote to release members of parliament from their pledge not even to consider such conscription. Thus, while the Prime Minister in his radio address on April 7 quite properly stated the reasons why it is necessary to obtain a release from the pledges against conscription for overseas service, he made it quite clear that such conscription is not the issue which will be decided by the plebiscite. That issue will be decided by parliament when and if the government presents it for discussion.

From these quotations, it will be seen that the leader of the opposition and the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation expressed precisely the same view as myself of the issue in the plebiscite.

Misinterpreting the plebiscite

It cannot serve any useful purpose, indeed it can only do a great injustice to the Canadian electorate, to attempt to place upon the results of the plebiscite any interpretation other than that which, before the vote was taken, the electors were told would be placed upon the results. To interpret the results otherwise would be doing a cruel injustice to many members of this House of Commons who most certainly would never have advocated an affirmative vote had it not been made clear beyond all doubt that

in so doing they were not endorsing conscription. I know of many members, some of them with sons serving in Canada's army overseas, who were themselves opposed to conscription, but who did all in their power, in their several constituencies, to secure an affirmative vote. This they did in order that they themselves and "the government and parliament should be wholly free to exercise their best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada, and for Canada's effort in the present war".

To claim that what had been sought or obtained by the plebiscite was a mandate for conscription is to assert that the plebiscite was a mere subterfuge. Such a claim goes further than that: it is equivalent to saying that those who stated that the issue was not conscription, did not mean what they said; that they were deliberately seeking to deceive the electorate.

Such a claim does a particular injustice to hon. members of this house, who knowing the importance of national unity at a time of war did their best to remove the prejudices which some others were doing their utmost to inflame. In the endeavour to bring home to the people of their province the truth of Canada's position in the present war, and the need in the interests of national security as well as of national unity for an affirmative vote, none fought more valiantly than the majority of the members of this house from the province of Quebec, including my former colleague, the then Minister of Public Works and of Transport.

THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT

Amendment accords with purpose of plebiscite

Let me make this perfectly clear. If the government has brought in the amendment at the time it has, it is not because of any false interpretation of the results of the plebiscite, but for reasons that are in complete accord with the purpose for which the plebiscite was held.

I have said that the purposes of the plebiscite were to place the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort in its true light, and to secure for the government a free hand in the prosecution of the war. Both purposes, I believe, should be achieved as speedily as possible.

I made this abundantly clear in the words with which I concluded my final broadcast on April 24. I quote:

Let me just say this, that if disaster should ever overtake us, it will certainly be said for generations to come that had the government's powers not been restricted, the disaster would never have occurred. Such is the responsibility that may come to rest upon those who, in the existing crisis, are unwilling to remove restrictions and give to the government a free hand in its war policies.

To-day, the enemy is so strong that he can only be held at bay, and finally defeated, by the common action of all the united nations. For her own security, Canada should make it perfectly clear to the other united nations and, above all, to the United States, that Canada is as ready to help them as we know they will be ready to help us. An overwhelming affirmative vote on Monday next will serve to make that perfectly clear.

To-day, despite the magnificence of Canada's war effort, the impression is being fostered among other nations that because of a restriction on the powers of the government, Canada's war effort is not an all-out effort. This impression is quite unfounded. Nevertheless, it is working a grave injustice to our country as a whole, and to every man and woman who is making any contribution towards the winning of the war. I want that injustice to end. And so I ask you, my fellow-countrymen—every one of you—to help give to our country complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes, and in the eyes of the world. You can do this by voting "yes" on Monday next.

How very much to the point the words of that appeal were has been brought home to us all within the past few days, with surprising suddenness. For more than a fortnight past, the forces of the United States and Canada have been combining their strength to meet imminent attack by Japanese forces upon Canada and the United States.

May I say that only in to-day's papers and over the radio this morning we were informed that one of the United States ships just off the coast had been torpedoed. Some men were brought ashore alive, but unfortunately one of the number died before his raft could reach the shore. That is on the Pacific ocean—a ship torpedoed by a Japanese submarine.

The people of Canada, on Monday the 27th of April, made it unmistakably clear that they desired for Canada and for its war-time government "complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes and in the eyes of the world."

In the eyes of some in our own land, and even more in the eyes of many in other countries, so long as clause 3 remains in the National Resources Mobilization Act, that "complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort" does not and cannot exist. Regardless altogether of whether the removal of clause 3 would make the difference of an additional

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man going overseas, so long as, in the statutes of Canada, any restriction remains it will continue to be cited as a bar to a total effort, and a bar, moreover, which finds its expression in the law of our land.

We have been released by the plebiscite from commitments which, up to the time of the plebiscite, had been pointed to as the bar to an all-out effort. Surely, every argument that could be urged in support of a release from a moral obligation, can be urged with equal force against a legal obligation, the effect of which, in so far as it may constitute a bar to a total effort, is exactly the same. If there be any wisdom in removing false impressions, surely the sooner they are removed the better.

Why not proceed by stages?

It will be said that it may be perfectly true that there is need for some action as a consequence of the plebiscite, and need even for immediate action. But why, it is asked, go so far? Why seek to do everything at once? Why not proceed by stages? The people need educating. What they may not see to-day, they may come to understand to-morrow. It was difficult enough, in some quarters, to have them see the wisdom of trusting the government, and of giving to it, subject to its responsibility to parliament, a free hand at a time of war. Why arouse suspicions? Above all, why give to those who said that the plebiscite was a mere subterfuge and that its real purpose was the immediate application of conscription for service overseas, the chance to say "we told you so; we are the real leaders; the rest have been deceiving you". Why should those who spoke otherwise be placed in a false light by the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas, and that, as my former colleague said: "just a few days after the vote"?

These are pertinent questions. They are questions to the significance of which too careful attention cannot be paid by members of parliament, and, I might add, by all who have to do with the moulding of public opinion in Canada. They may seem difficult questions to answer, but if they cannot be answered, and answered to the satisfaction of an impartial listener, then I am prepared to say that I would be unworthy of the confidence placed in myself, and the government would be unworthy of the support it has received from those who so loyally supported us in our effort to obtain an affirmative vote on the plebiscite.

Let me first of all refer to what some would have regarded as a preferable way of proceeding. I do not think I need to say more about the mistake it would have been for the government, once the moral restriction was removed, to have delayed in seeking the removal of the legal restriction.

But, it is said, could not the removal of the legal restriction have been effected by two or more steps, instead of one? It has, for example, been said that if, in due course, the government had brought in an amendment which would have substituted "the northern half of the western hemisphere", or, for that matter, "the western hemisphere", for the words "Canada and the territorial waters thereof", where the latter words appear in section 3 of the mobilization act that in all probability such an amendment would have encountered little, if any, opposition.

That, I believe is true. As long ago as February 26, I stated that the government would, if necessary, not hesitate to use the War Measures Act to send troops called up under the provisions of the National Resources Mobilization Act, to "the panhandle or any place in the vicinity of the coast of Canada". No exception was taken to that statement at the time it was made, nor am I aware of any having been taken since. It is probably now apparent why, in speaking at the time, I related that possible action particularly to Alaska.

Procedure by stages not in accord with purpose of plebiscite

The question is: Would such an amendment have served to meet the purposes of the plebiscite as they were outlined in the speech from the throne? Would it have removed from clause 3 of the mobilization act everything that could be construed as a legal limitation upon Canada's war effort? Would it have given the government freedom of action? Would it not rather have been construed, by those who wished so to misrepresent the government's purpose and intention, as the substitution of another limitation for the one removed? Would this new legal limitation, just as has been the case with the existing one, not have continued to be pointed to as a restriction upon a total or utmost effort?

But that is not the only objection to proceeding by stages. To amend the act, in any particular, means a debate in both houses of parliament. It means a debate which, whatever the amendment proposed, would be a debate on the question of conscription. Should a second or third amendment become necessary later on, it would certainly mean as many subsequent debates, going over all the same ground again. Unnecessary discussion and prolonged debate in parliament at a time when our country is hourly being drawn into greater danger would not serve to place Canada's war effort in its true light, either

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before our own people or before the people of other countries, nor would it gain respect for parliament.

This brings me to a further reason why I feel the government is right in seeking, once and for all, to secure complete freedom to exercise its best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada and for Canada's effort in the present war, and that events will so prove.

In concluding my first appeal for an affirmative vote on the plebiscite, I said:

> Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next year, next month, or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. It is in the face of this peril that, for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand.

For the same reason, we now ask the same from parliament.

I take no exception to the statement made by my former colleague in his letter of resignation when he says:

> As far as Canada is concerned, since the question of the plebiscite was first discussed, and since the vote has been taken, nothing has been said nor anything established to indicate that the war situation has rendered necessary just a few days after the vote, the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas.

Were the element of surprise not an outstanding feature of enemy strategy; and were it not a fact that no one knows at what moment the war situation may take some wholly unexpected turn, there would be, at the present time, no practical need for the introduction of an amendment which contains the principle of compulsory military service for overseas. It is always well, however, to be prepared as far in advance as may be possible for any contingency.

If the reasons for having introduced the proposed amendment, just a few days after the vote on the plebiscite, were solely those of meeting some new war situation, or a war situation other than was envisaged when the question of the plebiscite was first discussed, I would be the first to say that such reasons were wholly insufficient to justify the deletion of clause 3 in its entirety at the present time. But such, as I have explained, are not the reasons either for the amendment being introduced so soon after the taking of the plebiscite, or for the government seeking, at the present time, to have the whole of section 3 deleted.

Responsibility to Parliament

Up to the present, I have said nothing of the powers which, under the War Measures Act, the governor in council already possesses. Under that act, as interpreted by judicial decision and by the legal advisers of the government, the governor in council has authority, notwithstanding section 3, to send men enlisted under the National Resources Mobilization Act to points outside the boundaries of Canada and the territorial waters thereof. In other words, if, to-day, in the opinion of the government, the war situation demanded the dispatch overseas of men already called up under compulsion for military service, the government has the necessary legal power to order their dispatch.

Why then, it will be asked, does the government come to parliament for powers which it already possesses? The answer to this question is the sense the executive has of its responsibility to parliament.

To defeat the enemy overseas, and thereby lessen the possibility of the actual invasion of Canada itself, is the objective of Canada's armed forces overseas, whether they be upon the sea, in the air, or on land.

The government does not believe that, to serve that end, conscription for overseas service is necessary at the present time. Moreover, it may never become necessary. But, in case it should ever become necessary, it is surely the part of wisdom that there should be no doubt whatever of the power of the government to take the necessary action the moment the necessity to do so may arise. There should equally be no doubt that this power is derived from the present parliament rather than from a statute enacted in 1914.

No change of government policy

There is nothing in the proposed amendment which could imply that the government's attitude towards conscription for service overseas, as set forth in parliament and as expressed from time to time in the plebiscite campaign, has been altered in the least, or that there is any intention of a change of government policy or attitude. The government's policy as to being given complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise was clearly stated in the speech from the throne at the opening of parliament in the following words:

> My advisers believe that the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort is being obscured and impaired by controversy concerning commitments with respect to the methods of raising men for military service which were made prior to the spread of the war to all parts of the world.
>
> The government is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should in this connection and irrespective of any previous commitments, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

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The words, "in this connection", in the paragraph I have just read, refer of course to the words "the methods of raising men for military service" in the preceding paragraph. I am, therefore, as I said in my reply to the former minister of public works, unable to agree that there has been any change of policy or attitude on the part of the government. No new policy has been adopted.

Policy regarding overseas service announced before plebiscite

The government's policy with respect to the method of enlisting men for service in the army overseas was set forth clearly and unequivocally, on February 10, by my colleague the Minister of National Defence, in discussing the 1942-43 army programme. The minister of defence said that he wanted to see voluntary enlistments kept up, and that he believed it was better for our voluntary army if the men coming to reinforce it were also volunteers. After giving figures which clearly showed that, up to that time, the voluntary system had not failed, the minister added these words:

I have faith in the success of the voluntary method if we all do our part. With the background and tradition which this country possesses and which it would be folly to ignore, I prefer the voluntary method if it works, and I shall do all I can to make it work.

This statement is by no means the only statement of the position of the government with respect to the method of enlistment for service overseas. I desire particularly to draw attention to and to repeat the words I used in this house on February 25, in the debate on the second reading of the Plebiscite Bill. After setting out the reasons why the government believed the request for a release from any commitments should be submitted to the people, I explained the position the government was then in with respect to the adoption of conscription for overseas service and, in plain and unequivocal language, why it was the government desired to have that position changed and to be given a free hand to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they might arise. Here are my words—and I am quoting from what I said on February 25:

The position is that the government has full power with respect to everything, excepting one thing; and that one thing is that commitment, that obligation, with respect to the enlisting of men for overseas service. There the government is not free. You may ask why the government should come forward at the present time and ask to be made free. First of all, may I make it clear that it is not because of any situation that exists at the moment. The Minister of National Defence has made it perfectly clear that with respect to voluntary enlistment, we are obtaining men for overseas service at the present time as rapidly as we can train them.

And these are my words:

For our programme this year, and up to March, 1943, there is an honest belief on the part of the government that we will be able to get the men by voluntary enlistment for service overseas, and will not have to resort to conscription. But no one can say how long this war is going to last. No one can say what particular turn it is going to take. None of us knows what the conditions are going to be in a few months hence, or several months hence, or a year or two hence. . . .

Nothing, I think, could be plainer than that. It was made perfectly clear that the government had no thought of resorting to conscription for overseas service so long as the voluntary system continued to produce the necessary recruits; also, that we honestly believed the voluntary system would suffice to secure the necessary enlistments for the 1942-43 programme. The government, however, wished to be free, without any breach of faith, to resort to conscription for overseas service should that become necessary to our national security and to the effectiveness of our war effort.

If the bill is amended as proposed, it is not the intention of the government to resort to conscription for service overseas unless circumstances should arise which would render the use of compulsion imperative, such, for example, as the maintenance of the necessary reinforcements for Canada's army overseas.

In saying this, let me make it equally clear that, having regard to the stage the war has reached, the government is asking parliament now, just as it did at the time of the enactment of the National Resources Mobilization Act, in June, 1940, to give to it the powers it believes it should possess, quite independently of any powers the governor in council may possess under the War Measures Act. The power to which I refer is the power to decide if, when, and to what extent the use of compulsion may be necessary for military service outside Canada and to exercise that power accordingly.

Debate on conscription for overseas service welcomed

The amendment before the house necessarily opens up the whole question of conscription for overseas service. The government welcomes this opportunity of having the subject debated. Now that the question can be discussed upon its merits, it is well that it should be so discussed. As I pointed out on January 26 in the debate on the address, and again on February 25, in the debate on the plebiscite bill, parliament is the place for that discussion.

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With reference to the specific question of enlistment for service overseas, I said, on February 25:

When we find that we cannot raise the required numbers of men for enlistment overseas by the voluntary method, and it is absolutely necessary to raise more men by other methods, then we will make our decision, present it to parliament and have it discussed on its merits.

Unless the question of conscription for overseas service is to be twice debated, that, as I see it, is the stage we have now reached. The government is making its policy with respect to the raising of men for service overseas, fully known. We are presenting that policy to parliament, and, as I have just said, we welcome the opportunity of having the whole question discussed upon its merits.

In order that the government may have the power if required to resort to the compulsory method of raising men for service overseas, if it is found that men in the numbers required cannot be raised by the voluntary method, as well as for the other reasons I have mentioned, the government has reached the decision that it should now ask parliament to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act by the deletion of section 3 of the act.

If the powers for this purpose are to be conferred upon the governor in council at all, it is well they should be given as long as possible in advance of the time at which it may become necessary to exercise them, should it ever become necessary so to do. Also, it will, I think, be generally agreed that discussion on so important a subject should not be left to a time of crisis. As between debating the issue now or later on, obviously the wisdom and advantage is wholly in favour of the earlier moment.

What really is important is that the government's policy should be fully known, presented to parliament, and agreed to by parliament before any action is taken. In this way and in this way only, the people's representatives in parliament can be afforded a full opportunity to discuss the whole subject upon its merits.

Extension of application of compulsory service in western hemisphere

While not seeking the deletion of section 3 because of any present need of applying conscription for service overseas, the government is desirous of having the power immediately to move some of the men who have been called up and trained under the National Resources Mobilization Act, to Newfoundland and possibly to other islands in the western hemisphere, and to territories adjacent to Canada, including the territory of the United States. If that power is to be exercised under authority of parliament, apart from the authority contained in the War Measures Act, the section would have to be immediately amended. The amending of the section to any extent would, in the light of discussions that have already taken place, open up the whole question of conscription, and we should have here and now a full debate thereon. As I already have said, I am certain that with war on every side, hon. members of parliament would not wish two debates upon the subject of conscription when one should suffice, and I am even more certain that the people of Canada would not view with patience any such action on the part of their representatives.

Method of exercising extending powers

There remains the question as to how, should the necessity of resorting to compulsion for service overseas arise, the government proposes to proceed in exercising the powers which parliament may confer. Here, again, the government intends to continue the practice which it has followed under the powers it at present possesses under the National Resources Mobilization Act.

The decision of the governor in council will be communicated to parliament in exactly the same manner as orders and regulations are communicated to parliament under the act as it stands. The procedure, in this particular, is set forth in section 5 of the act, which reads:

5. Every order or regulation passed under the authority of this Act shall be tabled in parliament forthwith if parliament is in session and a copy thereof sent to every member of the House of Commons and of the Senate; and if parliament is not in session, then every such order or regulation shall be forthwith published in the *Canada Gazette* and copies thereof sent to every member of the House of Commons and of the Senate forthwith; provided that any of the steps specified in this section may be omitted or deferred if the governor in council considers such omission or deferment necessary in the national interest having regard to the special circumstances.

Clause 5 was inserted in the mobilization act only after very careful consideration of the situation as it existed at the time the act was passed. It must be apparent that the reasons which governed at that time, as to the procedure to be followed by the administration in exercising the powers given to the governor in council under its provisions, would obtain with equal, if not greater force as the war situation becomes more critical.

I notice that it has been said, that once the amendment is adopted, the decision respecting conscription for overseas service will rest solely with the military authorities. I wish, therefore, to make it wholly clear

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that action taken under the act as amended, must be authorized by order of the governor in council. In other words the decision will be the decision of the cabinet.

On February 25 I gave to parliament a very clear statement of the factors of which account would be taken by the government in reaching a decision. These were known to the people of Canada at the time they were being asked to give the government a free hand.

Replying to a question of the leader of the opposition as to what the government was going to do in certain eventualities, I said, as reported on page 918 of *Hansard* of February 25, 1942:

Let me answer the question first of all in a broad way. The government is asking the people for a free hand in order that it may do in the circumstances as they may arise what is most in the interests of the people of Canada. We wish to make Canada's war effort as effective as it can possibly be made. What we shall do at any particular time will depend upon the course which we think at the time is necessary and advisable and most effective in Canada's war effort. That decision is not going to be made in the light of any one factor. It is going to be made in the light of all conditions as they exist and as they are known to the government at the time. . . .

And later:

The government is going to do the thing that it believes is going to further to the uttermost Canada's war effort, all circumstances considered. May I say that when I say "all circumstances considered," I have in mind the conditions as they may exist in respect to the war in different theatres and the conditions that may exist in Canada itself.

As to the right thing being done at the right time and in the right way, it seems to me that necessarily comes to be a matter of the degree of confidence which parliament and the people have in the administration charged with the responsibilities of carrying on the war.

NATIONAL UNITY AND THE CONSCRIPTION ISSUE

The danger of extreme views

In most controversies, there are those who take extreme views. They want everything their own way, and if not allowed to have their own way, they begin to threaten and abuse those who venture to hold an opinion contrary to their own. They become impatient even of a consideration of a question upon its merits, or the effect their attitude may have upon the well-being of others.

In national affairs, this sort of attitude is bad enough at any time. In times of war, however, where the preservation of national unity is of first importance to the war effort of the nation, and where the issue is the most controversial in a country's history, the insistence, by any considerable portion of the population, upon an extreme position is almost certain to be fraught with the gravest possible dangers to the state.

Surveying the field of public controversy on the issue of conscription for service overseas, as it has been reflected in the press, and as doubtless it will find expression in this House of Commons, there would appear to be three general views, two of them diametrically opposed. The first is that conscription for service overseas should be inaugurated at once, that nothing less will suffice; the second is that conscription for service overseas should not be inaugurated under any circumstances. In other words, there are some who want conscription for overseas service, and this at once even if it is not necessary; and some who say they won't support conscription for overseas service at any time no matter how necessary it might be to help to save our own country. Each of these is a very extreme view and attitude. Neither extreme, I believe, should be permitted to prevail.

There is, fortunately, a third view—a view which I believe, accords with the opinion most generally held throughout the dominion. It is that conscription for service overseas should be inaugurated only if and when, in the opinion of the government, it becomes necessary to the security of our country and to the maintenance of its war effort. That view is the one which is held by the government. It represents the government's policy with respect to conscription for service overseas. In a word, that policy may be described as not necessarily conscription but conscription if necessary. Considering all relevant circumstances, I submit that no other policy will serve to keep Canada united, or to further Canada's war effort in the manner which, at this time of war, will best serve the interests of Canada, the interests of the British commonwealth of nations, and of the other united nations which are linked together in the common cause of freedom.

Knowing the disastrous effect upon Canada's war effort which a controversy concerning conscription for service overseas would occasion in Canada, to say nothing of the problems to which the enforcement of such a policy might give rise, the government, I need hardly say, has done all in its power to prevent our country from becoming divided over the conscription issue. It has done so without sacrifice in the slightest particular, of any step essential to an all-out effort. It would have been fatal to the unity of Canada for the government to have done otherwise. It lies beyond the power of the government to prevent an issue from arising. But it would be equally fatal for the government not to continue to do all in its power to prevent the issue becoming one which could ever impair the efficiency of our war effort and the magnificent record our country has already achieved, and which every citizen of the dominion is justified in viewing with the utmost pride.

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Task of Parliament to safeguard unity

I cannot believe this parliament is going to permit that unity to be destroyed by a political quarrel over a question of the method by which men are to be raised for overseas service. Canada, and Canada's future, is far more vital than any question of conscription. It is not for me to tell any hon. member how he should proceed in presenting the issue to his constituents. I do believe, however, that the issue of conscription for overseas service would soon vanish from the realm of political controversy if those who prefer conscription for service overseas would say to their constituents: "There are thousands of patriotic Canadians who, for reasons that are readily understood, are opposed to conscription for service overseas and that we should be prepared, at this time, to take those reasons into account"; and if those who are opposed to conscription for overseas service would say to their constituents: "I prefer the voluntary system and I will do my utmost to make it work, and I appeal to you to do the same; but, if conscription is ever needed for Canada's sake and for Canada's future, I will not oppose its application."

Both might say to their constituents: "We are fighting this war as one free and united people against an enemy who seeks first to destroy our unity so that later he may take away our freedom and our country itself. In the face of that terrible danger, we cannot afford to have any differences that it is at all possible to avoid."

In the whole history of the world, no two peoples have ever lived so long in such close association with so little friction as those of French and British descent in Canada. In a century of political union we have built a nation which stretches across half a continent. We have conquered the wilderness. We have achieved great material progress. We all have become deeply attached to one common homeland. We have accomplished miracles in order to help defend our homeland against a ruthless enemy. No one will ever make me believe that in the hour of testing, the achievement of a century is to be imperilled by permitting any issue to arise which might threaten our national unity, and that in the hour of its greatest danger and in the time of gravest crisis for all mankind.

I am sure I need not ask hon. members of this house of all shades of politics and from all parts of Canada to weigh and consider with the utmost wisdom and prudence all that is involved of Canada's present and future in the national aspect of the problem which is now before us. It may well prove to be the most critical of any the parliament of Canada has ever faced.

The right attitude

Lest words of mine might appear to be biased or exaggerated, I should like to quote from an editorial which appeared in the Montreal *Standard* of May 30, and which is entitled "Crisis in Canada." It is but one of a number of editorials which have recently appeared in publications throughout Canada, which sense with clearness the real danger to Canada, should the right attitude not be assumed at this time by all whose responsibility it is to guide our country's present course and help to shape its future destiny. It presents an appeal which I believe will meet with a ready response in this House of Commons, and which I also believe expresses the true spirit of Canada. The editorial reads as follows:

The Dominion of Canada stands at the most critical hour of its history. Its future as a nation depends on understanding between English and French-speaking Canadians. One cannot make Canada without the other. At the present moment there is a grave danger of a cleft being driven between the two that would not close over for generations.

It is not a political situation, a crisis of corridor and caucus. It is a crisis of feeling. And a nation's life depends on the feelings of its people.

Only if there is a strong will for understanding on both sides can we come through the difficult times that have arrived. Canada must come first in thought, in action and in words.

English-speaking Canadians must force their minds to understand the background of the thinking of their French-speaking compatriots. They must realize that their fellows in Quebec are intensely loyal to Canada, that they hate the enemy and his works as much as anybody, that they have contributed mightily to the country's war effort. English-speaking Canadians must realize that the hard fact that

Canada is fighting for her own survival in this war has not been brought home to French-speaking Canadians and that the lack has been intensified by words and actions not truly Canadian from many individuals; that there is a long history behind the recently expressed opinion of French Canada. They must guard against giving too great weight to extreme elements in Quebec.

French-speaking Canadians in their turn, must grasp that the mass of their fellow countrymen are thinking of Canada, its safety and its future, are not putting other considerations above that of their own nation. They must understand the perils that beset their country, and realize that it is better to keep those dangers as far away from our own shores as possible. They must have forbearance for those who are prejudice-bound on the other side, and see that the feelings of the majority of other Canadians are fundamentally as their own.

If the will to understanding does not grow on both sides, Canada is heading into disaster. If the will swells on both sides, Canada will play her full part in beating back the enemy that seeks her life, and will be assured of a future as a nation worthy of the two great peoples, each retaining their own strengths, united to form a whole that will be an example to the world.

Duty of members of Parliament

And this brings me, if I may be permitted to do so, to say just a word upon the duty which hon. members owe alike to their constituencies and to Canada as a whole. I know there are some who feel that as a majority in the constituencies they represent voted "Yes" or "No" on the plebiscite, they are under an obligation to take a particular stand in the present debate. I hope I made it sufficiently clear just exactly what it was on which the electors were asked to express and did express their opinion. It is not only the right but it is a duty of hon. members to interpret the view of their constituents, but it is equally a duty in so doing to see that a construction is not placed upon their views which was never, and could never have been intended. There is above all else a duty which every member owes to his constituency and to the country, once he is returned to parliament and that is to exercise all that is possible of reason and judgment in reaching a decision upon questions of supreme national interest and concern.

Here may I ask the house to permit me to cite the opinion of one whom the parliament at Westminster for more than a century and a half has been proud to acknowledge as not less outstanding among its authorities on political obligation than as a leader in the art of parliamentary eloquence.

Addressing the electors of Bristol on November 3, 1774, Edmund Burke, in circumstances not dissimilar to those with which hon. members in our own parliament are faced at the present time, made the following declaration, the wisdom of which has been generally accepted by all democratic assemblies from that day to our own.

Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinion high respect; their business unremitted attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfactions, to theirs; and above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But, his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure; no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.

My worthy colleague says, his will ought to be subservient to yours. If that be all, the thing is innocent. If government were a matter of will upon any side, yours, without question, ought to be superior. But government and legislation are matters of reason and judgment, and not of inclination; and what sort of reason is that, in which the determination precedes the discussion; in which one set of men deliberate, and another decide; and where those who form the conclusion are perhaps three hundred miles distant from those who hear the arguments?

In our own country, it might need be three thousand miles.

To deliver an opinion, is the right of all men; that of constituents is a weighty and respectable opinion, which a representative ought always to rejoice to hear; and which he ought always most seriously to consider. But authoritative instructions; mandates issued, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote, and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest conviction of his judgment and conscience—these are things utterly unknown to the laws or this land, and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenour of our constitution.

Parliament is not a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests; which interests each must maintain, as an agent and advocate, against other agents and advocates; but parliament is a deliberative assembly of one nation, with one interest, that of the whole; where, not local purposes, not local prejudices ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the general reason of the whole. You choose a member indeed; but when you have chosen him, he is not a member of Bristol, but he is a member of parliament. If the local constituent should have an interest, or should form a hasty opinion, evidently opposite to the real good of the rest of the community, the member for that place ought to be as far, as any other, from any endeavour to give it effect.

That opinion never carried more weight in any assembly than should be attached to it by this House of Commons as we enter upon the present debate.

CONSCRIPTION FOR OVERSEAS SERVICE

Controversy will impair war effort

I turn now from a consideration of the amendment, as such, to a consideration of the question of conscription for overseas service which it raises. You will recall I stated that the plebiscite had three purposes. The first was that nothing should be allowed to obscure or impair the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort; the second, that the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise in the prosecution of the war; and the third, which has a direct bearing upon the first two, that the government and parliament should not be bound by past commitments, but be free to discuss and decide on its merits the extent of the use of conscription.

The third purpose has already been achieved as a result of the holding of the plebiscite. The government and parliament are no longer bound by past commitments. We are, therefore, in a position to discuss the question of conscription from the point of view of the other two purposes of the plebiscite.

Controversy over the question of conscription has, I believe, obscured the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort. Unless the controversy can be ended, it will, I believe, impair the efficiency of our war effort.

Meaning of a total war effort

The policy of the government is and has been the achievement of a total effort for total war.

Let me, therefore, outline briefly, so far only as the mobilization of man-power is concerned, some of the requirements that must be met in order to achieve a total war effort. Until the whole man-power picture is before us, we cannot see what effect the application of conscription for overseas service would have on the achievement of a total effort for total war.

The war programme for the period up to March 31, 1943, was outlined in all its aspects on January 26. That programme, in its objective, represents, in the opinion of the government, a total effort for Canada. By a total effort is meant the utmost effort of which the country is capable. On February 4, the Minister of Finance gave the reasons for believing that the government's war programme for 1942-43 would constitute the utmost effort of which the country is capable. The minister said:

I believe that the programme which we plan should for the immediate future, the coming year, be a programme which will strain the human and material resources of this country to the limit. I have, therefore, agreed as Minister of Finance, to a war programme for the coming fiscal year which, in my opinion, and in the opinion of my advisers, is the extreme limit of what this country can do, having in mind its human and material resources.

By a total effort is also meant an effort so balanced in all its aspects that no essential task will be left undone because a disproportionate effort is devoted to some other task.

The achievement of a total effort involves much more than the raising of large numbers of men. It involves the most effective use of all the available resources of the nation, material as well as human.

The mobilization of manpower

The mobilization of human resources, of man-power and woman-power, for a total war effort is far more complicated than is yet generally realized. It is not merely a question of raising men for the army, which was the main problem in the last war.

It should not be forgotten that Canada has only 11½ million people, of whom a considerable proportion are children or old people who cannot engage in active war service. From our limited population we must provide:

1. Men and women to perform the essential services without which life could not go on: such as the manufacture and distribution of the necessaries of life, essential transportation over great distances, and the production of food for our own people.

2. Men and women to produce food, not only for our own people and our own armed forces, but also to help feed the people of Britain and other allied countries which cannot produce all the food they need for themselves.

3. Men and women to produce the machines and munitions of war for Canada, for Britain, and for the other united nations.

4. Men and women for service in all three of the armed forces.

All these man-power needs must be satisfied from one man-power pool. It is important always to remember that the total man-power is limited. If too many men are taken from one service there will not be enough left for some other service. All man-power demands must be kept in balance.

When asked in the House of Commons last November what was the ultimate objective of

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man-power which it was hoped Canada would contribute, the Minister of National Defence replied, quoting words of my own, that Canada was determined to contribute "to the utmost of her strength". The minister added these significant words: "By an all-out contribution, I am not talking about divisions alone; I am not talking merely of squadrons, of ships, of production, of finance; I am talking about a balanced programme which represents the very best and most that Canada can do. That is the ultimate objective." That, may I say, is the ultimate objective as I also understand it.

It should also be remembered that the demand for man-power is continuous. The armed forces require reinforcements, and will continue to require them until the war is ended. As still more war plants come into production there is a growing demand for labour to man them. Labour is also required for the construction of defence works, such as airports, coastal defences, military highways, et cetera, many of which on a wide scale have become increasingly urgent because of war in the Pacific. There is a limit to the numbers of men who can be drained from the farms and from essential services without paralyzing the life of the community. The government must take account of all these factors in planning and organizing the mobilization of man-power.

The manpower needs of the army in perspective

A vigorous effort, as I have pointed out, has been made to identify conscription for overseas service in the army with a total effort for total war. The fact that it is conscription for the army, rather than for the navy or for the air force, which is made the symbol of a total war effort shows clearly that its advocates continue to think more in terms of the last war than of the present war.

I should like, therefore, to indicate the proportions of the problem of mobilizing the men for the army enlisted for service anywhere in relation to the total problem of man-power mobilization.

On February 10, the Minister of National Defence stated that the estimated man-power requirements of the army, for service anywhere, from January 1, 1942, to March 31, 1943, a period of fifteen months, were 90,000 to 100,000 men. Of that number over 50,000 had enlisted by the end of May. That is in a period of only five months. These figures show clearly that, at the present time, the voluntary system of recruitment is functioning adequately.

In the same period of fifteen months it is estimated that 13,000 men will be required for the navy, and from 70,000 to 80,000 for the air force, a total roughly equal to the estimate of the number required for the army for service anywhere overseas. There is, however, no suggestion that Canada is not making a total effort because the men for the navy and the air force are not raised by compulsion.

It is also estimated that, in the present year, at least 100,000 additional men and women will be needed in war industry. It is not suggested that these men and women must be recruited by compulsion in order to achieve a total war effort.

It is surely time that we began to call things by their right names. The total mobilization of man-power means the most effective use of all the men and women available: it has nothing whatever to do with the method by which that mobilization is achieved.

When it is realized that at the beginning of the present year some 600,000 men and women were directly engaged in war industry, and that by the end of the year the number will probably exceed 700,000; when it is realized that up to the end of May of the present year, over half a million men had already enlisted in the three armed forces for service anywhere in the world, and that enlistments in all three services are continuing at a satisfactory rate; when it is further realized that thousands more who have been recruited by the compulsory method are serving in home defence units and that their numbers are growing every month; when to these are added the hundreds of thousands of men who are necessarily employed in essential heavy industry, in construction, on the railways, on the farms and as merchant sailors, it is surely apparent that Canada is rapidly moving towards the total mobilization of man-power for a total war effort.

National selective service

In order to assist in shifting the man-power and woman-power of the nation as largely as possible from civilian activities into the various forms of war service, the government instituted, some months ago a flexible and comprehensive scheme of national selective service. In this scheme voluntary and compulsory features have both been incorporated.

The government does not propose to resort to compulsion simply for the sake of compulsion. Compulsion has not been made an end in itself. It is only in the dictator states, and in the countries they have conquered, and which for the time being are under their control, that compulsion is made an end in itself, as well as a means to an end. Here, in Canada, we, thus far, have had resort to compulsion only where, all circumstances considered, it was believed that compulsory means would contribute to a greater total effort. There has, for example, been no need of compulsion to secure all the men who can be taken into the navy, or to secure all the men required for the air force. No one has suggested that the application of conscription would be desirable in order to raise men for either of these services. Compulsion has not been required to raise the men needed for the active army which is enlisted for service anywhere in the world. There has so far been no need of industrial conscription to provide the workmen required for war industry.

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For the armed forces, compulsion is, of course, applied, and, since October, 1940, has been applied for service in the army for the territorial defence of Canada. The decision, announced on March 25, to mobilize the 7th and 8th divisions has considerably increased the demand for man-power for home defence service. This demand is being increasingly met by resort to compulsory training and service.

Compulsion not an end in itself

In a war for the preservation of freedom, it might well be asked how can the use of compulsion be justified in any aspects of the war effort

The reason for resorting to compulsion of any kind in the prosecution of the war is set out in formal language in section 2 of the National Resources Mobilization Act which empowers the governor in council to require "persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty in the right of Canada, as may be deemed necessary and expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of Canada, the maintenance of public order, or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies or services essential to the life of the community."

Translated into the language of the man in the street, that means that the government has the power to conscript any property, any wealth, or the services of any individual in Canada, whenever they are needed to make Canada stronger to resist attack, and to help Canada to do its full share to defeat the enemy.

Compulsion, in any form, should be used in the war effort only if it will make Canada stronger, and add to Canada's part in winning the war. Here let me repeat that compulsion is regarded by the government, not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. That end is a total war effort.

As I pointed out to the house in my statement on national selective service:

In those aspects of our war effort in which voluntary methods are working satisfactorily, voluntary selection including a measure of choice by the individual of the appropriate field of service, has been and will be continued. The more expensive and complicated methods of compulsion have been employed, only where it is felt that compulsory selection is necessary in order to increase efficiency in the prosecution of the war. Compulsion, however, will be applied without fear or favour wherever in the opinion of the government its use will aid in the achievement of a maximum war effort.

The application of conscription to service in the army overseas is only one aspect of the far wider question of the use of compulsion to secure an all-out war effort.

The next question is: Would the application of conscription to military service overseas at the present time make Canada stronger, or add to Canada's war effort?

Conscription for service overseas and a total effort

How could resort to conscription for overseas service add to our war effort? The one way, in which so far as I can see, it might add to our war effort, would be by securing more men for service in the army overseas than can be secured by voluntary means.

If the size of the overseas army was unlimited; if we did not require men urgently for other purposes as well as for the army; there might be a possibility of increasing the total war effort by conscripting men for the overseas army.

But the fact is we can only spare a limited proportion of our total man-power for the army overseas. In addition to our army overseas, we need men for a great and growing army which must be kept in Canada or in the adjacent territories for the defence of our home base, and for the joint defence of this continent in cooperation with the forces of the United States. The torpedoing in recent weeks, by German submarines, of ships in the waters of the St. Lawrence, and the destruction since the beginning of the year of many vessels off the coast of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the attack upon the Aleutian islands by Japanese ships and planes, the growing submarine menace in the Pacific, should surely have made it plain to everyone that apart from our forces overseas we need men for a great and growing air force and navy and for a much larger army, to be employed in the immediate protection of our own coasts and territory. We need men for our war industries which are still expanding. Our farms and essential civilian

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services cannot be left without man-power. The total man-power of the nation must be divided up among all these services.

What is the position of the Canadian army in regard to man-power?

The units already overseas are up to strength and adequate reinforcements are available. The new units, destined for overseas service, are being rapidly recruited by voluntary enlistment. Additional volunteers, enlisting for service anywhere in the world, are adding steadily to the numbers available for reinforcements.

The units destined for home defence service, recently increased in number, are formed or are being formed partly of volunteers and partly of men called up for compulsory military service.

Men are being called up for compulsory training and service as fast as they can be trained and equipped. These men receive the same training, in the same camps, as volunteers.

Clearly there are no grounds for asserting that compulsion is needed at the present time to secure the men required for service in the army overseas. There is nothing to indicate that its application now would add anything to Canada's total contribution to the winning of the war.

Here may I quote a second significant statement made by the Minister of Finance, on February 4. It is equally relevant to-day:

> One issue between the government and its more sincere opponents seems to me to be this: Will the continuation of the voluntary system for overseas service, at least for the time being—we have the compulsory system in many other lines of the war activity—make for a greater success in our programme than would its abandonment? I wish to say that neither as a member of the government nor as a member of the war committee of the cabinet, nor otherwise, have I been able to find any evidence that the abandonment of the voluntary system and the substitution of the compulsory system in respect to that part of our war effort represented by overseas army service would help at this moment in our war effort.
>
> Surely no one can deny that the voluntary system to date has functioned magnificently. In what single respect has it fallen down? Any question as to the success of the voluntary system for overseas service is not as to its success at the moment but as to its success in the future.

Conscription on its merits

There is, I know, a widespread feeling that the voluntary system is unfair because it is thought to mean that the willing men see their duty and do it, while the unwilling hang back and evade their share of the burden and sacrifice of war. This is a perfectly natural feeling.

To bring about greater equality of service at a time of war, there might be, there certainly would be, justification for the immediate introduction of a system of compulsory service, if such a system were not already in existence. Compulsory service for the whole of Canada, over the whole of Canada is already a part of the law of the land. And make no mistake about it, the government is determined, as far as is humanly possible, to make sure that every able-bodied man undertakes some form of direct war service. It may be on the farm; it may be in the factory; it may be in the forest or the mine; or it may be in the armed forces. But all must serve somewhere, and to achieve that end compulsion, where needed, will be employed.

There are some, I know, who believe conscription should be applied universally whether it is needed or not. There are others who believe equally strongly and equally sincerely that Canada can achieve a greater total effort by reliance, as far as possible, upon voluntary methods.

The government has accepted neither view in its entirety. It is our policy to use whichever of the two methods we believe, all factors considered, will give the best results.

The government has encouraged and intends to continue to encourage voluntary service in the armed forces, as well as in a host of other voluntary activities which are contributing to Canada's all-out effort. The government intends also to use compulsory selective service measures to the utmost limit required to ensure not only an adequate supply of recruits for the army, but also to provide, as far as possible, an adequate supply of man-power for all phases of our total war effort.

But what conceivable object would be served by resorting to conscription for service overseas, not because men in sufficient numbers were not available under voluntary enlistment, but just in order to employ the compulsory rather than the voluntary method of enlistment? There are those who ask why the willing men should be sent, while the unwilling are allowed to stay at home. That is a question which should be answered. Because of our small population, Canada's army overseas can never be a very large army and every Canadian should want it to be the best army possible. It is no military secret that willing men make better soldiers, on the average, than those who are compelled to serve. Moreover, the army overseas is composed entirely of volunteers. Its spirit and morale will undoubtedly be higher if its reinforcements are also volunteers.

Why, some also ask, should volunteers be sent into danger while men called up for compulsory service remain in safety in Canada? From the beginning of the war, I have stressed both tasks of the Canadian army. On the one hand, it must help to defeat the enemy abroad; on the other it must defend our own and neighbouring territory. Events to-day are showing us clearly that the second task may in the course of time, and that in no distant future, become exceedingly dangerous. If there were no danger, there would be no need of any army in Canada!

The army must employ the volunteers in some theatre; it must also employ the men called up for compulsory service. Surely it is only common sense to avoid any excuse for controversy, and consequent weakening of our total effort, by allowing those who volunteer for service anywhere to proceed overseas, so long as they are available. To reverse the process would certainly not increase our total effort.

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The glory of voluntary effort

Apart altogether from any consideration of the sharp cleavage of opinion in Canada on the question of actually resorting to conscription for service overseas, there can be no argument that Canada will have a better army overseas, if it can continue to be maintained and reinforced by volunteers.

There is one other observation I should like to make, and I make it because I know it is very much in the hearts and minds of many of those who have volunteered for service overseas. It is that an outstanding feature of Canada's war effort is that everyone who has contributed and is at present contributing his services overseas has done so voluntarily. That is something that should never be forgotten. It is a record which all Canada may well view with pride and, if at all possible, it should be maintained. It embodies all that is noblest and finest in the spirit of our young country. It is the particular pride of every man who has volunteered for service overseas whether he be in the army, the navy, the air forces, or, in the latest of our volunteer forces, the Canadian corps of fire-fighters to Great Britain.

I doubt if we have yet begun to realize how much Canada's reputation has grown in other parts of the world because, at the outbreak of war, Canada decided of her own free will to participate in the struggle. I do not believe that we appreciate how much is added to Canada's strength in the eyes of the world by the fact that every man serving overseas in the armed forces of Canada is there of his own free will and at the dictates of his own conscience. It is the glory of Canada that we rallied freely and at once to the call of freedom. If we can, to the end, without aught of sacrifice to the common cause, maintain overseas our free participation in the common struggle for freedom, Canada and the gallant young men who have freely offered their lives will preserve that honour and that glory for all time. Surely, this is no unworthy ambition for the people of Canada.

A war of survival

It cannot be denied that the issue of conscription for service overseas is the most controversial issue that has arisen in Canada since confederation. That, I think, will be generally admitted. At any rate, if there is an issue that has occasioned more dissension in Canada; that has left a greater legacy of suspicion and distrust; that has inflicted a deeper wound in the side of the nation, I should like to be told what it is, for I confess I do not know. The knowledge of this fact caused the leaders of all political parties and others who had the unity of the country at heart, before the outbreak of war, and when Canada entered the war, to see to it that this issue was kept in the background. On all sides, an honest effort was made to see that it should not be permitted to arise. That attitude was maintained in public discussions throughout the general elections of 1940, and I am happy to say up to just about a year ago.

I do not propose to go at this time into the reasons which have since occasioned a change of attitude on the part of some. I readily admit that it may have been due in part to the changed character and world-wide scope of the war. Indeed one of the purposes of the plebiscite, as I have so frequently said was to make the way clear for a consideration, on its merits, of the question of conscription, in the light of the changed conditions.

When Canada entered what, in September, 1939, most people believed was going to be "just another European war," it was recognized if the war were not successfully ended, our national security would be menaced. But very few contemplated a war which might come to threaten our national existence. That is the position Canada is in to-day. We are engaged with the other free nations of the world in a war of survival.

Canada in danger

The fact that the war has reached world embracing proportions; that there is combat on every ocean; and that there is certain to be conflict on every continent; that Canada is

by no means exempt from the possibility of attack, at any moment, and even of invasion, are not reasons why the government should abandon a policy based upon considerations of the preservation of national unity. It is the strongest of reasons why the government should give the most careful consideration to all possible consequences of any change of policy which might result in division and a weakening of national unity.

I doubt if any of us begin to realize how grave the responsibility has become of determining the disposition of the country's armed forces, as a consequence of the changed conditions resulting from the entry of Japan into the war. Immediate danger no longer threatens Canada only from the east. It threatens equally from the west. Let that danger assume formidable proportions, and I ask what will be said of a government, or for that matter, of a parliament, or of a press, that continues to look only across the Atlantic to one enemy against which this country has to be protected, and fails to recognize that the strategy of the combined enemy forces may well involve an attack at any moment from across the Pacific.

In deciding upon the disposition of the armed forces, the government has to consider from day to day, just what proportion of its forces our country is justified in sending overseas, and what proportion it is necessary to keep at home. That question has had to be considered from the outbreak of war but, until Japan entered the war, it did not begin to have the importance it has now come to have.

It is perfectly clear that the enemy will have to be destroyed overseas if this continent is not to be the field of the final conflict, or possibly even an immediate field of conflict, with Canada the scene of the first invasion. It is equally true that in the event of an attack, come when it may, and from whichever direction it may, unless we have forces adequately equipped, and trained in sufficient numbers to prevent the enemy from getting a foothold upon our soil, our entire national existence will be imperilled. While we must continue to do all we possible can to assist in accomplishing the defeat of the enemy away from our shores, we must also be in constant readiness to meet and hold him at bay should he attempt an attack upon our shores. What guarantee have we that the enemy having begun to destroy shipping off the coasts of the maritime provinces, in the gulf of St. Lawrence and in the river itself, and having attempted to gain a base for operations against the Pacific coast, we may not witness at any moment bombing of our harbours and cities alike on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and attempts to destroy railway terminals and facilities, munition plants, aerodromes and other military targets in any part of the country.

Need for a free hand

With those possibilities before our very eyes, and let me tell this house as I have told the country time and again, they are possibilities which are by no means remote, can we afford to allow any question of conscription to become the occasion of a political battle in parliament, or of political warfare throughout the country; can we allow the country itself to become distracted by and divided over such an issue. **Surely the only reasonable course to take in dealing with this question is to leave to the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, to decide what disposition it may be best to make between the forces to be sent abroad and those that are to be kept at home, and what means it may be necessary to take to keep up the strength of the armed forces which are already overseas.**

The people of Canada have clearly indicated their desire that freedom to decide on these matters should be given to the government, subject only to its responsibility to parliament. It is that freedom which, by the amendment, the government asks should now be given to it by parliament.

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Discours du premier ministre terminant le débat sur la deuxième lecture du bill modifiant la loi sur la mobilisation des ressources nationales

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En mettant fin au débat sur la deuxième lecture du bill dont la Chambre est présentement saisie, je n'ai pas l'intention d'analyser tous les arguments qui ont été présentés de part et d'autre. Rien de ce qui a été dit ne me justifie de modifier l'une quelconque des déclarations que j'ai faites et des opinions que j'ai exprimées quand j'ai présenté ce projet de loi le 11 mai ainsi qu'au commencement du débat sur la deuxième lecture, le 10 juin.

Je crois que ce débat a amplement démontré la sagesse de l'attitude que le Gouvernement a adoptée en soumettant à l'approbation du Parlement les méthodes propres au recrutement de nos hommes pour le service outre-mer.

Il a été reconnu dès le début que la question prête à de grandes divergences d'opinions. Si le Gouvernement n'avait eu à tenir compte que du caractère controversable de la question, sa tâche eût été relativement simple.

Quand j'ai ouvert ce débat, j'ai déclaré que des changements survenus dans le caractère et la portée du conflit étaient suffisants pour nécessiter alors l'étude approfondie de cette question par le Parlement.

J'ai pris bien soin de m'abstenir de parler des autres facteurs qui ont fait surgir la question, et cela d'une façon qui a contribué

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à mettre en relief plutôt qu'à atténuer son caractère controversable. Je me propose encore aujourd'hui d'éviter de parler de cet aspect particulier de la question, si ce n'est pour signaler à l'attention des honorables députés combien cette controverse a été superflue et trompeuse.

Dans la présente guerre, la question de la conscription pour le service outre-mer a été soulevé en premier lieu non pas au Parlement par le porte-parole autorisé d'un parti politique quelconque, mais en-dehors du Parlement. L'intention d'en faire une question politique est devenue manifeste il y a un peu plus d'un an, au cours du voyage que j'ai fait dans l'Ouest.

Chaque fois que cette question a été amenée sur le tapis, on a eu recours à la même méthode. On s'est efforcé d'établir une corrélation entre "un effort total" et la seule question de la méthode à adopter pour lever des hommes pour le service outre-mer. On a prétendu qu'il s'agissait d'un besoin urgent dont il fallait s'occuper sans tarder.

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La conscription pour le service outre-mer n'était certainement pas nécessaire quand l'agitation a commencé à Calgary il y a plus d'un an. A cette époque, les auteurs de cette agitation affirmaient que la conscription pour le service outre-mer était devenu urgent. Elle n'était certainement pas nécessaire quand le nouveau chef du parti conservateur a lancé son manifeste réclamant un gouvernement national et un effort total. Elle n'était certainement pas nécessaire quand, mettant à exécution une partie du plan de campagne, le comité des 200 de Toronto s'est efforcé d'établir une corrélation entre "un effort total en vue d'une guerre totale" et l'application immédiate de la conscription pour le service outre-mer. Elle n'était certainement pas nécessaire au moment où le Gouvernement a annoncé au Parlement son intention de tenir un plébiscite. Néanmoins, d'honorables députés de la gauche nous ont dit que le Gouvernement devait être censuré pour le retard que causerait le plébiscite et ils ont condamné le plébiscite lui-même. La conscription pour le service outre-mer n'était certes pas nécessaire lors des élections complémentaires qui ont eu lieu dans ~~le~~ Welland, dans York-Sud, dans Montréal-Sainte-Marie et dans Québec-Est, bien que les tenants de la conscription nous eussent dit alors que c'était là la véritable question en jeu dans ces campagnes électorales.

Il est maintenant manifeste que la conscription pour le service outre-mer n'était pas nécessaire au moment où le résultat du plébiscite a été annoncé.

Deux faits ont été démontrés hors de tout doute au cours du débat actuel. D'abord, qu'il n'a pas, jusqu'ici, été nécessaire de recourir à la contrainte afin de recruter les hommes requis pour le service outre-mer dans l'une quelconque des forces armées du Canada, c'est-à-dire dans l'aviation, dans la marine ou dans l'armée. En second lieu, que l'ampleur de l'effort de guerre canadien n'aurait d'aucune façon été accru si le principe de la contrainte avait été appliqué dans le cas du service outre-mer. De fait, elle aurait pu s'en trouver considérablement réduite, à cause de la dissension qui en eût résulté.

Si je rappelle ces faits, c'est surtout pour démontrer bien clairement que le Gouvernement était sérieux en déclarant, comme il l'a invariablement fait jusqu'ici, que la conscription pour le service outre-mer n'était pas nécessaire, tant pour le recrutement des soldats requis que pour la réalisation de l'objectif du Gouvernement qui est d'accomplir un effort de guerre total et bien équilibré.

En soulignant ces faits, je veux en outre faire bien comprendre que, quand il demande comme il le fait dans ce bill, et sous l'unique réserve de sa responsabilité envers le Parlement, l'entière liberté d'agir conformément à l'idée qu'il se fera des exigences de la situation, le Gouvernement ne cède ni à une pression politique ni à une agitation populaire existant dans une partie quelconque du pays.

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Si le Gouvernement demande cette liberté d'action, c'est uniquement parce qu'il estime que, en ce moment extrêmement critique de l'histoire du monde, notre intérêt national exige que le Gouvernement possède un tel pouvoir.

Quelques-uns de mes adversaires politiques ont particulièrement cherché à faire croire au public que, en tant que chef du Gouvernement, je me suis surtout attaché à des considérations de parti. On prétend que j'ai voulu avant tout maintenir l'unité au sein du parti que je dirige, dans le but de rester à la tête d'un gouvernement de parti. Je ne nie pas que je me sois toujours efforcé de maintenir l'unité au sein du parti qui m'a fait l'honneur de me choisir comme son chef. Je dois cela non seulement au parti mais aussi au pays, étant donné surtout que le groupe de ceux qui m'appuient à la Chambre des communes constitue la base du gouvernement auquel le peuple a confié le soin d'administrer le pays en temps de guerre. Toutefois, je nie bien catégoriquement avoir, àun moment quelconque de ma carrière politique, placé les intérêts de mon parti avant ceux du pays. Je n'ai surtout été mû par aucun sentiment de ce genre dans la conduite des affsires publiques en ce moment où notre pays est en guerre.

On ne peut assurément pas soutenir que, en demandant par voie de ~~xxxxxx~~ plébiscite d'être libéré de toute obligation découlant d'engagements antérieurs, je me suis attaché à des considérations de parti.

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On ne saurait non plus prétendre qu'en présentant au moment où je l'ai fait, le bill dont la Chambre est présentement saisie, j'ai voulu, comme certains hon. députés de la gauche et leurs journaux persistent à le dire, apaiser les nombreux partisans que j'ai dans la province de Québec, et dont l'appui, se plait-on à affirmer, m'est nécessaire pour conserver le pouvoir.

Lors des dernières élections générales, j'ai effectivement obtenu l'adhésion de la province de Québec, car tous les représentants qu'elle a envoyés dans cette Chambre, à l'exception d'un seul, appuyaient mon programme. Il convient peut-être que je profite de l'occasion pour rappeler aux honorables députés et à la population du pays que, à part l'appui politique que m'a accordé la province de Québec, j'ai obtenu dans les autres provinces du Canada, une majorité considérable en regard de la représentation fédérale combinée du parti conservateur, de la fédération du commonwealth coopératif et du parti du crédit social. De fait, les partisans que compte le Gouvernement parmi les représentants des provinces autres que le Québec forment près de la moitié du nombre total des députés à la Chambre des communes. J'ai considéré que le fait d'avoir ainsi obtenu la confiance du peuple canadien en général m'imposait encore davantage l'obligation de veiller à ce que toutes les questions d'importance nationale fussent réglées uniquement dans l'intérêt national. J'ai cru que cela constituait une obligation particulière pour le premier ministre en temps de guerre.

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Jamais, au cours de ma carrière politique ne suis-je passé par une plus grande épreuve qu'en ce moment, alors que je me rends compte que la ligne de conduite que le Gouvernement devait, à mon sens, adopter à l'heure actuelle dans l'intérêt national, occasionne une division dans les rangs de mes fidèles partisans. D'autre part, connaissant comme je la connais la situation du Canada dans la crise mondiale, j'aurais cru ne pas avoir agi loyalement envers tous les membres de mon parti et envers mon pays, si je n'avais pas demandé au Parlement à l'heure actuelle les pouvoirs qui, en vertu du bill, devaient être conférés au Gouvernement.

Je ne doute pas cependant que les événements de la guerre justifieront amplement la politique que le Gouvernement a suivie jusqu'ici et qu'il suit encore à l'heure actuelle. L'attitude actuelle du Gouvernement est déjà justifiée, je n'en doute pas, aux yeux de l'immense majorité des citoyens canadiens qui ont déjà exprimé l'avis que le Gouvernement ait toute liberté pour faire face aux divers événements de la guerre au fur et à mesure qu'ils pourront surgir. A mon avis, la sagesse de la politique du Gouvernement sera également bien comprise de la plupart, sinon de tous ceux qui n'ont pas voulu ou qui ne veulent pas encore confier au Gouvernement tant de pouvoir discrétionnaire. Les résultats du plébiscite ont montré que, en ce qui concerne l'application ou le rejet de la conscription pour le service militaire outremer, la vaste majorité de la population canadienne était disposée à se fier au jugement du Gouvernement actuel. Je n'aime-

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rais pas que le débat se terminât sans qu'il me fût permis de dire, au nom de mes collègues et en mon nom personnel, combien nous apprécions une si grande marque de confiance.

Il est vrai que le présent bill est la conséquence logique du plébiscite, mais il ne tire pas son origine des résultats du plébiscite. Parce que les résultats du plébiscite ont été regardés par quelques-uns comme un mandat autrisant l'établissement de la conscription pour le service outre-mer, il en est résulté que d'autres ont interprété à faux le sens du bill actuel. Le plébiscite et le bill ont tous deux, en réalité, une seule et même origine. Chacun doit son existence à la politique du Gouvernement telle qu'exprimée dans le discours du Trône à l'ouverture de la présente session du Parlement. Chacun était une mesure nécessaire, mais seulement une mesure en vue de la réalisation de cette politique.

Voici l'énoncé de cette politique commeM on peut le lire dans le discours du Trône: "Le Gouvernement estime que, à cette époque la plus critique de l'histoire du monde, il devrait, sous la seule réserve de sa responsabilité envers le Parlement ... jouir d'une complète liberté d'agir selon qu'il le jugera utile d'après les nécessités du moment." Le seul cas où le Gouvernement n'avait pas pleine liberté d'agir selon qu'il peut le juger utile, c'est par rapport aux méthodes de recruter des hommes pour le service militaire.

D59926

La politique du Gouvernement, telle qu'exprimée dans le présent bill, n'est pas nouvelle; elle est identique à celle que renferme le discours du Trône, que le Parlement a approuvé en adoptant l'Adresse. Etant donné les engagements antérieurs au sujet du recrutement des hommes pour le service militaire outre-mer, la liberté d'agir nécessaire ne pouvait être obtenue que par deux étapes successives.

La première étape consistait à demander à la population de relever le Gouvernement d'une obligation morale résultant d'engagements passés, et l'autre étape, à demander au Parlement de faire disparaitre une restriction incorporée dans la loi actuelle. La libération de l'obligation morale a été demandée et obtenue au moyen du plébiscite. Quant à la suppression de la restriction juridique, on demande aujourd'hui au Parlement de l'accorder et j'espère qu'elle sera accordée grâce au présent bill. Mais, bien que la deuxième mesure (le bill dont est maintenant saisie la Chambre) fût la conséquence logique des résultats de la première, savoir le plébiscite, elle ne tire pas son origine de cette mesure, mais de la politique du Gouvernement telle qu'elle a été énoncée dans le discours du Trône.

Cette politique ministérielle, énoncée dans le discours du Trône, n'a pas été adoptée à la suite de pressions politiques ni de clameurs populaires quelconques, mais il faut l'attribuer à ce que le Gouvernement,.vu la tournure de la guerre, en était venu à regarder comme la seule mesure logique "à cette époque la plus critique de l'histoire du monde."

En toute sincérité, après avoir vu la situation se modifier de mois en mois et d'année en année depuis le début du présent conflit, et sachant ce qu'elle est actuellement, serions-nous justifiée d'adopter toute autre attitude? Si, après presque trois ans d'hostilités, la tournure de la guerre avait été différente; si , par exemple, l'Allemagne, après avoir subjugué la plus grande partie de l'Europe, avait été repoussée de quelques-uns, ou même d'un seul, des pays qu'elle a envahis; si l'Allemagne devait maintenant se préoccuper de sa propre défense au lieu de s'employer, comme elle continue à le faire, à conquérir de nouveaux territoires; si le Japon était demeuré en dehors de la guerre, au lieu de défier la puissance des Etats-Unis aussi bien que celle du Commonwealth britannique et des autres Nations Unies, on aurait peut-être eu raison de révoquer en doute la nécessité de faire disparaitre toute restriction susceptible d'empêcher le Gouvernement d'agir en toute liberté, selon son appréciation des exigences de l'heure. Cependant, lorsque c'est le contraire qui est vrai, lorsque la guerre, au lieu d'être limitée à un seul continent, est devenue un conflit mondial, s'étendant à tous les continents et à toutes les mers et dans lequel toutes les grandes puissances du monde sont partiellement détruites ou luttent pour leur survivance, lorsque la civilisation même est en jeu, le Gouvernement n'aurait-il pas éludé ses responsabilités s'il n'avait pas demandé au Parlement, pendant qu'il en était temps, de lui accorder les pouvoirs les plus vastes afin qu'il pût faire face à toutes les situations?

Un gouvernement est responsable non ~~mmm~~ seulement des actes qu'il pose, mais de ceux qu'il négligede poser. Le parlement, il me semble, a une responsabilité semblable lorsque le gouvernement ~~a~~ lui demande de l'aider à assurer la défaite de l'ennemi, et, partant, la sécurité de la nation, sinon son existence même.

Le 11 juin, l'ancien ministre des Travaux publics, s'élevant contre la présentation du projet de loi à l'heure actuelle, s'écriait, comme en fait foi le compte rendu à la page 3665:

> "Au nom du ciel, à quoi bon avoir un principe qui reste lettre morte dans nos statuts?"

Mon honorable ami, en posant pareille question, ne ~~mmm~~ songeait qu'à l'application de la conscription pour service outre-mer. Un aspect très important du projet de loi lui a échappé entièrement. La présente mesure vise à faire disparaître la restriction relative au service militaire obligatoireen dehors du Canada et de ses eaux territoriales. Elle ne fera pas seulement disparaitre la restriction relative au service~~m~~ obligatoire pour outre-mer; elle supprimera également cette restriction dans le cas du service obligatoire pour d'autres parties de cet hémisphère. Pour ce qui est du service en d'autres parties de l'Amérique du Nord et des îles avoisinantes, l'amendement de la loi de mobilisation ne restera aucunement, une fois qu'il aura été adopté, "lettre morte dans nos statu~~m~~ts".

D'un moment à l'autre, il peut devenir urgent de l'appliquer. Les événements récents tout autant qu'un coup d'oeil sur la mappemonde, suffisent à nous démontrer qu'au point de vue tactique la défense de nos côtes orientale et occidentale est inséparablement liée à la défense des territoires voisins des Etats-Unis. Nous avons reconnu dès le début des hostilités que la même observation s'applique à Terre-Neuve et au Labrador. Pour consolider nos propres défenses immédiates, il sera nécessaire d'étendre la portée du service obligatoire aux territoires précités. Si cet hémisphère devait être témoin de combats sur une échelle considérable, le mouvement de nos troupes entre le Canada et les territoires avoisinants ne saurait souffrir aucune restriction.

J'ai dit, il est vrai, avant la tenue du plébiscite, que le Gouvernement en cas d'urgence, autoriserait la chose par décret en vertu de la loi des mesures de guerre, et qu'il demanderait ensuite au Parlement de modifier la loi de mobilisation. Mais c'est là certes une méthode indésirable lorsque le Parlement a le temps d'accorder d'avance au Gouvernement l'autorité voulue.

En outre, le Gouvernement a également le pouvoir d'employer la même méthode dans le cas du service militaire outre-mer. C'est parce qu'il se rend parfaitement compte qu'il est responsable envers le Parlement, que le Gouvernement lui demande, dans un cas comme dans l'autre, de lui accorder l'autorité voulue.

D 59930

Le débat a révélé que l'opposition au présent bill se fonde dans l'ensemble sur quatre raisons principales. Il peut en exister d'autres, mais aucun discours ne les a fait particulièrement valoir.

Les deux premières de ces raisons sont présentées par les deux groupes extrêmes d'opposition à la mesure. Il y a d'un côté ceux qui soutiennent qu'elle ne va pas assez loin. De l'autre se trouvent ceux qui prétendent qu'elle va trop loin. Les partisans du premier groupe de ces extrémistes voudraient voir appliquer immédiatement le principe de la conscription au service outre-mer, sans égard à la nécessité réelle ou non de la contrainte pour assurer l'enrôlement indispensable et sans égard non plus aux conséquences préjudiciables possibles de l'application sans nécessité de la conscription pour le service outre-mer. Les partisans de l'autre extrême refusent d'approuver l'application du principe de la conscription pour le service outre-mer non seulement dans un avenir immédiat mais même en aucun temps et cela sans égard aux conséquences quelles qu'elles puissent être.

En ce qui concerne ces derniers partisans extrémistes, je désire faire une distinction marquée entre les honorables députés qui favorisent la politique ministérielle d'un effort total de guerre mais qui croient honnêtement et sincèrement que la conscription pour le service outre-mer n'accroîtra pas notre effort total et pourrait même lui être préjudiciable, et les autres, heureusement peu nombreux, qui ont indiqué clairement, non seulement par leur attitude au cours du présent débat mais aussi dans le passé, qu'ils sont disposés à voir le Canada risquer la défaite plutôt que d'accepter la conscription pour le service outre-mer.

En 1937, en 1938 et en 1939, quelques-uns de ces honorables députés se sont opposés aux préparatifs militaires en vue de la défense du Canada parce qu'ils jugeaient , si j'interprète bien leurs paroles, que le Canada ne courait aucun danger. Ils sont enco e disposés à fermer les yeux sur les desseins de l'ennemi et à méconnaître sa puissance, malgré l'évidence croissante de son dessein de conquête mondiale et malgré le succès persistant de ses armes. Ils sont prêts à laisser à d'autres le soin d'accomplir pour le Canada, pour leurs foyers et leurs familles ce qu'ils ne veulent pas faire non seulement pour les autres mais même pour leur propre pays et pour eux-mêmes. Ils refusent de voir la nécessité d'assurer la destruction de l'ennemi aussi rapidement que possible et aussi loin que possible du Canada. Ils sont disposés à risquer de faire subir au Canada le sort de ces pays qui, en si grand nombre, ont déjà connu les terreurs de l'invasion et de la conquête par un ennemi acharné et implacable.

Les honorables députés qui refusent ainsi de jeter leurs regards au delà du Canada ont maintes fois cité l'Australie en exemple, ce pays qui, dès le début de la guerre, a envoyé des troupes outre-mer et qui a été forcé depuis de rappeler quelques effectifs pour sa propre défense. Mais pourquoi l'Australie a-t-elle envoyé ses troupes outre-mer si ce n'est qu'elle reconnaissait le besoin d'une défense collective ?

D 59932

Pourquoi, je le demande, les Etats-Unis se sont-ils montrés si disposés à envoyer des forces militaires et navales en Australie au moment du besoin ? N'était-ce pas que les Etats-Unis se sont rendus compte qu'à moins de voir l'ennemi vaincu outre-mer il leur faudrait le vaincre sur le sol américain ? N'était-ce pas aussi que l'Australie avait mérité le respect et le secours des autres nations en envoyant ses forces armées outre-mer contre l'ennemi commun ?

Je tiens ici à protester également contre la fausse interprétation que persistent délibérément à donner de la position du Canada nombre de ceux qui représentent l'autre extrême d'opinion. Certains honorables vis-à-vis ont affirmé et les journaux qui les appuient continuent à déclarer que le Gouvernement répugne à l'envoi de troupes outre-mer. Ils tentent de créer l'impression, du fait que le Canada n'a pas eu l'occasion de recourir à la conscription pour le service outre-mer, qu'il ne se fait aucun envoi de troupes canadiennes outre-mer, que telles affirmations ne s'inspirent que de motifs d'intérêt politique, car ces gens savent parfaitement bien que cela n'est pas vrai et crée une fausse impression. Mais quel en est le résultat ? On crée également de fausses impressions à l'étranger. Cela est excessivement dommageable au pays et comporte une injustice grave à l'égard de l'admirable armée canadienne outre-mer.

Personne ne saurait s'opposer à ce que ceux qui croient sincèrement que l'effort de guerre du pays s'en trouverait favorisé préconisent honnêtement la conscription.

D 59933

Mais le meilleur moyen de préconiser la conscription n'est sûrement pas de discréditer l'armée canadienne et de créer l'impression que le Canada n'envoie pas de soldats outre-mer parce que ceux qui, régulièrement, s'y rendent ont offert volontairement leurs services.

Pour des raisons opposées, les tenants de ces deux opinions extrêmes contribuent à créer l'impression absolument fausse que le Canada n'envoie pas ou ne veut pas envoyer d'hommes rencontrer et vaincre l'ennemi outre-mer.

Pour des fins politiques, ces deux groupes sont prêts à discréditer leur pays aux yeux du monde.

Ces deux points de vue sont à jamais irréconciliables. Le présent débat doit avoir prouvé à l'un comme à l'autre groupe que l'adoption de leur point de vue ne pourrait qu'affaiblir, sinon détruire, l'unité nationale que chacun désire voir maintenue. Elle aurait également un effet désastreux sur la poursuite d'un effort de guerre efficace.

Si la Chambre devait, pour des raisons de nécessité nationale ou autres, se rendre à l'une de ces opinions, maints honorables députés se trouveraient sans doute dans une situation très xxxxxxxxxxxx embarrassante. Mais ces mêmes honorables députés se réservent probablement, et je crois même sûrement, des embarras, tant pour le présent que pour l'avenir, s'ils refusent d'appuyer cette mesure qui évite les extrêmes et qui, en temps de guerre, est la seule qui puisse nous faire espérer le maintien de l'unité nationale. Cette unité nationale, on la maintiendra le plus sûrement, je crois, si les honorables députés accordent au Gouvernement chargé de la poursuite de l'effort de guerre du Canada cet appui qu'il lui est indispensable d'obtenir du Parlement s'il veut véritablement s'acquitter de ses lourdes responsabilités dans le meilleur intérêt de la nation.

D 59934

Si quelqu'un peut m'exposer une méthode de régler cette difficile question du service outre-mer mieux en rapport avec les intérêts de la nation que celle qu'a formulée le Gouvernement et qui peut se résumer en ces mots : "Pas nécessairement la conscription, mais la conscription si nécessaire", je serai le premier à inviter qu'on s'y rallie. Mais rien de ce genre ne nous a été exposé au cours du présent débat. Il ne se trouve pas non plus, je crois, de formule plus heureuse. Le cours de la guerre et les opinions exprimées en cette enceinte depuis le début de cette discussion me semblent avoir prouvé sans contestе possible que, étant donné toutes les circonstances, la méthode proposée est la seule qui soit rationnelle.

Nous n'en sommes pas à des discussions théoriques sur des principes de gouvernement ou de guerre, où chacun peut différer d'opinion sans danger grave pour soi-même et pour les autres. Nous sommes en face de réalités incontestables qu'il nous faut envisager. Il faut, d'un commun accord, y mettre un maximum de bonne volonté si nous ne voulons pas nuire à la cause tant du Canada que de nos alliés. Partant de ce point de vue, je demande à tous les honorables députés, qu'elle qu'ait pu être leur attitude passée sur la mesure à l'étude, de bien songer à leurs responsabilités envers leurs circonscriptions et le pays tout entier.

D 59935

J'ai dit qu'on s'était opposé à la présente mesure pour quatre raisons, et je me suis arrêté à deux d'entre elles. Les deux autres ne sont pas fondamentalement irréconciliables avec la politique du Gouvernement qui veut "non pas nécessairement la conscription, mais la conscription si nécessaire" pour le service outre-mer. Pour que la mesure devienne acceptable, il faudrait y ajouter certaines dispositions. Certains voudraient, par exemple, que la conscription des hommes pour le service outre-mer soit nécessairement accompagnée de ce qu'on a appelé "la conscription des biens". Ils soutiennent que les deux doivent aller de pair. Si j'ai bien saisi, tel était le sens de l'amendement proposé par le chef de la fédération du commonwealth coopératif.

Que le chef de la fédération du commonwealth coopératif, ainsi que ceux qui partagent des opinions analogues, me permettent de leur rappeler que le pouvoir de conscrire la richesse dans la mesure et au moment jugés nécessaires et opportuns existe déjà aux termes de la loi que le Gouvernement demande à la Chambre de modifier en en amplifiant et non en en limitant l'application.

Le pouvoir de conscrire la richesse demeure illimité.

D 59936

Il n'y a pas d'autres restrictions à l'exercice de ce pouvoir que celles que le Gouvernement peut juger à propos d'apporter. Le projet de loi, comme je l'ai fait remarquer, est une mesure d'autorisation, et, en ce qui concerne la conscription de la richesse et la conscription des hommes, il restera une mesure d'autorisation, s'il est adopté. Sous ces deux rapports le Gouvernement sera libre d'exercer sa discrétion selon que les besoins de la guerre l'exigeront.

Je sais qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de rappeler aux honorables députés que lors de la deuxième lecture d'un bill le Chambre est appelée à se prononcer sur le principe de la mesure. Il ne s'agit pas d'ajouter ou de retrancher quoi que ce soit à ses dispositions. Ce sont là des questions à étudier lors de l'examen en comité. Pour ce qui est du principe le Gouvernement veut obtenir, au moyen de ce bill, liberté complète d'action, comme l'a laissé entendre le chef de la fédération du commonwealth coopératif, sous la réserve de sa responsabilité au Parlement, quant à l'application de la conscription n'importe où. En restreignant de quelque façon l'exercice des pouvoirs du Gouvernement, autrement que du point de vue de sa responsabilité envers le Parlement, on détruit entièrement la liberté d'action de l'Administration, qui est le principe fondamental de la présente mesure.

D 59937

Si le budget de cette année n'est pas de nature à convaincre les honorables députés et les Canadiens en général que le Gouvernement est prêt à conscrire toute la richesse nécessaire pour répartir le fardeau de l'effort de guerre aussi équitablement que possible, il est assez difficile d'imaginer quelles autres assurances on tiendrait pour suffisantes sous ce rapport.

Je passe maintenant au dernier motif que certains ont invoqué pour ne pas appuyer le bill, et que d'autres allèguent pour justifier leur hésitation à l'appuyer tant que le Gouvernement n'aura pas mieux fait connaître ses intentions exactes.

Des deux côtés de la Chambre, on a formulé des objections fondées sur le fait que l'on pourrait recourir à la conscription pour le service outre-mer à une date ultérieure, sans consulter de nouveau le Parlement. Cependant, lorsque certains honorables députés parlent de soumettre de nouveau cette question au Parlement, d'aucuns semblent désirer une certaine chose ; et d'autres, tout à fait le contraire.

Tous conviennent qu'en adoptant le bill à l'étude la Chambre autorisera le Gouvernement à appliquer la conscription pour le service en dehors du Canada, au moment et dans la mesure où le Gouvernement jugera la chose nécessaire et opportune. D'aucuns sont d'avis que le Gouvernement, s'il décidait que la conscription pour le service outre-mer est nécessaire et opportune, devrait annoncer sa décision au Parlement avant de prendre les mesures requises, et, à ce moment, définir les termes et conditions de ce service au moyen d'une autre mesure législative, ou du moins autoriser un deuxième débat sur la question de son application immédiate.

D'autres ne veulent pas d'une deuxième discussion, encore moins d'un autre projet de loi, mais soutiennent que la reconnaissance du principe de la responsabilité ministérielle envers leParlement exige que le Gouvernement, le plus tôt possible après en M être arrivé à une décision, le communique au Parlement, et qu'avant de l'exécuter il devrait fournir l'occasion aux honorables députés d'exprimer leurs opinions à ce sujet.

MM J'affirme aussi catégoriquement que je le peux, que pour aucune raison j'autoriserai un deuxième débat mm sur la conscription.

En exposant les raisons pour lesquelles le Gouvernement n'a pas procédé par étapes, lorsqu'il s'est agi de faire disparaître les restrictions dans la loi sur la mobilisation relativement au service en dehors du Canada, j'aidit qu'une telle ligne de conduite ne répondrait pas aux fins du plébiscite qui étaient énoncées dans le discours du trône, et dont l'une était d'accorder complète liberté d'action au Gouvernement, sous la seule réserve de sa responsabilité constitutionnelle au Parlement.

Cependant, j'ai donné une autre et très importante raison. J'ai dit que la modification de la loi nécessiterait un débat dans les deux Chambres du Parlement, - et de plus un débat qui porterait inévitablement sur la conscription; que ce serait recommencer toute la même discussion. Au cours d'observations que j'ai faites sur cette question le 10 juin, j'ai dit:

"Les discussions inutiles et les débats prolongés au Parlement en une heure où le pays affronte des périls[illegible] toujours plus menaçants, ne serviraient qu'à présenter sous un mauvais jour l'effort de guerre canadien, tant aux yeux de notre population qu'à ceux des peuples étrangers. Sans compter que la dignité du Parlement en souffrirait."

Quoi que l'on ait pu dire ou penser de la véracité de cette déclaration au moment où elle a été faite, à la suite de tout ce que nous avons entendu au cours du présent débat pour ou contre la conscription pour le service outre-mer, on admettra, je crois, qu'il reste bien peu de choses de valeur, si toutefois il en reste, à ajouter ici. Il doit être maintenant bien évident que la Chambre des communes elle-même, pour ne pas dire le pays, verrait avec impatience toute tentative de revenir sur ce qui a été dit et que l'opinion publique prendrait en très mauvaise part une telle manière d'agir.

Il convient donc encore une foi de déclarer nettement que, bien que ce bill n'engage pas, sans tenir compte des circonstances, le Gouvernement à imposer la conscription pour le service outre-mer, l'adoption de cette mesure par le Parlement permet au Gouvernement d'avoir recours, à sa discrétion, à la conscription pour le service outre-mer si, à son avis, la situation l'exige.

Voilà une des raisons pour lesquelles le Gouvernement s'est montré disposé à permettre aux honorables députés, lors de la deuxième lecture de ce projet de loi, de discuter avec la plus grande latitude, sous tous ses aspects et à tous les points de vue, la question de conscription pour le service outre-mer et n'a cherché d'aucune manière à abréger le débat. Il ne serait pas raisonnable de croire que pareille occasion pourrait être fournie en tout autre temps.

Si, plus tard, il devenait nécessaire, de l'avis du cabinet, d'imposer la conscription pour le service au delà des mers, cette mesure, devons-nous présumer, aurait pour objet de faire face à une situation qui ne permettrait que bien peu de discussion. Un débat sur cette question donnerait lieu à des retards à un moment où le temps constituerait un élément vital. Sachant qu'il en sera probablement ainsi, si le Gouvernement avait cherché à renvoyer le débat sur la conscription pour le service outre-mer à l'heure de nécessité urgente, les honorables députés auraient fort bien pu se plaindre, prétendant n'être pas traités sur une question aussi controversable, avec tous les égards auxquels ont droit les représentants du peuple. On aurait pu dire alors qu'on leur forçait la main.

Une autre raison demandait que le débat sur la conscription pour le service outre-mer eut lieu lors de l'étude du présent bill plutôt qu'au moment, - si jamais la situation l'exige - où le Gouvernement pourra en être venu à la ~~xxxxx~~ décision qu'il est nécessaire d'imposer la conscription pour le service militaire outre-mer. C'est qu'alors certaines circonstances d'ordre militaire empêcheraient presque certainement l'exposé au cours d'un débat public, des facteurs sur lesquels le Gouvernement aurait fondé sa décision.

D 59941

Cette décision du Gouvernement, en l'occurrence, se fondera nécessairement, dans une très large mesure, sur des renseignements d'ordre militaire, on ne peut plus secrets. Rien n'est plus important pour le mouvement des troupes en temps de guerre que d'entourer de la plus grande discrétion tout ce qui se rapporte à ces opérations. Ajoutons qu'il ne faut pas tenir compte seulement de la situation du Canada ni des questions qui intéressent uniquement notre pays. Il faut tenir soigneusement compte de l'usage défavorable pour nous que peut faire l'ennemi des renseignements ainsi dévoilés et de la répercussion plus ou moins profonde que les questions d'ordre militaire ainsi communiquées peuvent avoir sur la situation de chacune des Nations Unies.

On a assez clairement établi, je crois, du moins dans la mesure où il s'agit de la présente administration, que les autorités militaires ne seront pas les seules à prendre une décision concernant la conscription pour le service militaire au delà des mers, mais que toute mesure prise en conformité du présent projet de loi devra être et sera autorisée par le gouverneur en conseil. En d'autres termes, la décision en sera laissée au cabinet qui, naturellement, est toujours responsable au Parlement.

J'ai aussi donné aux honorables députés l'assurance qu'en prenant une telle décision, le cabinet tiendra compte de tous les facteurs qui se rapportent à cette question.

6

Lorsque j'ai exposé à la Ch le but du plébiscite, j'ai dit, ainsi qu'on le verra à la page 943 du Hansard non revisé, séance du 25 février 1942:

nonp

> Ce que nous ferons à une époque déterminée **néracommandé** par ce qui nous paraîtra alors nécessaire et opportun; nous suivrons la ligne de conduite la plus efficace quant à notre effort de guerre. Mais nous ne prendrons pas cette décision en tenant compte d'un seul facteur. Nous la prendrons en tenant compte de toutes les circonstances qui existeront au moment où la responsabilité d'établir une politique ou de modifier une politique paraîtra s'imposer.

brev

Et plus loin:

nonp

> Le gouvernement fera ce qui lui semblera pousser à son plus haut point notre effort de guerre, en tenant pleinement compte des circonstances.

brev

J'ajoutais:

nonp

> Quand je dis"en tenant pleinement compte des circonstances", je songe aux conditions qui pourront exister relativement à la guerre sur différents théâtres du conflit et à celles qui pourront exister au Canada.

brev

Je ferais peu -être bien de rappeler aux H d que ces déclarations remontent au 25 février de cette année. Il en a souvent été question au cours de la campagne sur le plébi - cite, lorsqu'il s'est agi de préciser son objectif et d'exposer la manière dont le Cvt entendait exercer son autorité, si on lui donnait toute liberté d'action. On ne saurait donc soutenir que la politique du cabinet, telle quelle se traduit dans le projet de loi à l'étude, n'était pas bien connue du Parlement et du peuple avant et pendant la tenue du plébiscite.

Pour ce qui est des mesures opportunes susceptibles d'être prises par le Cvt, il me semble, ainsi que je l'ai dit en ouvrant ce débat,qu'il faut nécessairement faire entrer en ligne de

D 59943
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compte le degré de confiance que le Parlement et le peuple éprouvent à l'égard du régime auquel incombe le devoir de poursuivre la guerre. Cela ne constitue pas une raison d'entamer un second débat sur la question de la conscription. Il y a là cependant pour le Gvt qui en est venu à la conclusion qu'une situation exige une certaine ligne de conduite qui ne rallie pas tous les suffrages, la meilleure raison du monde de saisir la première occasion qui se présente de s'assurer qu'il jouit de la confiance du Parlement et qu'il peut compter sans réserve sur l'appuiddu Parlement pour donner suite à la décision prise. Cela est d'autant plus nécessaire que des opinions nettement divergentes se sont déjà exprimées, tant dans le pays que dans l'enceinte parlementaire sur l'à-propos d'investir le cabinet de pouvoirs discrétionnaires, et qu'il y a lieu de prévoir que des divergences subsisteront touchant la sagesse de la décision.

Un second débat sur la conscription est une chose. Autre chose tout à fait est un vote de confiance dans le régime avant que celui-ci entreprenne de donner suite à une certaine ligne de conduite.

Le gouvernement soucieux de faire son devoir dans la poursuite d'une guerre ne peut en aucun temps se permettre de rester dans l'incertitude quand à la suffisance de l'appui du Parlement, et moins que jamais à l'heure du péril. Le chef d'un gvt doit d'autant plus compter sur la confiance du Parlement qu'il croit pouvoir entretenir le moindre doute sur la mesure de l'appui auquel il peut s'attendre de la part dela Ch des communes.

Le discours du trône renfermait ce qui suit: le Gvt estime que, à cette époque la plus critique de l'histoire du monde, il degrait, sous la seule réserve de sa responsabilité envers le Parlement et sans égard pour tout engagement antérieur, jouir d'une complète liberté d'agir selon qu'il le jugera utile

d'après les nécessités du moment.

Quant à l'importance qu'il convient d'attacher aux mots "sous la seule réserve de sa responsabilité envers le Parlement" qui se trouvent dans le discours du trône,il peut exister des divergences d'opinion. La responsabilité du ministère envers le Parlement reste la même, que ces mots se trouvent là ou non.

D 59945

Il semble bien, toutefois, que leur présence dans ce discours leur prête un sens particulier.

Chacun des honorables députés devra nécessairement décider de lui-même quelle importance il convient d'attacher à la portée de ces mots. Pour ma part, -- et sur ce point je ne parle qu'en mon propre nom, -- à la lumière de mes opinions et de celles que j'ai toujours eues au sujet de la responsabilité de l'exécutif à l'égard du Parlement, xx je ne crois pas que cette Chambre des communes aurait le sentiment d'avoir reçu le degré de confiance x auquel elle a droit d'attendre du ministère si, dans une question de pareille importance pour le pays tout entier, le Gouvernement allait agir avant d'avoir communiqué à la Chambre une décision si grosse de sens.

Bien que l'administration aura pleine liberté d'agir comme elle l'entend, si le bill à l'étude est adopté, j'imagine ce que diraient certains honorables députés de l'autre côté de la Chambre, voire même nombre d'honorables députés de ce coté-ci, s'il m'arrivait, alors que le Parlement siège encore et avant de mettre la députation au courant de la décision du Gouvernement, de signer un décret du conseil rendant exécutoire la conscription pour le service outre-mer et si, immédiatement après, je venais annoncer à la Chambre la décision qu'aurait déjà prise le Gouvernement.

S'il devient nécessaire d'envoyer comme renforts outre-mer les hommes appelés en vertu de la loi sur la mobilisation des ressources nationale,s il convient de le faire d'une manière aussi franche et ouverte que possible. A moins qu'on ne laisse bien entendre que le xx Parlement en sera averti d'avance, il surgira journellement d'innombrables soupçons et il se colportera des oui-dire de toutes sortes.

D 59946

Le 7 avril, dans un discours que j'ai fait pour inaugurer la campagne sur le plébiscite j'ai exposé bien clairement que le public avait le droit d'être mis au courant de la décision du Gouvernement avant que cette mesure soit appliquée. Voici ce que j'ai dit à ce sujet au cours d'une émission sur l'ensemble du réseau national:

> Le peuple canadien n'hésitera pas à faire tout ce qu'il juge nécessaire pour la sauvegarde de sa liberté. Il n'hésitera sûrement pas à prendre toutes les mesures voulues pour préserver son existence nationale, mais avant d'agir, il tiendra à savoir, comme c'est son droit, qu'il y a lieu d'agir, et ce d'autant plus, parce qu'il est question d'une mesure qui a déjà été cause de violentes controverses et source de désunion.

J'ai donc l'intention, si le Gouvernement décide un jour qu'il est nécessaire d'envoyer des hommes outre-mer qui n'ont pas offert de servir partout, et, si je puis à la tête de l'administration alors, de demander à mes collègues de se rallier à moi pour informer immédiatement le Parlement de la décision du Gouvernement. Si le Parlement n'est pas en session à ce moment-là, je ferai tout en mon pouvoir pour qu'il soit mis au courant de cette décision le plus tôt possible après que nous l'aurons prise.

5994x

D 59947

Je compte bien, en même temps, voir à ce que, avant que l'administration assume la nouvelle responsabilité de donner suite à sa décision, les honorables membres de la Chambre aient l'occasion, non pas d'entreprendre un deuxième débat sur la question de la conscription, mais de manifester leur approbation ou leur désapprobation du geste du Gouvernement.

On conviendra, je crois, qu'en adoptant cette ligne de conduite je réalise une autre promesse faite au Parlement le 25 février quand j'ai dit "si les volontaires viennent à manquer et si d'autres moyens de recrutement s'imposent absolument, nous prendrons une décision, nous la présenterons au Parlement et inviterons ce dernier à juger la question au fond." Le débat sur le fond de la question de conscription s'est fait, de toute nécessité, au sujet du présent bill. Ce qui sera important à l'avenir, c'est que la ~~xxxixxx~~ décision du Gouvernement soit immédiatement présentée au Parlement, et que le Gouvernement soit prêt à risquer son existence relativement à cette décision.

On dira peut-être qu'une telle ligne de conduite comportera du délai, qu'il faut agir tout de suite. On dira avec raison que si l'intervention n'était pas urgente, le Gouvernement n'aurait pas pris cette décision. Une telle objection serait fondée si le Gouvernement permettait d'entreprendre un second débat sur la question de la conscription. Cela ne dérange en rien, cependant, la méthode que nous avond l'intention d'adopter.

D 59948

Si le Gouvernement conclut à la nécessité d'imposer la conscription pour le servide outre-mer, il peut sans délai mettre sa décision en oeuvre. Et à moins d'indice que la Chambre des communes ait retiré sa confiance au ministère, il n'y aurait aucun délai.

Et même si le Parlement ne siège pas, on peut réunir les Chambres en quelques jours. Grâce à la pratique adoptée durant la guerre d'ajourner plutôt que de proroger la session, on pourrait se dispenser des formalités de la rentrée. On n'aurait pas à adopter de nouvelles mesures. Il suffirait d'exprimer sous une forme ou sous une autre la confiance que l'on a au gouvernement. Il est à peu près impossible d'imaginer une situation où le passage d'une semaine puisse nuire à l'envoi de renforts outre-mer puisque l'on pourrait prendre les dispositions à cette fin en même temps que s'effectue la rentrée des Chambres. Comme l'a mentionné lui-même l'ex-ministre des Travaux publics le 11 juin (voir le hansard, page 3665): "Ce n'est pas en une semaine que l'on enverra les conscrits outre-mer... Rien n'empêcherait le gouvernement de préparer les rouages dès l'instant où il déciderait de recourir à la conscription." Il faudrait naturellement écourter les délibérations. Conformément aux précédents établis à Westminster, j'estime qu'il conviendrait d'affecter tout au plus un temps très court au débat et au besoin, d'appliquer à cette fin le règlement de la Chambre touchant la limitation des discours.

Mais, si rigoureusement que l'on ait à restreindre la durée des délibérations, chaque membre aura par son vote l'occasion d'exprimer sa confiance ou son manque de confiance au gouvernement.

D 59949

Point n'est besoin, en effet, de débattre la question.

On se rappellera que l'on a procédé de la même façon lors de la déclaration de la guerre. Le Parlement s'est réuni en moins de sept jours. Le Gouvernement lui a laissé entendre que le vote sur l'adresse serait considéré soit comme une approbation, soit comme une condamnation de sa politique. Le débat a duré deux jours. Dès que le vote eut été prix, on adopta les mesures voulues pour proclamer l'existence de l'état de guerre. Ainsi qu'un honorable député l'a fait observer: "Il n'y eut ni délai ni perte de temps, et cependant la suprématie du Parlement fut maintenue."

La Chambre des communes anglaise a eu à débattre la semaine dernière une motion de non confiance dans le gouvernement. Cette motion était le fruit des critiques formulées à l'adresse de M. Churchill, le blâmant de ne pas vouloir se départir du portefeuille de la Défense, qu'il détient en sus du poste de premier ministre. Le débat fut l'objet d'une limite de temps précise. En moins de deux jours, les honorables députés ont eu amplement l'occasion d'exprimer leurs vues.

D 59950
59951

Quant aux moyens par lesquels la Chambre pourrait, en ce qui concerne la décision du Gouvernement, exprimer sa confiance ou son manque de confiance en l'administration, les honorables députés savent très bien qu'un honorable membre peut toujours proposer un vote de non confiance à la suite d'une motion appelant la Chambre à se former en comité des subsides. Si le Gouvernement jugeait opportun d'user de ce moyen pour s'assurer de l'opinion de la Chambre, il y aurait recours. S'il n'y avait pas de crédits à soumettre à l'examen de la Chambre à ce moment-là, le Gouvernement n'aurait qu'à présenter un crédit supplémentaire spécial et proposer immédiatement après que la Chambre se forme en comité des subsides. Tout honorable député qui le désire pourrait alors proposer un vote de non confiance.

Mais il existe une façon de procéder encore plus directe. C'est celle qu'a suivie le parlement de Westminster en janvier dernier, après le retour de M. Churchill de son précédent voyage aux Etats-Unis et au Canada. Le 27 janvier, M. Churchill signifiait à la Chambre des communes son désir d'être appuyé par un vote de confiance.

Le lendemain, M. Attlee proposait:

"Que les procédures découlant de la motion relative à la confiance dans le gouvernement de Sa Majesté soient soustraites, à la présente séance, aux dispositions du Règlement (Séances de la Chambre)".

D 59951

La motion fut adoptée.

M. Attlee proposa ensuite:

"Que cette Chambre a confiance dans le gouvernement de Sa Majesté et l'aidera de son mieux à la poursuite énergique de la guerre."

Le débat eut lieu les 28 et 29 janvier. Au terme de la séance du 29, la Chambre se prononça ainsi qu'il suit: 464 oui contre ~~x~~ 1 non.

Les honorables députés trouveront intéressante, j'en suis sûr, la déclaration formulée par M. Churchill sur l'importance et la portée du vote qu'il demandait à Chambre des communes. Voici ce qu'il disait le 27 janvier:

Il surgit périodiquement dans l'existence de tout gouvernement des situations qu'il importe de tirer au clair.....

Depuis mon retour au pays, je suis arrivé à la conclusion qu'il me faut solliciter l'appui d'un vote de confiance de la Chambre des communes. Procédure tout à fait normale, constitutionnelle et démocratique. On a demandé un débat sur la guerre. J'y ai pourvu le plus complètement et le plus librement possible pour trois jours entiers. La députation aura toute liberté d'exprimer ses vues sur le compte de l'administration, sur la composition du cabinet ou sur certains des ministres en particulier, sous l'unique réserve que la Chambre a toujours si soigneusement observée relativement aux secrets militaires.

D 59952

Peut-il exister plus grande liberté? Peut-on donner une plus belle expression à l'idéal démocratique? Il y a peu de pays dont les institutions soient assez robustes pour permettre pareille chose alors qu'ils se battent pour leur survivance.".

Je ne saurais, pour l'instant, faire connaître comment on procédera si le Gvt en arrive à la conclusion que la conscription pour le service outre-mer s'impose. Cela dépendra forcément des circonstances. Sur une question qui se rattache à une décision qu'il appartiendra au cabinet de prendre et qui tient de si près à la confiance que d'autres peuvent avoir dans mon jugement et ma fidélité, il va sans dire que je ne puis exprimer que mes propres vues. Personne ne peut prédire la tournure que prendra la guerre ni ce qui peut survenir du jour au lendemain chez-nous ou ailleurs. En cherchant à libérer le Gvt d'un engagement, je n'irai pas en prendre un autre. Cependant, je veux bien faire comprendre à tous les hommes que, si je suis le chef du gvt quand on prendra cette décision, je demanderai à la Ch/ des communes l'assurance que je jouis de sa confiance avant qu'il y soit donné suite.

Ce n'est pas chez moi une ~~xxxxxxx~~ nouvelle manière de voir. Je l'ai formulée à maintes reprises et j'entends m'y tenir. Ma manière de voir sur cette question, je l'ai exprimée au peuple canadien le 24 avril.

DG

KING 34

D 59953

(Ench.)

Au cours de ma dernière allocution radiophonique de la campagne plébiscitaire, je disais:

"L'époque actuelle n'est pas une phase ordinaire de notre histoire, car nous sommes en guerre. Le monde entier est dans un état de rapide évolution. Les responsabilités du gouvernement, lourdes en tout temps, le sont plus que jamais aujourd'hui. Pour ma part, si je n'étais convaincu qu'en ma qualité de chef du Gouvernement, je n'ai cessé de jouir de la confiance du peuple qui, à maintes reprises m'a remis au pouvoir, je ne voudrais y demeurer une heure de plus."

Je pourrais faire observer que, en janvier dernier, lorsque M. Churchill posa la question de confiance dans son administration, aucun de ses censeurs n'avait même insinué qu'il dût résigner son poste ou qu'un autre dût prendre sa place. Il jugeait toutefois que la critique dirigée contre lui-même et contre certains aspects de son administration avait atteint un tel point qu'il avait besoin d'une réaffirmation de l'appui de ceux qui, au sein du Parlement, l'avaient investi du pouvoir, Je suis d'avis que, dans un pays démocratique, le chef d'un gouvernement chargé de lourdes responsabilités éprouve en tout temps le besoin d'une telle réaffirmation de confiance, surtout à la veille d'assumer de nouvelles responsabilités.

Je crois que M. Churchill songeait beaucoup à ce sentiment lorsque, en répondant à ses censeurs à la Chambre des communes à Westminster, mardi dernier, il déclara:

"On n'a rien négligé en vue d'affaiblir la confiance du peuple en son gouvernement ...."; et un peu plus loin, parlant de lui-même en sa qualité de premier ministre, il ajoutait: "et ensuite pour le rabaisser dans sa propre estime, au su et vu de la nation si possible."

Mais il existe une autre raison pour laquelle M. Churchill a senti périodiquement le besoin d'étayer sa politique d'un vote de confiance de la part de ses collègues de la Chambre des communes. La responsabilité parlementaire est double. La députation, aussi bien que les ministres, a ses responsabilités. M. Churchill a jugé que le peuple du Royaume-Uni avait le droit de connaître l'attitude de ses représentants et de savoir dans quelle mesure ils étaient prêts à appuyer l'administration dans l'accomplissement de sa tâche essentielle de faire la guerre. Il estimait aussi que la population anglaise avait le droit de savoir quel appui le gouvernement se voyait refuser, et les raisons de ce refus. Remarques qui, à mon sens, s'appliquent également, en ce temps de guerre, au Parlement et au public canadiens.

En terminant, je tiens à répéter ces paroles que j'adressais au pays, le 7 avril, en l'exhortant à donner un vote affirmatif sur le plébiscite:

"Pour quiconque, par-delà les événements de l'heure, peut sonder l'avenir, ce n'est plus seulement l'unité, c'est l'existence même de notre pays, en tant que nation libre, qui se trouve aujourd'hui menacée. Nous ne sommes plus de ce monde où même la plus puissante des nations puisse compter échapper par ses seuls moyens à l'ambition et à la cupidité des peuples agresseurs.

D 59955

Pour sauvegarder son existence, chaque pays libre aura besoin de tout l'appui que peuvent lui apporter les autres pays MM libres. Ce n'est que par la plus entière coopération entre elles que les nations libres pourront éviter de devenir, l'une après l'autre, victimes des peuples de brigands qui, à n'en pas douter, ambitionnent la domination mondiale.

A cause de l'immensité de son territoire, de la richesse de ses ressources et du petit nombre de ses habitants, notre pays risque d'avoir un plus grand besoin de l'assistance d'autrui que toute autre nation de l'univers. Si nous ne continuons d'appuyer de notre mieux les autres pays, nous n'aurons pas le droit de compter sur leur concours le plus entier. Tant que la marche victorieuse de l'ennemi ne se sera pas changée en une défaite écrasante, nul pays, et le Canada moins que tout autre, ne pourra se sentir en sécurité".

Ces observations n'ont pas été faites à la légère. Je prie chaque honorable député de les bien méditer à la lumière des événements qui se sont produits depuis, et de la situation telle que nous la connaissons en ce moment. Peut-on douter que notre sécurité, que la sécurité de notre hémisphère dépende de l'endiguement, dans le monde ancien, du flot envahisseur allemand et MMM japonais, jusqu'à ce que surgissent du nouveau monde des forces capables de mâter sa terrible puissance.

Pour les machines et les armes modernes les distances et le temps n'existent plus. L'éloignement n'est pas un élément de protection. Au cours de cette guerre, le mot outremer a réellement perdu sa signification. Le conflit actuel est un et indivisible. que ses batailles se livrent sur les sables de l'Egypte, dans les steppes de la Russie, au plus profond de la Chine, dans les îles du Pacifique, dans les terres arides de l'Arctique ou dans le firmament de Grande-Bretagne, d'Allemagne ou des pays conquis de l'Europe. Il ne peut y avoir de sécurité pour nous, nos foyers et nos familles tant que les armées ennemies ne seront pas défaites et écrasées.

Le Gouvernement et la population du Canada ont une lourde responsabilité envers le demi-million de jeunes Canadiens qui ont consenti tous les sacrifices pour assurer notre sécurité. Nous leur devons tout ce qu'il est en notre pouvoir de leur donner. Sur quelque champ de bataille qu'ils combattent, ils luttent pour le Canada, pour leur patrie, pour sa sécurité et son avenir. Cet avenir est entre nos mains et c'est à nous, membres du Parlement, qu'il appartient dans la mesure de nos forces, de transmettre à ces vaillants jeunes gens, après la victoire, un Canada libre et uni.

"K" Speeches

D 59957

Statement re Amendment

The purpose of the amendment is to give to the government, by the deletion of Section 3 of the National Resources Mobilization Act, the same freedom of decision and action with respect to the method of raising men for military service overseas which, in the recent plebiscite the government requested, and which the people of Canada have said they desire the government to possess.

Section 3 contains the one remaining restriction on the government's freedom of decision and action in all aspects of Canada's war effort.

This section was included in the National Resources Mobilization Act at the time the bill was passed because of a commitment arising out of promises and pledges from which the government and members of Parliament have now been released.

In presenting the issue of the plebiscite to Parliament and to the people, I repeatedly stressed the importance of removing any restriction, or even the appearance of any restriction on the powers of the Government to effect a total effort for total war. I pointed out that Canada's war effort was being placed in a false light because of the existence of what appears to be a restriction upon an all-out effort. If the amendment is adopted, Canada's war effort will appear thereafter in its true light; an effort in no

way hampered by any moral or legal restrictions. By their vote in the plebiscite, the people have expressed their readiness to have the sole remaining restriction upon the government's freedom and decision of action removed.

The removal of Section 3 of the National Resources Mobilization Act is, in other words, the logical consequence of the vote on the plebiscite. Since the people have indicated that they do not desire any restriction on the freedom of action of the government, there is the strongest of reasons why Parliament should be asked to remove any shadow of restriction which remains.

In the plebiscite, the people were asked to give full powers to the government, not to meet a then immediate situation, but to provide against a future emergency. The National Resources Mobilization Act is only enabling legislation. The extent of the use of such power as is conferred upon the government by its provisions, is and has, from the outset, been a matter of government policy, to be decided in the light of all relevant circumstances, ~~as the Act confers.~~ This will remain true of the unrestricted powers which the amendment, if enacted, would afford.

The government might have proceeded in this matter by Order in Council under the War Measures Act. Having regard, however, to its responsibility to Parliament, the government has felt that such action as is necessary to bring existing legislation into conformity with the will of the people expressed in the vote on the plebiscite should be taken, not by Order in Council under the War Measures Act, but by Act of Parliament. In thus proceeding, the government is providing members of Parliament, before any amendment to the National Resources Mobilization Act is made, with the fullest opportunity of considering the effect of every aspect of the amendment.

Statement re Amendment

D 39960

The purpose of the amendment is to give to the government, by the deletion of Section 3 of the National Resources Mobilization Act, the same freedom of decision and action with respect to the method of raising men for military service overseas which, in the recent plebiscite the government requested, and which the people of Canada have said they desire the government to possess.

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PRESS RELEASE

D 59963

Statement by Prime Minister re Amendment to National Resources Mobilization Act.

Ottawa, May 11, 1942.

The purpose of the amendment is to give to the government, by the deletion of Secion 3 of the National Resources Mobilization Act, the same freedom of decision and action with respect to the method of raising men for military service overseas which, in the recent plebiscite the government requested, and which the people of Canada have said they desire the government to possess.

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This section was included in the National Resources Mobilization Act at the time the bill was passed because of a commitment arising out of promises and pledges from which the government and members of Parliament have now been released.

In presenting the issue of the plebiscite to Parliament and to the people, I repeatedly stressed the importance of removing any restriction, or even the appearance of any restriction on the powers of the Government to effect a total effort for total war. I pointed out that Canada's war effort was being placed in a false light because of the existence of what appears to be a restriction upon an all-out effort. If the amendment is adopted, Canada's war effort will appear thereafter in its true light; an effort in no way hampered by any moral or legal restrictions. By their vote in the plebiscite, the people have expressed their readiness to have the sole remaining restriction upon the government's freedom and decision of action removed.

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In the plebiscite, the people were asked to give full powers to the government, not to meet a then immediate situation, but to provide against a future emergency. The National Resources Mobilization Act is only enabling legislation. The

extent of the use of such power as is conferred upon the government by its provisions, is and has, from the outset, been a matter of government policy, to be decided in the light of all relevant circumstances. This will remain true of the unrestricted powers which the amendment, if enacted, would afford.

The government might have proceeded in this matter by Order-in-Council under the War Measures Act. Having regard, however, to its responsibility to Parliament, the government has felt that such action as is necessary to bring existing legislation into conformity with the will of the people expressed in the vote on the plebiscite should be taken, not by Order-in-Council under the War Measures Act, but by Act of Parliament. In thus proceeding, the government is providing members of Parliament, before any amendment to the National Resources Mobilization Act is made, with the fullest opportunity of considering the effect of every aspect of the amendment.

Press Release

May 11, 1942.

D 59965

Statement by the Prime Minister on the Plebiscite

The results of the plebiscite on April the 27th are now all but complete. Although final official returns are not yet available, the most reliable figures indicate that on the question asked there were over 2,926,856 persons who voted in the affirmative, and over 1,618,730 persons who voted in the negative; in other words 64% of the voters answered in the affirmative and 36% in the negative.

The total number of votes cast on the plebiscite is an impressive demonstration of the importance which the electors of Canada attach to giving to the Government a free hand at a time of war.

The question on which the people of Canada were asked to express an opinion was:

> "Are you in favour of releasing the Government from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service?"

By their vote, the people have decisively expressed the view that the Government should be released from any such obligation. In other words, there no longer remains any issue which the Government or Members of Parliament, because of past promises or pledges are restricted from considering, discussing and deciding on its merits, in the light of what is best for Canada and for Canada's war effort.

The question in the plebiscite was of equal concern to all citizens of Canada. The result is a national expression of view on a national issue. It should be so viewed in all its aspects. In all of the provinces, and for that matter, in every constituency, affirmative and negative votes were cast. The vote was taken in a democratic fashion. It will be recognized throughout the country that, in a democracy, the will of the majority should prevail.

The vote in the plebiscite shows that the people generally recognize that the war has taken a course which was altogether unforeseen; that conditions wholly unexpected may yet arise, and that, in consequence, there should be no restriction upon the freedom of the Government apart from its constitutional responsibility to Parliament.

In the plebiscite the electors were not called upon to vote for or against the Government. The result, therefore, is not to be construed as a vote for any political party. In fact, the plebiscite was selected by the government precisely because it afforded the best known means of obtaining an expression of the views of the people on a specific question, regardless of political parties, or party considerations.

As, in some quarters, an effort has been made since the plebiscite to interpret the result as a mandate for conscription for overseas service, it is necessary for me to repeat that in the plebiscite conscription was not the issue. The Government did not ask the people to say whether or not conscription for overseas service should be adopted. That was not the issue before the people. With respect to the issue of conscription, the result can only rightly be construed as leaving to the Government and to Parliament entire freedom to deal with that question on its merits.

D59967

References in House of Commons

to Amendment to

National Resources Mobilization Act

May 11 - Introduction of Mobilization Act

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 80, to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940.

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, before the Prime Minister proceeds I would ask that you have the Clerk Assistant read the bill in the manner provided for under standing order 42.

(The bill was read by the Acting Clerk Assistant as follows):

An Act to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940.

His Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:--

1. This Act may be cited as the National Resources Mobilization Act Amendment Act, 1942.

2. Section two of the National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940, chapter thirteen of the statutes of 1940, is amended by striking out in the first line thereof the words "Subject to the provisions of section three hereof."

3. Section three of the said act is repealed and sections four, five and six are renumbered three, four and five respectively.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Mr. Speaker, the purpose of the amendment is to give to the government, by the deletion of section 3 of the National Resources Mobilization Act, the same freedom of decision and action with respect to the method of raising men for military services overseas which, in the recent plebiscite the government requested, and which the people of Canada have said they desire the government to possess.

D59969

Section 3 contains the one remaining restriction on the government's freedom of decision and action in all aspects of Canada's war effort.

This section was included in the National Resources Mobilization Act, at the time the bill was passed, because of a commitment arising out of promises and pledges from which the government and members of parliament have now been released.

In presenting the issue of the plebiscite to parliament and to the people, I repeatedly stressed the importance of removing any restriction, or even the appearance of any restriction, on the powers of the government to effect a total effort for total war. I pointed out that Canada's war effort was being placed in a false light because of the existence of what appears to be a restriction upon an all-out effort. If the amendment is adopted, Canada's war effort will appear thereafter in its true light; an effort in no way hampered by any moral or legal restrictions. By their vote in the plebiscite, the people have expressed their readiness to have the sole remaining restriction upon the government's freedom and decision of action removed.

The removal of section 3 of the National Resources Mobilization Act is, in other words, the logical consequence of the vote on the plebiscite. Since the people have indicated that they do not desire any restriction on the freedom of action of the government, there is the strongest of reasons why parliament should be asked to remove any shadow of restriction which remains.

D59970

In the plebiscite, the people were asked to give full powers to the government, not to meet a then immediate situation, but to provide against a future emergency. The National Resources Mobilization Act is only enabling legislation. The extent of the use of such power as is conferred upon the government by its provisions is and has, from the outset, been a matter of government policy, to be decided in the light of all relevant circumstances. This will remain true of the unrestricted powers which the amendment, if enacted, would afford.

The government might have proceeded in this matter by order in council under the War Measures Act. Having regard, however, to its responsibility to parliament, the government has felt that such action as is necessary to bring existing legislation into conformity with the will of the people expressed in the vote on the plebiscite should be taken, not by order in council under the War Measures Act, but by act of parliament. In thus proceeding, the government is providing members of parliament, before any amendment to the National Resources Mobilization Act is made, with the fullest opportunity of considering the effect of every aspect of the amendment.

Mr. HOMUTH: Then the government takes full responsibility?

Some hon. Members: Order.

Mr. SPEAKER: Is it the pleasure of the house to adopt the motion?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Mr. POULIOT: On division.

Mr. LACOMBE: On division.

Motion agreed to on division and bill read the first time.

D 59972

MAY 21 - First query as to date when second reading of Mobilization Act will come.

Mr. J. G. DIEFENBAKER (Lake Centre):

Mr. Speaker, I should like to ask the Prime Minister if he could indicate to the house whether it is the intention of the government to proceed with the second reading of the bill to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act immediately the war appropriation measure has been concluded by the committee of the whole?

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister):

My hon. friend will have to allow the government to decide the order in which the public business will be taken up. I cannot give him an answer at the present time. In connection with the bill to which he has referred, as well as with respect to other legislation, I assure him that the government will endeavour to take the course which it believes will be most in the interests of all concerned.

MAY 26 - Second query as to when the second reading of the Mobilization Act will come (Mr. Hanson)

On the orders of the day:

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): I should like to ask the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) when he proposes to move the second reading of Bill No. 80, to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): In reply to my hon. friend I would say that that depends upon the progress which the house makes with the legislation which is before it at the present time. I need not tell my hon. friend that the government is anxious to get on with the business of the session, and the bill to which he has referred is one of the most important of the session. It is our wish to proceed with it at an early day. But it will not be proceeded with until the present war appropriation bill has been completed. The house has already given some four or five weeks to that particular bill, and I should hope that it would be possible to conclude its consideration, along with one or two other small measures, this week. I should hope it would be possible to go on with the other bill some day next week.

I would direct the attention of hon. members to the fact that up to the present time there has been practically no supply considered by the house, and the budget has still to be brought down. There are one or two other important measures on the order paper, and of necessity there may be further legislation before the present session is over--not that I am aware of any at present, but usually something unforeseen crops up at the last moment. If we are to get through before autumn I think we should begin very soon to make more rapid headway than has been made up to the present time. I am not at all sure that it might not be advisable in connection with further proceedings of the house to divide the days between some of the different measures, rather than to sit continuously in discussion of one particular measure. Might I in that connection say further that in my opinion some of the matters being dealt with under the war appropriation bill would be more properly dealt with in supply of the departments concerned. I do not refer to the defence departments. I am told it is the desire to consider some matters with relation to the Department of Agriculture, and if that were to take the form of a discussion in committee of supply we might have the whole discussion over again when we are in committee of supply. Perhaps time might be saved if the matters to which references are made in the discussion on the war appropriation bill were confined to that bill itself.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): To a large extent I agree with what the Prime Minister has said; but may I point out to him that while we are in the seventy-second sitting day of the session, we took twenty-one sitting days in the debate on the address. In those twenty-one days we heard no less than ninety supporters of the government. Then we were asked to put through to a conclusion another measure brought forth by the government, namely the plebiscite bill. Over half of the time of the house has been occupied in the discussion of those two matters.

With respect to the war appropriation bill I would point out that this is the largest money bill which has come before parliament, and I do not think our time has been lost in discussing it. It is the one occasion on which private members have the opportunity, and I say the duty, to investigate what the armed forces and the defence departments are doing. I suggest that the government should have brought on the ordinary estimates before this. There has been opportunity. The whole matter is in the hands of the government. They have taken authority to gave government orders precedence; the order of business of the day is as the government directs, and the responsibility is on the leader of the house.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Well, may I say to my hon. friend that I think he has to take a little of the responsibility.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I am willing to take mine.

D 59976

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: He mentioned the time taken up on the plebiscite bill. There would not have been a day taken up on it if my hon. friend had not objected to it. It was fought so strenuously from the other side of the house that it was necessary to make clear the reasons why it should be supported, and my hon. friend came round in his point of view before the debate was over. I am not either complaining or explaining; I am simply stating what I think all hon. members recognize to be a fact, that we might get along a little more expeditiously than we have been doing.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I hope so.

June 4: Third query as to when the second reading of the Mobilization Act will come (Mr. Hanson)

On the orders of the day:

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): I should like to ask the Prime Minister when he proposes to proceed with the second reading of Bill No. 80. I ask this question notwithstanding the fact that the $2,000,000,000 war appropriation resolution is still under discussion. According to the opinion I expressed here last week that discussion should have been well over by this time, but I am not attributing blame to anyone. I do think, however, that we ought to get on with this very important mobilization measure immediately.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): May I say to my hon. friend that it is entirely in the hands of the house as to how rapidly we shall get on with the different government orders. My hon. friend the leader of the opposition I think agreed with me that it was desirable to have the war appropriation measure disposed of in this house before taking up another measure.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Yes, but I had no idea then that we would spend another week on it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: ... time of parliament ... I know, but I think in the ... run the time of parliament will be saved by concluding ... once the war appropriation measure rather than having ... whole matter opened up again at a later stage. I share ... hon. friend's desire to get on with the measure that he has ... referred to relating to the amendment of the National ... Resources Mobilization Act, and personally I would very much ... hope that this discussion on the present bill might conclude ... this week and that there would be opportunity to go on with ... the other measure on Monday or Tuesday next. But until ... tomorrow night I cannot say just when. However, I feel that ... we should conclude this present discussion as rapidly as ... possible.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I know, but I think in the long run the time of parliament will be saved by concluding at once the war appropriation measure rather than having the whole matter opened up again at a later stage. I share my hon. friend's desire to get on with the measure that he has referred to relating to the amendment of the National Resources Mobilization Act, and personally I would very much hope that this discussion on the present bill might conclude this week and that there would be opportunity to go on with the other measure on Monday or Tuesday next. But until tomorrow night I cannot say just when. However, I feel that we should conclude this present discussion as rapidly as possible.

REPEAT
REPETITION

Suggested Title head:

D 59979

A

55166

CANADA

HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATES

Official Report

Speech ~~of~~ by

Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada
on

~~AMENDMENT OF~~ Canadians Serving in the Canadian Army

Amendment of ~~THE NATIONAL RESOURCES MOBILIZATION ACT~~ the

Delivered in the House of Commons on Wednesday, June 10, 1942 *

* Insert footnote re heading etc, as on sample.

D 59980

B

Suggested main heads and sub. heads:

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AMENDMENT) 8 ll Bd

respecting emergency service

respecting

(1) The meaning of the existing law.

(2) "Conscription" already in force in Canada

(3) Limitation not on power but on extent of application.

(4) Enabling legislation.

(5) Relationship of plebiscite to amendment

(6) " " " to conscription

(7) Not a mandate plebiscite ~~for conscription~~

(8) ~~The~~ Resignation of ~~the~~ Minister of Public Works.

(9) Conscription not the issue in the plebiscite

(10) Misinterpreting plebiscite ~~serves no useful purpose~~ wholly wrong

THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT) 8 ll Bd

(11) Amendment ~~incomplete~~ accords with purpose of plebiscite.

(12) Why not proceed by stages?

(13) Procedure by stages not in accord with purpose of plebiscite

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(14) Responsibility to Parliament

(15) No change of government policy

(16) Policy regarding overseas service announced before ~~the~~ plebiscite

(17) Debate on conscription for overseas service welcomed.

(18) Extension of application of compulsory service ~~to neighbouring territories~~ in western hemisphere

(19) Method of exercising extended powers

NATIONAL UNITY AND THE CONSCRIPTION ISSUE

(20) The danger of extreme views

(21) Task of Parliament to safeguard unity

(22) The right attitude.

(23) Duty of members of Parliament

CONSCRIPTION FOR OVERSEAS SERVICE

(24) Controversy will impair war effort

(25) Meaning of a total war effort

D 59982

(26) The mobilization of manpower

(27) The manpower needs of the army in perspective

(28) National selective service

(29) Compulsion not an end in itself

(30) Conscription for service overseas and a total effort

(31) Conscription on its merits

(32) The glory of ~~a~~ voluntary effort

(33) A war of survival

(34) ~~Danger to~~ Canada in danger

(35) Need for a free hand.

30

Marked copy for Prime Minister

D 59983

3499

Vol. LXXX.—No. 83

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT—DAILY EDITION

Wednesday, June 10, 1942

OTTAWA
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HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker: The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN

WEDNESDAY, June 10, 1942.

The house met at three o'clock.

PRIVILEGE

MR. DOUGLAS (WEYBURN)—EDITORIAL COMMENT IN MONTREAL "GAZETTE"

Mr. T. C. DOUGLAS (Weyburn): I rise to a question of privilege. An editorial appearing in this morning's Montreal *Gazette*, referring to a statement I made in the house a few days ago, reads:

> Most amazing of all was his protest on Monday against large shipments of Canadian beer to Libya for the use of the troops who are defending him and his family and his congregation under the appalling conditions of desert warfare. It was this that roused Mr. Ilsley's ire and the minister would have been less than a man if he had held his punch.

I desire to invite the gentleman who wrote that editorial to examine the remarks I made last Monday, and he will find that at no time did I make any reference either to Libya or to the sending of beer to that battlefront; that as a matter of fact it was the minister himself who dealt with that question. In reply to the minister I said, as reported at page 3426 of *Hansard:*

> Then he proceeded to build up a straw man and to knock him down again, by referring to what people have said about sending beer to Libya. I was not talking about sending beer to Libya.

I have no objection to accepting responsibility for what I have said, but I do not propose to accept responsibility for straw men set up by the Minister of Finance.

PRIVATE BILLS COMMITTEE

Mr. T. F. DONNELLY (Wood Mountain) moved:

> That the second and third reports of the standing committee on miscellaneous private bills, presented on June 8, be now concurred in.

Motion agreed to.

QUESTIONS

(Questions answered orally are indicated by an asterisk.)

WARTIME HOUSING—GENERAL MANAGER

Mr. CARDIFF:

1. What salary is paid to Mr. G. L. Goggin as general manager of the Wartime Housing Limited?
2. What was the date of his appointment?
3. What is the amount of his travelling expenses up to and including April 30, 1942?

Mr. HOWE:

1. Mr. Victor T. Goggin is general manager of Wartime Housing Limited. Salary, $10,000 per annum.
2. March 12, 1941.
3. $2,304.19.

WARTIME MERCHANT SHIPPING LIMITED

Mr. MacINNIS:

1. What are the names of the members of Wartime Merchant Shipping Limited?
2. What is the occupation or profession of each member and with what companies is each connected?
3. What are the functions of Wartime Merchant Shipping Limited?

Mr. HOWE:

1 and 2. H. R. MacMillan, president, president, H. R. MacMillan Export Company Limited; C. R. Redfern, vice-president, engineer, president, Redfern Construction Company Limited; Austin C. Taylor, vice-president, president, Bralorne Mines Limited; C. L. Dewar, comptroller, engineer, The Bell Telephone Company of Canada; H. A. Stevenson, assistant to the president, vice-president, Canadian Transport Company Limited; G. D. Eccott, treasurer, chartered accountant; Wm. Mitchell, secretary, lawyer, Kearney, Duquet and Mackay; D. B. McCoy, manager, Purchasing Dept., assistant general manager, The Steel Company of Canada, Limited; C. C. Coull, manager, Engineering Division, engineer; H. T. Mitchell, manager, Labour Training and

Supply Division, president, Mitchell Printing and Publishing Company Limited; N. Beaton, manager, Plant and Yard Expansion Division, engineer; N. Dobson, manager, Shipbuilding Division, senior surveyor, Lloyd's Register of Shipping; G. O. Vogan, executive assistant to the general manager, engineer; J. Husband, manager, Steel Division, salesman; G. S. Burrows, liaison officer, Washington, D.C., engineer, United Steel Corporation Limited; L. J. R. Sanders, manager, Production Division, engineer.

3. (a) Supervision, direction and administration of all contracts entered into by His Majesty or the Minister of Munitions and Supply in respect of the construction and assembly of cargo vessels in Canada or the design, construction, equipment and operation of shipyards, plants, or other buildings or shipways for any such purposes, the whole in accordance with such general or specific instructions as the minister may give to the company from time to time.

(b) The conduct of negotiations looking to the making of contracts in respect of the construction and assembly of cargo vessels in Canada or the design, construction, equipment and operation of shipyards, plants, or other buildings or shipways for any such purposes and the preparation of drafts of such contracts for submission to the minister for his consideration, the whole in accordance with such general or specific instructions as the minister may give to the company from time to time and subject to his approval.

(c) The coordination and expedition, in cases in which the minister may so request, of the construction or assembly of cargo vessels in the Dominion of Canada under contracts, the performance of which is for the time being under administration by the company.

(d) The payment of accounts properly chargeable against the above-mentioned contracts.

NATIONAL REGISTRATION—SKILLED WORKERS

Mr. CASTLEDEN:

1. What use has been made by the government of the 1940 national registration to place experienced and preferred tradesmen into war industry?

2. How many skilled tradesmen, toolmakers, metal workers, machinists and engineers are still unemployed or in non-essential industry?

Mr. MITCHELL:

1. From the 1940 national registration lists were compiled of registrants who reported they were skilled in certain "specialized" occupations. These occupations were selected on a broad basis to determine the persons who, by training or experience, might be fitted for employment in industries or services essential to Canada's war effort. From these lists requests, from government departments, from the armed forces, and from firms and individuals for names and addresses of persons skilled in designated occupations, were answered. The names of unemployed mechanics in the metal and shipbuilding trades were selected from the lists, and these men were communicated with in respect to placement in war industries. The names of those still available for employment were supplied to the most convenient offices of the employment service of Canada so that placements could be effected.

2. Information in respect to the number of skilled tradesmen, toolmakers, metal workers, machinists and engineers still unemployed will not be available until the registration of unemployed male persons, presently in progress, is completed. Information in respect to the number of such persons in non-essential industries will not be available until completion of the tabulation of the unemployment insurance commission registration of April 1, 1942.

WOMEN'S VOLUNTARY SERVICES

Mrs. NIELSEN:

1. What organizational plans have been carried into effect by the director of women's voluntary services?

2. What plans have been made for coordination of voluntary services of women?

3. What are the names of the organizations within the scope of the branch of women's voluntary services in each province, district or community to which women desiring to volunteer their services may apply?

4. What channels of publicity, if any, are being used by this branch to inform women of the facilities of the women's voluntary services?

Mr. THORSON:

1. The plan of organization and development of the women's voluntary services division, which is hereto attached, has been mimeographed and mailed to all the women's organizations. Four cities have appointed local committees to study the need of coordination of voluntary services and a number of other communities have made inquiries. A western trip is being made in the near future in response to requests for discussion and advice.

2. The organization of central volunteer bureaux locally is being encouraged. These serve as manning pools for voluntary effort thereby functioning as the clearing house for volunteers serving existing local organizations and acting as a reservoir for organizations to secure additional volunteers for their increased activities.

3. National Organizations: Red Cross, St. John Ambulance, Navy League, Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, National Council of Women, Canadian Federation of University Women, Canadian Business and Professional Women's Club, national professional organizations, Catholic Women's leagues, national minority groups, women's institutes, fraternal organizations.

Provincial Organizations: The provincial counterparts of the national organizations, provincial home and school clubs, provincial adult education, La Ligue de la Jeunesse Feminine.

Community: Auxiliary services (coordinating councils, citizens committees, volunteer bureaux), health and welfare services, home and school clubs, trades and labour councils, labour auxiliaries, cooperatives, church groups. Each community has a certain number of these organizations or may have additional organizations not listed.

4. Copies of the memorandum "Organization and Development of the Women's Voluntary Services" have been mailed to all the organizations named in the answer to question 3; speaking at provincial and national annual meetings of various women's organizations; press releases; radio—one radio talk; bulletin of set-up for volunteer bureaux is prepared; individual correspondence; many personal contacts with representatives of national, provincial and local organizations.

Organization and development of the women's voluntary services

World War One rallied to it a volunteer service that resulted in social service organizations being created in the period that followed. World War Two is rallying many volunteers who have had no previous volunteer experience but who are spurred on to give a maximum service in the war effort.

The women's voluntary services division gives impetus to this effort. Its objectives are:

1. To unite both voluntary war work and civilian services in such a way that the whole volunteer movement marches forward in a coordinated whole on a community basis.

2. To recognize the difference in community set-up so that the plan of coordination will vary as the structure of war work and civilian services varies.

3. To be of service in an advisory capacity so that duplication and waste of effort may be reduced to a minimum. This may be accomplished by

(a) Strengthening civilian morale by such volunteer activity as will provide satisfaction and a feeling of accomplishment to the volunteer.

(b) Stimulating women to understand total war so that organizations may be encouraged to give volunteer service that will adapt itself to the constantly changing war scene.

(c) Encouraging the development and extension of training and lecture courses so that volunteers may be more proficient in their performance; but more especially, that they may understand the reasons for changes and development in war and civilian activities.

4. To stimulate interest in needed war time projects by organizing and directing these on a demonstration basis.

5. To encourage the organizing of emergency squads to be called upon as necessary.

6. To help create a community volunteer structure that will continue as the nation passes from war to peace.

Keeping in mind communities have difference in tradition, geographic position, size, etc., each community must be studied as an entity, yet certain basic procedures apply to all. For general purposes communities may be classified into two groups.

1. The large urban community. These usually have a council of social agencies or a welfare council which sponsors a volunteer bureau and through it correlates volunteer effort and acts as a clearing house for volunteers.

In these communities the principle of cooperation and coordination is not new. The council of social agencies has for years been the planning body for welfare organizations and their civilian services while the welfare council, later in development, functions to coordinate all community endeavour for the general welfare of its citizens.

The volunteer bureau may be set up as a committee of either council. It surveys the need for volunteers and recruits them. It keeps records of their qualifications, capabilities and experience so they may be placed with the organization where they can give the most effective service.

Training courses and lectures of a specific nature given by experts in various fields should be a function of a well organized bureau.

Every community is developing auxiliary services or citizens committees to assist in the welfare, comfort and recreation of the men in training.

The volunteer effort is directed mainly through

(1) Welfare councils or councils of social agencies.

(2) Volunteer bureaux.

(3) Citizen committees and auxiliary services.

D 59988

It is therefore most important that in order to prevent overlapping and wasted effort there should be coordination. This may be achieved through a coordinating council representative of councils of social agencies, national organizations and governmental bodies. The interrelation between civilian and war services might be strengthened by the secretary of the council of social agencies or welfare council acting as secretary to the coordinating council. In any event the person selected as secretary of the coordinating council should have intimate knowledge of the welfare set-up of the community.

2. The smaller community. These communities are not likely to have a council of social agencies or a welfare council, but there will be one or two social agencies such as the childrens aid society, Victorian Order of Nurses, the relief officer, or the medical officer of health or a unit of the women's institutes.

Where such is the case, it would seem possible to coordinate the volunteer effort through a volunteer bureau. As the war progresses, new committees will be set up to meet new war-time services such as consumer groups to assist in price control, salvage committees to organize the salvage of the community, rehabilitation committees to assist in the rehabilitation of the returned soldier. This effort will be most effectively directed if organized through a volunteer bureau.

The foregoing statement of the women's voluntary services division clearly indicates that its purpose is not to set up a national organization in Ottawa forcing a set plan of volunteer organization on local communities, but rather by studying a community, help it so to organize its effort that total war may be waged without waste or duplication of effort in the volunteer field.

WARTIME PRICES AND TRADE BOARD—MRS. MCLAWS

Mr. McGREGOR:

1. Is Mrs. McLaws employed in any position with the wartime prices and trade board?
2. If so, in what capacity?
3. What are the duties attached to such position?
4. What salary and/or allowance does she receive?
5. What is the amount of travelling expenses and/or living allowance which she has drawn since her appointment?
6. By whom and upon whose recommendation was she appointed?

Mr. ILSLEY:

1. No.
2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Answered by 1.

[Mr. Thorson.]

WARTIME PRICES AND TRADE BOARD—JEAN BURNS

Mr. McGREGOR:

1. Is Miss Jean Burns employed in any position with the wartime prices and trade board?
2. If so, in what capacity?
3. What are the duties attached to such position?
4. What salary and/or allowance does she receive?
5. What is the amount of travelling expenses and/or living allowance which she has drawn since her appointment?
6. By whom and upon whose recommendation was she appointed?

Mr. ILSLEY:

1. Yes.
2. Clerk.
3. Supervising routines and procedures, female stenographic and clerical staff.
4. $1,380 per annum.
5. None.
6. Civil service commission.

JAMES FRANCESCHINI—CONSTRUCTION OF BUILDING AT LAC TREMBLANT, QUE.

Mr. FRASER (Peterborough West):

1. Was a permit issued to James Franceschini for the construction of a building at Lac Tremblant?
2. If so, what materials did the permit release?
3. Did the permit release any steel?
4. What was the cost of the materials released by the permit?

Mr. HOWE:

1. No. A permit No. 4604 was issued to the Quebec Paving Company Limited for construction of a residence at Lac Tremblant for the use of James Franceschini. This permit was issued on the basis of prior commitment, work having been started in November, 1941, before P.C. 660, January 30th, 1942, covering dwellings, came into effect. At this time all dwelling houses, on which work had started before January 30th, 1942, but had not been completed by that date, were issued licences.
2. As required for the work, subject to the conditions of the licence.
3. No.
4. Not known. The information required on the application for a building permit does not separate materials from labour.

SALMON FISHING REGULATIONS

Mr. ROY:

1. Has the dominion government passed a regulation compelling all holders of salmon fishing licences in the province of Quebec to limit their annual catch to 12,000 pounds?
2. If so, (a) upon what date was such order adopted; (b) does it apply only to the province of Quebec, or is the province of New Brunswick equally included?
3. Was such regulation requested by the government of the province of Quebec? If so, by what department?

Mr. POWER (for Mr. Michaud):

1. No.
2. Answered by No. 1.
3. Answered by No. 1.

D 59989

WARTIME PRICES AND TRADE BOARD—CHAIRMAN

Mr. ROY:

1. What is the name of the head of the wartime prices and trade board?
2. When was he appointed?
3. What position did he occupy before he received his present appointment?
4. Where was he born?
5. How long has he lived in Canada?
6. Where did he live before taking up his residence in the dominion?

Mr. ILSLEY:

1. Donald Gordon.
2. November 19, 1941.
3. Deputy Governor, Bank of Canada.
4. Oldmeldrum, Scotland.
5. Twenty-eight years.
6. Oldmeldrum, Scotland.

CANADIAN ASSOCIATED AIRCRAFT LIMITED—PLACEMENT OF WORKERS ON CLOSING OF PLANT

Mr. NOSEWORTHY:

What steps have been taken by the government to secure placement for the aircraft workers already discharged and about to be discharged by reason of the closing of Canadian Associated Aircraft Limited?

Mr. MITCHELL: The matter of finding other essential jobs for the men released through the closing down of Canadian Associated Aircraft Limited has been taken up by the Department of Labour and through the employment service it is expected that men of the skilled classes required in other war industries will be placed without delay.

QUESTIONS PASSED AS ORDERS FOR RETURNS

FARM LOANS—BRITISH COLUMBIA

Mr. REID:

1. What was the number of applications for loans under the Canadian farm loan board in the province of British Columbia in each month since January 1, 1939, to May 30, 1942?
2. What number of such loans were granted and for what amount, during each of these months?
3. What amount was collected by the Canadian farm loan board in the province of British Columbia during each of the above months?

WARTIME PRICES AND TRADE BOARD—NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING

Mr. FRASER (Peterborough West):

1. How much has the wartime prices and trade board spent on newspaper advertising up to the 31st of May, 1942?
2. What amount was spent for newspaper advertising in each province?
3. What amount was spent for magazine advertising? In what magazines did the advertising appear?
4. Does this board give its advertising to an advertising agency or agencies?
5. If so, to what agency or agencies?
6. If it does not give the advertising to an agency, does the board employ advertising men?
7. If so, who are they?

WARTIME HOUSING—ONTARIO

Mr. CARDIFF:

1. To what firms have contracts for the erection of houses in the province of Ontario been awarded by the Wartime Housing Limited up to May 15, 1942?
2. At what places were such houses erected or now under contract for construction and how many at each place?
3. What was the actual amount paid or to be paid each building contractor under each contract for each of the several types of dwellings?
4. Were tenders called in all cases?
5. Was the tender extended in any case for additional houses in excess of the original contract? If so, in what cases and did the same prices prevail as in the original contract; if not, what differences existed in each case?
6. Has any amount been paid to any of the contractors over and above the original contract? If so, give details of each instance?

MOTIONS FOR PAPERS

PORT OF TORONTO—DUTY PAID ON COAL

Mr. NOSEWORTHY:

For a statement showing a day by day breakdown of the amount of duty paid on coal at the port of Toronto between April 1 and July 31, 1940.

CANADIAN OFFICERS' TRAINING CORPS

Mr. GREEN:

For a return showing the universities, colleges and schools which have an officers' training corps recognized by the Department of National Defence, the number enrolled in each corps and what grants are paid by the government in respect of each corps.

D 59990

LABOUR CONDITIONS

ACTION TAKEN AGAINST MONTREAL INDUSTRIAL WORKERS FOR UNION MEMBERSHIP

On the orders of the day:

Mr. J. G. DIEFENBAKER (Lake Centre): Mr. Speaker, I should like to ask a question of the Minister of Labour, based on a telegram from Montreal received by a number of members to-day, signed by Paul Fournier. It reads as follows:

Over the period of the last two months workers have been fired, intimidated and blacklisted for union membership in the Dominion Engineering Company, Marconi Company, Montreal Locomotive Company and Robert Mitchells. Repeated appeals to the Department of Labour for investigations and actions have failed to have those men and women who were fired reinstated. Intimidation still goes on. Unless these practises are immediately stopped we feel that serious consequences will result.

What has the government done in regard to these disputes, and what is its intention as to future action?

Hon. HUMPHREY MITCHELL (Minister of Labour): It is passing strange that these telegrams should be broadcast in this way. It is only fair to say that on every occasion on which a request of this nature has come to the Department of Labour it has been handled with expedition. We received a similar request from Mr. Fournier, asking for an appointment with me to meet a delegation on the 24th or 25th of this month. I have already answered Mr. Fournier's communication, stating that I would meet the delegation.

Mr. MacINNIS: Has this particular matter been investigated by the Department of Labour, or by someone from that department?

Mr. MITCHELL: My understanding is that this delegation wants to meet me to consider the whole question as to conditions in Montreal. I have some knowledge of the situation there, and I have replied to their request.

POOLING OF RESOURCES

ESTABLISHMENT OF JOINT UNITED STATES AND UNITED KINGDOM BOARDS ON PRODUCTION, RESOURCES AND FOOD

On the orders of the day:

Mr. M. J. COLDWELL (Rosetown-Biggar): Mr. Speaker, I should like to ask a question of the Prime Minister. In to-day's issue of the Montreal *Gazette* under date of Washington, June 9, there is a statement to the effect that the factories and farms of the United States and the United Kingdom were pooled to-day by the establishment of two joint boards. One is a combined production and resources board, and the other a combined food board.

President Roosevelt stated that Canada has no direct representation on either board, but would line up with the United States on the production board, and that for all practical purposes Canada was represented, because "Nelson will speak for North America as a result of the close integration of the Canadian-American production programmes already in effect." Does the Prime Minister consider it satisfactory that Canada should be represented by a United States official?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I shall give my hon. friend a statement in the matter to-morrow.

JAPANESE NATIONALS

REFERENCE IN KAMLOOPS PAPER TO CONDITIONS IN NORTH THOMPSON AREA CAMPS

On the orders of the day:

Mr. T. J. O'NEILL (Kamloops): Mr. Speaker, I wish to ask a question of the Minister of Labour arising out of an item appearing in a Kamloops paper. The item says that the foremen in the camps in the North Thompson area are only flunkies for the Japanese, that the Japanese are in full control of the rations; that the Japanese are not rationed for sugar; that the Japanese are being fed the best canned peaches, canned pears and canned plums, while the guards have only dried fruit. It states that the guards are laughed at by the Japanese, and that they have no backing at all. Has the Department of Labour any information as to the truth of these statements, and if there is any foundation for them, what action does the government propose to take?

Mr. MITCHELL: In the first place—

Mr. SPEAKER: I should have interrupted the hon. member when he began his observations, but I must point out now that this is certainly a question which should be placed on the order paper. It is improperly asked at this stage.

Mr. NEILL: On a point of order, this is a very urgent matter in British Columbia. The minister is ready to reply; could he not be allowed to give his answer?

HOUSING

REQUEST FOR STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF FINANCE

On the orders of the day:

Mr. T. L. CHURCH (Broadview): Is the Minister of Finance prepared to make the statement respecting the housing situation which he promised some time ago?

Mr. ILSLEY: I cannot make it to-day.

D 59991

HOUSE OF COMMONS

READING OF SPEECHES—FORTY MINUTE RULE—STATEMENT OF MR. SPEAKER

On the order:

Second reading of Bill No. 80, an act to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940.—The Prime Minister.

Mr. SPEAKER: Before proceeding with this order there is a matter I should like to draw to the attention of the house. At the conclusion of the debate on the address in reply to the speech from the throne, I called the attention of the house to serious infringements of the rules relating to forty-minute speeches, and the reading of speeches. Since that time hon. members have observed very faithfully the meaning and intent of those rules. This is, of course, a very important debate, and at the opening of it I should like to say that so far as I can I intend to apply those rules to all parties in the house. It is true that the Prime Minister and the leader of the opposition have the right to speak at length, and it has been the practice and has been acquiesced in by the house to extend this privilege to the leaders of two other groups, namely, the hon. member for Rosetown-Biggar (Mr. Coldwell) and the hon. member for Lethbridge (Mr. Blackmore). They have been permitted to speak longer than forty minutes, and also if necessary to read their speeches, on the principle, as I understand it, that they are speaking not only for themselves as individual members but also as the exponents of the policy of the groups of which they are the leaders.

MOBILIZATION ACT

AMENDMENT TO REPEAL SECTION 3 PROVIDING LIMITATION IN RESPECT OF SERVICE OVERSEAS

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister) moved the second reading of Bill No. 80, to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940.

He said: Mr. Speaker, in what I propose to say this afternoon I intend to make my remarks under two main divisions. The first division will relate to the amendment, and will also have reference to the plebiscite. The second part will deal particularly with the issue of conscription.

On Monday, May 11, I moved for leave to introduce the bill which is now before the house. Leave being granted, it was introduced and read the first time. As then explained, the bill seeks to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, which was assented to on the 21st of June, 1940. There is but one amendment of significance. It is to repeal section 3 of the Act. Such further amendments as are sought are consequential upon the striking out of section 3. They do not go beyond deleting from section 2 of the Act, the words "subject to the provisions of section 3 hereof" in the first line of the section as it stands at present, and the renumbering of the sections affected.

Section 2 of the National Resources Mobilization Act reads as follows:

2. Subject to the provisions of section three hereof, the governor in council may do and authorize such acts and things, and make from time to time such orders and regulations, requiring persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty in the right of Canada, as may be deemed necessary or expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of Canada, the maintenance of public order, or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies or services essential to the life of the community.

Section 3 of the Act reads:

3. The powers conferred by the next preceding section may not be exercised for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof.

Let me immediately direct the attention of hon. members to the wording and exact meaning of these two clauses. They give expression to the law as it is at the present time. They help to make clear the precise effect of the proposed amendment.

By section 2, special powers are conferred upon the governor in council. By another section of the act, the powers conferred are to remain in force only during the continuance of the present war. There can be no doubt whatever as to what these powers are. The governor in council possesses and has possessed ever since June 21, 1940, power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty, as may be deemed necesary or expedient for the defence of Canada, or the efficient prosecution of the war.

Power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty—is nothing more or less than what is meant by conscription. The power here given is that of conscripting all persons, which, in law, include corporations, all their services, and all their property, for the defence of Canada, or the efficient prosecution of the war.

It is well that this fact should not only be made perfectly clear, but that it should be emphasized. Because ever since the act was passed, and even up to to-day, there are many who say, others who think, and yet others who believe, or who would have it appear, that conscription does not exist in

Canada. These people say that conscription is the right principle; that conscription is in force in other countries, and that we ought to have conscription in Canada. They say that it is wrong and unfair that, in any part of the country, men should not be conscripted for military or other service while the men in other parts give their services voluntarily. That, above all, "slackers" and "shirkers" should not be allowed to "go free," while others are left to do the fighting.

Extraordinary as it may seem, the persons who say or who would have others believe that we do not have conscription in Canada are not confined to citizens of other countries. If we are to judge by what we hear, and what we read in the press from time to time, they include a very large number of our own citizens. They certainly are among the number who are loudest in their utterances.

This demand for conscription in Canada has been made right along and continues to be made, notwithstanding the fact that, for all Canada, conscription has been the law of the land since June 21, 1940, and that, under the special powers conferred upon the governor in council by the National Resources Mobilization Act, compulsory military training, in other words "conscription", has been in operation since October, 1940, and compulsory service, for the duration of the war, since February, 1941.

Under the original plan, some 80,000 young men received thirty days military training. Under the revised plan, which provided for four months training to be followed by service for the duration, more than 30,000 young men are now in course of training or service. This number does not include the very considerable proportion of those called up who, subsequently, volunteered for the navy and the air force, or for service in the army anywhere in the world.

There are two methods by which most ends are attained by government. The one is the voluntary method, the other the compulsory method. Power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty—is the power of government to employ the compulsory method. In other words it is the power to conscript. How then can there be any question as to there being conscription in Canada, or any doubt that the principle of conscription has been approved by the parliament of Canada? The principle is there. It is embodied in the National Resources Mobilization Act. It is part of the law of the land, and has been so by statute ever since June 21, 1940. The whole purpose of the National Resources Mobilization Act was to give to the governor in council power to conscript the property and services of individuals or corporations. That power, where it has been deemed necessary or expedient to do so, has been exercised ever since, and is being exercised by the government to-day.

There was, it is true, at the time the act was passed, a limitation placed upon the exercise of the special powers conferred upon the governor in council. That limitation still exists. It is set forth in section 3, which provides that the powers conferred may not be exercised for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada and the territorial waters thereof. The meaning of the section is perfectly clear. Section 3 was not intended to deny the existence of the powers of compulsion or conscription conferred upon the governor in council, much less was it intended to take away any of those powers. Indeed, the section begins with the words "the powers conferred by the next preceding section", and thereby constitute an affirmation of the existence of the powers. What the section does, and all it does, is to limit the exercise of those powers, and to limit them in one particular only. That limitation is in respect of their exercise "for the purpose of requiring persons to serve in the military, naval or air forces outside of Canada, and the territorial waters thereof".

This is the one and only limitation upon the exercise of the powers conferred on the governor in council, on June 21, 1940. The amendment proposes to remove this limitation. The adoption of the amendment clearly does not mean the adoption of any new principle with respect to the method of raising men for military service. It extends the area in which the powers of the governor in council may be exercised but does not change the character of those powers. In other words, the amendment is not related to the principle of conscription, but to the extent that its application may be deemed necessary or expedient for the defence of Canada or for the efficient prosecution of the war.

I come now to a most important fact with respect to the powers conferred upon the governor in council under the National Resources Mobilization Act. The act itself is enabling legislation. It does not necessarily contemplate the immediate, and certainly does not contemplate the total exercise of the powers conferred. Were those powers to be immediately and totally exercised we should have established at once a communist state. What the act does contemplate, as is expressed in the statute itself, is the exercise "from time

to time" of such of the powers conferred as may be deemed "necessary or expedient". While full and complete powers for the exercise of compulsion are given to the governor in council by the act, under its provisions, it is left to the governor in council to decide when, and to what extent, it may be necessary or expedient to exercise the powers thus conferred. This will be equally true of the powers of the governor in council under the act as amended. The discretion of the government will remain precisely what it is at the present time.

Perhaps I cannot do better, by way of illustration of the difference between the possession of unlimited powers of conscription by the government and the exercise of these powers in the manner deemed "necessary or expedient" at a particular stage of the war, than by quoting what I said in this house on February 25 last.

In *Hansard* at pages 913, 914, I am reported as follows:

> In order to carry on war, men are necessary, money is necessary. Both have to be raised, one in large numbers and the other in large quantities. With respect to the men that are being raised at the present time, we have two methods. They are not ends in themselves but methods, and we are taking the methods which we believe will be most effective and serviceable to Canada's war effort when we resort to the one or to the other. We have two methods of raising men for the army. Some of them are raised by compulsion; they are serving within the territorial limits of Canada. Others are being raised by voluntary enlistment, some of them also are serving in Canada. But all that are going overseas are being raised by the voluntary enlistment system, which has proved effective up to the present.
>
> Now with respect to the raising of money, we are using the same two methods. We are raising money by compulsion, under taxation in its different forms; and we are raising money voluntarily by the loan system which is in progress at the present time, and which the people of the country are supporting splendidly and, I believe, will continue to support. Supposing my hon. friend were to ask me: "What are you going to do if the voluntary system fails in the matter of the loan? Will you tell the people that now?" Could I tell them that? Would it be wise to tell them that? But a decision will have to be made if the voluntary system in the matter of loans should fail to produce the results which it is necessary should be produced in the securing of an amount of money requisite for the purpose. Under such circumstances, I think probably there would be resort to the conscription of wealth. I do not see any other alternative than for the government just to come along and take the wealth that exists, if the required sums cannot be raised voluntarily.
>
> . . . I wish to have that parallel kept in mind. What the government is going to do when the voluntary method fails in the matter of loans it will decide when the time comes; and it will do exactly the same thing as respects the matter of raising men. . . . And may I say this: I think the people of the country will see to it that both things are linked pretty closely together if one or the other becomes necessary.

I hope I have made it quite clear that the National Resources Mobilization Act, as it stands, is not mandatory but enabling legislation; and that, if amended as proposed, it will continue to be enabling legislation.

The extent of the use of the powers conferred upon the government by the provisions of the National Resources Mobilization Act is, and has been from the outset, a matter of government policy. Government policy has always to be decided in the light of all relevant circumstances. This will remain true of the unrestricted powers which the amendment, if enacted, will afford.

I come now to the plebiscite and its bearing upon the amendment before the house. I shall endeavour to anticipate the various questions that may arise in the course of debate, and to answer them in turn.

First of all, why was the plebiscite held? The answer to that question will be found in three paragraphs which appear in the speech from the throne:

> My advisers believe that the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort is being obscured and impaired by controversy concerning commitments with respect to the methods of raising men for military service which were made prior to the spread of the war to all parts of the world.
>
> The government is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should in this connection and irrespective of any previous commitments, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.
>
> My ministers accordingly will seek, from the people, by means of a plebiscite, release from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service.

You will observe that there were three purposes in holding the plebiscite. The first was that nothing should be allowed to obscure or impair the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort; the second, that the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise in the prosecution of the war; and the third, which has a direct bearing upon the first two, that the government and parliament should not be bound by past commitments, but be free to discuss and to decide, on its merits, the extent of the use of conscription.

The real nature and extent of Canada's war effort has, for more than a year past, been obscured because of a persistent effort to make conscription for overseas service the symbol of a total war effort, regardless of whether or not the voluntary method was proving wholly adequate. For example, it was said that Canada's effort was not an all-out effort, and could not be an all-out effort because the possibility of conscripting men for service overseas was excluded by existing commitments. This was said regardless of the fact that it has been unnecessary to resort to compulsion, because volunteers in the required numbers have been available.

No one could deny that such commitments had been made. It was useless to argue that in reality, the commitments were not a limiting factor. So long as the government was held in honour bound by these commitments, it was next to impossible to demonstrate that this seeming restriction was not a limiting factor on an all-out effort.

A release from the moral obligation not to resort to conscription for overseas service was a necessary first step before Canada's war effort could be placed in its true light. Release, on that score, was sought by means of the plebiscite, and release has been obtained as a result of the plebiscite. The government and members of parliament are no longer bound by any moral obligation arising out of past commitments. There is now entire freedom to discuss and to decide upon its merits the question of the method to be employed in enlisting men for service overseas. The government is now free to propose without breach of faith, any extension of the application of conscription which may be thought desirable or necessary to a furtherance of Canada's war effort. In the consideration of the matter, both in parliament and in the country, controversy arising out of past commitments can no longer be used to obscure the magnitude and balanced nature of our war effort.

A release from the moral obligation not to resort to conscription for overseas service was equally a necessary first step before the government could seek from parliament freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation, as they might arise in the prosecution of the war. That release the government obtained as a result of the plebiscite. Complete freedom to act in accordance with its best judgment will, however, not exist until parliament has removed section 3 of the mobilization act.

Let me now deal with the relationship of the plebiscite to conscription, and in particular, as to whether a "yes" or "no" vote was a vote for or against conscription. On this point, I should, first of all, remind hon. members of what was said in the course of the plebiscite campaign. Both in this house and throughout the country, it was made perfectly clear by myself as leader of the government, by the leader of the official opposition, and by the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, and by members of their respective parties, that an affirmative vote was not a vote for conscription. I am afraid I cannot tell the house what stand the leader of the Social Credit party took. I have, however, found nothing in any of his utterances which would enable it to be said that he regarded an affirmative vote as a vote for conscription for service overseas.

The question on the ballot is, however, the best answer as to whether or not the plebiscite was a vote for or against conscription.

The question on which the people of Canada were asked to express an opinion was:

> Are you in favour of releasing the government from any obligation arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service?

Clearly the plebiscite merely released the government from its obligation not to resort to conscription for service overseas. It did not commit the government to conscription for services overseas. The result of the plebiscite leaves no doubt as to the freedom of the government and of parliament to discuss the question of conscription for service overseas upon its merits. It equally leaves no doubt as to the freedom of the government and of parliament to decide, for or against conscription for service overseas, either conditionally or unconditionally.

The result of the plebiscite is no more to be construed as a vote for conscription for service overseas than it is to be construed as a vote of confidence in the present administration, or a vote for any political party. That, too, was stressed throughout the plebiscite campaign.

The people were not called upon to express any opinion on the merits of conscription, or on its desirability or necessity. In fact, the plebiscite was selected as the method of obtaining their views precisely because it afforded the best known means of obtaining an expression of opinion regardless of political affiliations, and regardless of military considerations.

Since conscription was not the question on which the vote was taken, the result of the plebiscite cannot be considered or construed as a mandate for conscription. It was not even in the category of a mandate. It was wholly and solely an expression of opinion.

The vast majority of the citizens of Canada indicated that in their opinion the government, in deciding upon the course to be pursued in the prosecution of Canada's war effort, should not be hampered by any restriction respecting the methods of raising men for military service.

Some, however, will say: Would the government have asked to be released from its commitments unless it envisaged the possibility, at some future time, of a need arising for conscription for service overseas? As I have just said, one of the purposes of the plebiscite was to give to the government freedom thereafter to recommend to parliament any measure respecting military service deemed essential to the security of our country and the effectiveness of an all-out war effort. We were thereby taking, in plenty of time, a precaution which would enable the government to meet, in the most effective manner without any possible breach of faith, any emergency that might arise in the future course of the war.

To sum up concisely the relationship of the plebiscite to the issue of conscription, I would say: (1) that the plebiscite cleared the deck for unrestricted discussion and debate; (2) that the amendment if adopted will clear the deck for unrestricted decision and action by the government, subject only to its constitutional responsibility to parliament.

The vote on the plebiscite was taken on Monday, April 27. On Friday, May 8, I informed the house of the government's intention to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act, and on Monday, the 11th of May, the bill containing the proposed amendment was introduced and given its first reading. In the interval, on Saturday the 9th of May, the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Cardin) tendered his resignation. I felt that the reasons given by the minister evidenced a mistaken view of the government's purpose and intention and therefore sought to have him reconsider his resignation. But the minister felt he could not change his views, so I had no alternative but to inform His Excellency of the correspondence which had passed between us, and to advise the acceptance of the minister's resignation.

In the minister's letter of resignation, there will be found, I believe, not only the reasons which occasioned the resignation, but an explanation of the misgivings which lie at the root of the reasons themselves. Similar reasons and misgivings are naturally in the minds of some supporters of the government, not only from the province of which the minister was one of the representatives in the cabinet, but from other provinces as well. In the case of all but a few of the government's supporters, they account, I believe, for such objections as have been raised to the amendment. It is important, therefore, that the arguments set forth by the minister in justification of his resignation should be examined with the utmost care. In presenting these arguments, I cannot do better than quote from the words of the minister's letter.

The minister said:

> I feel that there is no necessity for repeating here the arguments which, I sincerely believe, justify my action. Suffice it to say at present that, as far as Canada is concerned, since the question of the plebiscite was first discussed and since the vote has been taken, nothing has been said nor anything established to indicate that the war situation has rendered necessary, just a few days after the vote, the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas.

In this paragraph is set forth very clearly a circumstance which has greatly perplexed many of those who saw in the plebiscite simply a clearing of the decks for freedom of discussion and possible future action. They had not envisaged the immediate introduction of legislation; much less, as the minister said, "the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas." The misunderstanding of the exact situation has been further aggravated by the fact that since the result of the plebiscite was known, a deliberate effort has been made to construe the result as a mandate for conscription. Not only has it been said that the result of the plebiscite constitutes a mandate —but what is still farther from the truth—a mandate that necessitates immediate resort to conscription for service overseas.

Had the government's action, in introducing the amendment, been due to any such interpretation, either of the purpose of the plebiscite, or of the result of the plebiscite, I would have been the first to support the minister in his protest. I can, however, find no justification for any such interpretation, either of the purpose of the plebiscite or of its results.

I have already said this afternoon that a "yes" or "no" in the plebiscite was not to be, and could not truthfully be construed as a "yes" or "no" for conscription for service overseas. I said precisely the same thing in the debate on the speech from the throne, and in the debate on the plebiscite bill. I said the same thing in my radio broadcasts. In interpreting, through the press and in this house, the results of the plebiscite, I also repeated what I had previously said.

The issue was not conscription but whether the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, should have a free hand in the discharge of its duty in carrying on the war.

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This free hand the government has still to secure from parliament. Prior to the plebiscite, because of past commitments, the government was precluded from coming to parliament to request a free hand. The government is no longer in that position. It is free to come to parliament, as it does to-day, because of the release as a result of the plebiscite from all such commitments.

In order to confirm what I have just said, allow me to read from the nation-wide broadcast I delivered on April 7, in an opening appeal to the Canadian electorate for an affirmative vote:

> The issue at present is not conscription; it is whether or not the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, is to be free to decide that question itself, in the light of all national considerations. The government is not asking you to say whether or not conscription should be adopted. That responsibility the government is asking you to leave to itself, and to parliament, with entire freedom to decide the question on its merits.

Let me also read what I said on April 24 in a final appeal to the electorate for an affirmative vote. This appeal was also made in a broadcast which was nationwide:

> When the plebiscite was announced many did not understand what it was on which they were going to be asked to express an opinion. Many thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was placing on the people the responsibility of deciding the issue of conscription, instead of assuming that responsibility itself, and making its own recommendation to parliament.
>
> It has now ben made clear that conscription is not the issue. Let me emphasize that fact. Those who tell you that conscription is the issue are misleading you. The sole purpose of the plebiscite is to obtain for the government, and for parliament, a perfectly free hand in dealing with this, as with all other questions. All you are being asked to say is whether or not you are in favour of the government's hands being perfectly free at this time of war. That is the meaning of the question to which you are being asked to reply yes or no. If you reply yes, you will not be committing the government to conscription for service overseas; but you will be enabling the government and parliament to discuss and decide that question solely on its merits.

I have quoted from my own nation-wide broadcasts. Let me now quote a paragraph or two from the nation-wide broadcasts delivered by the leader of the opposition on April 20. I quote:

> This plebiscite is simply to give to the government and Mr. King release from a commitment not to enlist men for overseas service by compulsory methods. That, primarily, is the only issue involved. Emphatically, it is not, in this specific vote, an issue for or against compulsory service for overseas. It is merely a vote to release or refuse to release, Mr. King from a pre-electon pledge. . . . You are not called upon, by this plebiscite, to declare for or against conscription for overseas service. That may come; it does not follow from this plebiscite. . . . The only question involved is whether the government shall be free to follow any policy it may deem necessary in the future.

Let me also quote from the nation-wide broadcast delivered by the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, on April 21. I quote:

> The vote on Monday is not a vote for or against the conscription of man-power for overseas service. It is a vote to release members of parliament from their pledge not even to consider such conscription. Thus, while the Prime Minister in his radio address on April 7 quite properly stated the reasons why it is necessary to obtain a release from the pledges against conscription for overseas service, he made it quite clear that such conscription is not the issue which will be decided by the plebiscite. That issue will be decided by parliament when and if the government presents it for discussion.

From these quotations, it will be seen that the leader of the opposition and the leader of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation expressed precisely the same view as myself of the issue in the plebiscite.

It cannot serve any useful purpose, indeed it can only do a great injustice to the Canadian electorate, to attempt to place upon the results of the plebiscite any interpretation other than that which, before the vote was taken, the electors were told would be placed upon the results. To interpret the results otherwise would be doing a cruel injustice to many members of this House of Commons who most certainly would never have advocated an affirmative vote had it not been made clear beyond all doubt that in so doing they were not endorsing conscription. I know of many members, some of them with sons serving in Canada's army overseas, who were themselves opposed to conscription, but who did all in their power, in their several constituencies, to secure an affirmative vote. This they did in order that they themselves and "the government and parliament should be wholly free to exercise their best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada, and for Canada's effort in the present war".

To claim that what had been sought or obtained by the plebiscite was a mandate for conscription is to assert that the plebiscite was a mere subterfuge. Such a claim goes further than that: it is equivalent to saying that those who stated that the issue was not conscription, did not mean what they said; that they were deliberately seeking to deceive the electorate.

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Such a claim does a particular injustice to hon. members of this house, who knowing the importance of national unity at a time of war did their best to remove the prejudices which some others were doing their utmost to inflame. In the endeavour to bring home to the people of their province the truth of Canada's position in the present war, and the need in the interests of national security as well as of national unity for an affirmative vote, none fought more valiantly than the majority of the members of this house from the province of Quebec, including my former colleague, the then Minister of Public Works and of Transport.

Let me make this perfectly clear. If the government has brought in the amendment at the time it has, it is not because of any false interpretation of the results of the plebiscite, but for reasons that are in complete accord with the purpose for which the plebiscite was held.

I have said that the purposes of the plebiscite were to place the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort in its true light, and to secure for the government a free hand in the prosecution of the war. Both purposes, I believe, should be achieved as speedily as possible.

I made this abundantly clear in the words with which I concluded my final broadcast on April 24. I quote:

> Let me just say this, that if disaster should ever overtake us, it will certainly be said for generations to come that had the government's powers not been restricted, the disaster would never have occurred. Such is the responsibility that may come to rest upon those who, in the existing crisis, are unwilling to remove restrictions and give to the government a free hand in its war policies.
>
> To-day, the enemy is so strong that he can only be held at bay, and finally defeated, by the common action of all the united nations. For her own security, Canada should make it perfectly clear to the other united nations and, above all, to the United States, that Canada is as ready to help them as we know they will be ready to help us. An overwhelming affirmative vote on Monday next will serve to make that perfectly clear.
>
> To-day, despite the magnificence of Canada's war effort, the impression is being fostered among other nations that because of a restriction on the powers of the government, Canada's war effort is not an all-out effort. This impression is quite unfounded. Nevertheless, it is working a grave injustice to our country as a whole, and to every man and woman who is making any contribution towards the winning of the war. I want that injustice to end. And so I ask you, my fellow-countrymen—every one of you—to help give to our country complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes, and in the eyes of the world. You can do this by voting "yes" on Monday next.

How very much to the point the words of that appeal were has been brought home to us all within the past few days, with surprising suddenness. For more than a fortnight past, the forces of the United States and Canada have been combining their strength to meet imminent attack by Japanese forces upon Canada and the United States.

May I say that only in to-day's papers and over the radio this morning we were informed that one of the United States ships just off the coast had been torpedoed. Some men were brought ashore alive, but unfortunately one of the number died before his raft could reach the shore. That is on the Pacific ocean—a ship torpedoed by a Japanese submarine.

The people of Canada, on Monday the 27th of April, made it unmistakably clear that they desired for Canada and for its war-time government "complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes and in the eyes of the world."

In the eyes of some in our own land, and even more in the eyes of many in other countries, so long as clause 3 remains in the National Resources Mobilization Act, that "complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort" does not and cannot exist. Regardless altogether of whether the removal of clause 3 would make the difference of an additional man going overseas, so long as, in the statutes of Canada, any restriction remains it will continue to be cited as a bar to a total effort, and a bar, moreover, which finds its expression in the law of our land.

We have been released by the plebiscite from commitments which, up to the time of the plebiscite, had been pointed to as the bar to an all-out effort. Surely, every argument that could be urged in support of a release from a moral obligation, can be urged with equal force against a legal obligation, the effect of which, in so far as it may constitute a bar to a total effort, is exactly the same. If there be any wisdom in removing false impressions, surely the sooner they are removed the better.

It will be said that it may be perfectly true that there is need for some action as a consequence of the plebiscite, and need even for immediate action. But why, it is asked, go so far? Why seek to do everything at once? Why not proceed by stages? The people need educating. What they may not see to-day, they may come to understand to-morrow. It was difficult enough, in some quarters, to have them see the wisdom of trusting the government, and of giving to it, subject to its responsibility to parliament, a free hand at a time of war. Why arouse suspicions? Above all, why give to those who

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said that the plebiscite was a mere subterfuge and that its real purpose was the immediate application of conscription for service overseas, the chance to say "we told you so; we are the real leaders; the rest have been deceiving you". Why should those who spoke otherwise be placed in a false light by the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas, and that, as my former colleague said: "just a few days after the vote"?

These are pertinent questions. They are questions to the significance of which too careful attention cannot be paid by members of parliament, and, I might add, by all who have to do with the moulding of public opinion in Canada. They may seem difficult questions to answer, but if they cannot be answered, and answered to the satisfaction of an impartial listener, then I am prepared to say that I would be unworthy of the confidence placed in myself, and the government would be unworthy of the support it has received from those who so loyally supported us in our effort to obtain an affirmative vote on the plebiscite.

Let me first of all refer to what some would have regarded as a preferable way of proceeding. I do not think I need to say more about the mistake it would have been for the government, once the moral restriction was removed, to have delayed in seeking the removal of the legal restriction.

But, it is said, could not the removal of the legal restriction have been effected by two or more steps, instead of one? It has, for example, been said that if, in due course, the government had brought in an amendment which would have substituted "the northern half of the western hemisphere", or, for that matter, "the western hemisphere", for the words "Canada and the territorial waters thereof", where the latter words appear in section 3 of the mobilization act that in all probability such an amendment would have encountered little, if any, opposition.

That, I believe is true. As long ago as February 26, I stated that the government would, if necessary, not hesitate to use the War Measures Act to send troops called up under the provisions of the National Resources Mobilization Act, to "the panhandle or any place in the vicinity of the coast of Canada". No exception was taken to that statement at the time it was made, nor am I aware of any having been taken since. It is probably now apparent why, in speaking at the time, I related that possible action particularly to Alaska.

The question is: Would such an amendment have served to meet the purposes of the plebiscite as they were outlined in the speech from the throne? Would it have removed from clause 3 of the mobilization act everything that could be construed as a legal limitation upon Canada's war effort? Would it have given the government freedom of action? Would it not rather have been construed, by those who wished so to misrepresent the government's purpose and intention, as the substitution of another limitation for the one removed? Would this new legal limitation, just as has been the case with the existing one, not have continued to be pointed to as a restriction upon a total or utmost effort?

But that is not the only objection to proceeding by stages. To amend the act, in any particular, means a debate in both houses of parliament. It means a debate which, whatever the amendment proposed, would be a debate on the question of conscription. Should a second or third amendment become necessary later on, it would certainly mean as many subsequent debates, going over all the same ground again. Unnecessary discussion and prolonged debate in parliament at a time when our country is hourly being drawn into greater danger would not serve to place Canada's war effort in its true light, either before our own people or before the people of other countries, nor would it gain respect for parliament.

This brings me to a further reason why I feel the government is right in seeking, once and for all, to secure complete freedom to exercise its best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada and for Canada's effort in the present war, and that events will so prove.

In concluding my first appeal for an affirmative vote on the plebiscite, I said:

> Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next year, next month, or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. It is in the face of this peril that, for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand.

For the same reason, we now ask the same from parliament.

I take no exception to the statement made by my former colleague in his letter of resignation when he says:

> As far as Canada is concerned, since the question of the plebiscite was first discussed, and since the vote has been taken, nothing has been said nor anything established to indicate that the war situation has rendered necessary just a few days after the vote, the introduction of a measure containing the principle of compulsory military service for overseas.

Were the element of surprise not an outstanding feature of enemy strategy; and were it not a fact that no one knows at what moment the war situation may take some wholly unexpected turn, there would be, at the present time, no practical need for the introduction of an amendment which contains the principle of compulsory military service for overseas. It is always well, however, to be prepared as far in advance as may be possible for any contingency.

If the reasons for having introduced the proposed amendment, just a few days after the vote on the plebiscite, were solely those of meeting some new war situation, or a war situation other than was envisaged when the question of the plebiscite was first discussed, I would be the first to say that such reasons were wholly insufficient to justify the deletion of clause 3 in its entirety at the present time. But such, as I have explained, are not the reasons either for the amendment being introduced so soon after the taking of the plebiscite, or for the government seeking, at the present time, to have the whole of section 3 deleted.

Up to the present, I have said nothing of the powers which, under the War Measures Act, the governor in council already possesses. Under that act, as interpreted by judicial decision and by the legal advisers of the government, the governor in council has authority, notwithstanding section 3, to send men enlisted under the National Resources Mobilization Act to points outside the boundaries of Canada and the territorial waters thereof. In other words, if, to-day, in the opinion of the government, the war situation demanded the dispatch overseas of men already called up under compulsion for military service, the government has the necessary legal power to order their dispatch.

Why then, it will be asked, does the government come to parliament for powers which it already possesses? The answer to this question is the sense the executive has of its responsibility to parliament.

To defeat the enemy overseas, and thereby lessen the possibility of the actual invasion of Canada itself, is the objective of Canada's armed forces overseas, whether they be upon the sea, in the air, or on land.

The government does not believe that, to serve that end, conscription for overseas service is necessary at the present time. Moreover, it may never become necessary. But, in case it should ever become necessary, it is surely the part of wisdom that there should be no doubt whatever of the power of the government to take the necessary action the moment the necessity to do so may arise. There should equally be no doubt that this power is derived from the present parliament rather than from a statute enacted in 1914.

There is nothing in the proposed amendment which could imply that the government's attitude towards conscription for service overseas, as set forth in parliament and as expressed from time to time in the plebiscite campaign, has been altered in the least, or that there is any intention of a change of government policy or attitude. The government's policy as to being given complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise was clearly stated in the speech from the throne at the opening of parliament in the following words:

> My advisers believe that the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort is being obscured and impaired by controversy concerning commitments with respect to the methods of raising men for military service which were made prior to the spread of the war to all parts of the world.
>
> The government is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should in this connection and irrespective of any previous commitments, possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

The words, "in this connection", in the paragraph I have just read, refer of course to the words "the methods of raising men for military service" in the preceding paragraph. I am, therefore, as I said in my reply to the former minister of public works, unable to agree that there has been any change of policy or attitude on the part of the government. No new policy has been adopted.

The government's policy with respect to the method of enlisting men for service in the army overseas was set forth clearly and unequivocally, on February 10, by my colleague the Minister of National Defence, in discussing the 1942-43 army programme. The minister of defence said that he wanted to see voluntary enlistments kept up, and that he believed it was better for our voluntary army if the men coming to reinforce it were also volunteers. After giving figures which clearly showed that, up to that time, the voluntary system had not failed, the minister added these words:

> I have faith in the success of the voluntary method if we all do our part. With the background and tradition which this country possesses and which it would be folly to ignore, I prefer the voluntary method if it works, and I shall do all I can to make it work.

This statement is by no means the only statement of the position of the government with respect to the method of enlistment for

service overseas. I desire particularly to draw attention to and to repeat the words I used in this house on February 25, in the debate on the second reading of the Plebiscite Bill. After setting out the reasons why the government believed the request for a release from any commitments should be submitted to the people, I explained the position the government was then in with respect to the adoption of conscription for overseas service and, in plain and unequivocal language, why it was the government desired to have that position changed and to be given a free hand to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they might arise. Here are my words—and I am quoting from what I said on February 25:

The position is that the government has full power with respect to everything, excepting one thing; and that one thing is that commitment, that obligation, with respect to the enlisting of men for overseas service. There the government is not free. You may ask why the government should come forward at the present time and ask to be made free. First of all, may I make it clear that it is not because of any situation that exists at the moment. The Minister of National Defence has made it perfectly clear that with respect to voluntary enlistment, we are obtaining men for overseas service at the present time as rapidly as we can train them.

And these are my words:

For our programme this year, and up to March, 1943, there is an honest belief on the part of the government that we will be able to get the men by voluntary enlistment for service overseas, and will not have to resort to conscription. But no one can say how long this war is going to last. No one can say what particular turn it is going to take. None of us knows what the conditions are going to be in a few months hence, or several months hence, or a year or two hence. . . .

Nothing, I think, could be plainer than that. It was made perfectly clear that the government had no thought of resorting to conscription for overseas service so long as the voluntary system continued to produce the necessary recruits; also, that we honestly believed the voluntary system would suffice to secure the necessary enlistments for the 1942-43 programme. The government, however, wished to be free, without any breach of faith, to resort to conscription for overseas service should that become necessary to our national security and to the effectiveness of our war effort.

If the bill is amended as proposed, it is not the intention of the government to resort to conscription for service overseas unless circumstances should arise which would render the use of compulsion imperative, such, for example, as the maintenance of the necessary reinforcements for Canada's army overseas.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

In saying this, let me make it equally clear that, having regard to the stage the war has reached, the government is asking parliament now, just as it did at the time of the enactment of the National Resources Mobilization Act, in June, 1940, to give to it the powers it believes it should possess, quite independently of any powers the governor in council may possess under the War Measures Act. The power to which I refer is the power to decide if, when, and to what extent the use of compulsion may be necessary for military service outside Canada and to exercise that power accordingly.

The amendment before the house necessarily opens up the whole question of conscription for overseas service. The government welcomes this opportunity of having the subject debated. Now that the question can be discussed upon its merits, it is well that it should be so discussed. As I pointed out on January 26 in the debate on the address, and again on February 25, in the debate on the plebiscite bill, parliament is the place for that discussion.

With reference to the specific question of enlistment for service overseas, I said, on February 25:

When we find that we cannot raise the required numbers of men for enlistment overseas by the voluntary method, and it is absolutely necessary to raise more men by other methods, then we will make our decision, present it to parliament and have it discussed on its merits.

Unless the question of conscription for overseas service is to be twice debated, that, as I see it, is the stage we have now reached. The government is making its policy with respect to the raising of men for service overseas, fully known. We are presenting that policy to parliament, and, as I have just said, we welcome the opportunity of having the whole question discussed upon its merits.

In order that the government may have the power if required to resort to the compulsory method of raising men for service overseas, if it is found that men in the numbers required cannot be raised by the voluntary method, as well as for the other reasons I have mentioned, the government has reached the decision that it should now ask parliament to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act by the deletion of section 3 of the act.

If the powers for this purpose are to be conferred upon the governor in council at all, it is well they should be given as long as possible in advance of the time at which it may become necessary to exercise them, should it ever become necessary so to do. Also, it will, I think, be generally agreed that discussion on so important a subject should not be left to a time of crisis. As between debating the issue now or later on, obviously the wisdom and advantage is wholly in favour of the earlier moment.

What really is important is that the government's policy should be fully known, presented to parliament, and agreed to by parliament before any action is taken. In this way and in this way only, the people's representatives in parliament can be afforded a full opportunity to discuss the whole subject upon its merits.

While not seeking the deletion of section 3 because of any present need of applying conscription for service overseas, the government is desirous of having the power immediately to move some of the men who have been called up and trained under the National Resources Mobilization Act, to Newfoundland and possibly to other islands in the western hemisphere, and to territories adjacent to Canada, including the territory of the United States. If that power is to be exercised under authority of parliament, apart from the authority contained in the War Measures Act, the section would have to be immediately amended. The amending of the section to any extent would, in the light of discussions that have already taken place, open up the whole question of conscription, and we should have here and now a full debate thereon. As I already have said, I am certain that with war on every side, hon. members of parliament would not wish two debates upon the subject of conscription when one should suffice, and I am even more certain that the people of Canada would not view with patience any such action on the part of their representatives.

There remains the question as to how, should the necessity of resorting to compulsion for service overseas arise, the government proposes to proceed in exercising the powers which parliament may confer. Here, again, the government intends to continue the practice which it has followed under the powers it at present possesses under the National Resources Mobilization Act.

The decision of the governor in council will be communicated to parliament in exactly the same manner as orders and regulations are communicated to parliament under the act as it stands. The procedure, in this particular, is set forth in section 5 of the act, which reads:

5. Every order or regulation passed under the authority of this Act shall be tabled in parliament forthwith if parliament is in session and a copy thereof sent to every member of the House of Commons and of the Senate; and if parliament is not in session, then every such order or regulation shall be forthwith published in the *Canada Gazette* and copies thereof sent to every member of the House of Commons and of the Senate forthwith; provided that any of the steps specified in this section may be omitted or deferred if the governor in council considers such omission or deferment necessary in the national interest having regard to the special circumstances.

Clause 5 was inserted in the mobilization act only after very careful consideration of the situation as it existed at the time the act was passed. It must be apparent that the reasons which governed at that time, as to the procedure to be followed by the administration in exercising the powers given to the governor in council under its provisions, would obtain with equal, if not greater force as the war situation becomes more critical.

I notice that it has been said, that once the amendment is adopted, the decision respecting conscription for overseas service will rest solely with the military authorities. I wish, therefore, to make it wholly clear that action taken under the act as amended, must be authorized by order of the governor in council. In other words the decision will be the decision of the cabinet.

On February 25 I gave to parliament a very clear statement of the factors of which account would be taken by the government in reaching a decision. These were known to the people of Canada at the time they were being asked to give the government a free hand.

Replying to a question of the leader of the opposition as to what the government was going to do in certain eventualities, I said, as reported on page 918 of *Hansard* of February 25, 1942:

Let me answer the question first of all in a broad way. The government is asking the people for a free hand in order that it may do in the circumstances as they may arise what is most in the interests of the people of Canada. We wish to make Canada's war effort as effective as it can possibly be made. What we shall do at any particular time will depend upon the course which we think at the time is necessary and advisable and most effective in Canada's war effort. That decision is not going to be made in the light of any one factor. It is going to be made in the light of all conditions as they exist and as they are known to the government at the time. . . .

And later:

The government is going to do the thing that it believes is going to further to the uttermost Canada's war effort, all circumstances considered. May I say that when I say "all circumstances considered," I have in mind the conditions as they may exist in respect to the war in different theatres and the conditions that may exist in Canada itself.

As to the right thing being done at the right time and in the right way, it seems to

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me that necessarily comes to be a matter of the degree of confidence which parliament and the people have in the administration charged with the responsibilities of carrying on the war.

In most controversies, there are those who take extreme views. They want everything their own way, and if not allowed to have their own way, they begin to threaten and abuse those who venture to hold an opinion contrary to their own. They become impatient even of a consideration of a question upon its merits, or the effect their attitude may have upon the well-being of others.

In national affairs, this sort of attitude is bad enough at any time. In times of war, however, where the preservation of national unity is of first importance to the war effort of the nation, and where the issue is the most controversial in a country's history, the insistence, by any considerable portion of the population, upon an extreme position is almost certain to be fraught with the gravest possible dangers to the state.

Surveying the field of public controversy on the issue of conscription for service overseas, as it has been reflected in the press, and as doubtless it will find expression in this House of Commons, there would appear to be three general views, two of them diametrically opposed. The first is that conscription for service overseas should be inaugurated at once, that nothing less will suffice; the second is that conscription for service overseas should not be inaugurated under any circumstances. In other words, there are some who want conscription for overseas service, and this at once even if it is not necessary; and some who say they won't support conscription for overseas service at any time no matter how necessary it might be to help to save our own country. Each of these is a very extreme view and attitude. Neither extreme, I believe, should be permitted to prevail.

There is, fortunately, a third view—a view which I believe, accords with the opinion most generally held throughout the dominion. It is that conscription for service overseas should be inaugurated only if and when, in the opinion of the government, it becomes necessary to the security of our country and to the maintenance of its war effort. That view is the one which is held by the government. It represents the government's policy with respect to conscription for service overseas. In a word, that policy may be described as not necessarily conscription but conscription if necessary. Considering all relevant circumstances, I submit that no other policy will serve to keep Canada united, or to further Canada's war effort in the manner which, at this time of war, will best serve the interests of Canada, the interests of the British commonwealth of nations, and of the other united nations which are linked together in the common cause of freedom.

Knowing the disastrous effect upon Canada's war effort which a controversy concerning conscription for service overseas would occasion in Canada, to say nothing of the problems to which the enforcement of such a policy might give rise, the government, I need hardly say, has done all in its power to prevent our country from becoming divided over the conscription issue. It has done so without sacrifice in the slightest particular, of any step essential to an all-out effort. It would have been fatal to the unity of Canada for the government to have done otherwise. It lies beyond the power of the government to prevent an issue from arising. But it would be equally fatal for the government not to continue to do all in its power to prevent the issue becoming one which could ever impair the efficiency of our war effort and the magnificent record our country has already achieved, and which every citizen of the dominion is justified in viewing with the utmost pride.

I cannot believe this parliament is going to permit that unity to be destroyed by a political quarrel over a question of the method by which men are to be raised for overseas service. Canada, and Canada's future, is far more vital than any question of conscription. It is not for me to tell any hon. member how he should proceed in presenting the issue to his constituents. I do believe, however, that the issue of conscription for overseas service would soon vanish from the realm of political controversy if those who prefer conscription for service overseas would say to their constituents: "There are thousands of patriotic Canadians who, for reasons that are readily understood, are opposed to conscription for service overseas and that we should be prepared, at this time, to take those reasons into account"; and if those who are opposed to conscription for overseas service would say to their constituents: "I prefer the voluntary system and I will do my utmost to make it work, and I appeal to you to do the same; but, if conscription is ever needed for Canada's sake and for Canada's future, I will not oppose its application."

Both might say to their constituents: "We are fighting this war as one free and united people against an enemy who seeks first to destroy our unity so that later he may take away our freedom and our country itself. In

the face of that terrible danger, we cannot afford to have any differences that it is at all possible to avoid."

In the whole history of the world, no two peoples have ever lived so long in such close association with so little friction as those of French and British descent in Canada. In a century of political union we have built a nation which stretches across half a continent. We have conquered the wilderness. We have achieved great material progress. We all have become deeply attached to one common homeland. We have accomplished miracles in order to help defend our homeland against a ruthless enemy. No one will ever make me believe that in the hour of testing, the achievement of a century is to be imperilled by permitting any issue to arise which might threaten our national unity, and that in the hour of its greatest danger and in the time of gravest crisis for all mankind.

I am sure I need not ask hon. members of this house of all shades of politics and from all parts of Canada to weigh and consider with the utmost wisdom and prudence all that is involved of Canada's present and future in the national aspect of the problem which is now before us. It may well prove to be the most critical of any the parliament of Canada has ever faced.

Lest words of mine might appear to be biased or exaggerated, I should like to quote from an editorial which appeared in the Montreal *Standard* of May 30, and which is entitled "Crisis in Canada." It is but one of a number of editorials which have recently appeared in publications throughout Canada, which sense with clearness the real danger to Canada, should the right attitude not be assumed at this time by all whose responsibility it is to guide our country's present course and help to shape its future destiny. It presents an appeal which I believe will meet with a ready response in this House of Commons, and which I also believe expresses the true spirit of Canada. The editorial reads as follows:

> The Dominion of Canada stands at the most critical hour of its history. Its future as a nation depends on understanding between English and French-speaking Canadians. One cannot make Canada without the other. At the present moment there is a grave danger of a cleft being driven between the two that would not close over for generations.
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> It is not a political situation, a crisis of corridor and caucus. It is a crisis of feeling. And a nation's life depends on the feelings of its people.
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> Only if there is a strong will for understanding on both sides can we come through the difficult times that have arrived. Canada must come first in thought, in action and in words.
>
> English-speaking Canadians must force their minds to understand the background of the thinking of their French-speaking compatriots. They must realize that their fellows in Quebec are intensely loyal to Canada, that they hate the enemy and his works as much as anybody, that they have contributed mightily to the country's war effort. English-speaking Canadians must realize that the hard fact that Canada is fighting for her own survival in this war has not been brought home to French-speaking Canadians and that the lack has been intensified by words and actions not truly Canadian from many individuals; that there is a long history behind the recently expressed opinion of French Canada. They must guard against giving too great weight to extreme elements in Quebec.
>
> French-speaking Canadians in their turn, must grasp that the mass of their fellow countrymen are thinking of Canada, its safety and its future, are not putting other considerations above that of their own nation. They must understand the perils that beset their country, and realize that it is better to keep those dangers as far away from our own shores as possible. They must have forbearance for those who are prejudice-bound on the other side, and see that the feelings of the majority of other Canadians are fundamentally as their own.
>
> If the will to understanding does not grow on both sides, Canada is heading into disaster. If the will swells on both sides, Canada will play her full part in beating back the enemy that seeks her life, and will be assured of a future as a nation worthy of the two great peoples, each retaining their own strengths, united to form a whole that will be an example to the world.

And this brings me, if I may be permitted to do so, to say just a word upon the duty which hon. members owe alike to their constituencies and to Canada as a whole. I know there are some who feel that as a majority in the constituencies they represent voted "Yes" or "No" on the plebiscite, they are under an obligation to take a particular stand in the present debate. I hope I made it sufficiently clear just exactly what it was on which the electors were asked to express and did express their opinion. It is not only the right but it is a duty of hon. members to interpret the view of their constituents, but it is equally a duty in so doing to see that a construction is not placed upon their views which was never, and could never have been intended. There is above all else a duty which every member owes to his constituency and to the country, once he is returned to parliament and that is to exercise all that is possible of reason and judgment in reaching a decision upon questions of supreme national interest and concern.

Here may I ask the house to permit me to cite the opinion of one whom the parliament at Westminster for more than a century and a half has been proud to acknowledge as not

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less outstanding among its authorities on political obligation than as a leader in the art of parliamentary eloquence.

Addressing the electors of Bristol on November 3, 1774, Edmund Burke, in circumstances not dissimilar to those with which hon. members in our own parliament are faced at the present time, made the following declaration, the wisdom of which has been generally accepted by all democratic assemblies from that day to our own.

Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinion high respect; their business unremitted attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfactions, to theirs; and above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But, his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure; no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.

My worthy colleague says, his will ought to be subservient to yours. If that be all, the thing is innocent. If government were a matter of will upon any side, yours, without question, ought to be superior. But government and legislation are matters of reason and judgment, and not of inclination; and what sort of reason is that, in which the determination precedes the discussion; in which one set of men deliberate, and another decide; and where those who form the conclusion are perhaps three hundred miles distant from those who hear the arguments?

In our own country, it might need be three thousand miles.

To deliver an opinion, is the right of all men; that of constituents is a weighty and respectable opinion, which a representative ought always to rejoice to hear; and which he ought always most seriously to consider. But authoritative instructions; mandates issued, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote, and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest conviction of his judgment and conscience—these are things utterly unknown to the laws or this land, and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenour of our constitution.

Parliament is not a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests; which interests each must maintain, as an agent and advocate, against other agents and advocates; but parliament is a deliberative assembly of one nation, with one interest, that of the whole; where, not local purposes, not local prejudices ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the general reason of the whole. You choose a member indeed; but when you have chosen him, he is not a member of Bristol, but he is a member of parliament. If the local constituent should have an interest, or should form a hasty opinion, evidently opposite to the real good of the rest of the community, the member for that place ought to be as far, as any other, from any endeavour to give it effect.

That opinion never carried more weight in any assembly than should be attached to it by this House of Commons as we enter upon the present debate.

I turn now from a consideration of the amendment, as such, to a consideration of the question of conscription for overseas service which it raises. You will recall I stated that the plebiscite had three purposes. The first was that nothing should be allowed to obscure or impair the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort; the second, that the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise in the prosecution of the war; and the third, which has a direct bearing upon the first two, that the government and parliament should not be bound by past commitments, but be free to discuss and decide on its merits the extent of the use of conscription.

The third purpose has already been achieved as a result of the holding of the plebiscite. The government and parliament are no longer bound by past commitments. We are, therefore, in a position to discuss the question of conscription from the point of view of the other two purposes of the plebiscite.

Controversy over the question of conscription has, I believe, obscured the magnitude and balanced nature of Canada's war effort. Unless the controversy can be ended, it will, I believe, impair the efficiency of our war effort.

The policy of the government is and has been the achievement of a total effort for total war.

Let me, therefore, outline briefly, so far only as the mobilization of man-power is concerned, some of the requirements that must be met in order to achieve a total war effort. Until the whole man-power picture is before us, we cannot see what effect the application of conscription for overseas service would have on the achievement of a total effort for total war.

The war programme for the period up to March 31, 1943, was outlined in all its aspects on January 26. That programme, in its objective, represents, in the opinion of the government, a total effort for Canada. By a total effort is meant the utmost effort of which the country is capable. On February 4, the Minister of Finance gave the reasons for believing that the government's war programme for

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1942-43 would constitute the utmost effort of which the country is capable. The minister said:

I believe that the programme which we plan should for the immediate future, the coming year, be a programme which will strain the human and material resources of this country to the limit. I have, therefore, agreed as Minister of Finance, to a war programme for the coming fiscal year which, in my opinion, and in the opinion of my advisers, is the extreme limit of what this country can do, having in mind its human and material resources.

By a total effort is also meant an effort so balanced in all its aspects that no essential task will be left undone because a disproportionate effort is devoted to some other task.

The achievement of a total effort involves much more than the raising of large numbers of men. It involves the most effective use of all the available resources of the nation, material as well as human.

The mobilization of human resources, of man-power and woman-power, for a total war effort is far more complicated than is yet generally realized. It is not merely a question of raising men for the army, which was the main problem in the last war.

It should not be forgotten that Canada has only 11½ million people, of whom a considerable proportion are children or old people who cannot engage in active war service. From our limited population we must provide:

1. Men and women to perform the essential services without which life could not go on: such as the manufacture and distribution of the necessaries of life, essential transportation over great distances, and the production of food for our own people.

2. Men and women to produce food, not only for our own people and our own armed forces, but also to help feed the people of Britain and other allied countries which cannot produce all the food they need for themselves.

3. Men and women to produce the machines and munitions of war for Canada, for Britain, and for the other united nations.

4. Men and women for service in all three of the armed forces.

All these man-power needs must be satisfied from one man-power pool. It is important always to remember that the total man-power is limited. If too many men are taken from one service there will not be enough left for some other service. All man-power demands must be kept in balance.

When asked in the House of Commons last November what was the ultimate objective of man-power which it was hoped Canada would contribute, the Minister of National Defence replied, quoting words of my own, that Canada was determined to contribute "to the utmost of her strength". The minister added these significant words: "By an all-out contribution, I am not talking about divisions alone; I am not talking merely of squadrons, of ships, of production, of finance; I am talking about a balanced programme which represents the very best and most that Canada can do. That is the ultimate objective." That, may I say, is the ultimate objective as I also understand it.

It should also be remembered that the demand for man-power is continuous. The armed forces require reinforcements, and will continue to require them until the war is ended. As still more war plants come into production there is a growing demand for labour to man them. Labour is also required for the construction of defence works, such as airports, coastal defences, military highways, et cetera, many of which on a wide scale have become increasingly urgent because of war in the Pacific. There is a limit to the numbers of men who can be drained from the farms and from essential services without paralyzing the life of the community. The government must take account of all these factors in planning and organizing the mobilization of man-power.

A vigorous effort, as I have pointed out, has been made to identify conscription for overseas service in the army with a total effort for total war. The fact that it is conscription for the army, rather than for the navy or for the air force, which is made the symbol of a total war effort shows clearly that its advocates continue to think more in terms of the last war than of the present war.

I should like, therefore, to indicate the proportions of the problem of mobilizing the men for the army enlisted for service anywhere in relation to the total problem of man-power mobilization.

On February 10, the Minister of National Defence stated that the estimated man-power requirements of the army, for service anywhere, from January 1, 1942, to March 31, 1943, a period of fifteen months, were 90,000 to 100,000 men. Of that number over 50,000 had enlisted by the end of May. That is in a period of only five months. These figures show clearly that, at the present time, the voluntary system of recruitment is functioning adequately.

In the same period of fifteen months it is estimated that 13,000 men will be required for the navy, and from 70,000 to 80,000 for the air force, a total roughly equal to the estimate

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of the number required for the army for service anywhere overseas. There is, however, no suggestion that Canada is not making a total effort because the men for the navy and the air force are not raised by compulsion.

It is also estimated that, in the present year, at least 100,000 additional men and women will be needed in war industry. It is not suggested that these men and women must be recruited by compulsion in order to achieve a total war effort.

It is surely time that we began to call things by their right names. The total mobilization of man-power means the most effective use of all the men and women available: it has nothing whatever to do with the method by which that mobilization is achieved.

When it is realized that at the beginning of the present year some 600,000 men and women were directly engaged in war industry, and that by the end of the year the number will probably exceed 700,000; when it is realized that up to the end of May of the present year, over half a million men had already enlisted in the three armed forces for service anywhere in the world, and that enlistments in all three services are continuing at a satisfactory rate; when it is further realized that thousands more who have been recruited by the compulsory method are serving in home defence units and that their numbers are growing every month; when to these are added the hundreds of thousands of men who are necessarily employed in essential heavy industry, in construction, on the railways, on the farms and as merchant sailors, it is surely apparent that Canada is rapidly moving towards the total mobilization of man-power for a total war effort.

In order to assist in shifting the man-power and woman-power of the nation as largely as possible from civilian activities into the various forms of war service, the government instituted, some months ago a flexible and comprehensive scheme of national selective service. In this scheme voluntary and compulsory features have both been incorporated.

The government does not propose to resort to compulsion simply for the sake of compulsion. Compulsion has not been made an end in itself. It is only in the dictator states, and in the countries they have conquered, and which for the time being are under their control, that compulsion is made an end in itself, as well as a means to an end. Here, in Canada, we, thus far, have had resort to compulsion only where, all circumstances considered, it was believed that compulsory means would contribute to a greater total effort. There has, for example been no need of compulsion to secure all the men who can be taken into the navy, or to secure all the men required for the air force. No one has suggested that the application of conscription would be desirable in order to raise men for either of these services. Compulsion has not been required to raise the men needed for the active army which is enlisted for service anywhere in the world. There has so far been no need of industrial conscription to provide the workmen required for war industry.

For the armed forces, compulsion is, of course, applied, and, since October, 1940, has been applied for service in the army for the territorial defence of Canada. The decision, announced on March 25, to mobilize the 7th and 8th divisions has considerably increased the demand for man-power for home defence service. This demand is being increasingly met by resort to compulsory training and service.

In a war for the preservation of freedom, it might well be asked how can the use of compulsion be justified in any aspects of the war effort

The reason for resorting to compulsion of any kind in the prosecution of the war is set out in formal language in section 2 of the National Resources Mobilization Act which empowers the governor in council to require "persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty in the right of Canada, as may be deemed necessary and expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of Canada, the maintenance of public order, or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies or services essential to the life of the community."

Translated into the language of the man in the street, that means that the government has the power to conscript any property, any wealth, or the services of any individual in Canada, whenever they are needed to make Canada stronger to resist attack, and to help Canada to do its full share to defeat the enemy.

Compulsion, in any form, should be used in the war effort only if it will make Canada stronger, and add to Canada's part in winning the war. Here let me repeat that compulsion is regarded by the government, not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. That end is a total war effort.

As I pointed out to the house in my statement on national selective service:

> In those aspects of our war effort in which voluntary methods are working satisfactorily, voluntary selection including a measure of choice by the individual of the appropriate field of service, has been and will be continued. The more expensive and complicated methods of compulsion have been employed, only where it is felt that compulsory selection is necessary in order to increase efficiency in the prosecution of the war. Compulsion, however, will be applied without fear or favour wherever in the opinion of the government its use will aid in the achievement of a maximum war effort.

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The application of conscription to service in the army overseas is only one aspect of the far wider question of the use of compulsion to secure an all-out war effort.

The next question is: Would the application of conscription to military service overseas at the present time make Canada stronger, or add to Canada's war effort?

How could resort to conscription for overseas service add to our war effort? The one way, in which so far as I can see, it might add to our war effort, would be by securing more men for service in the army overseas than can be secured by voluntary means.

If the size of the overseas army was unlimited; if we did not require men urgently for other purposes as well as for the army; there might be a possibility of increasing the total war effort by conscripting men for the overseas army.

But the fact is we can only spare a limited proportion of our total man-power for the army overseas. In addition to our army overseas, we need men for a great and growing army which must be kept in Canada or in the adjacent territories for the defence of our home base, and for the joint defence of this continent in cooperation with the forces of the United States. The torpedoing in recent weeks, by German submarines, of ships in the waters of the St. Lawrence, and the destruction since the beginning of the year of many vessels off the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the attack upon the Aleutian islands by Japanese ships and planes, the growing submarine menace in the Pacific, should surely have made it plain to everyone that apart from our forces overseas we need men for a great and growing air force and navy and for a much larger army, to be employed in the immediate protection of our own coasts and territory. We need men for our war industries which are still expanding. Our farms and essential civilian services cannot be left without man-power. The total man-power of the nation must be divided up among all these services.

What is the position of the Canadian army in regard to man-power?

The units already overseas are up to strength and adequate reinforcements are available. The new units, destined for overseas service, are being rapidly recruited by voluntary enlistment. Additional volunteers, enlisting for service anywhere in the world, are adding steadily to the numbers available for reinforcements.

The units destined for home defence service, recently increased in number, are formed or are being formed partly of volunteers and partly of men called up for compulsory military service.

Men are being called up for compulsory training and service as fast as they can be trained and equipped. These men receive the same training, in the same camps, as volunteers.

Clearly there are no grounds for asserting that compulsion is needed at the present time to secure the men required for service in the army overseas. There is nothing to indicate that its application now would add anything to Canada's total contribution to the winning of the war.

Here may I quote a second significant statement made by the Minister of Finance, on February 4. It is equally relevant to-day:

> One issue between the government and its more sincere opponents seems to me to be this: Will the continuation of the voluntary system for overseas service, at least for the time being—we have the compulsory system in many other lines of the war activity—make for a greater success in our programme than would its abandonment? I wish to say that neither as a member of the government nor as a member of the war committee of the cabinet, nor otherwise, have I been able to find any evidence that the abandonment of the voluntary system and the substitution of the compulsory system in respect to that part of our war effort represented by overseas army service would help at this moment in our war effort.
>
> Surely no one can deny that the voluntary system to date has functioned magnificently. In what single respect has it fallen down? Any question as to the success of the voluntary system for overseas service is not as to its success at the moment but as to its success in the future.

There is, I know, a widespread feeling that the voluntary system is unfair because it is thought to mean that the willing men see their duty and do it, while the unwilling hang back and evade their share of the burden and sacrifice of war. This is a perfectly natural feeling.

To bring about greater equality of service at a time of war, there might be, there certainly would be, justification for the immediate introduction of a system of compulsory service, if such a system were not already in existence. Compulsory service for the whole of Canada, over the whole of Canada is already a part of the law of the land. And make no mistake about it, the government is determined, as far as is humanly possible, to make sure that every able-bodied man

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undertakes some form of direct war service. It may be on the farm; it may be in the factory; it may be in the forest or the mine; or it may be in the armed forces. But all must serve somewhere, and to achieve that end compulsion, where needed, will be employed.

There are some, I know, who believe conscription should be applied universally whether it is needed or not. There are others who believe equally strongly and equally sincerely that Canada can achieve a greater total effort by reliance, as far as possible, upon voluntary methods.

The government has accepted neither view in its entirety. It is our policy to use whichever of the two methods we believe, all factors considered, will give the best results.

The government has encouraged and intends to continue to encourage voluntary service in the armed forces, as well as in a host of other voluntary activities which are contributing to Canada's all-out effort. The government intends also to use compulsory selective service measures to the utmost limit required to ensure not only an adequate supply of recruits for the army, but also to provide, as far as possible, an adequate supply of man-power for all phases of our total war effort.

But what conceivable object would be served by resorting to conscription for service overseas, not because men in sufficient numbers were not available under voluntary enlistment, but just in order to employ the compulsory rather than the voluntary method of enlistment? There are those who ask why the willing men should be sent, while the unwilling are allowed to stay at home. That is a question which should be answered. Because of our small population, Canada's army overseas can never be a very large army and every Canadian should want it to be the best army possible. It is no military secret that willing men make better soldiers, on the average, than those who are compelled to serve. Moreover, the army overseas is composed entirely of volunteers. Its spirit and morale will undoubtedly be higher if its reinforcements are also volunteers.

Why, some also ask, should volunteers be sent into danger while men called up for compulsory service remain in safety in Canada? From the beginning of the war, I have stressed both tasks of the Canadian army. On the one hand, it must help to defeat the enemy abroad; on the other it must defend our own and neighbouring territory. Events to-day are showing us clearly that the second task may in the course of time, and that in no distant future, become exceedingly dangerous. If there were no danger, there would be no need of any army in Canada!

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

The army must employ the volunteers in some theatre; it must also employ the men called up for compulsory service. Surely it is only common sense to avoid any excuse for controversy, and consequent weakening of our total effort, by allowing those who volunteer for service anywhere to proceed overseas, so long as they are available. To reverse the process would certainly not increase our total effort.

Apart altogether from any consideration of the sharp cleavage of opinion in Canada on the question of actually resorting to conscription for service overseas, there can be no argument that Canada will have a better army overseas, if it can continue to be maintained and reinforced by volunteers.

There is one other observation I should like to make, and I make it because I know it is very much in the hearts and minds of many of those who have volunteered for service overseas. It is that an outstanding feature of Canada's war effort is that everyone who has contributed and is at present contributing his services overseas has done so voluntarily. That is something that should never be forgotten. It is a record which all Canada may well view with pride and, if at all possible, it should be maintained. It embodies all that is noblest and finest in the spirit of our young country. It is the particular pride of every man who has volunteered for service overseas whether he be in the army, the navy, the air force, or, in the latest of our volunteer forces, the Canadian corps of fire-fighters to Great Britain.

I doubt if we have yet begun to realize how much Canada's reputation has grown in other parts of the world because, at the outbreak of war, Canada decided of her own free will to participate in the struggle. I do not believe that we appreciate how much is added to Canada's strength in the eyes of the world by the fact that every man serving overseas in the armed forces of Canada is there of his own free will and at the dictates of his own conscience. It is the glory of Canada that we rallied freely and at once to the call of freedom. If we can, to the end, without aught of sacrifice to the common cause, maintain overseas our free participation in the common struggle for freedom, Canada and the gallant young men who have freely offered their lives will preserve that honour and that glory for all time. Surely, this is no unworthy ambition for the people of Canada.

It cannot be denied that the issue of conscription for service overseas is the most controversial issue that has arisen in Canada since confederation. That, I think, will be generally admitted. At any rate, if there is an issue that has occasioned more dissension

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in Canada; that has left a greater legacy of suspicion and distrust; that has inflicted a deeper wound in the side of the nation, I should like to be told what it is, for I confess I do not know. The knowledge of this fact caused the leaders of all political parties and others who had the unity of the country at heart, before the outbreak of war, and when Canada entered the war, to see to it that this issue was kept in the background. On all sides, an honest effort was made to see that it should not be permitted to arise. That attitude was maintained in public discussions throughout the general elections of 1940, and I am happy to say up to just about a year ago.

I do not propose to go at this time into the reasons which have since occasioned a change of attitude on the part of some. I readily admit that it may have been due in part to the changed character and world-wide scope of the war. Indeed one of the purposes of the plebiscite, as I have so frequently said was to make the way clear for a consideration, on its merits, of the question of conscription, in the light of the changed conditions.

When Canada entered what, in September, 1939, most people believed was going to be "just another European war," it was recognized if the war were not successfully ended, our national security would be menaced. But very few contemplated a war which might come to threaten our national existence. That is the position Canada is in to-day. We are engaged with the other free nations of the world in a war of survival.

The fact that the war has reached world embracing proportions; that there is combat on every ocean; and that there is certain to be conflict on every continent; that Canada is by no means exempt from the possibility of attack, at any moment, and even of invasion, are not reasons why the government should abandon a policy based upon considerations of the preservation of national unity. It is the strongest of reasons why the government should give the most careful consideration to all possible consequences of any change of policy which might result in division and a weakening of national unity.

I doubt if any of us begin to realize how grave the responsibility has become of determining the disposition of the country's armed forces, as a consequence of the changed conditions resulting from the entry of Japan into the war. Immediate danger no longer threatens Canada only from the east. It threatens equally from the west. Let that danger assume formidable proportions, and I ask what will be said of a government, or for that matter, of a parliament, or of a press, that continues to look only across the Atlantic to one enemy against which this country has to be protected, and fails to recognize that the strategy of the combined enemy forces may well involve an attack at any moment from across the Pacific.

In deciding upon the disposition of the armed forces, the government has to consider from day to day, just what proportion of its forces our country is justified in sending overseas, and what proportion it is necessary to keep at home. That question has had to be considered from the outbreak of war but, until Japan entered the war, it did not begin to have the importance it has now come to have.

It is perfectly clear that the enemy will have to be destroyed overseas if this continent is not to be the field of the final conflict, or possibly even an immediate field of conflict, with Canada the scene of the first invasion. It is equally true that in the event of an attack, come when it may, and from whichever direction it may, unless we have forces adequately equipped, and trained in sufficient numbers to prevent the enemy from getting a foothold upon our soil, our entire national existence will be imperilled. While we must continue to do all we possibly can to assist in accomplishing the defeat of the enemy away from our shores, we must also be in constant readiness to meet and hold him at bay should he attempt an attack upon our shores. What guarantee have we that the enemy having begun to destroy shipping off the coasts of the maritime provinces, in the gulf of St. Lawrence and in the river itself, and having attempted to gain a base for operations against the Pacific coast, we may not witness at any moment bombing of our harbours and cities alike on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and attempts to destroy railway terminals and facilities, munition plants, aerodromes and other military targets in any part of the country.

With those possibilities before our very eyes, and let me tell this house as I have told the country time and again, they are possibilities which are by no means remote, can we afford to allow any question of conscription to become the occasion of a political battle in parliament, or of political warfare throughout the country; can we allow the country itself to become distracted by and divided over such an issue? Surely the only reasonable course to take in dealing with this question is to leave to the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, to decide what disposition it may be best to make between the forces to be sent abroad and those that are

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to be kept at home, and what means it may be necessary to take to keep up the strength of the armed forces which are already overseas.

The people of Canada have clearly indicated their desire that freedom to decide on these matters should be given to the government, subject only to its responsibility to parliament. It is that freedom which, by the amendment, the government asks should now be given to it by parliament.

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, in the remarks I propose to make this afternoon I shall proceed in a manner contrary to the example set by the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King). I hope to be as brief as possible, and yet cover most of the aspects of the question now before parliament. However, since I cannot promise to conclude before six o'clock, and since I would desire to be relieved of the obligation imposed upon me of concluding before the adjournment, this being a short day, I would ask the indulgence of hon. members to be permitted to speak for a few minutes after six o'clock, if necessary. I should like to conclude to-day, rather than move the adjournment of the debate.

The speech of the Prime Minister this afternoon and the bill at present under discussion constitute the answer of the government and the Prime Minister to the overwhelming mandate given by the people of Canada in the plebiscite. I have listened with undivided attention to the speech of the right hon. gentleman this afternoon, and I confess at once that it left me cold, and will send a chill of disillusionment down the spine of all loyal Canadians who believed that once the moral limitation so strongly stressed by the Prime Minister in his speeches in this house during the debate on the plebiscite bill, and more particularly in his broadcast addresses, was lifted, the Prime Minister would practice total war in deed and in truth.

Instead, we are told that while the government is freed from its self-imposed vow, it has no present intention to put into immediate effect the objectives which the great mass of affirmative voters believed would be government policy. Indeed they may never be put into effect at all. We are told that should conscription be decided upon, the government will not return to parliament with any new measure, or for any new debate on the principle. That, I submit, is skilful political strategy—just such strategy as we should expect from the right hon. gentleman, who, above everything else, desires to preserve his political position.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

Such a position is based on the policy of political expediency which has been characteristic of government policy with respect to the principle of complete national selective service ever since war was declared. It is the same old policy of appeasement—a game which the Prime Minister has played to the limit, with the avowed purpose of maintaining national unity, but which, correctly interpreted in practice, means unity of the Liberal party, and nothing else.

At this time in our history I say that policy has failed, and to-day as a result of the Prime Minister's own political strategy, this nation is more divided than at any time in its history. The Prime Minister's speech, and the attitude which he has taken with respect to conscription remind me of those lines in Gilbert and Sullivan's comic opera, "Utopia Limited", in which the princess presented the distinguished barrister, Sir Bailey Barre, Q.C., M.P., to her father, the kind, in three words:

A complicated gentleman allow me to present,
Of all the arts and faculties the terse embodiment,
He's a great arithmetician who can demonstrate with ease
That two and two are three, or five, or anything you please;
An eminent Logician who can make it clear to you
That black is white—when looked at from the proper point of view;
A marvellous philologist who'll undertake to show
That "yes" is but another and a neater form of "no".

Those eight lines describe the Prime Minister's attitude and action more accurately and aptly than any words of mine could do.

At the outset, I desire to make it plain that I do not intend to discuss the merits or demerits of conscription this afternoon beyond saying that I believe in the principle. However, I desire to make some observations with respect to the result of the plebiscite. By a vote of approximately two to one in the aggregate, and by eight provinces to one in terms of geographical subdivisions, the people of Canada have given release to the Prime Minister and his government from the commitment which he and they made to the electors in 1940.

Mr. GARDINER: And the opposition.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I gave no commitment. The hon. gentleman can speak only for himself, not for me.

Mr. MACKENZIE (Vancouver Centre): Your leader did.

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Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Eighty per cent of the voters in eight provinces voted in the affirmative.

The result achieved was by no manner of means accomplished solely through the efforts of the Prime Minister and his colleagues. It was brought about by the united effort of Canadian citizens of every shade of political opinion.

We, of the opposition, disliked and deplored the procedure of the plebiscite; we felt irked at the position into which we were thrust; but, recognizing a patriotic duty, we laboured unitedly to achieve an affirmative result. In assuming that attitude, I know we did the right thing—the patriotic thing; and I believe we contributed mightily to the result.

If ever there was an occasion upon which a political party placed the interests of the country before party, it was when the Conservative party—with, I am convinced, but few dissenters—went into the constituencies across Canada, and organized and counselled the people to rise above party considerations and make a decisive affirmative vote possible. The Conservative party, as a whole, will forever have that to its credit.

I do not propose to enter into any detailed analysis of the plebiscite vote. Much has been said and written as to its significance. One thing I shall say: I regret more deeply than I can express the action of certain portions of our fellow-countrymen in voting contrary to the decisive and overwhelming expression of public opinion registered in eight provinces of Canada. The causes for that action can be assessed at another time, I do not propose to enter into a discussion of that now. The regrettable fact, clearly apparent from the vote, is that we have not, at this most critical juncture, complete national unity in Canada. That fact cannot be avoided; nor should we flinch from it.

But in the result of the vote there is no implication that this country should not do its full duty at this time. On the contrary, there are unmistakable signs that the people of Canada want decisive and immediate affirmative action.

Let there be no mistake about the will of the people as reflected by the plebiscite. Any effort to make it appear that the affirmative vote was nothing more than a release of the government and of parliament is not facing the facts as expressed at the polls. When the government is freed from its pledges, which release has been secured on the terms which the government itself defined, the very act which frees the government and makes compulsory service at home and abroad the law of the land. That law of the land must be given effect to—are we to have a law and leave it on the shelf?—if not by this government, then by some other government. The will of the people must be respected. It is not what we thought but what the people thought when they voted "yes". What justification is there for establishing a principle if the constituted authority does not give effect to it?

We live, thank God, in a democracy where it is recognized that the will of the majority, as expressed at the polls, must prevail. That is the democratic course; that is the course which is essential if this nation is to survive. And that is the course counselled and urged by the public men who were the predecessors of my hon. friends opposite, the leaders of the Liberal party in this house a generation ago.

Recently I have reviewed the debates in this house in 1917 on the Military Service Act. During the course of those debates, Sir Wilfrid Laurier pleaded that the Military Service Act should be submitted to the people by way of a referendum. Here are his words, as reported in *Hansard* of June 18, 1917:

. . . in British countries there is only one way, and the sovereign way, of meeting all these differences. It is to appeal to the country and to appeal to the whole country, not to one section, but to all sections, and when the country has pronounced then the question is settled and all must submit to the law.

Then I call particular attention to this passage:

When the consultation with the people has been had, when the verdict has been pronounced, I pledge my word, my reputation, that to the verdict, such as it is, every man will submit, and I claim to speak at least so far as is concerned the province from which I come.

On the same day, June 18, 1917, Hon. Charles Marcil, a gentleman whom I was glad to call my friend in former years, a previous Speaker of this house, is reported at page 2431 of the same *Hansard* as saying:

. . . I am prepared to submit to the verdict of the people loyally no matter what that verdict is because in British governed countries when the people have spoken we must submit to their verdict.

Another former speaker of this house, a former cabinet minister, and a leader of the Liberal party in the province of Quebec, Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, added his voice in these words, to be found at page 2497 of *Hansard* of that year:

. . . If a referendum is taken, whether it goes for or against conscription, the French Canadians . . . will abide by the verdict of the majority . . . will obey the law and fight the battles of Canada as valiently as their fellowmen of a different race and a different creed.

I have referred to these debates in the hope that public men of this day will take the same stand, and will give to the people the same counsel and guidance.

May I pause briefly to beseech my compatriots in this country who are of French ancestry not to occupy an isolationist position. I ask them this question, and I do it with the utmost good will: Have you thought this matter through to the end? I fear not. I beg them while there is yet time to pause and think this thing clear through.

I come now to consideration of the principle of the measure before the house. Right at the outset, let us, squarely and honestly, face the facts. If there be any member of this house, or if there be any person in this country, who ever believed that, on the passage of this bill, the principle of selective national service for overseas will be put into immediate practice or operation, let me at once hasten to undeceive him. Such was never the intention of the ministry opposite, and such is not apparent from the observations of the Prime Minister to-day.

From the correspondence between the Prime Minister and the hon. member for Richelieu-Vercheres (Mr. Cardin) it is abundantly clear that such is not the intention and may never become the fact. I confess that the whole situation fills me with a sense of futility and unreality, a feeling which has not disappeared with the Prime Minister's statement this afternoon. At each stage I have been puzzled and bewildered as to what were the government's real intentions. You will recall that there have been four stages in connection with this matter; since the Prime Minister introduced the mobilization bill in June, 1940, we have had four homeopathic doses of conscription. Anyone who understands what I mean by homeopathic will know how small and meagre the doses are.

In his letter of May 9 to the Prime Minister, the former Minister of Transport, the hon. member for Richelieu-Vercheres, speaks of the bill as being the "new policy of the government," and in his reply the Prime Minister states: "There has, however, been no change of policy. No new policy has been adopted." My interpretation is that it is one step further, a continuation of a policy that was started two years ago and has now reached fruition save and except for one step which can come any time by the will and whim of the Prime Minister and the ministry. It is an extension of policy if it is not a new policy. When I arrive at that conclusion I ask myself, What then are we confronted with, and at what conclusions can we arrive,

when two men who have participated in all the secret discussions which preceded this bill, differ as to its meaning and significance?

If the Prime Minister is correct, can anyone assert that this bill is anything more than shadow-boxing or window-dressing, or worse—procrastination?

If there has been no change in government policy I ask this question: Why does a trusted colleague of the Prime Minister resign his position in the cabinet?

The policy of this government, the policy of the Liberal party over twenty-five years, has been that under no circumstances—and I emphasize that—under no circumstances whatsoever should men be compulsorily drafted for service overseas. I think everyone within sound of my voice will agree with that statement. Certainly the hon. member for Richelieu-Vercheres (Mr. Cardin) will agree. He has been one of the most outstanding proponents of that policy, and I am sure he will not deny it. I am sure he will assert it on the floor of this house when he comes to speak in this debate.

If you, sir, and the members of this house want any corroboration of the assertion I have just made, regarding the policy of this government and of the Liberal party under the leadership of the right hon. gentleman for nearly twenty-five years, I have only to refer to the letter written a few days ago by the hon. Minister of Justice (Mr. St. Laurent) to an officer of a political association in his own constituency, in which will be found this statement:

> There is no intention for the time being to bring in conscription for overseas service, and I am sure that the present government would bring in such a measure only if it were absolutely necessary for our own salvation.

Note the words "for our own salvation"—not for world salvation, not for the salvation of the united nations, not for the salvation of democracy and Christian civilization and all the ideals for which we are fighting—no, for our own salvation. What a narrow, limited—I was almost going to say unworthy vision is there, my countrymen!

Further on in the same letter the minister wrote:

> I stated that I would be true to Mr. King as long as he was true to himself and to his record.

Is there anyone in this house who will say that when the minister wrote those words he did not know what was in the Prime Minister's mind? Is there anyone who does not know what that record is, and that the letter is a true interpretation of that record? Well, the

record speaks for itself. True, the tragedy of events has driven the Prime Minister step by step a long way until to-day we are to have the full and complete principle of compulsory national service on the statute book—compulsion not only for service of man-power overseas but in every other sphere of human activity. When this bill passes, the full principle of compulsion for everything will be the law of this country—make no mistake about that.

I desire now to return to a consideration of the bill. The Prime Minister has sought and secured from the people of Canada release from the restrictive policy enunciated in June, 1940—two long years ago. He now seeks full freedom from parliament.

It is true that this bill merely repeals the limitations imposed by the restrictive clauses of the act itself. That is all. But in law it means much more than that. As amended—and I want hon. gentlemen to mark these words—the National Resources Mobilization Act will be, in express terms and as an instrument of war policy, complete authority to the government to draft men and all the material resources of the nation and to utilize them for prosecuting total war, without let, hindrance or restriction. That is what it will mean. In a word, by virtue of all the legislation on the statute books—the Militia Act, the War Measures Act, and, when this bill is enacted, the National Resources Mobilization Act—the government of this country will be free to wage total war by total effort without any limitations whatsoever and to carry out in practice what is advocated in theory.

Mr. FRASER (Northumberland, Ont.): You would agree with that.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I am stating what the legal position is and what effects will flow from it. The government will be clothed with the most complete and plenary powers, that parliament can delegate. That is the legal position. No democratic government in the world will possess greater powers.

Mr. McNEVIN: What is wrong with that?

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I am not suggesting that there is anything wrong with it. I hope the hon. gentleman will keep quiet and allow me to proceed. The government will then have at its hand complete authority to draft the man-power of this country for service in any and every capacity and in any and every theatre of war or other activity relative to the war. There is no manner of doubt about that. So, after thirty-two months of war, this government, under the leadership of the right hon. the Prime Minister, will have clothed itself with the full power of conscription of man-power for service in any and every theatre of war. This government has espoused the policy of conscription of man-power for service anywhere. That is the fact.

But whether the government will put those powers into full operation at once is quite another matter. While the man-power of this country will then be subject to compulsory service in any theatre of war, it does not follow that they will be sent now—in fact, it is quite clear that that will not follow—or in the immediate future or indeed at any time to any theatre of war beyond the territorial limits of this continent. In other words, it is one thing to have the power, and it is quite another thing to exercise that power. The government has that power; but it has given no indication that it will exercise it. In fact, it has indicated that it will not exercise that power and really wage total war with total effort now or at any other time.

From the Prime Minister's statement that there has been no change of policy, we can only understand that once he has secured full freedom from parliament he proposes to hold fast to his old policy, and not to use that freedom under any circumstances. Undoubtedly it is not the intention of the government to exercise the power which will be conferred upon them in the national interest and in the interest of total war. If this be government policy—and I think it is—then I suggest to this house and to the country that this bill is meaningless, that it is a snare and a delusion.

Let us have from the Prime Minister, instead of this battle of words that we heard this afternoon, a full and frank statement of the future course of the government. Let them say they will or they won't. That is what the people of this country want to know. There will be a roar go up in this country from one end to the other at this policy of appeasement.

Do they propose—I ask this question direct—to exercise the powers which this bill will give them, or don't they—yes or no? Let us know where they stand, and not continue to straddle the fence after thirty-two months of war.

Mr. ROWE: Or have another plebiscite.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Yes, or have another plebiscite. If then they propose to use them, when and under what circumstances and conditions do they propose to use them? What are the future prospects and potentialities? Without a complete and rounded statement from the Prime Minister

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of Canada's future war policy in this regard this house is left completely in the dark, and we are voting a blind confidence in the government.

One of the most significant of the Prime Minister's statements in his reply to his former colleague is this:

> Already it is desirable to extend the scope of service under the National Resources Mobilization Act to other parts of this continent and adjacent islands.

This statement was not then expanded, but it would appear therefrom that the position with which we are confronted to-day is that as soon as this bill is passed, action will be taken to dispatch men drafted for service to parts of this continent outside Canada and to adjacent islands. Indeed under order in council P.C. 4105 passed on May 15, authority has been granted to use two units on prisoner-of-war duty in the United States. But apparently for the time being no action will be taken to utilize the full legal and moral powers of the government to dispatch men compulsorily drafted to battle positions outside this continent.

Here then is what the position appears to be. In June, 1940, we had local conscription, and for a limited period of time—thirty days. What a farce it was! Then we had local conscription for four months—that was the second step—and still later for an unlimited period of time. Now and for some indefinite period in the future we are to have continental conscription. And then, finally, some day—we are uncertain as to when it will be, if ever—we may have full compulsory selective service for any and every theatre of war. It is going to take five bites at this thing, five different homeopathic doses, before we arrive at total war under the right hon. gentleman. If that is not playing the game of expediency, I do not know what is.

Mr. ROWE: "Wait and see".

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): If that is giving the lead to the people of Canada, then God forbid we should have any more leads of that kind. It is utter lack of leadership on a great principle at a time of national emergency. The government is only temporizing. Expediency, not principle, is still the guiding star of this administration.

In his reply to his former colleague the Prime Minister spoke again, as he did in his radio broadcasts, of the false impressions created in other nations by reason of the restrictions upon our man-power, and he gave this as a reason why the mobilization act should be amended. Undoubtedly he was referring particularly to the United States.

I ask this question: Does the Prime Minister intend to assert that the mere repeal of the limiting sections of the mobilization act, without the full utilization of the powers which such appeal will confer, will remove those so-called false impressions? He knows they will not.

The reason for the impressions which unfortunately do exist in the United States regarding our war effort is not found in any legal restrictions on our power to send draftees outside of Canada. These impressions exist because of the fact that we do not send men outside of Canada. The people of the United States are interested only in the facts of the situation; they are interested in what we do, not what we profess. The fact remains, apparently, that we will not dispatch outside this continent men raised by compulsory methods. Surely our position will become even more incomprehensible to the people of the United States. They know now that the people of Canada, by an overwhelming vote, have given the government freedom, absolute and full to send drafted men anywhere, and they are confronted with the spectacle of the government apparently refusing to utilize that freedom. How can any average citizen of the United States come to any other conclusion but that the people of Canada are ready enough for an all-out effort in every theatre of war, but that the government of Canada still holds back? That is a true statement of the position. Rather than removing this false impression to which the Prime Minister alluded, his actions are only intensifying and confirming those impressions in the United States and in the other united nations. If we are to place the weight and importance upon the opinions of the citizens of other nations which the Prime Minister urged us to do in his broadcasts, surely he himself does not by his actions carry out his argument.

I come now to another aspect of this matter. This measure, without any indication of action proposed thereunder, perpetuates the anomaly of two armies. At this most critical juncture can we afford the anomaly of two armies, one of which is free to serve in any theatre of war while the other may be sent only to positions on the North American continent or islands adjacent thereto? Can we afford the duplication which the existence of these two types of army recruits involves? Surely now, if ever, is the time to do away with the sham and hypocrisy raised by isolationist theories. Surely now is the time to create one powerful striking force capable of operating in any theatre of war in which it may best be utilized.

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Back of the government's policy is the selective service programme announced by the Prime Minister on March 24 last. I have indicated to the house my views with respect to that programme, and I shall not reiterate my arguments here. In my view that programme is the back-door approach to selective service. It bears no resemblance to the true principles of selective service. It is unworthy of a proud nation. The whole basis is "enlist or starve". It is the indirect, the hesitant, the faltering method, not the open, clear-cut, direct method calculated and designed to bring into full operation the true principle of selective service, which means simply the allotment of each person to the task for which he is best fitted. That is the true principle of selective service.

I appeal to the government to adopt the direct method, boldly to take the honest course, not the back-door and indirect method, and to bring into operation a true and worthy system of compulsory selective service without limitation or restriction. I appeal to them to abandon, to cast aside these palliatives, these hesitant steps, these half measures, these appeasement policies—for that is all they are. I urge them in all earnestness to institute at once a firm, courageous straightforward policy, a policy designed to ensure that each citizen of this country shall render to the full that war service for which he or she is best qualified. The nation will support that. Surely in our progress to and attainment of full nationhood we have been led past the unsteady, creeping, faltering stages of our existence. Surely the Canadian people have given ample proof of their ability to stand firm, and of their willingness—yes, their eagerness—boldly and fearlessly to march forward to meet and overcome, wherever he may be found, the enemy who threatens to destroy not only their security but the security of all Christian civilization. What we need to-day, as we have needed all along, is courageous national leadership. We have never had it since the war began.

As in the past, my position to-day is that a full, all-out effort on the part of Canada is possible only if all the material resources and man-power of the nation are fully mobilized, without restrictions of any kind. I believe now, as I have believed from the outset, that the highest efficiency in carrying out such a programme can be guaranteed only by the establishment of a truly national government, a government composed of the best men in Canada, representative of all shades of opinion, but united by a common and single purpose—the waging of total war by total effort. I have urged this view many times in this house. I emphatically reiterate it to-day. More than ever am I convinced that unity of purpose and action will be achieved only under such a policy and position.

We are all agreed that we cannot win this war, that Canada cannot do her full share toward winning this war, without what is termed "total war effort". I say to the government now, and I say it with great sincerity, that all of us know in our hearts that we cannot have total war effort without unlimited selective national service. The terms are synonymous.

The mere drafting of men for military service because they happen to be of military age is not the only need of this country. It is only a portion of the need. If our war effort is to be effective and sincere, what we do need, and need urgently and desperately, is selective national service, without limitation, geographical or otherwise, with all its implications and ramifications in every sphere of human activity.

And what does selective national service imply? It implies, it means, simply and solely, the practical application of total war in a sensible, just, and effective manner. It means in a word, that every man among us shall be called upon to perform the right war job at the right time, in the right place, in the right way. It is "total war" in practice. And there can be no total war without it. To the government I say this: "It is your responsibility to recommend to parliament measures designed to achieve that end". And I say to them further: "Do not shirk that responsibility. Do not be afraid of your duty. You have a mandate from the people to wage 'total war!' The people have freed you from every restriction. Unless you deny that mandate; unless you are willing that your war professions become a mockery and a sham; and unless you do not fear to invite and deserve the reproach and condemnation of history, you must do your duty". On behalf of those of us who sit on this side, I say to the government: "We will support you in a selective national service programme which is unlimited in the area of its application or otherwise, and we will support you in any other measure you believe and we believe to be necessary at this hour".

We of this party, and those whom we represent, are anxious to avoid party or sectional strife over our war effort. We want and we shall strive for unity. We want and we shall strive for common purpose. To that

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end I call upon the government, with all the earnestness I can summon, to accept its responsibility; to do its plain duty.

I do not shrink from the responsibilities which attach to and rest upon an opposition in time of grave national crisis. The government is responsible for giving effect to the will of the people as evidenced in the recent plebiscite—and, indeed, is responsible for all means adopted to meet the terrible and peremptory demands of this war. This fact does not, however, subtract in any degree from the responsibilities of those of us who constitute the opposition. We have positive duties, and never have those positive duties been clearer than they are at this present time.

What, then, is the position which we of the opposition take? When the speech from the throne which contained the proposal to hold the plebiscite was under debate I had the honour to move an amendment, which set forth the views and principles which we of the opposition held. The latter part of that amendment reads as follows:

> And this house regrets that Your Excellency's advisers have not seen fit to recommend to parliament without delay additional measures designed to—
>
> (a) completely mobilize the wealth and material resources and, on a selective basis, the full man and woman power of the nation, to the end that the nation may wage total war in any theatre of war;
>
> (b) supply the imperative needs of agriculture, industry, and the fighting forces of the nation; and
>
> (c) prepare for the post-war period.

By the principles enunciated in that amendment, we of the opposition stand. We believe to-day, as we believed then, that the urgency of the situation requires the complete and immediate—and I emphasize the word "immediate"—mobilization of the wealth, material resources, and, on a selective basis, the man and woman power of the nation, without geographical or other limitation. We believe that the hour has struck when that must be done if Canada is to play a worthy part in this world conflict.

In two sentences I give the position to which we adhere. We believe in the immediate and full application of the true principles of national selective service, administered in a direct, clear-cut, and straightforward manner, without geographical or other limitation. We believe that, hand in hand with national selective service of man-power must go full mobilization of material resources, so that the contribution of all citizens and all classes of citizens shall be equalized in so far as that is possible, and so that the nation may wage total or unlimited war in any and every theatre of war.

I do not propose at this stage to elaborate the question of mobilization of wealth and resources. The section of the mobilization act which this bill seeks to repeal imposes a limitation on the use of man-power only. There is in the act no limitation upon the utilization of material resources. In that respect the government has the most ample and plenary powers. Upon the government must rest the responsibility for failure to utilize fully the unrestricted powers which they possess in this respect. Consequently, until the principle of removing the limitation with respect to man-power has been approved by the adoption of second reading. I think we would be well advised to confine our discussion to that point. When we have approved the principle of removing the existing limitations in the act, we can then take up at once the question of the methods whereby all our resources, material as well as man-power, may be fully utilized without limitation.

Here, in this House of Commons, is the place and now is the time to discuss and determine whether, and by what methods, the resources and man-power of the nation shall be mobilized. Parliament, not the cabinet in the secrecy of the council chamber, is the proper body to determine the methods by and the conditions under which the principles of national selective service shall be enforced. Now is the time for parliament to determine, once and for all, that the immediate enforcement of compulsory selective service over the whole field of the war is urgently necessary. This is the time and this is the place to determine the methods and conditions under which it shall be enforced.

I call upon parliament, with all the emphasis and sincerity at my command, to assume that responsibility now. I call upon parliament to decide here and now that compulsory selective service is immediately necessary, and then to proceed to work out the details under which it shall operate. I am not content, nor do I think the people of Canada will be content, to leave these questions to the Prime Minister and his colleagues assembled in the secrecy of the cabinet chamber, or to come back to parliament six months hence and have this debate all over again. The time is now. I appeal to the government to incorporate in this bill, in the committee stage, mandatory provisions for the immediate enforcement of the principles of compulsory selective service, without geographical or other limitation. And I appeal to them to incorporate in the bill the full terms and conditions under which it shall be administered, rather than leave those terms and conditions for future determination by the governor in council.

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That was done in 1917; the conditions under which men were to be drafted were brought to parliament, not left to the secrecy of the council chamber. Parliament passed upon them, and the only regulations that were left to order in council were those relating merely to matters of procedure.

It may be said that the whole framework of the National Resources Mobilization Act is an outright delegation of the powers of parliament to the governor in council, and in express terms that is true. But I have always looked upon the mobilization act as emergency legislation. God knows it was produced under an emergency. It never would have been produced if my trusted colleague and myself had not confronted the Prime Minister with the position after Dunkirk. Does anyone doubt that?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Certainly.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Well, it never would have been done. The day we went to see the Prime Minister and demanded this legislation, he had not even read his dispatches from overseas after the fall of Dunkirk, or so he told us.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes, but I also told the hon. gentleman that the government was considering the very matter with which he was concerned, and were taking action on it.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): No, the Prime Minister did not tell us until the next day what the government was proposing to do. I have upstairs now a memorandum in the Prime Minister's own little handwriting.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend has referred to a document which he says he has in his possession. I ask him to lay it on the table of the house.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Well, I do not have it with me, but I think I can find it and I shall be glad to do so.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Do so tomorrow.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): If I can find the memorandum which the Prime Minister sent me I will be glad to do so. I hope it has not been destroyed; I think it is in my file. In any case the Prime Minister remembers that he sent me such a memorandum.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes, but my hon. friend is placing an interpretation on that memorandum for which there is no justification whatever. The memorandum was to the effect that the government intended to take the action which it has taken; I agree to that.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Yes, twenty-four hours after I had made the demand. It was emergency legislation, there is no doubt about that; and when parliament is not in session of course the government must have power to act. But when parliament is in session I do not believe that the government should make use of that delegated power. That is the principle for which I am contending. I believe that in this, as in all other cases, the proper course is to ask parliament to pass legislation, if parliament be in session, specifying the manner in which those powers shall be used.

So that in this particular instance, the proper course for the government to pursue, and the one which I urge upon them with all the earnestness at my command, is to ask parliament now, by way of amendments incorporated in this bill, to prescribe the methods by which the power shall be utilized. I renew my plea that there be incorporated in this bill, in the committee stage, not only mandatory provisions imposing at once full compulsory selective service, but detailed provisions for the operation of that system, as was done in 1917. That is the democratic way, and the other is the fascist way. That is exactly the position that was taken by the Liberal party in 1917. They demanded that it be done, and it was done. I assert that we seek to have these provisions set forth now by parliament, rather than left for future determination in the secrecy of the cabinet council. Under no circumstances should the terms and principles of the administration of compulsory selective service for overseas, or for service in Canada, be delayed for future consideration, or considered behind the backs of the representatives of the people and without submitting them to the representatives of the people in parliament. That is a safe principle for every hon. member of this house to support.

Failure to do that which I have outlined will assuredly mean that we will not have the proper kind of compulsory selective service in any practical sense. Submit your principles to parliament. "Trust the people" is an old cry of the Prime Minister. He has never been willing to do that in connection with the conscription of man-power in this country. He has never been willing to trust the people. Yet there is no man in this country, no man in the whole history of Canada, who has played upon the principle of trusting the people more than has the present Prime Minister. In respect to one vital matter, which affects the liberty of the subject, he legislates in the secrecy of the council chamber; he is afraid to trust the people. If we pursue our present course we shall have only the theory of selective service on the statute books; we shall

not have its application. Statesmanship and national honour alike require the immediate determination of all questions relating to the fullest mobilization of man-power and material resources. Let parliament act now and, in acting, strike a great blow for victory. For myself, my course is clear. I shall vote for the second reading of this bill; but I shall insist that there be incorporated in the bill the necessary mandatory provisions to place at once at the dispoal of the state, without limitation and upon terms to be decided by parliament and not by the cabinet, the full resources of the nation in man-power, wealth and materials.

We have come now to the cross roads in our history. Two paths lie before us. The one is dark and uncertain, the other straight and direct. Which of the two will the Prime Minister and the government take? Shall he insist that we continue with interminable detours to victory? That is what we have had for thirty-two months. Shall he insist that we plod wearily along a winding and unlighted road, in the pious hope that somehow, some time, somewhere, we may grope, stumble and flounder into the open light of victory? Or will he, casting aside all fears and doubts, political and personal, boldly and confidently choose the open, the well-marked path along which the Canadian people, strong and united, will march forward to the goal we all seek to achieve, a well earned victory and an honourable peace?

On motion of Mr. Coldwell the debate was adjourned.

On motion of Mr. Mackenzie King the house adjourned at 6.10 p.m.

~~Sc top 9 p.9~~ (July 7, 1942) ~~1 26 28 30~~ J. 236

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In bringing to a conclusion the debate on the second reading of the bill which is before the House, I do not intend to review in detail the arguments which have been presented from different sides. In all that has been said, I have found no reason to alter any of the statements or opinions I expressed in introducing the bill on May 11th, and in opening the debate on the second reading on June 10th.

I believe the debate itself has more than justified the wisdom of the course the government has adopted in bringing before Parliament for consideration, the methods of ~~enlisting~~ raising men for service overseas.

It has been recognized from the outset that the question is highly controversial. Had its controversial character been the only factor of which the government was obliged to take account, the task would have been comparatively simple. ~~Hon. members themselves would have seen to it, as they did during the first two sessions of the present parliament, that a question certain to occasion so much controversy would not have been permitted to arise. Circumstances wholly beyond the control of the government and of parliament forced the question of the application of the principle of compulsion to service overseas prominently to the fore as an issue which parliament alone could decide. Since this was the case, the government has sought so to direct procedure as to ensure~~

~~by parliament the fullest consideration of the question upon its merits. It cannot be said that the government has, in any way, sought to thwart or to limit freedom of debate. Nor can it be said that hon. members have not had ample opportunity for the expression of their views.~~

In opening the debate, I stated that changed conditions in the character and scope of the war were sufficient of themselves to make necessary at this time the fullest consideration of the question by Parliament. I carefully refrained from saying anything of other factors which had forced the issue in a manner which has served to emphasize rather than to lessen its controversial character. I still propose to refrain from saying anything about this particular aspect of the controversy beyond drawing the attention of honourable members to how wholly unnecessary and misleading it has been.

In the present war, the issue of conscription for service overseas was first raised, not in parliament by the responsible spokesman of any political party, but outside parliament altogether. The effort to make it a political issue became evidentea little over a year ago in the course of my visit to Western Canada.

On each occasion when the issue was pressed to the fore, the method adopted was the same. An attempt was made to identify the single question of the method of raising men for service overseas with "a total effort". It was asserted

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that the need was an immediate one, and would have to be met immediately.

Conscription for overseas service was certainly not necessary when the agitation was started in Calgary, over a year ago. At that time, those who were responsible for the agitation asserted that conscription for overseas service had become imperative. It certainly was not necessary at the time the new leader of the Conservative party issued his manifesto for National Government and an all-out effort. It certainly was not necessary when, as a part of the same campaign, the Committee of 200 in Toronto sought to identify "Total Effort for Total War" with the immediate introduction of conscription for overseas service. It certainly was not necessary at the time the government's intention to hold a plebiscite was announced in parliament. Nevertheless we were told by hon. gentlemen opposite that, considering how long the plebiscite would take, the government should be censured, and the plebiscite itself condemned. It certainly was not necessary at the time of the by-elections in Welland, and South York, St. Mary&s, Montreal, and Quebec East, though we were told, at the time, by its advocates that conscription was the real issue of those campaigns. ~~If conscription was the issue in these by-elections, their results would appear to have afforded strong evidence that the country did not view conscription with favour.~~

It is now clear that conscription for overseas service was not necessary at the time the result of the plebiscite was announced.

In the present debate, there are two things which have been proven beyond all shadow of doubt. The first is that the use of the method of compulsion for raising men [redacted]e, at any time up to the present, has not been necessary to obtain the men required for overseas service in any of the armed forces of Canada, in the air force, in the navy or in the army. The second is that the totality of Canada's war effort would not have been, in any particular, increased, through an extension of the principle of compulsion to service overseas. Indeed, by resulting dissention, it might have been considerably reduced.

I mention these facts first of all to make perfectly clear that the government has meant what it has said when it has stated, as up to the present it consistently has, that conscription for overseas service was not necessary, either on the ground of obtaining the necessary recruits, or to enable the government to meet its objective of a properly balanced total war effort.

I mention these facts, also, to make perfectly clear that in asking, as is being done by the present bill, that, subject only to its responsibility to Parliament, the government should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise, the government is doing so not in response to political pressure or popular clamour in any part of the country.

The government is asking for this freedom solely because it is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, it is in the national interest that the power should be possessed by the administration.

There is nothing to which some of my political opponents have devoted more of their time and attention than in seeking to make the public believe that, as the head of the administration, I have been actuated primarily by considerations of party interests. It is represented that my aim, above all else, has been to maintain the unity of the party which I lead, in order that I may retain office at the head of a party administration. I do not deny that I have, at all times, striven to maintain the unity of the party which has honoured and entrusted me with its leadership. I owe that duty not only to the party but also to the country, more particularly as my following in this House of Commons is the foundation of the administration which was entrusted by the people, in war-time, with the task of government. However, I deny most emphatically that, at any time in the course of my public life, I have ever placed any interest of party above the national interest. Least of all have I had any such thought ~~of the kind~~ in conducting the affairs of the country at this time of war.

It surely cannot be said that, in asking by means of a plebiscite for release from any obligations arising out of past commitments, I was acting from motives of party advantage.

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Nor can it be said that in introducing the present bill at the time it was introduced, I was seeking, as some honourable gentlemen opposite and their press continue to say of me, to appease the large following I have in the province of Quebec, and in virtue of which, they like to say, I am able to keep myself in office.

In the last general elections, I did win the support of the province of Quebec to the extent of all but one of its entire representation in this House. Perhaps this might not be an inopportune moment to remind honourable members and the country that apart altogether from the polittical support obtained from the province of Quebec, I was accorded, in the other provinces of Canada, a considerable majority over and above that of the combined representation in this House of Commons of the Conservative Party, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the Social Credit Party. Indeed the supporters of the government from the provinces other than Quebec number all but half of the btal membership of this House of Commons. Secure as I have felt in the confidence thus accorded me by the Canadian people as a whole, I have considered that it increased my obligation to endeavour to see that all questions of national importance were determined solely ~~from~~ the national interest. This, I have felt, was a special obligation of the Prime Minister at a time of war.

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I have had no more trying experience in my political life than the realization that the course which I believed it was in the national interest for the government to follow at this time was one which would occasion a division in the ranks of my loyal followers. On the other hand, realizing Canada's position as I see it in the present world crisis, I should have felt as false to the interests of every member of my own following as to the country itself, had I not sought from Parliament at this time the powers which the bill asks should be given to the administration.

I have no doubt whatever that the events of the war will more than justify the course which the government has thus far pursued, and is pursuing today. I know that the government's present course is already justified in the eyes of the very large majority of the citizens of Canada who have expressed the view that the government should have complete freedom in meeting the different situations of the war as they may arise. I believe that the wisdom of the government's course will become equally apparent to most, if not to all, of those who have been unwilling, or still hesitate to trust the administration with so wide a measure of discretion. The results of the plebiscite showed that, as respects the application or non-application of conscription for overseas service, the vast majority of the people of Canada were prepared to trust the judgment of the present government.

I should not like the debate to conclude without expressing, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, our appreciation of so great a trust.

It is true that the present bill is a logical sequence of the plebiscite, but its origin is not to be found in the results of that measure. Because the results of the plebiscite have, by some, been represented as a mandate for conscription for service overseas, the significance of the present bill has, as a consequence, been distorted in the eyes of others. Both the plebiscite and the bill have, in fact, a common origin. Each owed its existence to the policy of the government as set forth in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the present session of parliament. Each was a necessary step, but only a step in the accomplishment of that policy.

This is the statement of policy as it appears in the Speech: "The government is of the opinion, that at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should..... possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as it may arise." The one and only particular in which the administration was not free to act in accordance with its judgment was with respect to the methods of raising men for military service.

it is not a new policy;

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So far as the government's policy as expressed in this bill is concerned, it is identical with the government's policy as set forth in the Speech from the Throne, which parliament approved by the adoption of the address. Because of prior commitments regarding the methods of raising men for military service overseas, the necessary freedom could only be secured in two stages.

The one stage was to seek from the people release from a moral obligation arising out of past commitments, and the other stage, to seek from parliament the removal of a limitation expressed in existing legislation. The former - the release from the moral obligation - was sought and obtained by means of the plebiscite; the latter - the removal of the legal restriction - is being sought, and I hope will be obtained, by the present bill. But while the second step - the bill which is now before the House - was a logical sequence of the results of the first step, namely, the plebiscite, it does not owe its origin to that measure, but to the policy of the government as set forth in the Speech.

The government's policy as set forth in the Speech from the Throne was due not to any political pressure or popular clamour but to what the government, as a result of the changed conditions of the war, had come to recognize as the only sound policy "at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history".

In all sincerity, may I ask would any other policy be justifiable in the face of conditions as we have seen them develop from month to month, and from year to year since the commencement of the present war, and as we know them today? If after almost three years of conflict, the course of the war had been different; if, for example, Germany, after overrunning the most of Europe, had been driven out of some, or even one of the countries she has subjugated; if Germany was now more concerned with her own defence than bent, as she continues to be, upon further conquest; if Japan had remained out of the war, instead of challenging the might of the United States, as well as that of the British Commonwealth and other of the United Nations, there might have been reason to question the need for removal of any limitation upon the complete freedom of the administration to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of situations as they may arise. But when the very opposite is the case, when the war, instead of remaining war upon a single continent has become a war which is world encircling, embracing all continents as well as all oceans, a war in which all of the great powers of the world have either been partially destroyed, or are fighting for their very existence, and in which the survival of civilization itself is at stake, would it not have shown a lack of responsibility had the government not sought from parliament, in plenty of

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time, the widest possible powers to cope with any and every situation as it may arise?

A government is responsible not only for what it does, but for what it fails to do. A like responsibility, it seems to me, rests upon the parliament of the country, once its members are appealed to by the government to assist the administration in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy, and thereby to preserve the nation's security, and it may be its very existence.

On June 11th, the former Minister of Public Works, objecting to the introduction of the bill at the present time, exclaimed: (Hansard, p. 3562):

> "In the name of heaven, what is the use of having a dead principle in our statute books."

My hon. friend, in asking that question, was thinking only of the application of conscription for service overseas. He entirely overlooked one very important aspect of the bill. The present bill seeks to remove the limitation on compulsory military service outside Canada and its territorial waters. It will not only remove the statutory limitation on compulsory service overseas; it will equally remove the restriction on compulsory service elsewhere in this hemisphere. In so far as service in other parts of North America and the adjacent islands is concerned, the amendment of the Mobilization Act, once it becomes law, will in no

sense be "a dead principle in our statute books."

At any moment, its application may become an urgent necessity. Recent events, no less than a glance at the map are enough to disclose that, in a tactical sense, the defence of our east and west coasts is inseparable from the defence of the adjacent territories of the United States. We have recognized from the beginning of the war that the same is true of Newfoundland and Labrador. It will be necessary to extend the scope of compulsory service to these areas to strengthen our own immediate defences. In the event of actual hostilities on any considerable scale in this hemisphere, any restriction on the movement of troops back and forth between Canada and [redacted] neighbouring territories would be intolerable.

It is true that before the plebiscite was held, I said that the government, in an emergency, would authorize such action by order in council under the War Measures Act, and would later ask Parliament to amend the Mobilization Act. But that surely is an undesirable method to employ if Parliament has the time to give to the government the necessary authority in advance.

Moreover, the government has equal power to follow the same procedure in the case of compulsory service overseas. It is because of its deep sense of its responsibility to Parliament, that the government is seeking, for the one case as for the other, the requisite authority from the present Parliament.

The debate has shown that objection to the present bill is due in the main to one of four reasons. There may be others, but they have not been set forth in a pronounced way in any of the speeches which have been made.

The first two of these reasons for opposition represent the extremes of widely divergent points of view. At the one extreme are those who object that the bill does not go far enough. At the other extreme are those who say that the bill goes too far. Those who hold to the first of these extremes wish to have the principle of conscription applied immediately to service overseas, regardless of whether or not compulsion is needed to obtain the necessary enlistments, and regardless as well of prejudicial consequences which might arise from an unnecessary application of conscription to overseas service. Those who hold to the opposite extreme are unwilling to have the principle of conscription applied to service overseas not only immediately, but at any time, and this regardless of the consequences whatever they might be.

In referring to those who take this extreme view, I wish to differentiate sharply between hon. members who are in accord with the government's policy of a total war effort, but who honestly and sincerely believe that conscription for overseas service will not increase our total effort, and might even serve to prejudice that effort, and those

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others, happily very few in number, who have indicated clearly by their attitude, not only in the present debate but in the past, that they are prepared to see Canada risk defeat rather than accept conscription for service overseas. In 1937, in 1938 and in 1939, some of these hon. members opposed the preparations for the defence of Canada because they maintained that Canada was in no danger. They are still prepared to overlook the designs of the enemy, and to discount his strength, despite the fact that his design of world conquest is increasingly clear, and despite the continued success of his arms. They are prepared to leave to others to do for Canada, for their homes and their families what they are unwilling to do not only for others, but even for their own country, and for themselves. They refuse to see the need to bring about the destruction of the enemy as speedily as possible, and as far as possible from Canada. They are prepared to risk subjecting the Canadian people to the fate of those countries which, in such numbers, have already experienced the terrors of invasion, and of conquest, by a ruthless and relentless foe.

The members who are thus unwilling to look beyond the shores of Canada have referred repeatedly to Australia which country, at an earlier stage in the war, sent troops overseas, and has since been obliged to recall some men for her own defence. But why did Australia send her troops overseas if it was not that she recognised the need of a collective

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defence? Why, may I ask, was the United States so ready to send an army and naval forces to Australia in her hour of need? Was it not because the United States realized that unless the enemy were defeated overseas, he would have to be defeated on American soil; and was it not also because Australia had earned the respect and help of other nations by sending her armed forces overseas against the common enemy?

And here let me protest equally against the deliberate misrepresentation of Canada's position which continues to come from many who represent the other extreme. Some hon. members opposite have said, and the press which supports them keeps repeating the statement, that the government is unwilling to send men overseas. They seek to create the impression that, because Canada has had no occasion to resort to conscription for overseas service, that no Canadian troops are being sent overseas. This obviously is being said solely for political purposes, for they know full well that such is not the truth, and that a false impression is thereby being created. But what is the result? False impressions are thereby also being given to other countries. This is most detrimental to Canada, and is most unfair to Canada's magnificent army overseas.

No one can object to the honest advocacy of conscription by those who believe sincerely that it will advance the country's war effort. But surely there are

better ways to advocate conscription than by belittling the Canadian Army, and seeking to create the impression that because the men who are steadily going forward have offered their services voluntarily, Canada is not sending troops overseas.

Both extremes, for opposite reasons, are helping to create the wholly false impression that Canada is not sending or is not willing to send her men to meet and defeat the enemy overseas. Both, for political ends, are prepared to discredit their own country in the eyes of the world.

These two extremes can never be reconciled. The debate must have made it wholly clear even to those who support either extreme, that the adoption of their views would only serve to weaken, and perhaps to destroy, the national unity which all should wish to see maintained. It would be equally destructive of an effective war effort.

Were this House of Commons, on grounds of national necessity, or for any other reason, obliged to yield to either extreme, many hon. members might well find their present position one of considerable embarrassment. Their embarrassment, however, both in the present and in the future, is more likely to arise, indeed, is, I believe, certain to arise, should they fail to lend their support to a policy which avoids extremes, and which, at this time of war, alone gives hope for the preservation of national unity. National unity, it seems to me, can

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best be preserved by hon. members giving to the government charged with carrying on Canada's war effort, the support which the government must receive from parliament, if its great responsibilities are to be discharged in a manner which will truly serve the national interest.

If, in reference to the very difficult question of service overseas, anyone can conceive of a policy which is better calculated to serve the national interest than the one the government has formulated, and which is clearly and concisely expressed in the words: "Not necessarily conscription, but conscription if necessary", I shall be first to advocate its acceptance. I can only say that nothing of the kind has been proposed by any hon. member in the course of the debate. Nor do I believe that anything better can be suggested. Indeed, the events of the war, as well as all that has been said in the course of the debate, should have made it wholly apparent that, all circumstances taken into account, it is the only sound policy.

We are not dealing with theories, either of government or of war, upon which, without grave risks to themselves and others, men can afford to continue to differ. We are faced with conditions which actually exist, and which have to be met. They must be met with as large a measure of general consent as may be possible, if both Canada and our allies are not to suffer. It is from this point of view that, regardless of any position

thus far taken with respect to the present bill, I now ask all hon. members to viewtheir obligations alike to their constituencies and to Canada.

I said that objection to the bill had been raised on four grounds. I have dealt with the first two. Those who oppose on other grounds do not differ fundamentally with the policy of the government with respect to service overseas: ~~not necessarily conscription, but conscription if necessary.~~ But they assert that, if the bill is to receive their support, something more is ~~necessary~~ required. The assurance demanded, in the one case, is that if provision is to be made for the conscription of men for service overseas, then provision must equally be made for what is generally termed "the conscription of wealth"; that the two must go together. That, as I understand it, was the purport of the amendment proposed by the leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation group.

First of all, may I say to my hon. friend the leader of the C.C.F. group, and to those who share views similar to his own, that the power to conscript wealth at whatever time, and to whatever extent mayybe deemed advisable and necessary, is already in the act which the government is asking parliament to amend, not by further limiting its provisions, but by extending their application.

The power to conscript wealth will remain unrestricted.

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There are no limitations upon this power other than such as may result from the judgment of the government in exercising its discretion. The legislation itself as I have pointed out is enabling legislation, and as respects both the conscription of wealth and conscription of manpower will, if the bill is adopted, remain enabling legislation. The government in both particulars will be free to exercise its discretion as the needs of the war may demand.

I need not, I know, remind hon. members that the ground on which, on its second reading, a bill merits support or rejection, is one of principle. It is not a question of additions to or subtractions from its provisions. These are matters to be dealt with when the bill is in committee. What, so far as principle goes, the government is seeking by the bill is exactly what the leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation implies the government should have, namely, complete freedom, subject to its responsibility to parliament, as respects the application of conscription in any direction. To impose conditions of any kind upon the exercise of the government's discretion, other than such as attach to its responsibility to Parliament, is to destroy altogether the all-out freedom of action by the administration which it is the principle of the bill to secure.

If this year's budget does not serve to convince hon. members and the people of Canada generally of the government's

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readiness to conscript whatever wealth is necessary to distribute the burden of Canada's war effort as equitably as possible, it is difficult to imagine what more in the way of assurances to this end would be regarded as adequate.

I come now to the last of the reasons which have been urged by some for not supporting the bill, and by others for hesitating to give their support until the government's exact intentions are more fully known.

From both sides of the House, objection has been raised to the possibility of resort to conscription for overseas service at some future date without a further reference to parliament. When, however, hon. members speak of coming again to parliament, some appear to have one thing in mind; and others quite another.

All are agreed that the present bill, if enacted, will give to the government the power to make conscription applicable to service outside Canada, [redacted] whenever and to whatever extent in the judgment of the government it is necessary and advisable. Some contend that should the government decide that conscription for overseas service has become necessary and advisalle, the government should before any action is taken, announce its decision to parliament, and, at that time, by further legislation, define the terms and conditions of such [redacted] service, or at least permit a second debate on the question of

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its immediate application. There are others who do not advocate a second debate on conscription, much less further legislation, but who maintain that a due recognition of the Ministry's responsibility to parliament demands that, as soon as possible after the government's decision has been reached, it should be communicated to parliament, and before effect is given thereto, that opportunity should be given hon. members for an expression of their views.

May I say, as emphatically as I can, that in no case would I wish to countenance a second debate on conscription.

In setting forth the reasons why the government had not proceeded by stages, in removing the limitation in the Mobilization Act with respect to service outside Canada, I made the statement that such a course would not have met the purposes of the plebiscite as outlined in the Speech from the Throne, one of which was to ensure to the government complete freedom of action, subject only to its constitutional responsibility to parliament.

I gave, however, another and very important reason. I said that to amend the act in any particular would necessitate a debate in both Houses of Parliament - a debate moreover which would inevitably be a debate on the question of conscription; that this would mean going all over the same ground again. Speaking on this aspect of the matter on June 10th, I said:

"Unnecessary discussion and prolonged debate in parliament at a time when our country is hourly

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being drawn into greater danger would not serve to place Canada's war effort in its true light, either before our own people, or before the people of other countries, nor would it gain respect for parliament."

Whatever may have been said or thought of the truth of this statement at the time it was made, after all that has since been said in the course of the present debate, for and against conscription for service overseas, it will, I think, be agreed that on this question little more, if anything of value, could possibly be added. It must now be wholly apparent that this House of Commons itself, not to speak of the country, would be impatient of any attempt to traverse the same ground anew; and that public opinion would strongly resent any such procedure.

It is well, therefore, that it should once again be clearly stated that while this bill does not, regardless of circumstances, commit the government to conscription for overseas service, parliament, by enacting this bill, is placing it within the discretion of the government to impose conscription for service overseas, if, in its judgment, the needs of the situation as they may arise should so demand.

This is one of the reasons why the government has been ready to allow to hon. members on the second reading of the bill, the fullest latitude to discuss from all possible angles, and on all possible grounds, the question of the

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application of conscription to service overseas, and has not sought, in any way, to curtail the debate. It would be unreasonable to suppose that a like opportunity could be afforded at any other time.

If, at some future time, it became necessary in the judgment of the Administration to apply conscription for service overseas, that step, it is to be presumed, would be to meet a situation which would permit of little, if anything, in the way of debate. Debate would involve delays at a moment when time had become a vital factor. Knowing that this is likely to be the case, had the government sought to postpone debate on overseas conscription until the hour of an emergency, hon. members might well have complained that on so controversial a question they were not being treated with the consideration to which the representatives of the people were entitled. It might have been said that their hands were being forced.

There is an additional reason why the debate on conscription for service overseas should take place upon the present bill rather than at a time - should the situation so demand - that the government may have reached the decision that the application of the compulsory method to military service overseas has become necessary. That reason is that the need would almost certainly arise in circumstances in which military considerations would prevent the disclosure in

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open debate of the factors on which the decision of the government was based. The government's judgment in the matter will necessarily depend, in very large part, on military information of the highest degree of secrecy. There is nothing more important in the movement of troops at a time of war than that all matters pertaining thereto should be surrounded with the utmost secrecy. Moreover it is not only Canada's position, and considerations of special interest to Canada, that have to be taken into account. Very careful account has to be taken of the hostile use the enemy may make of information disclosed, and of how far any disclosures on military matters may affect the position of every one of the United Nations.

~~I have~~ has been, I think, made ~~it~~ abundantly clear that, so far, at least, as the present administration is concerned, any decision respecting conscription for overseas service will not rest solely with the military authorities, but that any action taken under the present bill must and will be authorized by the Governor in Council. In other words, the decision will be the decision of the Cabinet, subject always to its responsibility to Parliament.

I have also already given to hon. members an assurance that all relevant factors would be taken into account by the Cabinet in reaching a decision.

In speaking in this House on the purpose of the plebiscite, ~~on February 25th~~, I said: (See unrevised Hansard,

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Feb. 25, 1942 - page 913):

"What we shall do at any particular time will depend upon the course which we think at the time is necessary and advisable, and most effective in Canada's war effort. That decision is not going to be made in the light of any one factor. It is going to be made in the light of all conditions as they exist, and as they are known to the government at the time."

And later:

"The government is going to do the thing that it believes is going to further to the uttermost Canada's war effort, all circumstances considered."

I added:

"May I say that when I say 'all circumstances considered', I have in mind the conditions as they exist in respect to the war in different theatres, and the conditions as they may exist in Canada itself."

It is perhaps well that I should remind hon. members that these statements were made as early inthe present year as February 25th. They were repeatedly referred to in the course of the campaign on the plebiscite in explanation of its objectives, and of how the government proposed to exercise its power, if given a free hand. It cannot therefore be said that the government's policy, as

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it finds expression in the present bill, was not fully known both to parliament and the public, before and during the time the plebiscite was held.

As to the right thing being done by the government at the right time, and in the right way, that, it seems to me, as I said in opening this debate, necessarily comes to be a matter of the degree of confidence which parliament and the people have in the administration charged with the responsibilities of carrying on the war. This does not constitute a reason for a second debate on the conscription issue. It is, however, the strongest of reasons why a government, once it has reached a decision that the needs of a situation demand a certain course of action on which opinion may be divided, should take the earliest possible opportunity of making perfectly sure that it enjoys the confidence of parliament, and that it may rely with certainty upon the support of parliament in giving effect to the decision reached. Especially is this the case where widely divergent views have previously been expressed in the country, and also in parliament, on the wisdom of any discretionary power being given the administration; and where it is to be expected that differences will still exist concerning the wisdom of the decision.

A second debate on conscription is one thing. A vote of confidence in a government before it undertakes to enforce a particular course of action ~~concerning the wisdom of widely divergent views have been expressed in parliament and throughout~~ opinion

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REPEAT
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[redacted] is quite another and wholly different thing.

If an administration is to begin to carry out its duties in the prosecution of a war, it cannot afford to be left in any doubt, at any time, as to the adequacy of its support by parliament, and least of all in a time of peril. The assurance of the confidence of parliament is particularly necessary to the leader of a government where there is the slightest reason for him to doubt the extent to which he may be able to rely upon the support he will receive in the House of Commons. ~~Parliament may have every confidence in a government charged with the administration of policies upon which all, or nearly all, its members are agreed. Confidence in a Ministry for the task assigned may be quite otherwise when it comes to the enforcement of particular measures.~~

In the Speech from the Throne, it was stated that the government was of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

As to the importance to be attached to the words "subject only to its responsibility to parliament" as they appear in the Speech from the Throne, there may well be differences of view. The responsibility of the Ministry to parliament would be the same whether these words were there or not. Their presence

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in the Speech would seem, however, to endow them with special significance.

How important may be the significance to be attached to them, each hon. member will necessarily decide for himself. For myself, and in this I speak only for myself, holding the views I do, and the views I have always held concerning the responsibility of the Executive to Parliament, I do not believe that this House of Commons would feel it had been shown the degree of confidence it had a right to expect from the Ministry, if, in a matter of so great concern to the whole of Canada, the government were to act before so important a decision had been made known to the House.

While it is true that if the present bill becomes law, the administration will possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment, I can imagine what would be said by some hon. members opposite, and indeed by many hon. members on this side of the House as well, if, with Parliament in session, and before acquainting hon. members with the decision of the government, I were to sign an order-in-council putting into effect conscription for service overseas, and immediately thereafter were to come to this House and inform hon. members of the action the government had already taken.

If the need should arise for sending men overseas as reinforcements called up under the National Resources Mobilization Act, the procedure should be as open and above board as it can possibly be made. Unless it is understood that

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parliament will be informed in advance, all kinds of suspicion will be aroused and all sorts of rumours will be in circulation from day to day.

The right of the public to be informed of the decision of the government before it is enforced was set forth clearly in the address I made in opening the plebiscite campaign on April 7th. Speaking on this very matter in a nation-wide broadcast, I said:

> "The people of Canada are not going to hesitate to take any step which they believe to be necessary for the preservation of their freedom. They are certainly not going to hesitate to adopt any measure needed to preserve their national existence, but they will wish to know, and they have a right to know, that before any step is taken, that step is necessary. This is particularly true in the case of a measure which has been the subject of bitter controversy and the source of disunity in the past."

I intend, therefore, if the time should come when the government decides that it has become necessary to send overseas men who have not volunteered for general service, and I should be in office at the time, to ask my colleagues to join me in seeing that parliament is immediately informed of the government's decision. If parliament is not in session, I would do whatever lies within my power, to see that parliament is informed as soon as possible after the decision has been reached.

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I intend, at the same time, to see that, before the administration assumes the additional responsibility of enforcing its decision, honourable members are given an opportunity, not for any second debate on the question of conscription, but of showing their confidence or want of confidence in the administration.

In following this course, I hope it will be agreed that I am fulfilling the spirit of an earlier undertaking given to parliament on February 25th, that "when we find that we cannot raise the required numbers of men for enlistment overseas by the voluntary method, and it is absolutely necessary to raise more men by other methods, then we will make our decision, present it to parliament, and have it discussed on its merits." The debate on the merits of conscription has, of necessity, come on the present bill. What really is important hereafter is that the government's decision should immediately be presented to parliament, and that the government should be prepared to stand or fall on its decision.

It may be said that such a course will involve a delay; and that what is needed is action. It will quite rightly be said that if action had not become imperative, the government would not have reached a decision. Such an objection might justifiably be raised if a second debate were to be permitted on the question of conscription. It is not, however, an objection to the course proposed. If the government decides

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that it is necessary to apply conscription for overseas service, there need be no delay in enforcing that decision. And unless it became apparent that the Ministry had ceased to enjoy the confidence of this House of Commons, there would be no delay.

Even if Parliament is not actually sitting, it can be brought together in a few days. Under our war-time practice of adjourning rather than proroguing the session, there would be no opening formalities. There would be no need of further legislation, merely an expression of confidence in some form. It is virtually impossible to conceive of a situation in which the lapse of a week will affect sending reinforcements overseas, since arrangements to hand could proceed concurrently with the re-assembling of parliament. As the former Minister of Public Works himself suggested on June 11th, (Hansard p. 3562):

"In seven days, conscripts are not going to be sent overseas..... Nothing would prevent the government from preparing the machinery the moment they decide to have recourse to conscription.", ~~In case of extreme urgency,~~ Debate, ? Course, would have to be curtailed. Following precedents established at Westminster, I would feel that at most a very short time should be allotted for discussion, ~~and~~ that the rule of the House limiting discussion should, if necessary, be applied to that end.

No matter how drastically discussion might have to be restricted, every member by his vote would have the opportunity to express his confidence or lack of confidence in the

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government. There need, in fact, be no debate.

It will be recalled that a similar procedure was followed in connection with the declaration of war. Parliament met within seven days. The government intimated that the vote on the Address would be accepted as approval or otherwise of its policy. The debate lasted two days. Immediately after the vote, steps were taken to proclaim the existence of a state of war. As one hon. member has said: "No time was lost; no time was wasted; and yet the supremacy of parliament was maintained."

Within the past week, a resolution of non-confidence in the government was debated in the British House of Commons. It arose as a result of criticism directed against Mr. Churchill on account of his continuing to hold the office of Minister of Defence in addition to that of Prime Minister. The debate was definitely limited in time. In less than two days, hon. members found ample opportunity for an expression of their views.

~~Re-Impression of their Views~~

As to the means by which this House, with respect to the government's decision, could be given the opportunity to express its confidence or lack of confidence in the administration, hon. members are well aware that it is possible at any time for any hon. member to move a vote of want of confidence on a motion to go into Committee of Supply. Should the government deem it advisable to proceed by that method to ascertain the opinion of the House, the government would so arrange. If, at the time, there were no estimates before the House, the government could bring in a special supplementary estimate, and immediately move to have the House go into Committee of Supply. Any hon. member who wished to do so, could then move a vote of want of confidence.

There is another, and a more direct method of procedure. That is the method which was followed in the Parliament at Westminster in January last, after Mr. Churchill's return from his earlier visit to the United States and Canada. On January 27th, Mr. Churchill expressed to the House of Commons his desire to be sustained by a vote of confidence.

The following day, Mr. Attlee moved:

"That the proceedings on the motion relating to confidence in His Majesty's Government be exempted, at this day's sitting from the provisions of the Standing Order (Sittings of the House)".

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This was agreed to.

Mr. Attlee then moved:

"That this House has confidence in His Majesty's Government and will aid it to the utmost in the vigorous prosecution of the war."

Debate took place on the 28th and 29th of January, At the end of the latter sitting, the House divided: Ayes 464 and Noes 1.

Hon. members will, I believe, be interested in Mr. Churchill's own appreciation of the importance and significance of the vote he was asking from the House of Commons. On January 27th, he said:

"From time to time in the life of any government, there come occasions which must be clarified. .....

"Since my return to this country, I have come to the conclusion that I must ask to be sustained by a vote of confidence from the House of Commons. This is a thoroughly normal, constitutional, democratic procedure. A debate on the war has been asked for. I have arranged it in the fullest and freest manner for three whole days. Any member will be free to say anything he thinks fit about or against the Administration or against the composition or personalities of the government, to his heart's content, subject only to the reservation which the House is always so careful to observe about military secrets. Could you have anything

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freer than that? Could you have any higher expression of democracy than that? Very few other countries have institutions strong enough to sustain such a thing while they are fighting for their lives."

I am unable to indicate, at present, which procedure will be followed in the event of the government reaching the decision that it should have recourse to conscription for service overseas. That must depend upon the circumstances at the time. In a matter which relates to a future decision of the Cabinet, and so immediately to the confidence which others may have in my judgment and my fidelity, I obviously can speak only for myself. No one can say what the course of the war will be, or what, at any time, conditions may be in our own or other countries. In seeking to free the government from one commitment, I do not wish to be drawn into making another. I wish, however, to leave no doubt in the mind of any hon. member that, if I am at the head of the administration when such a decision is reached, I shall ask to be assured of the confidence of the House of Commons before the government proceeds to enforce the decision.

This is not a new attitude on my part. It is one that I have repeatedly expressed, and to which I intend at all times to adhere. I so expressed my attitude in this very matter

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to the Canadian people, on April 24th. In my final broadcast in the plebiscite campaign, I said:

> "This is not an ordinary time; it is a time of war. The whole world is in a state of rapid change. At any time the responsibilities of government are heavy enough. They are greater today than they have ever been. For my part, if I did not believe that as head of the government, I continued to enjoy the confidence of the people, who, time and again, have returned me to office, I would not wish to remain in office an hour longer."

I might point out, that in January last, when Mr. Churchill sought a vote of confidence in his administration, none of his critics had even suggested that he should resign, and that someone else should take his place. He felt, however, that criticism of himself and of certain aspects of his administration had reached the point where he required the assurance that he was sustained by the support of those from whom in parliament his power was derived. I believe that the leader of a government charged with great responsibilities in a democratic country feels, at all times, the need of such an assurance, and at no time more than on the eve of embarking upon added responsibilities.

Mr. Churchill, I think, had this very much in mind when, answering his critics in the House of Commons at Westminster on

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Thursday last he said: "Everything that can be thought of or raked up has been used to weaken confidence in the government....." and later referring to himself as the Prime Minister, he added: "and then to undermine him in his own heart and, if possible, before the eyes of the nation."

But there is another reason why Mr. Churchill has felt from time to time the need of being sustained by a vote of confidence of fellow-members in the House of Commons. Parliamentary responsibility is twofold. Members as well as Ministers have their responsibilities. Mr. Churchill felt that the people of the United Kingdom had a right to know where their representatives stood, and what support they were prepared to give to the administration in its grave task of carrying on the war. He felt the people of the United Kingdom were equally entitled to know what support was being withheld from the administration, and why it was being withheld. The same I believe to be true at this time of war of the parliament and people of Canada.

As I conclude, may I repeat what I said to the people of Canada in appealing, on April the 7th, for an affirmative vote on the plebiscite:

"To those who, beyond the events of today, are able to look into the future, it is no longer the unity, it is the very existence of our country as a free nation which they see is in danger today. We are no longer in

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a world where even the most powerful nation is able, by itself, to save itself from the ambition and greed of the aggressor nations. For the preservation of its very existence, each free country is going to need all the help that other free countries can give. It will require the utmost co-operation on the part of all free countries to save them from becoming victims, one by one, of the gangster nations whose undoubted aim is world conquest. With our immense territory, great resources and small population, no country may come to need the help of the other countries more than our own. Unless we continue to do all we can to help others, we shall have no right to expect them to do all they can to help us. Until the present tide of conquest is turned into overwhelming defeat for the enemy, no country - and assuredly not Canada - can consider itself secure."

I did not use those words lightly. I appeal to every hon. member to ponder their significance in the light of the situation as we know it today. Who can doubt that our security, that the security of this hemisphere depends upon holding the German and Japanese forces in check in the old world until, from the new, sufficient strength can be gathered to overcome their terrific power.

what has since occurred and of

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The machines and weapons of modern war have annihilated space; they have all but destroyed time. Remoteness and distance provide no protection. In this war "overseas" has in reality lost its meaning. The conflict is one, single and indivisible, whether it is fought on the sands of Egypt, on the steppes of Russia, in the depths of China, on the islands of the Pacific, in the Arctic wastes, or in the skies over Britain and Germany and the conquered countries of Europe. There can be no security for us, for our homes, and families, until the forces of the enemy are defeated and crushed.

The government and people of Canada have a heavy responsibility to the half million young Canadians who have offered their all for our safety. We owe them all that we can give. Wherever they are fighting, they are fighting for Canada, for their own country, for its safety and for its future. That future is in our keeping, and we, in this parliament, owe it to our gallant young men, when the war is won, to hand on to them a free and united Canada.

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so far as lies within our power

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July 7, 1942

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Speech by the Prime Minister, closing the Debate on the second reading of the Bill to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act.

In bringing to a conclusion the debate on the second reading of the bill which is before the House, I do not intend to review in detail the arguments which have been presented from different sides. In all that has been said, I have found no reason to alter any of the statements or opinions I expressed in introducing the bill on May 11th, and in opening the debate on the second reading on June 10th.

I believe the debate itself has more than justified the wisdom of the course the government has adopted in bringing before Parliament for consideration, the methods of raising men for service overseas.

It has been recognzed from the outset that the question is highly controversial. Had its controversial character been the only factor of which the government was obliged to take account, the task would have been comparatively simple.

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In opening the debate, I stated that changed conditions in the character and scope of the war were sufficient of themselves to make necessary at this time the fullest consideration of the question by Parliament. I carefully refrained from saying anything of other factors which had forced the issue in a manner which has served to emphasize rather than to lessen its controversial character. I still propose to refrain from saying anything about this particular aspect of the controversy beyond drawing the attention of honourable members to how wholly unnecessary and misleading it has been.

In the present war, the issue of conscription for service overseas was first raised, not in parliament by the responsible spokesman of any political party, but outside parliament altogether. The effort to make it a political issue became evident a little over a year ago in the course of my visit to Western Canada.

On each occasion when the issue was pressed to the fore, the method adopted was the same. An attempt was made to identify the single question of the method of raising men for service overseas with "a total effort". It was asserted

that the need was an immediate one, and would have to be met immediately.

Conscription for overseas service was certainly not necessary when the agitation was started in Calgary, over a year ago. At that time, those who were responsible for the agitation asserted that conscription for overseas service had become imperative. It certainly was not necessary at the time the new leader of the Conservative party issued his manifesto for National Government and an all-out effort. It certainly was not necessary when, as a part of the same campaign, the Committee of 200 in Toronto sought to indentify"Total Effort for Total War" with the immediate introduction of conscription for overseas service. It certainly was not necessary at the time the government's intention to hold a plebiscite was announced in parliament. Nevertheless we were told by hon. gentlemen opposite that, considering how long the plebiscite would take, the government should be censured, and the plebiscite itself condemned. It certainly was not necessary at the time of the by-elections in Welland, in South York, in St. Mary's, Montreal, and in Quebec East, though we were told, at the time, by its advocates that conscription was the real issue of those campaigns. It is now clear that conscription for overseas service was not necessary at the time the result of the plebiscite was announced.

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In the present debate, there are two things which have been proven beyond all shadow of doubt. The first is that the use of the method of compulsion for raising men, at any time up to the present, has not been necessary to obtain the men required for overseas service in any of the armed forces of Canada; in the air force, in the navy or in the army. The second is that the totality of Canada's war effort would not have been, in any particular, increased, through an extension of the principle of compulsion to service overseas. Indeed, by resulting dissension, it might have been considerably reduced.

I mention these facts first of all to make perfectly clear that the government has meant what it has said when it has stated, as up to the present it consistently has, that conscription for overseas service was not necessary, either on the ground of obtaining the necessary recruits, or to enable the government to meet its objective of a properly balanced total war effort.

I mention these facts, also, to make perfectly clear that in asking, as is being done by the present bill, that, subject only to its responsibility to Parliament, the government should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise, the government is doing so not in response to political pressure or popular clamour in any part of the country. The

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government is asking for this freedom solely because it is of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, it is in the national interest that the power should be possessed by the administration.

There is nothing to which some of my political opponents have devoted more of their time and attention than in seeking to make the public believe that, as the head of the administration, I have been actuated primarily by considerations of party interests. It is represented that my aim, above all else, has been to maintain the unity of the party which I lead, in order that I may retain office at the head of a party administration. I do not deny that I have, at all times, striven to maintain the unity of the party which has honoured and entrusted me with its leadership. I owe that duty not only to the party but also to the country, more particularly as my following in thise House of Commons is the foundation of the administration which was entrusted by the people, in war-time, with the task of government. However, I deny most emphatically that, at any time in the course of my public life, I have ever placed any interest of party above the national interest. Least of all have I had any such thought in conducting the affairs of the country at this time of war.

It surely cannot be said that, in asking by means of a plebiscite for release from any obligations arising out of past commitments, I was acting from motives of party advantage.

Nor can it be said that in introducing the present bill at the time it was introduced, I was seeking, as some honourable gentlemen opposite and their press continue to say of me, to appease the large following I have in the province of Quebec, and in virtue of which, they like to say, I am able to keep myself in office.

In the last general elections, I did win the support of the province of Quebec to the extent of all but one of its entire representation in this House. Perhaps this might not be an inopportune moment to remind honourable members and the country that apart altogether from the political support obtained from the province of Quebec, I was accorded, in the other provinces of Canada, a considerable majority over and above that of the combined representation in this House of Commons of the Conservative Party, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the Social Credit Party. Indeed the supporters of the government from the provinces other than Quebec number all but half of the total membership of this House of Commons. Secure as I have felt in the confidence thus accorded me by the Canadian people as a whole, I have considered that it increased my obligation to endeavour to see that all questions of national importance were determined solely in the national interest. This, I have felt, was a special obligation of the Prime Minister at a time of war.

I have had no more trying experience in my political life than the realization that the course which I believed it was in the national interest for the government to follow at this time was one which would occasion a division in the ranks of my loyal followers. On the other hand, realizing Canada's position as I see it in the present world crisis, I should have felt as false to the interests of every member of my own following as to the country itself, had I not sought from Parliament at this time the powers which the bill asks should be given to the administration.

I have no doubt whatever that the events of the war will more than justify the course which the government has thus far pursued, and is pursuing today. I know that the government's present course is already justified in the eyes of the very large majority of the citizens of Canada who have expressed the view that the government should have complete freedom in meeting the different situations of the war as they may arise. I believe that the wisdom of the government's course will become equally apparent to most, if not to all, of those who have been unwilling, or still hesitate to trust the administration with so wide a measure of discretion. The results of the plebiscite showed that, as respects the application or non-application of conscription for overseas service, the vast majority of the people of Canada were prepared to trust the judgment of the present government.

I should not like the debate to conclude without expressing, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, our appreciation of so great a trust.

It is true that the present bill is a logical sequence of the plebiscite, but its origin is not to be found in the results of that measure. Because the results of the plebiscite have, by some, been represented as a mandate for conscription for service overseas, the significance of the present bill has, as a consequence, been distorted in the eyes of others. Both the plebiscite and the bill have, in fact, a common origin. Each owed its existence to the policy of the government as set forth in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the present session of parliament. Each was a necessary step, but only a step in the accomplishment of that policy.

This is the statement of policy as it appears in the Speech: "The government is of the opinion, that at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should ..... possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as it may arise." The one and only particular in which the administration was not free to act in accordance with its judgment was with respect to the methods of raising men for military service.

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So far as the government's policy as expressed in this bill is concerned, it is not a new policy; it is identical with the government's policy as set forth in the Speech from the Throne, which parliament approved by the adoption of the Address. Because of prior commitments regarding the methods of raising men for military service overseas, the necessary freedom could only be secured in two stages.

The one stage was to seek from the people release from a moral obligation arising out of past commitments, and the other stage, to seek from parliament the removal of a limitation expressed in existing legislation. The former - the release from the moral obligation - was sought and obtained by means of the plebiscite; the latter - the removal of the legal restriction - is being sought, and I hope will be obtained, by the present bill. But while the second step - the bill which is now before the House - was a logical sequence of the results of the first step, namely, the plebiscite, it does not owe its origin to that measure, but to the policy of the government as set forth in the Speech.

The government's policy as set forth in the Speech from the Throne was due not to any political pressure or popular clamour but to what the government, as a result of the changed conditions of the war, had come to recognize as the only sound policy "at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history".

In all sincerity, may I ask would any other policy be justifiable in the face of conditions as we have seen them develop from month to month, and from year to year since the commencement of the present war, and as we know them today? If after almost three years of conflict, the course of the war had been different; if, for example, Germany, after overrunning the most of Europe, had been driven out of some, or even one of the countries she has subjugated; if Germany was now more concerned with her own defence than bent, as she continues to be, upon further conquest; if Japan had remained out of the war, instead of challenging the might of the United States, as well as that of the British Commonwealth and other of the United Nations, there might have been reason to question the need for removal of any limitation upon the complete freedom of the administration to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of situations as they may arise. But when the very opposite is the case, when the war, instead of remaining war upon a single continent has become a war which is world encircling, embracing all continents as well as all oceans, a war in which all of the great powers of the world have either been partially destroyed, or are fighting for their very existence, and in which the survival of civilization itself is at stake, would it not have shown a lack of responsibility had the government not sought from parliament, in plenty of

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time, the widest possible powers to cope with any and every situation as it may arise?

A government is responsible not only for what it does, but for what it fails to do. A like responsibility, it seems to me, rests upon the parliament of the country, once its members are appealed to by the government to assist the administration in helping to accomplish the defeat of the enemy, and thereby to preserve the nation's security, and it may be its very existence.

On June 11th, the former Minister of Public Works, objecting to the introduction of the bill at the present time, exclaimed: (Hansard, p. 3562):

> "In the name of heaven, what is the use of having a dead principle in our statute books."

My hon. friend, in asking that question, was thinking only of the application of conscription for service overseas. He entirely overlooked one very important aspect of the bill. The present bill seeks to remove the limitation on compulsory military service outside Canada and its territorial waters. It will not only remove the statutory limitation on compulsory service overseas; it will equally remove the restriction on compulsory service elsewhere in this hemisphere. In so far as service in other parts of North America and the adjacent islands is concerned, the amendment of the Mobilization Act, once it becomes law, will in no

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sense be "a dead principle in our statute books."

At any moment, its application may become an urgent necessity. Recent events, no less than a glance at the map are enough to disclose that, in a tactical sense, the defence of our east and west coasts is inseparable from the defence of the adjacent territories of the United States. We have recognized from the beginning of the war that the same is true of Newfoundland and Labrador. To strengthen our own immediate defences, it will be necessary to extend the scope of compulsory service to these areas. In the event of actual hostilities on any considerable scale in this hemisphere, any restriction on the movement of troops back and forth between Canada and neighbouring territories would be intolerable.

It is true that before the plebiscite was held, I said that the government, in an emergency, would authorize such action by order in council under the War Measures Act, and would later ask Parliament to amend the Mobilization Act. But that surely is an undesirable method to employ if Parliament has the time to give to the government the necessary authority in advance.

Moreover, the government has equal power to follow the same procedure in the case of compulsory service overseas. It is because of its deep sense of its responsibility to Parliament, that the government is seeking, for the one case as for the other, the requisite authority from the present Parliament.

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The debate has shown that objection to the present bill is due in the main to one of four reasons. There may be others, but they have not been set forth in a pronounced way in any of the speeches which have been made.

The first two of these reasons for opposition represent the extremes of widely divergent points of view. At the one extreme are those who object that the bill does not go far enough. At the other extreme are those who say that the bill goes too far. Those who hold to the first of these extremes wish to have the principle of conscription applied immediately to service overseas, regardless of whether or not compulsion is needed to obtain the necessary enlistments, and regardless as well of prejudicial consequences which might arise from an unnecessary application of conscription to overseas service. Those who hold to the opposite extreme are unwilling to have the principle of conscription applied to service overseas not only immediately, but at any time, and this regardless of the consequences whatever they might be.

In referring to those who take this extreme view, I wish to differentiate sharply between hon. members who are in accord with the government's policy of a total war effort, but who honestly and sincerely believe that conscription for overseas service will not increase our total effort, and might even serve to prejudice that effort, and those

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others, happily very few in number, who have indicated clearly by their attitude, not only in the present debate but in the past, that they are prepared to see Canada risk defeat rather than accept conscription for service overseas. In 1937, in 1938 and in 1939, some of these hon. members opposed the preparations for the defence of Canada because they maintained that Canada was in no danger. If I interpret their words aright, they are still prepared to overlook the designs of the enemy, and to discount his strength, despite the fact that his design of world conquest is increasingly clear, and despite the continued success of his arms. They are prepared to leave to others to do for Canada, for their homes and their families what they are unwilling to do not only for others, but even for their own country, and for themselves. They refuse to see the need to bring about the destruction of the enemy as speedily as possible, and as far as possible from Canada. They are prepared to risk subjecting the Canadian people to the fate of those countries which, in such numbers, have already experienced the terrors of invasion, and of conquest, by a ruthless and relentless foe.

The members who are thus unwilling to look beyond the shores of Canada have referred repeatedly to Australia which country, at an earlier stage in the war, sent troops overseas, and has since been obliged to recall some men for her own defence. But why did Australia send her troops overseas if it was not that she recognized the need of a collective

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defence? Why, may I ask, was the United States so ready to send an army and naval forces to Australia in her hour of need? Was it not because the United States realized that unless the enemy were defeated overseas, he would have to be defeated on American soil; and was it not also because Australia had earned the respect and help of other nations by sending her armed forces overseas against the common enemy?

And here let me protest equally against the deliberate misrepresentation of Canada's position which continues to come from many who represent the other extreme. Some hon. members opposite have said, and the press which supports them keeps repeating the statement,

, that the government is unwilling to send men overseas. They seek to create the impression that, because Canada has had no occasion to resort to conscription for overseas service, that no Canadian troops are being sent overseas. This obviously is being said solely for political purposes, for they know full well that such is not the truth, and that a false impression is thereby being created. But what is the result? False impressions are thereby also being given to other countries. This is most detrimental to Canada, and is most unfair to Canada's magnificent army overseas.

No one can object to the honest advocacy of conscription by those who believe sincerely that it will advance the country's war effort. But surely there are

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better ways to advocate conscription than by belittling the Canadian Army, and seeking to create the impression that because the men who are steadily going forward have offered their services voluntarily, Canada is not sending troops overseas.

Both extremes, for opposite reasons, are helping to create the wholly false impression that Canada is not sending or is not willing to send her men to meet and defeat the enemy overseas. Both, for political ends, are prepared to discredit their own country in the eyes of the world.

These two extremes can never be reconciled. The debate must have made it wholly clear even to those who support either extreme, that the adoption of their views would only serve to weaken, and perhaps to destroy, the national unity which all should wish to see maintained. It would be equally destructive of an effective war effort.

Were this House of Commons, on grounds of national necessity, or for any other reason, obliged to yield to either extreme, many hon. members might well find their present position one of considerable embarrassment. Their embarrassment, however, both in the present and in the future, is more likely to arise, indeed, is, I believe, certain to arise, should they fail to lend their support to a policy which avoids extremes, and which, at this time of war, alone gives hope for the preservation of national unity. National unity, it seems to me, can

best be preserved by hon. members giving to the government charged with carrying on Canada's war effort, the support which the government must receive from parliament, if its great responsibilities are to be discharged in a manner which will truly serve the national interest.

If, in reference to the very difficult question of service overseas, anyone can conceive of a policy which is better calculated to serve the national interest than the one the government has formulated, and which is clearly and concisely expressed in the words: "Not necessarily conscription, but conscription if necessary", I shall be first to advocate its acceptance. I can only say that nothing of the kind has been proposed by any hon. member in the course of the debate. Nor do I believe that anything better can be suggested. Indeed, the events of the war, as well as all that has been said in the course of the debate, should have made it wholly apparent that, all circumstances taken into account, it is the only sound policy.

We are not dealing with theories, either of government or of war, upon which, without grave risks to themselves and others, men can afford to continue to differ. We are faced with conditions which actually exist, and which have to be met. They must be met with as large a measure of general consent as may be possible, if both Canada and our allies are not to suffer. It is from this point of view that, regardless of any position

thus far taken with respect to the present bill, I now ask all hon. members to view their obligations alike to their constituencies and to Canada.

I said that objection to the bill had been raised on four grounds. I have dealt with the first two. Those who oppose on other grounds do not differ fundamentally with the policy of the government with respect to service overseas: "Not necessarily conscription but conscription if necessary". But they assert that, if the bill is to receive their support, something more is required. The assurance demanded, in the one case, is that if provision is to be made for the conscription of men for service overseas, then provision must equally be made for what is generally termed "the conscription of wealth"; that the two must go together. That, as I understand it, was the purport of the amendment proposed by the leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation group.

First of all, may I say to my hon. friend the leader of the C.C.F. group, and to those who share views similar to his own, that the power to conscript wealth at whatever time, and to whatever extent may be deemed advisable and necessary, is already in the act which the government is asking parliament to amend, not by further limiting its provisions, but by extending their application.

The power to conscript wealth will remain unrestricted.

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There are no limitations upon this power other than such as may result from the judgment of the government in exercising its discretion. The legislation itself as I have pointed out is enabling legislation, and as respects both the conscription of wealth and conscription of manpower will, if the bill is adopted, remain enabling legislation. The government in both particulars will be free to exercise its discretion as the needs of the war may demand.

I need not, I know, remind hon. members that the ground on which, on its second reading, a bill merits support or rejection, is one of principle. It is not a question of additions to or subtractions from its provisions. These are matters to be dealt with when the bill is in committee. What, so far as principle goes, the government is seeking by the bill is exactly what the leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation implies the government should have, namely, complete freedom, subject to its responsibility to parliament, as respects the application of conscription in any direction. To impose conditions of any kind upon the exercise of the government's discretion, other than such as attach to its responsibility to parliament, is to destroy altogether the all-out freedom of action by the administration which it is the principle of the bill to secure.

If this year's budget does not serve to convince hon. members and the people of Canada generally of the govern-

readiness to conscript whatever wealth is necessary to distribute the burden of Canada's war effort as equitably as possible, it is difficult to imagine that more in the way of assurances to this end would be regarded as adequate.

I come now to the last of the reasons which have been urged by some for not supporting the bill, and by others for hesitating to give their support until the government's exact intentions are more fully known.

From both sides of the House, objection has been raised to the possibility of resort to conscription for overseas service at some future date without a further reference to parliament. When, however, hon. members speak of coming again to parliament, some appear to have one thing in mind; and others quite another.

All are agreed that the present bill, if enacted, will give to the government the power to make conscription applicable to service outside Canada, whenever and to whatever extend in the judgment of the government it is necessary and advisable. Some contend that should the government decide that conscription for overseas service has become necessary and advisable, the government should before any action is taken, announce its decision to parliament, and, at that time, by further legislation, define the terms and conditions of such service, or at least permit a second debate on the question of

its immediate application. There are others who do not advocate a second debate on conscription, much less further legislation, but who maintain that a due recognition of the Ministry's responsibility to parliament demands that, as soon as possible after the government's decision has been reached, it should be communicated to parliament, and before effect is given thereto, that opportunity should be given hon. members for an expression of their views.

May I say, as emphatically as I can, that in no case would I wish to countenance a second debate on conscription.

In setting forth the reasons why the government had not proceeded by stages, in removing the limitation in the Mobilization Act with respect to service outside Canada, I made the statement that such a course would not have met the purposes of the plebiscite as outlined in the Speech from the Throne, one of which was to ensure to the government complete freedom of action, subject only to its constitutional responsibility to parliament.

I gave, however, another and very important reason. I said that to amend the act in any particular would necessitate a debate in both House of Parliament - a debate moreover which would inevitably be a debate on the question of conscription; that this would mean going all over the same ground again. Speaking on this aspect of the matter on June 10th, I said:

"Unnecessary discussion and prolonged debate in parliament at a time when our country is hourly

being drawn into greater danger would not serve to place Canada's war effort in its true light, either before our own people, or before the people of other countries, nor would it gain respect for parliament."

Whatever may have been said or thought of the truth of this statement at the time it was made, after all that has since been said in the course of the present debate, for and against conscription for service overseas, it will, I think, be agreed that on this question little more, if anything of value, could possibly be added. It must now be wholly apparent that this House of Commons itself, not to speak of the country, would be impatient of any attempt to traverse the same ground anew; and that public opinion would strongly resent any such procedure.

It is well, therefore, that it should once again be clearly stated that while this bill does not, regardless of circumstances, commit the government to conscription for overseas service, parliament, by enacting this bill, is placing it within the discretion of the government to impose conscription for service overseas, if, in its judgment, the needs of the situation as they may arise should so demand.

This is one of the reasons why the government has been ready to allow to hon. members on the second reading of the bill, the fullest latitude to discuss from all possible angles, and on all possible grounds, the question of the

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application of conscription to service overseas, and has not sought, in any way, to curtail the debate. It would be unreasonable to suppose that a like opportunity could be afforded at any other time.

If, at some future time, it became necessary in the judgment of the Administration to apply conscription for service overseas, that step, it is to be presumed, would be to meet a situation which would permit of little, if anything, in the way of debate. Debate would involve delays at a moment when time had become a vital factor. Knowing that this is likely to be the case, had the government sought to postpone debate on overseas conscription until the hour of an emergency, hon. members might well have complained that on so controversial a question they were not being treated with the consideration to which the representatives of the people were entitled. It might have been said that their hands were being forced.

There is an additional reason why the debate on conscription for service overseas should take place upon the present bill rather than at a time - should the situation so demand - that the government may have reached the decision that the application of the compulsory method to military service overseas has become necessary. That reason is that the need would almost certainly arise in circumstances in which military considerations would prevent the disclosure in

open debate of the factors on which the decision of the government was based. The government's judgment in the matter will necessarily depend, in very large part, on military information of the highest degree of secrecy. There is nothing more important in the movement of troops at a time of war than that all matters pertaining thereto should be surrounded with the utmost secrecy. Moreover it is not only Canada's position, and considerations of special interest to Canada, that have to be taken into account. Very careful account has to be taken of the hostile use the enemy may make of information disclosed, and of how far any disclosures on military matters may affect the position of every one of the United Nations.

It has, I think, been made abundantly clear that, so far, at least, as the present administration is concerned, any decision respecting conscription for overseas service will not rest solely with the military authorities, but that any action taken under the present bill must and will be authorized by the Governor in Council. In other words, the decision will be the decision of the Cabinet, subject always to its responsibility to Parliament.

I have also already given to hon. members an assurance that all relevant factors would be taken into account by the Cabinet in reaching a decision.

In speaking in this House on the purpose of the plebiscite, I said: (See unrevised Hansard,

Feb. 25, 1942 - page 913):

"What we shall do at any particular time will depend upon the course which we think at the time is necessary and advisable, and most effective in Canada's war effort. That decision is not going to be made in the light of any one factor. It is going to be made in the light of all conditions as they exist, and as they are known to the government at the time."

And later:

"The government is going to do the thing that it believes is going to further to the uttermost Canada's war effort, all circumstances considered."

I added:

"May I say that when I say 'all circumstances considered', I have in mind the conditions as they exist in respect to the war in different theatres, and the conditions as they may exist in Canada itself."

It is perhaps well that I should remind hon. members that these statements were made as early in the present year as February 25th. They were repeatedly referred to in the course of the campaign on the plebiscite in explanation of its objectives, and of how the government proposed to exercise its power, if given a free hand. It cannot therefore be said that the government's policy, as

it finds expression in the present bill, was not fully known both to parliament and the public, before and during the time the plebiscite was held.

As to the right thing being done by the government at the right time, and in the right way, that, it seems to me, as I said in opening this debate, necessarily comes to be a matter of the degree of confidence which parliament and the people have in the administration charged with the responsibilities of carrying on the war. This does not constitute a reason for a second debate on the conscription issue. It is, however, the strongest of reasons why a government, once it has reached a decision that the needs of a situation demand a certain course of action on which opinion may be divided, should take the earliest possible opportunity of making perfectly sure that it enjoys the confidence of parliament, and that it may rely with certainty upon the support of parliament in giving effect to the decision reached. Especially is this the case where widely divergent views have previously been expressed in the country, and also in parliament, on the wisdom of any discretionary power being given the administration; and where it is to be expected that differences will still exist concerning the wisdom of the decision.

A second debate on conscription is one thing. A vote of confidence in a government before it undertakes to enforce a particular course of action

is quite another and wholly different thing.

If an administration is to begin to carry out its duties in the prosecution of a war, it cannot afford to be left in any doubt, at any time, as to the adequacy of its support by parliament, and least of all in a time of peril. The assurance of the confidence of parliament is particularly necessary to the leader of a government where there is the slightest reason for him to doubt the extent to which he may be able to rely upon the support he will receive in the House of Commons.

In the Speech from the Throne, it was stated that the government was of the opinion that, at this time of gravest crisis in the world's history, the administration, subject only to its responsibility to parliament, should possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment of the needs of the situation as they may arise.

As to the importance to be attached to the words "subject only to its responsibility to parliament" as they appear in the Speech from the Throne, there may well be differences of view. The responsibility of the Ministry to parliament would be the same whether these words were there or not. Their presence

in the Speech would seem, however, to endow them with special significance.

How important may be the significance to be attached to them, each hon. member will necessarily decide for himself. For myself, and in this I speak only for myself, holding the views I do, and the views I have always held concerning the responsibility of the Executive to Parliament, I do not believe that this House of Commons would feel it had been shown the degree of confidence it had a right to expect from the Ministry, if, in a matter of so great concern to the whole of Canada, the government were to act before so important a decision had been made known to the House.

While it is true that if the present bill becomes law, the administration will possess complete freedom to act in accordance with its judgment, I can imagine what would be said by some hon. members opposite, and indeed by many hon. members on this side of the House as well, if, with Parliament in session, and before acquainting hon. members with the decision of the government, I were to sign an order-in-council putting into effect conscription for service overseas, and immediately thereafter were to come to this House and inform hon. members of the action the government had already taken.

If the need should arise for sending overseas as reinforcements men called up under the National Resources Mobilization Act, the procedure should be as open and above board as it can possibly be made. Unless it is understood that

parliament will be informed in advance, all kinds of suspicion will be aroused and all sorts of rumours will be in circulation from day to day.

The right of the public to be informed of the decision of the government before it is enforced was set forth clearly in the address I made in opening the plebiscite campaign on April 7th. Speaking on this very metter in a nation-wide broadcast, I said:

> "The people of Canada are not going to hesitate to take any step which they believe to be necessary for the preservation of their freedom. They are certainly not going to hesitate to adopt any measure needed to preserve their national existence, but they will wish to know, and they have a right to know, that before any step is taken, that step is necessary. This is particularly true in the case of a measure which has been the subject of bitter controversy and the source of disunity in the past."

I intend, therefore, if the time should come when the government decides that it has become necessary to send overseas men who have not volunteered for general service, and I should be in office at the time, to ask my colleagues to join me in seeing that parliament is immediately informed of the government's decision. If parliament is not in session, I would do whatever lies with my power, to see that parliament is informed as soon as possible after the decision has been reached.

I intend, at the same time, to see that, before the administration assumes the additional responsibility of enforcing its decision, honourable members are given an opportunity, not for any second debate on the question of conscription, but of showing their confidence or want of confidence in the administration.

In following this course, I hope it will be agreed that I am fulfilling the spirit of an earlier undertaking given to parliament on February 25th, that "when we find that we cannot raise the required numbers of men for enlistment overseas by the voluntary method, and it is absolutely necessary to raise more men by other methods, then we will make our decision, present it to parliament, and have it discussed on its merits." The debate on the merits of conscription has, of necessity, come on the present bill. What really is important hereafter is that the government's decision should immediately be presented to parliament, and that the government should be prepared to stand or fall on its decision.

It may be said that such a course will involve a delay; and that what is needed is action. It will quite rightly be said that if action had not become imperative, the government would not have reached a decision. Such an objection might justifiably be raised if a second debate were to be permitted on the question of conscription. It is not, however, an objection to the course proposed. If the government decides

that it is necessary to apply conscription for overseas service, there need be no delay in enforcing that decision. And unless it became apparent that the Ministry had ceased to enjoy the confidence of this House of Commons, there would be no delay.

Even if Parliament is not actually sitting, it can be brought together in a few days. Under our war-time practice of adjourning rather than proroguing the session, there would be no opening formalities. There would be no need of further legislation, merely an expression of confidence in some form. It is virtually impossible to conceive of a situation in which the lapse of a week will affect sending reinforcements overseas, since arrangements to that end could proceed concurrently with the re-assembling of parliament. As the former Minister of Public Works himself suggested on June 11th, (Hansard p. 3562): "In seven days, conscripts are not going to be sent overseas.....Nothing would prevent the government from preparing the machinery the moment they decide to have recourse to conscription." Debate of course would have to be curtailed. Following precedents established at Westminster, I would feel that, if any, at most a very short time should be allotted for discussion.

No matter how drastically discussion might have to be restricted, every member by his vote would have the opportunity to express his confidence or lack of confidence in thegovernment. There need, in fact, be no debate.

Within the past week, a resolution of non-confidence in the government was debated in the British House of Commons. It arose as a result of criticism directed against Mr. Churchill on account of his continuing to hold the office of Minister of Defence in addition to that of Prime Minister. The debate was definitely limited in time. In less than two days, hon. members found ample opportunity for an expression of their views.

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As to the means by which this House, with respect to the government's decision, could be given the opportunity to express its confidence or lack of confidence in the administration, hon. members are well aware that it is possible at any time for any hon. member to move a vote of want of confidence on a motion to go into Committee of Supply. Should the government deem it advisable to proceed by that method to ascertain the opinion of the House, the government would so arrange. If, at the time, there were no estimates before the House, the government could bring in a special supplementary estimate, and immediately move to have the House go into Committee of Supply. Any hon. member who wished to do so, could then move a vote of want of confidence.

There is another, and a more direct method of procedure. That is the method which was followed in the Parliament at Westminster in January last, after Mr. Churchill's return from his earlier visit to the United States and Canada. On January 27th, Mr. Churchill expressed to the House of Commons his desire to be sustained by a vote of confidence.

The following day, Mr. Attlee moved:

"That the proceedings on the motion relating to confidence in His Majesty's Government be exempted, at this day's sitting from the provisions of the Standing Order (Sittings of the House)".

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This was agreed to.

Mr. Attlee then moved:

"That this House has confidence in His Majesty's Government and will aid it to the utmost in the vigorous prosecution of the war."

Debate took place on the 28th and 29th of January, At the end of the latter sitting, the House divided: Ayes 464 and Noes 1.

Hon. members will, I believe, be interested in Mr. Churchill's own appreciation of the importance and significance of the vote he was asking from the House of Commons. On January 27th, he said:

> "From time to time in the life of any government, there come occasions which must be clarified. .....
>
> "Since my return to this country, I have come to the conclusion that I must ask to be sustained by a vote of confidence from the House of Commons. This is a thoroughly normal, constitutional, democratic procedure. A debate on the war has been asked for. I have arranged it in the fullest and freest manner for three whole days. Any member will be free to say anything he thinks fit about or against the Administration or against the composition or personalities of the government, to his heart's content, subject only to the reservation which the House is always so careful to observe about military secrets. Could you have anything

freer than that? Could you have any higher expression of democracy than that? Very few other countries have institutions strong enough to sustain such a thing while they are fighting for their lives."

I am unable to indicate, at present, which procedure will be followed in the event of the government reaching the decision that it should have recourse to conscription for service overseas. That must depend upon the circumstances at the time. In a matter which relates to a future decision of the Cabinet, and so immediately to the confidence which others may have in my judgment and my fidelity, I obviously can speak only for myself. No one can say what the course of the war will be, or what, at any time, conditions may be in our own or other countries. In seeking to free the government from one commitment, I do not wish to be drawn into making another. I wish, however, to leave no doubt in the mind of any hon. member that, if I am at the head of the administration when such a decision is reached, I shall ask to be assured of the confidence of the House of Commons before the government proceeds to enforce the decision.

This is not a new attitude on my part. It is one that I have repeatedly expressed, and to which I intend at all times to adhere. I so expressed my attitude in this very matter

to the Canadian people, on April 24th. In my final broadcast in the plebiscite campaign, I said:

> "This is not an ordinary time; it is a time of war. The whole world is in a state of rapid change. At any time the responsibilities of government are heavy enough. They are greater today than they have ever been. For my part, if I did not believe that as head of the government, I continued to enjoy the confidence of the people, who, time and again, have returned me to office, I would not wish to remain in office an hour longer."

I might point out, that in January last, when Mr. Churchill sought a vote of confidence in his administration, none of his critics had even suggested that he should resign, and that someone else should take his place. He felt, however, that criticism of himself and of certain aspects of his administration had reached the point where he required the assurance that he was sustained by the support of those from whom in parliament his power was derived. I believe that the leader of a government charged with great responsibilities in a democratic country feels, at all times, the need of such an assurance, and at no time more than on the eve of embarking upon added responsibilities.

Mr. Churchill, I think, had this very much in mind when, answering his critics in the House of Commons at Westminster on

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Thursday last he said: "Everything that can be thought of or raked up has been used to weaken confidence in the government...." and later referring to himself as the Prime Minister, he added: "and then to undermine him in his own heart and, if possible, before the eyes of the nation."

But there is another reason why Mr. Churchill has felt from time to time the need of being sustained by a vote of confidence of fellow-members in the House of Commons. Parliamentary responsibility is twofold. Members as well as Ministers have their responsibilities. Mr. Churchill felt that the people of the United Kingdom had a right to know where their representatives stood, and what support they were prepared to give to the administration in its grave task of carrying on the war. He felt the people of the United Kingdom were equally entitled to know what support was being withheld from the administration, and why it was being withheld. The same I believe to be true at this time of war of the parliament and people of Canada.

As I conclude, may I repeat what I said to the people of Canada in appealing, on April the 7th, for an affirmative vote on the plebiscite:

> "To those who, beyond the events of today, are able to look into the future, it is no longer the unity, it is the very existence of our country as a free nation which they see is in danger today. We are no longer in

a world where even the most powerful nation is able, by itself, to save itself from the ambition and greed of the aggressor nations. For the preservation of its very existence, each free country is going to need all the help that other free countries can give. It will require the utmost co-operation on the part of all free countries to save them from becoming victims, one by one, of the gangster nations whose undoubted aim is world conquest. With our immense territory, great resources and small population, no country may come to need the help of the other countries more than our own. Unless we continue to do all we can to help others, we shall have no right to expect them to do all they can to help us. Until the present tide of conquest is turned into overwhelming defeat for the enemy, no country - and assuredly not Canada - can consider itself secure."

I did not use those words lightly. I appeal to every hon. member to ponder their significance in the light of what has occurred and of the situation as we know it today. Who can doubt that our security, that the security of this hemisphere depends upon holding the German and Japanese forces in check in the old world until, from the new, sufficient strength can be gathered to overcome their terrific power.

The machines and weapons of modern war have annihilated space; they have all but destroyed time. Remoteness and distance provide no protection. In this war "overseas" has in reality lost its meaning. The conflict is one, single and indivisible, whether it is fought on the sands of Egypt, on the steppes of Russia, in the depths of China, on the islands of the Pacific, in the Arctic wastes, or in the skies over Britain and Germany and the conquered countries of Europe. There can be no security for us, for our homes, and families, until the forces of the enemy are defeated and crushed.

The government and people of Canada have a heavy responsibility to the half million young Canadians who have offered their all for our safety. We owe them all that we can give. Wherever they are fighting, they are fighting for Canada, for their own country, for its safety and for its future. That future is in our keeping, and we, in this parliament, owe it to our gallant young men, when the war is won, to hand on to them, so far as it lies within our power, a free and ~~united Canada.~~ a united Canada.

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OPENING OF NEW LEGATIONS IN OTTAWA D 60096

The Governments of Norway, Poland and Yugoslavia have expressed a desire to establish Legations in Canada and the Canadian Government, on its side, has gladly accepted these proposals. We are pleased, indeed, to welcome diplomatic representatives of these States who are carrying on so heroic a struggle against the forces of aggression and with whom our own relations are both close and cordial.

The question of an exchange of Ministers between Canada and each of the three countries I have mentioned will, it has been agreed, be deferred until after the war.

I am also glad to inform the House that the first Norwegian Minister will be Mr. Daniel Steen, who has been Consul General of Norwey in Canada for many years and that the first Polish Minister will be Mr. Victor Podoski, who came to this country as Consul General of Poland at the outbreak of war. Both of these gentlemen, now raised to the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary in the services of their respective countries, are held in high regard and esteem by the Canadian Government and all those who have had the pleasure of meeting them. I may add that the first minister of Yugoslavia to Canada will be Dr. Isidor Cankar,* who has had a distinguished career in the diplomatic service of his country and is at present the Yugoslav Minister to the Argentine Republic.

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* Pronounced "Sankar"

Copies have gone to P.C.O. for the Ottawa offices
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CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

OF

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

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

ON

NATIONAL SELECTIVE SERVICE

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON TUESDAY, MARCH 24, 1942

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, the speech from the throne at the opening of the present session of parliament contained the following paragraph:

> The government's policy of national selective service will be extended, as generally and rapidly as may be necessary to effect the orderly and efficient employment of the men and women of Canada for the varied purposes of war. You will be advised of the means the government proposes to adopt to effect as complete as possible a mobilization of the material resources and man-power of the country in direct furtherance of a total national effort.

I propose in the statement I am now about to make to set forth means the government proposes to adopt to effect increased mobilization of the man-power of the country in direct furtherance of a total national effort, and to outline the measures themselves as already adopted.

Modern total war is not confined to the struggle between opposing armies and navies and air forces. It is a struggle between whole peoples, in which all of each nation's resources, both human and material, must be mobilized and brought into action. It is therefore a misconception to assume that the war-time man-power problem is merely a problem of raising men for the armed forces. This is only a part, and not necessarily the most difficult part, of the problem of mobilizing the man-power of a nation for modern war.

Man-power—and in that term I include woman-power—is required for many and varied tasks. In the first place, essential civilian services must be maintained as the foundation of community life on which the war effort rests. These essential tasks are a form of service just as truly as making munitions or serving in the armed forces. In order, however, to free younger men for direct war service, civilian tasks, as far as may be possible, should be performed by older men or by women.

The production of food, in war time, is one of the most essential civilian tasks. To the extent that food is produced for Britain, or other allied countries, or for Canada's own fighting men, it is a direct war service. If this aspect of Canada's total effort is not to suffer, the man-power required for food production must be kept available.

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The man-power requirements for munitions production must also be filled. Some 600,000 workers are already engaged in the production of munitions. It is estimated that in the course of the next twelve months an additional 100,000 workers will be required.

In the armed forces our estimated requirements for the ensuing twelve months are a further 13,000 men for the navy, 90,000 to 100,000 for the active army, and 70,000 to 80,000 for the air force. These figures were given to parliament on February 10th by the Minister of National Defence. In addition, men will continue to be called up for military service within Canada; and this on a considerably increased scale.

Definition of National Selective Service

When, on January 26th, I announced the war programme for the coming year, I stated that the men and women required to carry out the programme would be mobilized by an extension of the application of national selective service.

It might be helpful were I to repeat the definition I then gave of national selective service as understood by the government.

By national service is meant any form of service, either voluntary or compulsory, which contributes directly to Canada's war effort. By national selective service is meant the selection of men and women for the various forms of national service according to the method or methods calculated to produce the most satisfactory results.

In order to be selective, national service does not necessarily need to be compulsory. The selective aspect applies also to voluntary service. The army, for example, does not accept every man who offers to enlist. As a war measure, compulsion is only of value where it serves to ensure a greater total effort.

Organization and Administration of National Selective Service

In speaking on the war programme in January, I made it clear that the extended application of compulsion to national selective service was a highly complicated matter, one which required very careful planning and organization. I also stated that, to carry out the proposed measures equitably and efficiently, the administrative machinery would necessarily be intricate and complicated.

Final responsibility for the allocation of man-power, as for all other phases of our war programme, necessarily rests with the war committee of the cabinet. The war committee determines, in all its aspects, the scope and extent of the war programme. The distribution of men and women among the various kinds of war service obviously depends upon the war programme. The objectives are set forth in the programme. National selective service is a method employed to help achieve these objectives.

To the problems of mobilizing man-power, the war committee has given close and continuous attention. Under the authority of the war committee, a special committee of the cabinet on man-power, presided over by the Minister of National War Services, has given detailed study to the problems involved. The recommendations of this committee have in turn been carefully considered by the whole cabinet.

I shall now set forth the procedures and measures which have been taken to organize and administer the government's policy of national selective service.

The primary responsibility for the extended scheme of national selective service has been placed upon the Minister of Labour. Under the Minister of Labour, the administrative responsibility for the direction and coordination of the policy has been vested in a director of national selective service and an associate director. Mr. Elliott M. Little has been appointed the Director of National Selective Service, and Mr. Paul Goulet, the Associate Director.

The responsibility for increasing the total man-power available for war service has been largely centred in the Department of Labour. It would not, however, be possible, even if it were desirable, to centralize in one department of government all the administrative responsibility for allocating man-power, and for directing men and women into the most useful form of service.

The other departments of government which share in greater or less degree in the tasks of making man-power available for war service and in the allocation of the available man-power are the departments of National War Services, Pensions and National Health, Munitions and Supply, Agriculture, and the three Defence departments. The interdepartmental committee on labour co-ordination, on which all these departments are represented, assists in coordinating the functions of the various departments, in so far as they relate to the mobilization of man-power. The committee has been strengthened by the addition of the employer and employee representatives on the executive of the National War Labour Board.

A national selective service advisory board has been established to advise on major

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questions of policy. This board includes, in addition to the members of the labour co-ordination committee, the full membership of the National War Labour Board and such other persons as the Minister of Labour may designate. This latter provision will ensure the representation on the board of the agricultural community and of women.

In the programme of national selective service, extensive use is being made of the facilities of the Employment Service of Canada. In each area covered by an employment and claims office of the Unemployment Insurance Commission the director of national selective service will shortly appoint a national selective service officer. The national selective service officers will have local charge of the administration of the selective service programme for their respective areas. They will be advised and assisted in their work by voluntary unpaid citizens' committees which will be set up in each of the areas.

A central registry has been established in the Department of Labour to aid in promptly finding the appropriate men and women needed at any particular time. The registry is based upon the unemployment insurance records, and the records of the 1940 national registration. To the registry will be added the records of such further surveys of man-power as may be made from time to time, with a view to building up a complete inventory of man-power available for war and essential civilian purposes. To consolidate records and to avoid duplication, the administrative responsibility for national registration has been transferred from the Department of National War Services to the Department of Labour.

Under the programme now adopted, the mobilization of industrial man-power will, in the main, be effected through the agency of the Employment Service of Canada. The armed forces will continue to recruit men for the active army, the navy and the air force by the present voluntary methods. The calling up of men for compulsory military training and service will continue to be the responsibility of the Department of National War Services.

Compulsion is now being applied in aspects of the mobilization of man-power, other than military service within Canada, to which it has been applied since October, 1940. It is recognized that no hard and fast compulsory regulations can be made which may not work injustices in individual cases. As a consequence, considerable discretion has been vested in the national war services boards to decide appeals from the compulsory or restrictive regulations of the government, and from the orders of the director of national selective service and the national selective service officers.

The right of appeal will be enjoyed, not only by employers, employees, farmers, farm labourers and others directly affected, but also by interested government departments. The duty of hearing civilian appeals will add greatly to the work of the national war services boards, now mainly concerned with the appeals of men called up for military service. In order to cope with the increased duties which will fall upon the boards, it may become necessary to increase their number and in some cases to divide their territorial jurisdictions.

Aspects of National Selective Service

The war-time mobilization of man-power has three important aspects:

1. Estimating the number of men and women required for the different kinds of war service;

2. Increasing the total man-power resources available for war purposes. In other words, making available for some part in the war effort the largest possible number of men and women.

3. Directing the available men and women into the most useful form of war service.

All of these tasks have to be carried on at one and the same time, and, in part at least, through the same channels.

The whole programme is interrelated and interdependent. I shall now give a brief outline of each of the measures, indicating, as far as possible, how each relates to and affects the other.

Estimating Man-Power Requirements

Estimating the number of men and women needed in the war effort, and the most effective distribution of the total among the armed services, war industry and essential civilian pursuits, is a difficult task. A constantly changing war necessitates constant changes in military and production plans. These changes, in turn, involve continuous revision of the estimates of man-power requirements, and the proposed allocation of man-power reserves. To this end, the director of national selective service has been given authority to obtain information from government departments, and empowered to secure from employers, by compulsion if necessary, full information, regarding prospective labour requirements, existing labour forces, wage scales and working conditions.

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Making Men and Women Available for War Service

In the early months of the war, there were large reserves of available man-power for war service because of the unemployment and under-employment of many thousands of Canadians. If we except women who, for domestic or social reasons, have not desired or sought employment, we are now well past the stage where there is any considerable reserve of employable unemployed persons. Women, therefore, constitute the most important available reserve of man-power. It is, however, not so much by bringing women directly into the armed forces, though that is being done, that the total man-power available for war service can actually be increased; rather is this end accomplished by the substitution of women for men in essential civilian tasks, and in war industry.

Additional man-power is becoming potentially available for war service as an indirect result of the curtailment of civilian production. To the achievement of a maximum effort, it is vital that man-power thus released be shifted as speedily and efficiently as possible into some form of war service. The process of shifting man-power from civilian occupations into war service has, of course, gone on steadily since the outbreak of war. It has now been given more definite governmental direction and is being accelerated.

For more than a year, the Department of Labour, in cooperation with the provinces and industry, has been increasing the man-power available through training men and women for employment in war industries. During the past year, more than 60,000 trainees received instruction in about one hundred technical schools. Industries cooperating with the Department of Labour, and often on their own initiative, trained at least an equal number. Through the Department of Labour services, and directly in industry, greater provision is now being made for training and retraining men for essential war production; for diluting present working forces by employment of men of lesser skill for simpler operations; and for the constant up-grading, as a result of training and experience, of existing working forces.

The programme of increasing war-time man-power reserves has a threefold objective:

First, to increase the total male labour force available for war production.

Second, to make possible the replacement of able-bodied men of military age with older men, or men less fit physically for arduous tasks.

Third, to increase war-time man-power reserves by bringing women into industry. This is the most important single feature of the programme.

The first two objectives are being accelerated by governmental and industrial assistance. The assistance is similar in character, although on a smaller scale, to that being afforded for recruiting female labour.

The series of measures being undertaken to bring women into industries include:

1. Recruiting campaigns, planned and publicized to attract women into the needed work;

2. The provision of appropriate and adequate facilities for interviewing women applicants and for giving them advice and direction;

3. The establishment of competent job information and placement services, specializing in female labour;

4. Advances, where necessary, to meet transportation costs in getting women workers to places where work is available;

5. The provision of hostels or other satisfactory housing arrangements;

6. The provision of nurseries and other means of caring for children;

7. The provision, where needed, of medical and recreational facilities;

8. The provision in industry, as well as under direct governmental auspices, of training programmes, specifically designed for women;

9. Pressure upon employers who may be reluctant to engage female labour;

10. Changes in civil service and institutional restrictions on the employment of female, and, particularly, married female labour.

Some of these measures have already been applied over a considerable period of time. From now on, they will be more extensively applied.

Making Supervisors Available to War Industries

An important phase of the man-power problem has to do with providing in war industries the necessary supervisory personnel. It has been found that, as war industries continue to expand, it is increasingly difficult to secure sufficient supervisors, personnel managers, and foremen, to direct the enlarged work forces. Many plants producing urgently needed war materials are now operating day and night, seven days in the week. Others that might be operating on the same basis are hampered by lack of supervisors.

A recent statement by Mr. Bevin on the importance of personnel factors in war production in Great Britain is equally applicable to Canada. It reads:

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In the layout of our war effort, sufficient attention was not paid to the personnel problem. . . . The longer the war goes on, the more necessary it becomes to pay greater regard to this personnel side of industry. The absence of a proper understanding of the problem has been one of our greatest handicaps in this great struggle. . . . Hence my additional plea for the personnel manager, who should be specially trained to have an equal position in industry with other members of the executive. Indeed, I am sure—and I would emphasize this—that our post-war position will be materially helped, and the future prospects of British industry enhanced, by a full appreciation of this important fact.

To assist our Canadian employers to meet their personnel problem, provision has been made by the government for training in personnel management. The universities have agreed to cooperate. Experienced personnel men will serve as instructors and sponsors. Trainees will be given practical instruction in the classroom, and on the job.

If the experience of this undertaking warrants, these facilities will be extended to foremen and other supervisors. It is hoped by this means greatly to reduce an important area of difficulty in war production. Moreover, better personnel policies and practice should minimize friction between management and men, improve morale, and thereby increase output.

Re-Conditioning the Physically Unfit

The government is also undertaking an extended programme of reconditioning men to fit them physically for military service.

It is and has been standard practice for the army to accept men for service who require only dental treatment, provision of glasses, or nutritional improvement. After enlistment or enrolment, treatment is provided for these men as a matter of routine.

There are, however, men volunteering for the active army, or called up for training and service, who at present have to be rejected because of some condition other than those just mentioned, and which, though not a serious disability, is important enough to require more than routine treatment.

It has been decided that when disabilities of this class are mendable within a comparatively short time, free remedial treatment will be provided to restore the standard of physical fitness of these men. Such a policy is in the interests of the armed services and also of benefit to the health of the nation as a whole.

Free treatment will be available to those who volunteer and undertake in writing to enlist as soon as they are physically eligible, provided they are certified by a competent board to be cases in which the disability can be removed or mended by treatment so as to make them physically fit for enlistment within a specified reasonable period.

Free treatment will also be available to those who are called up for compulsory training and service provided it is similarly certified, as in the case of volunteers, that the disability is such that it can be removed or mended within a specified reasonable period. When the treatment is successfully completed, these men will be available for military training and service.

In giving treatment, the Departments of National Defence, Pensions and National Health, and National War Services, will cooperate.

The treatment, both for volunteers and for men called up for training and service, will be provided or arranged for by the Department of Pensions and National Health. In neither case will men undergoing treatment be accepted into the army unless, and until, the treatment has been successfully completed. In both cases, in addition to free treatment and, if necessary, hospitalization, men undergoing treatment will be paid an allowance for time actually and necessarily lost during the remedial period.

It should be added that free treatment on precisely the same terms as in the case of volunteers for the active army, will be provided for men who volunteer for the air force, and would now be rejected for physical unfitness.

Compulsory Military Service

Until recently, the most important form of direct compulsion in mobilizing men has been the compulsory military training and service of unmarried men and of widowers without children. This, of course, is being continued, although with certain changes in the selective procedure.

A proclamation is being issued making liable to call for military training and service all men born in the years from 1912 to 1921, who on July 15, 1940, were unmarried or widowers without children. In other words, the age limit for compulsory service has been raised from 24 to 30. It has also been decided to select the men to be called up for service by drawing lots over the whole field of those who are subject to the proclamation. As soon as the necessary administrative arrangements have been worked out for this plan of selection by lot, a detailed announcement will be made by the Minister of National War Services.

Liability for compulsory military service is, at present, confined to citizens of Canada. It has been decided to extend this liability to all residents of Canada, whether citizens or not, as far as may be expedient in the light of all the circumstances. As reciprocal arrangements and other international considerations are involved in the proposal, its details cannot be announced immediately.

The liability to compulsory military service will continue to be general for the age categories affected. The burden of demonstrating the case for postponements is unchanged, except in the case of persons wholly or mainly employed in agriculture on March 23, 1942, as defined in the amended national war services regulations.

Stabilization of Employment in Agriculture

One of the man-power problems with which the country is faced is the growing shortage of agricultural labour. Means, accordingly, have had to be devised to ensure that the supply of farm labour is not depleted. To that end, regulations have been enacted to stabilize employment in agriculture.

With three exceptions, the regulations provide that no male person wholly or mainly employed in agriculture on March 23, 1942, as defined by the regulations shall enter into any employment outside agriculture unless he has obtained written permission from the national selective service officer to enter such employment. They also provide that no person shall take into employment outside agriculture, any male person wholly or mainly employed in agriculture unless such male person has obtained such permission.

The three exceptions provided for are active service in the armed forces by voluntary enlistment, seasonal employment in a primary industry, and compulsory military training if it is established that the person concerned is not an essential worker in agriculture.

The exception of seasonal employment in other primary industries, which include lumbering, logging, forestry, fishing and trapping is, in reality, not an exception. In many parts of the country, agriculture and the the primary pursuits specified are complementary aspects of what is, in effect, a single occupation.

The other specific exceptions both relate to service in the armed forces. Voluntary enlistment of farmers and agricultural workers in the active army, the navy and the air forces will continue to be encouraged. It is felt that the privilege of serving voluntarily in the armed forces should not be completely denied to a whole class of the community, however important may be the service its members are at present performing.

On the other hand, the growing scarcity of labour on the farms and the increasing importance of maintaining, and, indeed, of increasing food production, has been recognized. This has been accomplished by a fundamental alteration of the policy regarding compulsory military training and service where such service touches persons wholly or mainly employed in agriculture. Up to the present there has been a general obligation to serve, and the responsibility for proving a case for postponement of service has rested with the individual. Under the new regulations, farmers, farmers' sons and agricultural labourers will normally not be obliged to undertake compulsory military training and service. It is realized, however, that in a limited number of cases, men on the farms are not, in fact, essential agricultural workers. If it is established to the satisfaction of the national war services boards concerned that such persons are not essential workers in agriculture, they will continue to be called for service in the appropriate age groups.

This change of policy regarding compulsory military service applies only to those who were wholly or mainly employed in agriculture, on March 23, 1942, in accordance with the terms of the regulations. Persons who subsequent to that date may return to employment in agriculture, except from normal seasonal occupations, will continue to be liable for military service. In such cases, the earlier regulations regarding postponement will continue to apply.

Apart from the three specified exceptions to the rule that persons engaged in agriculture shall not enter into other employments, the regulations also empower the national selective service officer, having jurisdiction in the district in which a person resides, to give permission to farmers and agricultural workers to enter other employment. This provision has been included in the regulations so as to maintain a reasonable degree of flexibility in policy. It is recognized that there may be those engaged in agricultural pursuits, who, because of the limited character of their production or on other grounds, are not performing an essential war service. At the same time, such persons, because of age or physical condition, or for other reasons, may not be suitable for military service. Unless the way were left open for such persons to move into other fields of activity, great individual hardships might result, and valuable service in other fields be lost to the country.

It will, therefore, be open to farmers and others engaged in agricultural work, who desire to enter some other field of employment, to apply to the national selective service officer, having jurisdiction in the district in which they reside, for permission to change their employment. Detailed regulations to guide national selective service officers in determining whether such permission shall be granted or refused will be made and revised from time to time in the light of experience. Two governing factors will be taken into account in determining these regulations, namely, the maintenance of the necessary agricultural production in Canada, and the extent to which the applicant is essential to the maintenance of such production.

The policy of stabilizing employment in agriculture represents what, in effect, is a block allocation to agriculture of the persons best fitted for food production. It constitutes a form of large scale selection for national service which should go far to ensure the supply of man-power essential to the food production aspect of the national war effort.

Diversion of Technicians to War Services

Another step in the allocation of man-power recently taken, relates to the diversion of technicians to war service. It concerns persons normally engaged in the engineering profession as civil, mechanical, electrical, chemical, metallurgical or mining engineers; also production and industrial engineers, college teachers of engineering science, persons trained in any branch of the science of chemistry, research scientists and persons other than teachers holding university degrees in engineering, chemistry, physics, geology, mathematics, architecture, or in any natural science; also all technically qualified members of the Engineering Institute of Canada, the Canadian Institute of Chemistry, the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada and of any provincial association of professional engineers, chemists or architects.

About a year ago, with the aid of the professional engineering societies, there was established in the Department of Labour a war-time bureau of technical personnel. The bureau has accumulated information on most of the professional engineers of the country. It has sought to make engineers available as needed in the armed services and in war industry. The time has come, when in the opinion of the government, all technical men should be shifted from non-essential activities to war or other essential services.

Under regulations at present in force, if, at the request of the Minister of Labour an engineer is willing to transfer to more essential work, his present employer is obliged to release him and to reinstate him when his undertaking on essential work is completed. Employers who hire or release technical employees are required to notify the bureau so that technical men as needed in the war effort may be quickly located. Contracts of employment for the services of technicians require the approval of the Minister of Labour.

This measure is restricted for the present to professional technicians. It may, however, become necessary as an essential war service, also to require skilled workmen in certain categories, to remain in their existing occupations in war industries, or to move from one war industry to another, or to remain in certain essential civilian occupations. Should such widespread control become necessary, every effort will be made to reduce its arbitrary aspects to a minimum, and to secure, from workmen and employers alike, the largest measure of voluntary cooperation.

Restriction of Entry into Certain Occupations

In order to increase the numbers of men available for service in the armed forces, in war industry, or in other essential occupations, regulations have been made which prohibit the entry into employment in a wide variety of occupations, of men who are of military age and physically fit. These occupations will be known in future as restricted occupations. The regulations include a schedule of the restricted occupations. The schedule comprises:

Bookkeepers, cashiers, stenographers, typists, clerks, office appliance operators, messengers, salesmen and sales clerks, taxicab drivers.

Any occupation in wholesale or retail trade, advertising, and real estate.

Any occupation in, or directly associated with, entertainment, recreational or personal service, including but not restricted to theatres; film agencies; motion picture companies; clubs; bowling alleys; pool rooms; sports; barbering and hairdressing; domestic service; dyeing; cleaning and pressing; laundering; hotels and lodging houses; baths; restaurants; cafes and taverns; shoe shining, guide service, and funeral service.

Any occupation in the manufacture or production of

1. Biscuits, confectionery, cocoa.
2. Bread and bakery products.
3. Aerated and mineral waters and other beverages.
4. Liquors, wines, beer.
5. Rubber products.
6. Tobacco, cigars, cigarettes.
7. Leather and fur products.
8. Textile products.
9. Furniture and upholstering.

10. Photography.
11. Printing, publishing and engraving.
12. Radios, refrigerators, washing machines, and vacuum cleaners.
13. Jewellery and watchmaking.
14. Pottery and china.
15. Soaps, and toilet preparations and articles.
16. Mattresses.
17. Musical instruments.
18. Barber and beauty shop equipment.
19. Cameras and films.
20. Sporting goods.
21. Games, toys and novelties.

Any occupation in the repair of clothing, boots and shoes, furniture and household equipment, jewellery or watches, musical instruments.

It is provided that, on and after March 23, 1942, no male person shall accept employment, and no employer shall engage any male person in any of these restricted occupations, unless such person presents to the prospective employer a birth certificate or other incontrovertible evidence that his age is less than seventeen or more than forty-five years; or a certificate of honourable discharge from the armed forces; or evidence of rejection on grounds of physical unfitness for active service in the armed forces during the present war; or a permit from a national selective service officer authorizing him to accept such employment.

The conditions which govern the granting or refusing of permission by national selective service officers are to be made, and may be revised from time to time, by the Minister of Labour. Permits are necessarily subject to cancellation at any time.

The Minister of Labour is authorized to require employers to furnish reports about all persons engaged for or released from restricted occupations. The governor in council is empowered to amend the schedule of restricted occupations, by the deletion or addition of any occupation.

By applying the negative compulsion of restriction, where possible, in preference to the positive compulsion of allocation, the waste of man-power in unessential activities is prevented. At the same time, men and women are maintained in or directed into the form of service they prefer. It is obvious that the greater the measure of willingness that can be preserved, the more effective the service will be.

Scope of Selective Service

May I say, in conclusion, while the government has not hesitated and will not hesitate to apply compulsion where compulsion will serve to increase the total war effort. the government has no desire to add unduly —which means wastefully—to governmental machinery. It is essential that at a time of war, the services of men and women should not be consumed in unnecessary tasks. It is imperative that the services of all should be directed into war-time tasks. In those aspects of our war effort in which voluntary methods are working satisfactorily, voluntary selection, including a measure of choice by the individual of the appropriate field of service, has been and will be continued. The more expensive and complicated methods of compulsion have been employed only where it is felt that compulsory selection is necessary in order to increase efficiency in the prosecution of the war. Compulsion, however, will be applied without fear or favour wherever in the opinion of the government its use will aid in the achievement of a maximum war effort.

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NATIONAL SELECTIVE SERVICE

Statement by the Prime Minister, House of Commons, March 24, 1942

THE MANPOWER PROBLEM

The Speech from the Throne at the opening of the present session of Parliament contained the following paragraph:

> "The government's policy of national selective service will be extended, as generally and rapidly as may be necessary to effect the orderly and efficient employment of the men and women of Canada for the varied purposes of war. You will be advised of the means the government proposes to adopt to effect as complete as possible a mobilization of the material resources and manpower of the country in direct furtherance of a total national effort."

I propose in the statement I am now about to make to set forth [redacted] the means the government proposes to adopt to effect the mobilization of ~~the material resources and~~ the manpower of the country in direct furtherance of a total national effort, and to outline the measures themselves as already adopted.

Modern total war is not confined to the struggle between opposing armies and navies and air forces. It is a struggle between whole peoples, in which all of each nation's resources, both human and material, must be mobilized and brought into action. It is therefore a misconception to assume that the wartime manpower problem is merely a problem of raising men for the armed forces. This is only a part, and not necessarily the most difficult part, of the problem of mobilizing the manpower of a nation for modern war.

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Manpower - and in that term I include womanpower - is required for many and varied tasks. In the first place, essential civilian services must be maintained as the foundation of community life on which the war effort rests. These essential tasks are a form of war service just as truly as making munitions or serving in the armed forces. In order, however, to free younger men for direct war service, civilian tasks, as far as may be possible, should be performed by older men or by women.

The production of food, in wartime, is one of the most essential civilian tasks. To the extent that food is produced for Britain, or other allied countries, or for Canada's own fighting men, it is a direct war service. If this aspect of Canada's total effort is not to suffer, the manpower required for food production must be kept available.

The manpower requirements for munitions production must also be filled. Some 600,000 workers are already engaged in the production of munitions. It is estimated that, in the course of the next twelve months, an additional 100,000 workers will be required.

In the armed forces our estimated requirements for the ensuing twelve months are a further 13,000 men for the Navy; 90 to 100,000 for the active Army; and 70 to 80,000 for the Air Force. These figures were given to Parliament on February 10th by the Minister of National Defence. In addition, men will continue to be called up for military service within Canada; and this on a considerably increased scale.

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Definition of National Selective Service.

When, on January 26th, I announced the war programme for the coming year, I stated that the men and women required to carry out the programme would be mobilized by an extension of the application of national selective service.

It might be helpful were I to repeat the definition I then gave of national selective service as understood by the Government.

By national service is meant any form of service, either voluntary or compulsory, which contributes directly to Canada's war effort. By national selective service is meant the selection of men and women for the various forms of national service according to the method or methods calculated to produce the most satisfactory results.

In order to be selective, national service does not necessarily need to be compulsory. The selective aspect applies also to voluntary service. The army, for example, does not accept every man who offers to enlist. As a war measure, compulsion is only of value where it serves to ensure a greater total effort.

Organization and Administration
of National Selective Service

In speaking on the war programme in January, I made it clear that the extended application of compulsion to National Selective Service was a highly complicated matter, one which required very careful planning and organization. I also stated that, to carry out the proposed measures equitably and efficiently, the administrative machinery would necessarily be intricate and complicated.

Final responsibility for the allocation of manpower, as for all other phases of our war programme, necessarily rests with the War Committee of the Cabinet. The War Committee determines, in all its aspects, the scope and extent of the war programme. The distribution of men and women among the various kinds of war service obviously depends upon the war programme. The objectives are set forth in the programme. National Selective Service is a method employed to help achieve these objectives.

To the problems of mobilizing manpower, the War Committee has given close and continuous attention.

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Under the authority of the War Committee, a special Committee of the Cabinet on manpower, presided over by the Minister of National War Services, has given detailed study to the problems involved. The recommendations of this Committee have in turn been carefully considered by the whole Cabinet.

I shall now set forth the procedures and measures which have been taken to organize and administer the government's policy of National Selective Service.

The primary responsibility for the extended scheme of National Selective Service has been placed upon the Minister of Labour. Under the Minister of Labour, the administrative responsibility for the direction and co-ordination of the policy has been vested in a Director of National Selective Service and an Associate Director. Mr. Elliott M. Little has been appointed the Director of National Selective Service, and Mr. Paul Goulet, the Associate Director.

The responsibility for increasing the total manpower available for war service has been largely centred in the Department of Labour. It would not, however, be possible, even if it were desirable, to centralize in one department of government all the administrative responsibility for allocating manpower, and for directing men and women into the most useful form of service.

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The other departments of government which share in greater or less degree in the tasks of making manpower available for war service, and in the allocation of the available manpower are the departments of National War Services, Pensions and National Health, Munitions and Supply, Agriculture and the three Defence departments. The Interdepartmental Committee on Labour Co-ordination, on which all these departments are represented, assists in co-ordinating the functions of the various departments, in so far as they relate to the mobilization of manpower. The Committee has been strengthened by the addition of the employer and employee representatives on the executive of the National War Labour Board.

A National Selective Service Advisory Board has been established to advise on major questions of policy. This Board includes, in addition to the members of the Labour Co-ordination Committee, the full membership of the National War Labour Board and such other persons as the Minister of Labour may designate. This latter provision will ensure the representation on the Board of the agricultural community and of women.

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In the programme of National Selective Service, extensive use is being made of the facilities of the Employment Service of Canada. In each area covered by an employment and claims office of the Unemployment Insurance Commission, the Director of National Selective Service will shortly appoint a National Selective Service Officer. The National Selective Service Officers will have local charge of the administration of the selective service programme for their respective areas. They will be advised and assisted in their work by voluntary unpaid citizens committees which will be set up in each of the areas.

A Central Registry has been established in the Department of Labour to aid in promptly finding the appropriate men and women needed at any particular time. The Registry is based upon the Unemployment Insurance records, and the records of the 1940 National Registration. To the Registry will be added the records of such further surveys of manpower as may be made from time to time, with a view to building up a complete inventory of manpower available for war and essential civilian purposes. To consolidate records and to avoid duplication, the administrative responsibility for National Registration has been transferred from the Department of National War Services to the Department of Labour.

D 60112

Under the programme now adopted, the mobilization of industrial manpower will, in the main, be effected through the agency of the Employment Service of Canada. The armed forces will continue to recruit men for the active army, the navy and the air force by the present voluntary methods. The calling up of men for compulsory military training and service will continue to be the responsibility of the Department of National War Services.

Compulsion is now being applied in other aspects of the mobilization of manpower, as well as to military service within Canada, to which it has been applied since October, 1940. It is recognized that no hard and fast compulsory regulations can be made which may not work injustices in individual cases. As a consequence, considerable discretion has been vested in the National War Services Boards to decide appeals from the compulsory or restrictive regulations of the government, and from the orders of the Director of National Selective Service and the National Selective Service Officers.

D 60113

The right of appeal will be enjoyed, not only by employers, employees, farmers, farm labourers and others directly affected, but also by interested government departments. The duty of hearing civilian appeals will add greatly to the work of the National War Services Boards, now mainly concerned with the appeals of men called up for military service. In order to cope with the increased duties which will fall upon the Boards, it may become necessary to increase their number and in some cases to divide their territorial jurisdictions.

Aspects of National Selective Service

The wartime mobilization of manpower has three important aspects:

1. Estimating the number of men and women required for the different kinds of war service;

2. Increasing the total manpower resources available for war purposes. In other words, making available for some part in the war effort the largest possible number of men and women.

3. Directing the available men and women into the most useful form of war service.

All of these tasks have to be carried on at one and the same time; and, in part at least, through the same channels.

The whole programme is inter-related and interdependent. I shall now give a brief outline of each of the measures, indicating, as far as possible, how each relates to and affects the other.

Estimating Manpower Requirements

Estimating the number of men and women needed in the war effort, and the most effective distribution of the total among the armed services, war industry and essential/civilian pursuits, is a difficult task. A constantly changing war necessitates constant changes in military and production plans. These changes, in turn, involve continuous revision of the estimates of manpower requirements, and the proposed allocation of manpower reserves. To this end, the Director of National Selective Service has been given authority to obtain information from government departments, and empowered to secure from employers, by compulsion if necessary, full information regarding prospective labour requirements, existing labour forces, wage scales and working conditions.

D 60115

Making Men and Women Available for War Service.

In the early months of the war, there were large reserves of available manpower for war service because of the unemployment and under-employment of many thousands of Canadians. ~~This does not mean that~~ the armed forces, and war industry, have necessarily or even mainly been manned from the unemployed or the partially employed. The manpower movement was much more complex. As men gave up ordinary civilian employment to enlist, or to go into war industries, their previous positions were often filled with others ~~who had been unemployed or partially employed.~~

If we except women who, for domestic or social reasons, have not desired or sought employment, we are now well past the stage where there is any considerable reserve of employable unemployed persons. Women, therefore, constitute the most important available reserve of manpower. It is, however, not so much by bringing women directly into the armed forces, though that is being done, that the total manpower available for war service can actually be increased; rather is this end accomplished by the substitution of women for men in essential civilian tasks, and in war industry.

D 60116

Additional manpower is becoming potentially available for war service as an indirect result of the curtailment of civilian production. To the achievement of a maximum effort, it is vital that manpower thus released be shifted as speedily and efficiently as possible into some form of war service. The process of shifting manpower from civilian occupations into war service has, of course, gone on steadily since the outbreak of war. It has now been given more definite governmental direction and is being accelerated.

For more than a year, the Department of Labour, in co-operation with the provinces and industry, has been increasing the manpower available through training men and women for employment in war industries. During the past year, more than 60,000 trainees received instruction in about one hundred technical schools. Industries co-operating with the Department of Labour, and often on their own initiative, trained at least an equal number. Through the Department of Labour services, and directly in industry, greater provision is now being made for training and retraining men for essential war production; for diluting present working forces by employment of men of lesser skill for simpler operations; and for the constant up-grading, as a result of training and experience, of existing working forces.

The programme of increasing wartime manpower reserves has a three-fold objective:

First - to increase the total male labour force available for war production.

Second - to make possible the replacement of able-bodied men of military age with older men, or men less fit physically for arduous tasks.

Third - to increase wartime manpower reserves by bringing women into industry. This is the most important single feature of the programme.

The first two objectives are being accelerated by governmental and industrial assistance. The assistance is similar in character, although on a smaller scale, to that being afforded for recruiting female labour.

The series of measures being undertaken to bring women into industries include:

(1) Recruiting campaigns, planned and publicized to attract women into the needed work;

(2) The provision of appropriate and adequate facilities for interviewing women applicants and for giving them advice and direction;

(3) The establishment of competent job information and placement services, specializing in female labour;

(4) Advances, where necessary, to meet transportation costs in getting women workers to places where work is available;

(5) The provision of hostels or other satisfactory housing arrangements;

(6) The provision of nurseries and other means of caring for children;

(7) The provision, where needed, of medical and recreational facilities;

(8) The provision in industry, as well as under direct governmental auspices, of training programmes, specifically designed for women;

(9) Pressure upon employers who may be reluctant to engage female labour;

(IO) Changes in civil service and institutional restrictions on the employment of female, and particularly married female labour.

Some of these measures have already been applied over a considerable period of time. From now on, they will be more extensively applied.

D 60119

Making Supervisors Available to War Industries.

An important phase of the manpower problem has to do with providing in war industries the necessary supervisory personnel. It has been found that, as war industries continue to expand, it is increasingly difficult to secure sufficient supervisors, personnel managers, and foremen, to direct the enlarged work forces. Many plants producing urgently needed war materials are now operating day and night, seven days in the week. Others that might be operating on the same basis are hampered by lack of supervisors.

A recent statement by Mr. Bevin on the importance of personnel factors in war production in Great Britain is equally applicable to Canada. It reads:

"In the layout of our war effort, sufficient attention was not paid to the personnel problem. ...The longer the war goes on, the more necessary it becomes to pay greater regard to this personnel side of industry. The absence of a proper understanding of the problem has been one of our greatest handicaps in this great struggle. ...Hence my additional plea for the personnel manager, who should be specially trained to have an equal position in industry with other members of the executive. Indeed, I am sure - and I would emphasize this - that our post-war position will be materially helped, and the future prospects of British industry enhanced, by a full appreciation of this important fact."

D 60120

To assist our Canadian employers to meet their personnel problem, provision has been made by the government for training in personnel management. The universities have agreed to co-operate. Experienced personnel men will serve as instructors and sponsors. Trainees will be given practical instruction in the classroom, and on the job.

These facilities, If the experience of this undertaking warrants, will be extended to foremen and other supervisors. It is hoped by this means greatly to reduce an important area of difficulty in war production. Moreover, better personnel policies and practice should minimize friction between management and men, improve morale, and thereby increase output.

Re-conditioning the Physically Unfit

~~In addition to the measures already outlined for making men and women available for war service,~~ The Government is also undertaking an extended programme of reconditioning men to fit them physically for military service.

It is and has been standard practice for the army to accept men for service who require only dental treatment, provision of glasses, or nutritional improvement. After enlistment or enrolment, treatment is provided for these men as a matter of routine.

D 60120

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REPEAT
REPETITION

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There are, however, men volunteering for the Active Army, or called up for training and service, who at present have to be rejected because of some condition, other than those just mentioned and which, though not a serious disability, is important enough to require more than routine treatment.

It has been decided that when disabilities of this class are [redacted] mendable within a comparatively short time, free remedial treatment will be provided to restore the standard of physical fitness of these men. Such a policy is in the interests of the Armed Services and also of benefit to the health of the nation as a whole.

Free treatment will be available to those who volunteer and undertake in writing to enlist as soon as they are physically eligible, [redacted] provided they are certified by a competent board to be cases in which the disability can be removed or mended by treatment so as to make them physically fit for enlistment within a specified reasonable period.

Free treatment will also be available to those who are called up for compulsory training and service provided it is similarly certified, as in the case of volunteers, that the disability is such that it can be

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removed or mended within a specified reasonable period. When the treatment is successfully completed, these men will be available for military training and service.

In giving [redacted] treatment, the Departments of National Defence, Pensions and National Health and National War Services will co-operate.

The treatment, both for volunteers and for men called up for training and service will be provided, or arranged for, by the Department of Pensions and National Health. In neither case will men undergoing treatment be accepted into the Army unless, and until, the treatment has been successfully completed. In both cases, in addition to free treatment and, if necessary, hospitalization, men undergoing treatment will be paid an allowance for time actually and necessarily lost during the remedial period.

It should be added that free treatment on precisely the same terms as in the case of volunteers for the active army, will be provided for men who volunteer for the air force, and would now be rejected for physical unfitness.

D 60123

Compulsory Military Service

Until recently, the most important form of direct compulsion in mobilizing men has been the compulsory military training and service of unmarried men and of widowers without children. This, of course, is being continued, although with certain changes in the selective procedure.

A proclamation ~~will be~~ is being issued making liable to call for military training and service all men born in the years from 1912 to 1921, who, on July 15th, 1940, were unmarried or widowers without children. In other words, the age limit for compulsory service has been raised from 24 to 30. It has also been decided to select the men to be called up for service by drawing lots over the whole field of those who are subject to the proclamation. As soon as the necessary administrative arrangements have been worked out for this plan of selection by lot, a detailed announcement will be made by the Minister of National War Services.

Liability for compulsory military service is, at present, confined to citizens of Canada. It has been decided to extend this liability to all residents of Canada, whether citizens or not, as far as may be expedient in the light of all the circumstances. As reciprocal

arrangements and other international considerations are involved in the proposal, its details cannot be announced immediately.

The liability to compulsory military service will continue to be general for the age categories affected. The burden of demonstrating the case for postponements is unchanged, except in the case of persons wholly or mainly employed in agriculture on March 23rd, 1942, as defined in the amended National War Services regulations.

Stabilisation of Employment in Agriculture

One of the manpower problems with which the country is faced is the growing shortage of agricultural labour. Means, accordingly, have had to be devised to ensure that the supply of farm labour is not depleted. To that end, regulations have been enacted to stabilize employment in agriculture.

With three exceptions, the regulations provide that no male person wholly or mainly employed in agriculture on March 23, 1942, as defined by the regulations, shall enter into any employment outside agriculture unless he has obtained written permission from the National Selective Service Officer to enter such employment. They also provide that no person shall take into employment outside agriculture,

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any male person wholly or mainly employed in agriculture unless such male person has obtained such permission.

The three exceptions provided for are active service in the armed forces by voluntary enlistment; seasonal employment in a primary industry; and compulsory military training if it is established that the person concerned is not an essential worker in agriculture.

The exception of seasonal employment in other primary industries, which include lumbering, logging, forestry, fishing and trapping is, in reality, not an exception. In many parts of the country, agriculture and the primary pursuits specified are complementary aspects of what is, in effect, a single occupation.

The other specific exceptions both relate to service in the armed forces. Voluntary enlistment of farmers and agricultural workers in the active army, the navy and the air forces will continue to be encouraged. It is felt that the privilege of serving voluntarily in the armed forces should not be completely denied to a whole class of the community, however important may be the service its members are at present performing.

On the other hand, the growing scarcity of labour on the farms and the increasing importance of maintaining,

and, indeed, of increasing food production, has been recognized. This has been accomplished by a fundamental alteration of the policy regarding compulsory military training and service where such service touches persons wholly or mainly employed in agriculture. Up to the present there has been a general obligation to serve, and the responsibility for proving a case for postponement of service has rested with the individual. Under the new regulations, farmers, farmers' sons and agricultural labourers will normally not be obliged to undertake compulsory military training and service. It is realized, however, that in a limited number of cases, men on the farms are not, in fact, essential agricultural workers. If it is established to the satisfaction of the National War Services Boards concerned that such persons are not essential workers in agriculture, they will continue to be called for service in the appropriate age groups.

This change of policy regarding compulsory military service applies only to those who were wholly or mainly employed in agriculture, on March 23, 1942, in accordance with the terms of the regulations. Persons who subsequent to that date may return to employment in agriculture, except from normal seasonal occupations, will continue to be liable

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for military service. In such cases, the earlier regulations regarding postponement will continue to apply.

Apart from the three specified exceptions to the rule that persons engaged in agriculture shall not enter into other employments, the regulations also empower the National Selective Service officer, having jurisdiction in the district in which a person resides, to give permission to farmers and agricultural workers to enter other employment. This provision has been included in the regulations so as to maintain a reasonable degree of flexibility in policy. It is recognized that there may be those engaged in agricultural pursuits, who, because of the limited character of their production, or on other grounds, are not performing an essential war service. At the same time, such persons, because of age or physical condition, or for other reasons, may not be suitable for military service. Unless the way were left open for such persons to move into other fields of activity, great individual hardships might result, and valuable service in other fields be lost to the country.

It will, therefore, be open to farmers and others engaged in agricultural work, who desire to enter some other field of employment, to apply to the National Selective Service Officer, having jurisdiction in the district in which they reside, for permission to change their employment.

~~Detailed regulations to guide National Selective Service~~

~~officer, having jurisdiction in the district in which they reside, for permission to change their employment.~~ Detailed regulations to guide National Selective Service Officers in determining whether such permission shall be granted or refused will be made and revised from time to time in the light of experience. Two governing factors will be taken into account in determining these regulations, namely, the maintenance of the necessary agricultural production in Canada, and the extent to which the applicant is essential to the maintenance of such production.

The policy of stabilizing employment in agriculture represents what, in effect, is a block allocation to agriculture of the persons best fitted for food production. It constitutes a form of large scale selection for national service which should go far to ensure the supply of manpower essential to the food production aspect of the national war effort.

Diversion of Technicians to War Service

Another step in the allocation of manpower recently taken, relates to the diversion of technicians to war service. It concerns persons normally engaged in the engineering

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profession as civil, mechanical, electrical, chemical, metallurgical or mining engineers; also production and industrial engineers, college teachers of engineering science, persons trained in any branch of the science of chemistry, research scientists and persons other than teachers holding university degrees in engineering, chemistry, physics, geology, mathematics, architecture, or in any natural science; also all technically qualified members of the Engineering Institute of Canada, the Canadian Institute of Chemistry, the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada and of any provincial associationof professional engineers, chemists or architects.

About a year ago, with the help of the professional engineering societies, there was established in the Department of Labour a Wartime Bureau of Technical Personnel. The Bureau has accumulated information on most of the professional engineers of the country. It has sought to make engineers available as needed in the armed services and in war industry. The time has come, when in the opinion of the government, all technical men should be shifted from non-essential activities to war or other essential services.

Under regulations at present in force, if, at the request of the Minister of Labour an engineer is willing to transfer to more essential work, his present employer is obliged to release

him and to reinstate him when his undertaking on essential work is completed. Employers who hire or release technical employees are required to notify the Bureau so that technical men as needed in the war effort may be quickly located. Contracts of employment for the services of technicians require the approval of the Minister of Labour.

This measure for the present is restricted to professional technicians. It may, however, become necessary as an essential war service, also to require skilled workmen in certain categories, to remain in their existing occupations in war industries, or to move from one war industry to another, or to remain in certain essential civilian occupations. Should such widespread control become necessary, every effort will be made to reduce its arbitrary aspects to a minimum, and to secure, from workmen and employers alike, the largest measure of voluntary co-operation.

Restriction of Entry into Certain Occupations

In order to increase the numbers of men available for service in the armed forces, in war industry, or in other essential occupations, regulations have been made which prohibit the entry into employment in a wide variety of occupations, of men who are of military age and physically fit. These occupations will be known in future as restricted

occupations. The regulations include a schedule of the restricted occupations. The schedule comprises:

> Bookkeepers, cashiers, stenographers, typists, clerks, office appliance operators, messengers, salesmen and sales clerks, taxicab drivers.
>
> Any occupation in wholesale or retail trade, advertising, and real estate.
>
> Any occupation in, or directly associated with, entertainment, recreational or personal service, including but not restricted to theatres; film agencies; motion picture companies; clubs; bowling alleys; pool rooms; sports; barbering and hairdressing; domestic service; dyeing; cleaning and pressing; laundering; hotels and lodging houses; baths; restaurants; cafés and taverns; shoe shining, guide service, and funeral service.
>
> Any occupation in the manufacture or production of
>
> 1) biscuits, confectionery, cocoa;
> 2) bread and bakery products;
> 3) aerated and mineral waters and other beverages;
> 4) liquors, wines, beer;
> 5) rubber products;
> 6) tobacco, cigars, cigarettes;
> 7) leather and fur products;
> 8) textile products;
> 9) furniture and upholstering;
> 10) photography;
> 11) printing, publishing and engraving;
> 12) radios, refrigerators, washing machines, and vacuum cleaners;
> 13) jewellery and watchmaking;
> 14) pottery and china;
> 15) soaps, and toilet preparations and articles;
> 16) mattresses;
> 17) musical instruments;
> 18) barber and beauty shop equipment;
> 19) cameras and films;
> 20) sporting goods;
> 21) games, toys and novelties.
>
> Any occupation in the repair of clothing, boots and shoes, furniture and household equipment, jewellery or watches, musical instruments.

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Any occupation in, or directly associated with, entertainment, recreational or personal service, including but not restricted to theatres; film agencies; motion picture companies; clubs; bowling alleys; pool rooms; sports; barbering and hairdressing; domestic service; dyeing; cleaning and pressing; laundering; hotels and lodging houses; baths; restaurants; cafés and taverns; shoe shining, guide service, and funeral service.

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18) barber and beauty shop equipment;
19) cameras and films;
20) sporting goods;
21) games, toys and novelties.

Any occupation in the repair of clothing, boots and shoes, furniture and household equipment, jewellery or watches, musical instruments.

REPEAT
REPETITION

It is provided that, on and after March 23, 1942, no male person shall accept employment, and no employer shall engage any male person in any of these restricted occupations, unless such person presents to the prospective employer a birth certificate or other incontrovertible evidence that his age is less than seventeen or more than forty-five years; or a certificate of honourable discharge from the armed forces; or evidence of rejection on grounds of physical unfitness for active service in the armed forces during the present war; or a permit from a National Selective Service officer authorizing him to accept such employment.

The conditions which govern the granting or refusing of permission by National Selective Service officers are to be made, and may be revised from time to time, by the Minister of Labour. Permits are necessarily subject to cancellation at any time.

The Minister of Labour is authorized to require employers to furnish reports about all persons engaged for or released from restricted occupations. The Governor-in-Council is empowered to amend the schedule of restricted occupations, by the deletion or addition of any occupation.

By applying the negative compulsion of restriction, where possible, in preference to the positive compulsion of allocation, the waste of manpower in unessential activities

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is prevented. At the same time, men and women are maintained in or directed into the form of service they prefer. It is obvious that the greater the measure of willingness that can be preserved, the more effective the service will be.

Scope of Selective Service

May I say, in conclusion while the government has not hesitated and will not hesitate to apply compulsion where compulsion will serve to increase the total war effort, the government has no desire to add unduly - which means wastefully - to governmental machinery. It is essential that at a time of war, the services of men and women should not be consumed in unnecessary tasks. It is imperative that the services of all should be directed into war-time tasks. In those aspects of our war effort in which voluntary methods are working satisfactorily, voluntary selection, including a measure of choice by the individual of the appropriate field of service, has been and will be continued. ~~In case~~ The more expensive and complicated methods of compulsion have been ~~confined to those branches of the war effort~~ employed only where it is felt that compulsory selection is necessary in order to ~~increase its efficiency~~ in the prosecution of the war. Compulsion, however, will be applied without fear or favour wherever in the opinion of the government its use will aid in the achievement of a maximum war effort.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
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94		Address in Reply to the Speech From the Throne. Speeches in Parliament	26 Jan. 1942	D 59773 - D 59869	
94		Trade Agreements. Speeches in Parliament	23 Feb. 1942	D 59870 - D 59871	
94		War, Far East. Speeches in Parliament	1942	D 59872 - D 59874	
94		Plebiscite. Speeches in Parliament	10 June 1942	D 59875 - D 59897	
94		National Resources Mobilization Act. Speeches in Parliament	10 June 1942	D 59898 - D 60095	
94		Legations. Speeches in Parliament	1942	D 60096	
94		National Selective Service. Speeches in Parliament	24 Mar. 1942	D 60097 - D 60133	
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CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

OF

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

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

ON

THE DEFENCE OF CANADA

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON WEDNESDAY, MARCH 25, 1942

The phenomenal successes of the Japanese in the southwestern Pacific have done more than all the nazi successes in Europe to bring home to the people of Canada the reality of the danger to our own country in the present war. No one should seek to minimize that danger or the new sense of urgency it has brought with it. At the same time, it should not be permitted to destroy a true perspective. In actual geographical distance, in thousands of miles, the Japanese menace is much farther from Canada than the nazi menace. In strategic terms, the probability of attacks upon our Atlantic coast and upon Newfoundland is as great as it is upon our Pacific coast. But for the shield which Britain constitutes, the danger to Canada from Europe would be far greater than the danger to Canada from the far east.

One of the most difficult decisions in waging war is the decision which must be made as to the disposition of fighting strength. Over and over again it is necessary to decide what proportion of total fighting strength should be sent to the front line to engage the enemy, and what proportion should be held in reserve to secure the base of operations and protect the lines of communication.

From the outset of the war the government has been attacked on this score from opposite extremes. At one extreme are those who would send every trained man and every available weapon overseas, without regard to the risk thereby incurred of exposing our own country to direct attack which nothing could be done to repel. At the other extreme are those who would keep every able-bodied man and every available weapon in Canada, without regard to the risk of allowing our allies and friends to be defeated, and thus exposing ourselves to the full fury of a triumphant enemy.

Extremes are Dangerous

Both extremes are perilous. To adopt either might be fatal to the very existence of our country. Unless we take every reasonable precaution to maintain the territorial security of Canada, the enemy might, by sudden surprise attacks, do incalculable damage to the country. On the other hand, unless we take our full share of the combat and do our full part to defeat the enemy before he reaches our shores, we may be left practically alone to face his onslaughts.

Before the Japanese attacks were made on British and American territories in the Pacific, the insistence of the government upon the maintenance of a foundation for the actual physical defence of Canadian territory aroused

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in some quarters a good deal of impatience. The opposite tendency has been more in evidence since December 7. Canada will never enjoy permanent security until the axis powers are defeated, and the spirit of aggression is uprooted and destroyed. That can never be achieved by keeping at home all our men and resources in an attempt to build an iron wall of defence on our coasts. That, indeed, would be the best way of making sure we should have to fight the war on Canadian soil.

So long as the international gangsters are plundering and marauding at large in the world, we can never make Canada so secure that there will not be somewhere some danger of attack. But, as I have repeatedly pointed out, we cannot on that account afford to neglect reasonable precautions. In certain strategic areas we must be prepared to meet sudden raids from sea and air. The maintenance of the security of the base of operations is the most elementary rule of warfare.

Steps have been Taken

To meet the increasing menace of attack on both coasts, the government has taken many important steps to strengthen Canada's capacity to resist attack. For obvious reasons I cannot give to our own people precise information concerning these measures without giving the same information to the enemy.

I am prepared, however, without being so precise as to reveal specific details which might assist the enemy, to give some indication of the steps being taken to strengthen our territorial and coastal defences. What I am about to say on this subject refers mainly to land and air defences. Concerning naval defence, I can add but little, if anything, to what I said on January 26 last. However, there is something that I can add.

Since that date, attacks by many submarines have been made in coastal waters of Canada and the United States. In many cases these attacks have occurred within sight of the shores of this continent. There is no reason to believe that these attacks will not continue and probably become more intensive. Officers of the Canadian naval service have expressed the view that within a few months submarines may well be found operating within the gulf, and even in the St. Lawrence river. It is known that enemy submarines can leave their bases on the European continent, voyage to the shores of this continent, seek their prey for some days or weeks and return to their bases without the necessity of refueling. If enemy submarines do operate in the gulf and river St. Lawrence, an additional burden will be thrown on the Canadian navy. Not only will our navy have the duty of assisting in escorting Atlantic convoys, but it will also have to assume the task of escorting convoys in the river St. Lawrence and in the gulf as well as along our coasts.

The Canadian navy has a share in the primary responsibility for our territorial defence. In the midst of world-wide conflict, warfare on the seas is indivisible. Any Canadian ship of war, wherever it may be operating, is engaged in defending Canada. How or where our ships are employed cannot, of course, be disclosed with exactness. It is, however, common knowledge that the major strength of the Canadian navy is in the Atlantic, sharing in the burden—and bearing a large share—of escorting convoys. This does not mean that the naval defence of the Pacific is being neglected. Inevitably the naval tasks of the united nations are so apportioned as to secure the maximum advantage from their total naval strength.

As I said on January 26, save in so far as the number of available ships necessarily sets the limit to the number of men who can be enlisted for training, no limitation so far as our navy is concerned has been placed upon the number, either of ships or of men.

There is no lack of recruits for the naval service. Indeed there is a considerable waiting list. But in addition to the limitations which have been mentioned as to the number of available ships, there is the further limitation imposed by the difficulty of training men, particularly officers and petty officers. In the nature of things, naval training takes a longer time than the training necessary for either of the other two services. After men have been given all the instruction in the art of naval warfare that can be given on shore, there still remains the long path of varied experience over which they must pass before they are thoroughly equipped for positions of responsibility at sea.

Security Increasing

Up to the present the building of naval craft and the training of men to man these craft have proceeded at an almost equal pace. Most of the ships of Canada's navy have been built in Canada, and they are, of course, manned by Canadians. The achievements of Canadian corvettes, named after Canadian cities and towns, have captured the admiration of Canadians generally and have won the praise of naval authorities in other countries. What is true of Canadian corvettes is true also of every other type of craft in the Canadian navy. Officers and men of the Royal Canadian Navy, of the Royal Canadian

Naval Volunteer Reserve, and of the Royal Canadian Naval Reserve, manning armed merchant cruisers, destroyers, minesweepers, patrol boats and other naval vessels have acquitted themselves ably and honourably over wide expanses of ocean. It can be truly said that with every month that passes, Canada's contribution to naval warfare is growing in extent and effectiveness. As that contribution grows, our security increases.

The programme for the army overseas, announced on January 26, is already under way. At that time, I also gave a résumé of what had been done with regard to the territorial defence of Canada, following the outbreak of war with Japan. I stated that new units were being mobilized in accordance with anticipated deliveries of equipment. I can now say that, in accordance with that policy, nearly a dozen new battalions have already been mobilized, together with a considerable number of additional anti-aircraft and coast defence batteries. These formations are being given an active role in connection with territorial defence.

7th and 8th Divisions

I also indicated that the organization of additional formations would depend on developments in the war situation, and mentioned particularly the mobilization of another division. Since that time the war situation has further deteriorated, particularly in the far east. In consequence of this fact the government has authorized the mobilization of two additional divisions, the 7th and the 8th. The additional formations will add depth to our existing and contemplated defences. They will be given the role of mobile reserves, with special reference to the east and west coasts.

I will not repeat what I said in January as to the special steps and special dispositions which had then been made to meet the conditions resulting from the outbreak of war with Japan. Those measures have been implemented. The new mobilizations which I have just indicated are by way of additional security. Our coast defences and anti-aircraft defences are being strengthened week by week as new equipment becomes available, and as new units already authorized complete their mobilization.

The house will understand that, for reasons of security, I cannot give the disposition of these new formations. It has, of course, to be recognized that the ultimate disposition of all troops necessarily depends upon circumstances which determine the course of the war. I can say, however, that both the troops and the equipment available will be disposed of to the very best advantage to meet any anticipated forms or scales of attack.

In the outline I gave of the war programme for the present year, I referred to the fact that the air force, like the navy and the army, had its part in the territorial and coastal defence of Canada and Newfoundland. I added that the responsibilities of the air force on the Pacific coast had been increased by the outbreak of war with Japan. I stated that, in consequence of the increased responsibilities of the air force for territorial and coastal defence, some increase in the home war establishment of the Royal Canadian Air Force must be anticipated. While there are obvious reasons why precise details of the expansion of our air defences cannot be made public, it can be said that this expansion will involve marked increases in the number of combat squadrons, for reconnaissance, anti-submarine, striking, and fighter operations.

Some indication of the scale of expansion of the home war establishment of the R.C.A.F. is revealed by the rise in expenditures on air defences in Canada. These expenditures are exclusive of the cost of air training. The expenditures were:

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I might indicate some of the factors which have made this substantial increase possible. More aircraft are becoming available. Canadian production of combat aircraft is reaching its zenith. Orders placed some time ago in the United States are now being filled. It might be of interest for me to point out that by far the largest proportion of the aircraft will be provided by Canadian plants. The air crew and ground crew required for the expanded programme will be readily available. The British commonwealth air training plan is training pilots, observers and gunners in numbers sufficient to meet all our commitments to our partners in the plan, and, in addition, to provide fully for our home war establishment. Our requirements of ground crew are readily filled by voluntary recruitment. The technical ground crew training facilities are easily able to meet the additional demands placed upon them.

D 60137

No Justification for Complacency

The construction of air fields and other defences presents no difficulties. The experience acquired during the years 1940 and 1941, in the construction of home war establishments, as well as air training schools and establishments, has made of the departments of transport and munitions and supply highly efficient and highly expeditious construction agencies. Most of the essential developments connected with the basic defence of our coasts are either completed or in process of completion. The projects this year will provide mainly for defence in greater depth, and for the development of satellite and auxiliary aerodromes.

The last thought or desire of the government would be to lull the people of our country into any false sense of security. No matter how complete our defences may be, we can never be sure of preventing the enemy from attempting some form of attack. To defeat such attempts we must utilize to the best advantage possible the men and equipment we have and are able to obtain.

It goes without saying that in any attempted attack on the North American continent, the joint United States-Canadian plans for defence would come into immediate operation. What I have said is, I trust, a sufficient indication that the security of our Canadian coasts is not only not being neglected but is being constantly increased and strengthened. I can assure the house that, keeping in mind strategic conditions elsewhere, the government is endeavouring, practically and vigorously, to strengthen Canada's defences by sea, land and air to meet any situation which is likely to arise.

OTTAWA: Printed by EDMOND CLOUTIER, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1942.

D 60138

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

OF

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

PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

ON

THE DEFENCE OF CANADA

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON WEDNESDAY, MARCH 25, 1942

The phenomenal successes of the Japanese in the southwestern Pacific have done more than all the nazi successes in Europe to bring home to the people of Canada the reality of the danger to our own country in the present war. No one should seek to minimize that danger or the new sense of urgency it has brought with it. At the same time, it should not be permitted to destroy a true perspective. In actual geographical distance, in thousands of miles, the Japanese menace is much farther from Canada than the nazi menace. In strategic terms, the probability of attacks upon our Atlantic coast and upon Newfoundland is as great as it is upon our Pacific coast. But for the shield which Britain constitutes, the danger to Canada from Europe would be far greater than the danger to Canada from the far east.

One of the most difficult decisions in waging war is the decision which must be made as to the disposition of fighting strength. Over and over again it is necessary to decide what proportion of total fighting strength should be sent to the front line to engage the enemy, and what proportion should be held in reserve to secure the base of operations and protect the lines of communication.

From the outset of the war the government has been attacked on this score from opposite extremes. At one extreme are those who would send every trained man and every available weapon overseas, without regard to the risk thereby incurred of exposing our own country to direct attack which nothing could be done to repel. At the other extreme are those who would keep every able-bodied man and every available weapon in Canada, without regard to the risk of allowing our allies and friends to be defeated, and thus exposing ourselves to the full fury of a triumphant enemy.

Extremes are Dangerous

Both extremes are perilous. To adopt either might be fatal to the very existence of our country. Unless we take every reasonable precaution to maintain the territorial security of Canada, the enemy might, by sudden surprise attacks, do incalculable damage to the country. On the other hand, unless we take our full share of the combat and do our full part to defeat the enemy before he reaches our shores, we may be left practically alone to face his onslaughts.

Before the Japanese attacks were made on British and American territories in the Pacific, the insistence of the government upon the maintenance of a foundation for the actual physical defence of Canadian territory aroused

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D 60139

in some quarters a good deal of impatience. The opposite tendency has been more in evidence since December 7. Canada will never enjoy permanent security until the axis powers are defeated, and the spirit of aggression is uprooted and destroyed. That can never be achieved by keeping at home all our men and resources in an attempt to build an iron wall of defence on our coasts. That, indeed, would be the best way of making sure we should have to fight the war on Canadian soil.

So long as the international gangsters are plundering and marauding at large in the world, we can never make Canada so secure that there will not be somewhere some danger of attack. But, as I have repeatedly pointed out, we cannot on that account afford to neglect reasonable precautions. In certain strategic areas we must be prepared to meet sudden raids from sea and air. The maintenance of the security of the base of operations is the most elementary rule of warfare.

Steps have been Taken

To meet the increasing menace of attack on both coasts, the government has taken many important steps to strengthen Canada's capacity to resist attack. For obvious reasons I cannot give to our own people precise information concerning these measures without giving the same information to the enemy.

I am prepared, however, without being so precise as to reveal specific details which might assist the enemy, to give some indication of the steps being taken to strengthen our territorial and coastal defences. What I am about to say on this subject refers mainly to land and air defences. Concerning naval defence, I can add but little, if anything, to what I said on January 26 last. However, there is something that I can add.

Since that date, attacks by many submarines have been made in coastal waters of Canada and the United States. In many cases these attacks have occurred within sight of the shores of this continent. There is no reason to believe that these attacks will not continue and probably become more intensive. Officers of the Canadian naval service have expressed the view that within a few months submarines may well be found operating within the gulf, and even in the St. Lawrence river. It is known that enemy submarines can leave their bases on the European continent, voyage to the shores of this continent, seek their prey for some days or weeks and return to their bases without the necessity of refueling. If enemy submarines do operate in the gulf and river St. Lawrence, an additional burden will be thrown on the Canadian navy. Not only will our navy have the duty of assisting in escorting Atlantic convoys, but it will also have to assume the task of escorting convoys in the river St. Lawrence and in the gulf as well as along our coasts.

The Canadian navy has a share in the primary responsibility for our territorial defence. In the midst of world-wide conflict, warfare on the seas is indivisible. Any Canadian ship of war, wherever it may be operating, is engaged in defending Canada. How or where our ships are employed cannot, of course, be disclosed with exactness. It is, however, common knowledge that the major strength of the Canadian navy is in the Atlantic, sharing in the burden—and bearing a large share—of escorting convoys. This does not mean that the naval defence of the Pacific is being neglected. Inevitably the naval tasks of the united nations are so apportioned as to secure the maximum advantage from their total naval strength.

As I said on January 26, save in so far as the number of available ships necessarily sets the limit to the number of men who can be enlisted for training, no limitation so far as our navy is concerned has been placed upon the number, either of ships or of men.

There is no lack of recruits for the naval service. Indeed there is a considerable waiting list. But in addition to the limitations which have been mentioned as to the number of available ships, there is the further limitation imposed by the difficulty of training men, particularly officers and petty officers. In the nature of things, naval training takes a longer time than the training necessary for either of the other two services. After men have been given all the instruction in the art of naval warfare that can be given on shore, there still remains the long path of varied experience over which they must pass before they are thoroughly equipped for positions of responsibility at sea.

Security Increasing

Up to the present the building of naval craft and the training of men to man these craft have proceeded at an almost equal pace. Most of the ships of Canada's navy have been built in Canada, and they are, of course, manned by Canadians. The achievements of Canadian corvettes, named after Canadian cities and towns, have captured the admiration of Canadians generally and have won the praise of naval authorities in other countries. What is true of Canadian corvettes is true also of every other type of craft in the Canadian navy. Officers and men of the Royal Canadian Navy, of the Royal Canadian

D 60140

Naval Volunteer Reserve, and of the Royal Canadian Naval Reserve, manning armed merchant cruisers, destroyers, minesweepers, patrol boats and other naval vessels have acquitted themselves ably and honourably over wide expanses of ocean. It can be truly said that with every month that passes, Canada's contribution to naval warfare is growing in extent and effectiveness. As that contribution grows, our security increases.

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7th and 8th Divisions

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The estimates for 1942-43 were originally fixed at $233,000,000. Events since December 7 have led to a new survey, as a result of which this estimate has been raised to $315,000,000. Long range commitments have been made of an additional $120,000,000.

I might indicate some of the factors which have made this substantial increase possible. More aircraft are becoming available. Canadian production of combat aircraft is reaching its zenith. Orders placed some time ago in the United States are now being filled. It might be of interest for me to point out that by far the largest proportion of the aircraft will be provided by Canadian plants. The air crew and ground crew required for the expanded programme will be readily available. The British commonwealth air training plan is training pilots, observers and gunners in numbers sufficient to meet all our commitments to our partners in the plan, and, in addition, to provide fully for our home war establishment. Our requirements of ground crew are readily filled by voluntary recruitment. The technical ground crew training facilities are easily able to meet the additional demands placed upon them.

D 60141

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The last thought or desire of the government would be to lull the people of our country into any false sense of security. No matter how complete our defences may be, we can never be sure of preventing the enemy from attempting some form of attack. To defeat such attempts we must utilize to the best advantage possible the men and equipment we have and are able to obtain.

It goes without saying that in any attempted attack on the North American continent, the joint United States-Canadian plans for defence would come into immediate operation. What I have said is, I trust, a sufficient indication that the security of our Canadian coasts is not only not being neglected but is being constantly increased and strengthened. I can assure the house that, keeping in mind strategic conditions elsewhere, the government is endeavouring, practically and vigorously, to strengthen Canada's defences by sea, land and air to meet any situation which is likely to arise.

OTTAWA: Printed by EDMOND CLOUTIER, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1942.

Mr Powers draft

On January 26th, 1942 (Page 40, Hansard) I stated:

D 60142

"A necessary foundation of our whole effort is the maintenance of the security of our own Canadian territory and territories like Newfoundland and Labrador immediately adjacent to our shores. I know some of our citizens were impatient with the Government for insisting, from the outbreak of war, upon our responsibilities for the coastal and territorial defence of Canada. We did not find similar impatience in London, where potential danger, from all quarters of the world, were clearly perceived. Recent events in the Pacific, and the sinking of ships off Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, should serve to dispel any lingering belief that Canada is immune from attack. What we must guard against now is the opposite tendency. Happily, Canadian territory is geographically more secure than the territory of most of the belligerents. We all know, too, that the best defence of our territory is the defeat of the enemy before he arrives. But we must not neglect necessary defences. We must be prepared to meet sudden raids from sea or air in certain strategic areas. The most elementary rule of warfare is the maintenance of the security of the base of operations. This aspect of our effort necessarily includes Canada's share of our joint responsibility with the United States for the defence of North America."

"The Royal Canadian Air Force, like the Navy and the Army, has its part in our territorial defence and the defence of Newfoundland. Its responsibilities on the Pacific coast have been increased by the outbreak of war with Japan."

"Some increase in the Home War Establishment must be anticipated."

In 1939-40 in Home War Establishment, that is to say in Canada on Canadian defence, there was expended $28,554,446.85.

In 1940-41 for the same purpose an amount of $50,467,309.74.

The amount to be expended in the fiscal year ending March 31st, 1942, will be $115,000,000.

For 1942 the completion of projects initiated in 1941 will require approximately $96,000,000. In addition provision was asked for another $137,000,000, making a total estimate for

Home War Establishment for 1942-43, of $233,000,000.

Events since December 1941 and the increasing activity and success of our enemies in a much wider field of operations have caused us to make a new survey of the situation and the plan for an immediate and accelerated expenditure of something in the neighbourhood of $82,000,000, for the fiscal year 1942-43, in addition to the $233,000,000, already provided, and in order to make further long range commitments, largely for the purchase of aircraft, of an additional $120,000,000.

change given by telephone to Sec't.

x making a total planned expenditure on the Air Defence of Canada for 1942-43 of $315,000,000,

It will be noted that there has been a gradual, and in the last year, a substantial increase in the amount expended or to be expended for Canadian Air Defence.

This substantial increase proposed for 1942 will be possible:

1. with respect to aircraft, because, (a) Canadian production of combat aircraft is reaching its zenith; (b) orders placed with U.S. factories some time ago are now being filled;

By far the largest proportion, probably 75% of the aircraft production program will be filled by Canadian plants.

2. The aircrew personnel and ground crew needed will be readily available:

(a) with respect to aircrew, because the Joint Air Training Plan is producing pilots, observers and gunners

D 60144

sufficient not only to meet all our commitments to our partners on the Plan, but to provide fully for our own Home War Establishments, present and future:

(b) With respect to ground crew, our requirements are readily filled by voluntary recruitment, and the technical ground crew training facilities can easily handle any additional responsibility placed upon them.

3. With regard to Construction, experience acquired during the years 1940 and 1941 in the construction of Home War Establishments as well as the Joint Empire Air Training Plan schools and establishments has made of the Department of Munitions and Supply and of Transport not only a highly efficient but a highly expeditious agency.

Most of the essential developments connected with the basic defence of our coasts are either completed or are in process of completion. The projects this year will provide mainly for defence in greater depth and of satellite and auxiliary aerodromes.

When this program has been fully elaborated Canadian security of our coasts will be greatly enhanced. Whilst no absolute guarantee can, now, or ever be given, that Canadian defence is raid proof, bomb proof or even invasion proof we will be in a position to feel that bearing in mind strategic conditions elsewhere we have made reasonably adequate provision for the protection of our own Country.

NAVY - ARMY - AIR

M. Ralston

D 60145

On January 26, 1942 (Page 40, Hansard) I stated:

"A necessary foundation of our whole effort is the maintenance of the security of our own Canadian territory and territories like Newfoundland and Labrador immediately adjacent to our shores. I know some of our citizens were impatient with the Government for insisting, from the outbreak of war, upon responsibilities for the coastal and territorial defence of Canada. We did not find similar impatience in London, where potential danger, from all quarters of the world, were clearly perceived. Recent events in the Pacific, and the sinking of ships off Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, should serve to dispel any lingering belief that Canada is immune from attack. What we must guard against now is the opposite tendency. Happily, Canadian territory is geographically more secure than the territory of most of the belligerents. We all know, too, that the best defence of our territory is the defeat of the enemy before he arrives. But we must not neglect necessary defences. We must be prepared to meet sudden raids from sea or air in certain strategic areas. The most elementary rule of warfare is the maintenance of the security of the base of operations. This aspect of our effort necessarily includes Canada's share of our joint responsibility with the United States for the defence of North America."

Navy

(Note: Insert here whatever reference is intended to be made to increased naval programme.)

ARMY -

With regard to the Army, when I spoke on January 26th I outlined the programme for overseas, and that programme is already underway.

With regard to territorial defence of Canada, I gave a resume of what had been done following the outbreak of war with Japan. I stated that new units were being mobilized in accordance with anticipated deliveries of equipment. I can now say that, in accordance with that policy, nearly a dozen new battalions have already been mobilized, together with a considerable number of additional anti-aircraft and coast defence batteries, and these are being given an active role in connection with territorial defence.

I also indicated that the organization of additional formations for home defence would depend on developments in the war situation and mentioned particularly the mobilization of another division. Since that time, the war situation, particularly in the Far East, has further deteriorated, and I wish to inform the House that the Government has authorized the mobilization of two additional Divisions, the 7th and the 8th.

D 60147

These additional formations will add depth to our existing and contemplated defences. They will be given the role of mobile reserves, with special reference to the East and West Coasts.

I will not repeat what I said in January as to the special steps and special dispositions which had then been made to meet the conditions resulting from the outbreak of war with Japan. Those measures have been implemented and these new mobilizations which I have just indicated are by way of additional security.

Our coast defences and anti-aircraft defences are being strengthened week by week as new equipment becomes available and as new units already authorized complete their mobilization.

The House will understand that, for reasons of security, I cannot give the disposition of these new formations, and of course it has to be recognized that the ultimate disposition of all troops necessarily depends upon circumstances which determine the course of the war. I can say, however, that both the troops and the equipment available will be disposed of to the very best advantage to meet any anticipated forms or scales of attack.

Air

(Note: Insert here whatever reference is to be made to the Air Force, beginning with the quotation "The Royal Canadian Air Force, like the Navy and the Army" down to and including penultimate paragraph on page 3 of Air Force memorandum ending with "auxiliary aerodromes", and close with the following-)

Suggested conclusion

D 60148

There is no intention or desire to lull the people of Canada into any false sense of security. It must be realized that no matter how complete our defences may be we can never prevent the enemy from attempting some form of attack. What we must do is to utilize the men and equipment we have and can get to defeat any such attempts by destroying the enemy forces involved.

I believe that the foregoing will be a very definite indication that the security of our Canadian Coasts is not only not being neglected but is being constantly increased and strengthened, and that, bearing in mind the strategic conditions elsewhere, we are endeavouring practically and vigorously to buttress our defences by sea, land and air to meet any situation which is likely to arise.

Query as to whether this reference is necessary.

(In this connection, it goes without saying that in any attempted attack on the North American Continent, the joint United States - Canadian plans for Defence would come into immediate operation.)

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
93		New Year's Eve Message, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	31 Dec. 1942	D 59765 - D 59772	
94		Address in Reply to the Speech From the Throne. Speeches in Parliament	26 Jan. 1942	D 59773 - D 59869	
94		Trade Agreements. Speeches in Parliament	23 Feb. 1942	D 59870 - D 59871	
94		War, Far East. Speeches in Parliament	1942	D 59872 - D 59874	
94		Plebiscite. Speeches in Parliament	10 June 1942	D 59875 - D 59897	
94		National Resources Mobilization Act. Speeches in Parliament	10 June 1942	D 59898 - D 60095	
94		Legations. Speeches in Parliament	1942	D 60096	
94		National Selective Service. Speeches in Parliament	24 Mar. 1942	D 60097 - D 60133	
94		Defence of Canada. Speeches in Parliament	25 Mar. 1942	D 60134 - D 60148	
94		Canadian Interests in Japan. Speeches in Parliament	7 May 1942	D 60149 - D 60150	

May 7, 1942.

Transfer of Protection of Canadian Interests in Japan from Argentine to Switzerland.

D 60149

The House is aware that two days ago the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs made a statement in the House of Commons, London, with regard to a decision taken by the United Kingdom, in consultation with the governments of the Dominions and of the other United Nations, to transfer the protection of British interests in Japan from Argentina to Switzerland. The welfare of Canadian nationals in Japanese hands, members of the Canadian forces and civilians alike, has been the cause of anxiety to the Canadian Government ever since the outbreak of war with Japan.

Throughout this trying period the Argentine has been our protecting power in Japan. The Canadian Government deeply appreciate the services which have been rendered by the Argentine Government, the Argentine Foreign Office and, in particular, by the Argentine Embassy in Tokyo. As a result of their unstinted efforts, they have made progress in their work on behalf of Canadian prisoners of war, despite the refusal of the Japanese Government to recognize any neutral government as protecting Canadian or British interests in Hong Kong.

The Government's decision to transfer the protection of Canadian interests in Japan from Argentina to Switzerland has been taken by the Canadian Government, as it is felt desirable that the protection of Canadian interests in Axis countries should be in the hands of a single

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REPEAT
REPETITION

protecting power. As Switzerland has assumed the protection of Canadian interests in Germany and Italy, and territories occupied by Germany and Italy, since the United States entered the war, Switzerland has been asked to take over the protection of Canadian interests in Japan. Canadian interests in Japan and Japanese-occupied territories are inextricably bound up with the interests of the United Kingdom and other parts of the Commonwealth and it is felt that administrative arrangements for their protection can be effectively centralized in a single protecting power.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
94		1942 Session, Air Training Agreement. Speeches in Parliament	3-5 June 1942	D 60151 - D 60221	
94		1942 Session, Confederation, Seventy-Fifth Anniversary. Speeches in Parliament	1942	D 60222 - D 60231	
94		1942: Notes for Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	19 June 1942	D 60232 - D 60241	
94		Miscellaneous Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Sept. 1942	D 60242	
94		Agriculturists, Delegation Dinner. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Feb. 1942	D 60243 - D 60249	
94		Second Victory Loan, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Feb. 1942	D 60250 - D 60282	
94		Second Victory Loan, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Mar. 1942	D 60283 - D 60299	
94		Plebiscite, The Issue in National Security, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 Apr. 1942	D 60300 - D 60326	

D 60151

DRAFT III

Re Air Training Agreement

The Ottawa Air Training Conference has now concluded its deliberations. It was in reality two conferences. The first conference embraced fourteen of the United Nations and was primarily concerned with the co-ordination of air training in North America. Immediately following this conference the delegations of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand joined with representatives of the Canadian government in a conference to negotiate a renewal of the British Commonwealth Air Training Agreement of 1939.

Although the existing agreement does not expire until March 31, 1943, it had been considered desirable to lose no time in making adequate provision for its extension. A new agreement was concluded this morning by the heads of the four delegations; the United Kingdom government being represented by the Right Hon. Harold Balfour; Canada, by my colleague, the Minister of National Defence for Air; Australia, by the Honourable Sir William Glasgow; New Zealand, by the Honourable Frank Langstone.

I should like now to read to the House the formal announcement of the new agreement which will

replace the agreement signed on December 17, 1939.
A similar announcement is being made in all four countries participating in the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

(Here read statement).

D 60153

(Agreed Statement begins)

"A new Agreement for the renewal and expansion of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was reached ~~yesterday~~ in Ottawa. This brings to a successful conclusion the deliberations of Delegations from Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, the four partners in the Plan.

The new Agreement replaces that which established the original British Commonwealth Air Training Plan on December 17, 1939.

Aircrews by the thousands, the product of that Plan, now man the planes which in increasing numbers are carrying the war to the enemy. The Plan has undergone changes and modifications. To meet changing war conditions its original scope was greatly increased during 1940. Moreover, because of the increased difficulty in training in combat areas, and because more and more aerodrome space has been required for operational squadrons, a considerable part of the Royal Air Force training organization previously functioning in England, has been transferred to this country by agreement with Canada.

The original British Commonwealth Air Training Plan Agreement was timed to expire on March 31, 1943. The

success of the Plan, the necessity of adapting it to new developments, and the need for long term planning, led the four participating Governments to undertake the discussions for renewal of the Agreement which have just been concluded.

The United Kingdom has been represented by the Right Honourable Harold Balfour, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Air and the Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald, M.P., High Commissioner to Canada; Australia by the Honourable Sir William Glasgow, High Commissioner to Canada; New Zealand by the Honourable Frank Langstone, High Commissioner to Canada; and Canada by the Honourable C.G.Power, M.P., Minister of National Defence for Air and the Honourable J.L.Ralston, M.P., Minister of National Defence.

The new Agreement will take effect on July 1, 1942 and will terminate on March 31, 1945. Basically the Plan remains the same. The original objective, of training in the speediest and most effective manner, the maximum number of aircrews to meet the demands of war, is still its goal. On a greatly expanded scale the extensive facilities in Canada will continue to be used by all four parties to the Agreement.. Australia and New Zealand, whose domestic air training has been increased because of the extension of the war to the Pacific area, will endeavour to participate in the expanded

Plan much the same as before. Canada will continue to supply a substantial proportion of the trainees, whilst the total number of pupils sent under the United Kingdom quota, including men drawn from various parts of the Empire and from the European members of the United Nations, will be augmented. In sum, many more men will be trained in Canada under the new Agreement than were provided for in the original Plan, as expanded from time to time.

Under the new Agreement, there will be complete co-ordination of air training in Canada. The existing Schools of the Royal Air Force in Canada, already organized, will retain their identity, but will for purposes of administration continue to be integrated with those of the Air Training Plan under the control of the Royal Canadian Air Force. Further Royal Air Force units subsequently established in the Dominion, will come under the Plan. As a result there will be a single pool of trained personnel ready to be drawn upon as needed.

The new Agreement provides moreover that there will be an increase in the number of Royal Canadian Air Force Squadrons overseas. In Canada, training on operational types will be on a scale much greater than hitherto. This is a notable development. It will mean that pupils will be trained in Canada, from the very beginning to the point where they will be ready to join

Canadian Squadrons, in action, against the enemy.

The new Agreement provides for a re-definition of inter-governmental policy on many points relating to air training. Within the limitations of security these may be summarized as follows:

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FINANCE:

The costs of air training under the new agreement from July 1, 1942 to March 31, 1945, are estimated at almost one and one-half billion dollars. This will include all air training within Canada administered by the Dominion of Canada under the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan as expanded, including Operational Training Units and R.A.F. Transferred Units.

The Governments of Australia and New Zealand will each bear the cost of training of their respective pupils received into the Plan. The United Kingdom will assume 50 percent. of the estimated cost less payments made by Autralia and New Zealand. Canada will assume the remaining 50 percent. of the total as its share.

The United Kingdom's share of the costs will as far as practicable be in the form of a contribution of certain aircraft, engines, spare parts, technical equipment, bombs and ammunition and other supplies as required by the Administrator of the Plan.

PROVISIONING OF AIRCRAFT AND EQUIPMENT

While the liability for providing equipment of the types referred to rests with the United Kingdom, the task of determining the nature of the equipment and

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(Note 5 renumbered 6
& Note 6 renumbered 5)

the quantities required for agreed establishments will be the responsibility of Canada as Administrator of the Plan. In the past, this responsibility has, of course, rested largely with the United Kingdom in respect of the Royal Air Force Schools and the change is, therefore, an indication of the greater degree of co-ordination of these Schools to which reference has already been made. The willingness of the United Kingdom to entrust the Royal Canadian Air Force with increased responsibility in this important field of provisioning is a tribute to the Royal Canadian Air Force made by those best able to judge its efficiency in this regard.

HOME WAR NEEDS

Full allowance has been made, under the new Agreement, to supply aircrews as necessary for the maintenance of any additional numbers of operational squadrons which may be retained in Canada for home defence.

ROYAL AIR FORCE UNITS IN CANADA

Royal Air Force Units in Canada will be administered by the Royal Canadian Air Force in the same manner as units constituted under the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. Units now established, will preserve their Royal Air Force identity; all new training capacity created

at the request of the United Kingdom will come under the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. Present arrangements for consultation with the United Kingdom Air Liaison Mission will be retained.

Royal Air Force Elementary Flying Training Schools, now established in Canada will be civilianized on similar lines to British Commonwealth Air Training Plan Elementary Schools, except that the flying instructional staff and certain specialist ground instructional posts will normally be filled by Royal Air Force personnel in uniform.

Including the trainees from the United Nations and various parts of the Empire, the number of trainees sent to Canada by the United Kingdom will be greatly increased.

CONTROL AND ADMINISTRATION OF ROYAL CANADIAN AIR FORCE OVERSEAS

The Agreement provides for important changes in the Administration and control of Royal Canadian Air Force personnel overseas. Provision had already existed for consultation on major operational questions. There will now also be a much closer liaison with regard to all other questions affecting the employment of Canadian personnel.

Royal Canadian Air Force Overseas Headquarters is given general supervision over Royal Canadian Air Force personnel attached to the Royal Air Force, and, subject to operational expediency, may recall any Officer or Airman so attached to serve with the Royal Canadian Air Force. Also subject to operational expediency the concurrence of Royal Canadian Air Force Overseas Headquarters is to be obtained in the selection of Commanding Officers for Royal Canadian Air Force Squadrons and in posting of Royal Canadian Air Force Officers of the rank of Wing Commander and above.

The Royal Canadian Air Force Personnel Reception Centre in the United Kingdom is to be functionally controlled by Royal Canadian Air Force Overseas Headquarters. A Royal Canadian Air Force Establishment will be formed in England to which Royal Canadian Air Force Officers and Airmen awaiting disposal, or convalescing after

illness, may be sent.

NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION

Under both the original and the new Agreement, the United Kingdom Government undertakes that pupils of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, after training is completed, and so far as is practicable, shall be identified with their respective Dominions. So far as Canada is concerned, the new Agreement proposes to implement this purpose, as operational considerations permit, through the constitution overseas of squadrons and higher formations with all-Canadian personnel, commanded by Canadian officers; and through the policy of posting Canadian personnel to squadrons in which Canadians already are serving. At present, Canadian personnel is scattered in over 600 Royal Air Force Units.

(1) Bomber Squadrons

A Canadian Bomber Group to consist of R. C. A. F. Bomber Squadrons is to be formed and will be under the command of R. C. A. F. officers. Canada will furnish the ground crews for these formations. In preparation for the formation of the Canadian Bomber Group, and in order that they may gain the necessary experience of group control, a number of R. C. A. F. officers will be appointed supernumerary to posts at group

headquarters. In order to keep the implementation of this policy to form a Canadian Bomber Group under constant review, a Canadian Bomber Group Progress Committee will be set up by Air Ministry. There will be Canadian representation in this Committee.

(2) Fighter Squadrons

It has been recognized that by reason of operational requirements, Fighter Squadrons must necessarily remain under the control of the Commander-in-Chief, R.A.F., Fighter Command. In pursuance, however, of the objective of national identification, R. C. A. F. Fighter Squadrons, so far as possible, will operate from stations which will be made R. C. A. F. Stations, manned by Canadian staffs.

(3) Coastal Command Squadrons and Army-Co-operation Squadrons Overseas.

Canadian Coastal Command Squadrons overseas are to be manned as far as possible with Canadian personnel. Army Co-operation Squadrons allotted to Canadian Army formations will be Canadian Squadrons.

COMMISSIONING OF AIRCREW

The general principle is established that all Pilots, Observers, Air Bombers, and Navigators, considered suitable according to the standards of their own countries,

and who are recommended for commissions, will in fact be commissioned. The existing percentages governing the number of commissions given to Wireless Operator (Air Gunners) and Air Gunners will be maintained, but some flexibility will be permitted to ensure that airmen in these categories with the necessary qualifications are not excluded from commissions on account of the quota.

TRANSFERS BETWEEN AIR FORCES.

The partners in the Agreement will consider applications of individuals for transfer to the Air Forces of their own nationality.

The new Agreement reaffirms and reinforces the determination and capacity of the nations of the British Commonwealth to maintain the training of aircrews on a vast and increasing scale. It emphasizes the role of Canada, as "the Airdrome of Democracy", in this task.

The original Training Agreement was conceived in a spirit of vigorous enterprise. The Agreement concluded ~~yesterday~~ today will be carried through in the same spirit and will play its part in building up with certainty and with speed air forces of overwhelming and terrifying strength."

~~(Agreed statement ends.)~~ Here is agreed Statement ends.

My colleague, the Minister of National Defence for Air, expects to be able to table in the House, next week, the Report of the Ottawa Air Training Conference, at which representatives of the United Nations were present, and also the Agreement for renewal of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, which was signed this morning.

I believe hon. members would wish me, on their behalf and on behalf of the Canadian people, to express a word of appreciation to the delegations from our sister nations of the British Commonwealth upon the speedy and business-like conclusion of the new agreement. Their fine achievement is the result of the frankest and most cordial deliberations. It was particularly appropriate that the United Kingdom delegation should have been presided over by the Right Honourable Harold Balfour, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Air, who shared in the negotiation of the original agreement, and whose special knowledge and continuous association with the enterprise were of exceptional value to the conference.

The wisdom of establishing the gigantic British Commonwealth Air Training Plan in Canada has been abundantly demonstrated. The most severe test came quite early; it was in the spring and summer of 1940 when the prospect of immediate disaster might well have discouraged long range planning for ultimate victory. But Canada never wavered in her belief in British courage and British resolution, and in ultimate victory. This belief found its expression in our determination not only to go ahead with the plan, but also to speed ~~it~~ and expand its development. This supreme act of faith was shared to the full by the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, the other partners in the Plan.

Today, the governments of Australia and

New Zealand find themselves in a position very similar to that of Britain in the summer of 1940. They have displayed like courage and resolution, and have made the same decision. The fact that, despite the approach of war to their own shores, Australia and New Zealand have decided to continue as active partners is another striking proof of the soundness of the original project. It is also a further earnest of the determination of their peoples to let nothing divert them from the main objective: the achievement of victory.

Hon. members will, I am sure, join with me in an expression of sincere and wholehearted appreciation of the part taken by the Minister of National Defence for Air as head of the Canadian delegation, and Chairman of the Conference. We all know how close, almost from its inception, the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan has been to his heart. He and his able civilian and Service advisers have borne the brunt of Canada's share in negotiating the new agreement.

The gigantic and devastating raids over Germany, of the past few days, particularly those upon Cologne and Essen, have stirred the hearts of the peoples of the United Nations. A very large proportion of the gallant young airmen from the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, who took part in these raids, received their training in Canada in schools of the British Commonwealth Air Training

Plan. There could be no more dramatic or convincing evidence of the magnitude and effectiveness of the plan.

I shall be availing myself of a particularly appropriate moment, if in concluding these remarks, I express on behalf of the Parliament of Canada the unbounded admiration and appreciation of all its members of the gallant and important role which Canadian airmen so prominently played in the recent raids. Not only members of Parliament but the Canadian people as a whole are filled with admiration of their achievements, ~~and will~~ we shall ever remember with gratitude what our brave young airmen are so valiantly doing to defend the security of their own Canadian homeland, and to preserve freedom in all parts of the world.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

Speaker: The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN

FRIDAY, June 5, 1942.

The house met at three o'clock.

HONG KONG COMMISSION

TABLING OF REPORT TRANSMITTED BY RIGHT. HON. SIR LYMAN POORE DUFF—MOTION FOR PRINTING

On the order for motions:

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I received yesterday afternoon from the Chief Justice, Sir Lyman Duff, who had been appointed the commissioner to inquire into the Hong Kong expeditionary force, a copy of the commissioner's report. I now desire to lay on the table of the house a copy of the letter from the commissioner transmitting his report which was made pursuant to order in council P.C. 1160 relating to the Hong Kong expedition, also a certified copy of a minute of the meeting of the committee of the privy council approved by His Excellency the Governor General, to-day, which minute records the submission of the report to His Excellency for His Excellency's information. I also wish to table a copy of the report itself.

The report is divided into two parts. There is the report proper, stating the principal conclusions and some ancillary matters, and an appendix in which the facts are fully stated and the evidence is fully discussed. The report and appendix combined cover in typewritten form some 115 pages of foolscap: the report proper is contained in twelve pages. Having regard to the importance and interest attaching to the report and the frequently expressed desire of hon. members to have its contents made known just as soon as possible, it would, I believe, be meeting the wish of the house if I were to give hon. members at once the principle conclusions of the commissioner. They are contained in the report proper, which is as follows:

Your Excellency:

The order of Your Excellency, P.C. 1160, authorizing this inquiry is attached to this report. By it, I am directed to inquire into the organization, authorization and despatch of the Canadian expeditionary force to Hong Kong in October, 1941. I am instructed particularly to examine the selection and composition of that force, the training of its personnel, the provision and maintenance of its supplies, equipment and ammunition and the provision of transportation therefor. The order in council states that the purpose of the investigation is to determine whether there occurred any dereliction of duty or error in judgment by those whose duty it was to arrange for the authorization, organization and dispatch of the force that resulted in detriment or injury to the expedition or its members. My duty is to determine whether there occurred any dereliction of duty or error in judgment "on the part of any of the personnel or of any of the departments of the government whose duty it was to arrange for the authorization and dispatch of the expeditionary force" and whether, if such dereliction or error occurred, there resulted detriment or injury to the expedition or the troops comprising it. If it is found that such dereliction of duty or error in judgment occurred, it is my duty to fix the responsibility therefor .

In this, my report proper, I am stating my principal conclusions touching these matters, together with some salient facts. A full statement of the facts and a full discussion of the evidence appear in the appendix hereto which is to be considered as part of my report.

First, of the authorization of the expedition. The principal considerations prompting the invitation by the government of the United Kingdom to the government of Canada to send reinforcements to Hong Kong (two battalions of infantry with first reinforcements, and by subsequent communications a modified headquarters staff) are set forth in the telegram containing that invitation, dated the 19th of September, 1941. These considerations were largely those which influenced the Canadian government in accepting the invitation. I have been unable to obtain the consent of the government of the United Kingdom to the textual reproduction of this telegram.

The chief of the general staff having expressed to the government his opinion that there was no military objection to the acceptance of the proposal and that the reinforcements ought to be dispatched, the view of the war committee, as disclosed in the evidence of three ministers of the crown, the Minister of National Defence, the Associate Minister of National Defence, and the Minister of National Defence for Naval Services, was that in the circumstances the only possible answer to the invitation was an affirmative one. The invitation was accordingly accepted and the expedition left Canada on the 27th of October.

The evidence discloses various reasons which appear to have actuated the war committee. In view of what other dominions had done in

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Abyssinia and Libya it was Canada's turn to help; Canada ought to share in the responsibility for garrisoning the Pacific area; just as Australia was assisting in Malaya; the military value of the reinforcement would be out of all proportion to the numbers involved; the arrival of the contingent in Hong Kong would have a great moral effect in the whole of the far east and would reassure the Chinese as to the British intention to hold Hong Kong; the moral effect of the expedition might operate as a sensible influence for the preservation of peace there; at that juncture, in September, to gain time was beyond measure important; such an appeal from the predominant partner in the common cause could not be rejected.

I am permitted to reproduce a telegram from the War Office, of the 30th of October, after the expedition had left:

> "We are very grateful to you for despatching your contingent to Hong Kong at such short notice. We fully realize the difficulties of mobilization and of distance which have had to be overcome. The moral effect of their arrival in November will be much greater than it would have been two months later."

The terms of this telegram assist us in forming an idea of the hopes and expectations with which the request of September was sent.

It would perhaps be a possible view that the propriety of this decision by the government is exclusively matter for consideration and discussion by parliament. Since, however, I am required to pass upon the question, it is my duty to say that I have no doubt the course taken by the government was the only course open to them in the circumstances.

It was urged by Mr. Drew that the change of government in Japan on the 16th of October, by which a cabinet notoriously sympathetic with the axis powers came into office, ought to have led the Canadian government to reexamine the question of policy raised by the invitation of the United Kingdom. I had the advantage of reading a number of dispatches from the government of the United Kingdom, which I am not at liberty to reproduce, as well as a dispatch from the Canadian military authorities in England, which is reproduced in part, dealing with the probabilities concerning war with Japan, and my conclusion is that, having regard to the information of which the government was in possession, derived from the best sources of information open to them, nothing emerged before the departure of the expeditionary force on the 27th of October which could have been considered to be a justification for the withdrawal by Canada from the responsibility she had undertaken. On the contrary, the reasons which prompted the acceptance of the proposal continued to operate with possibly increasing force up to the sailing of the expedition.

Second, of the selection of the units for the expeditionary force. The responsibility for advising the Minister of National Defence with respect to the composition of the expeditionary force devolved upon General Crerar, the chief of the general staff. In a communication to the minister, in which his reasons for his recommendation are stated at large, he recommended that the Royal Rifles of Canada from Quebec and the Winnipeg Grenadiers from Manitoba should be designated. In this communication he said that a primary consideration in making the selection was "that the units selected should be efficient, well-trained battalions, capable of upholding the credit of the dominion in any circumstances". He adds, "both" battalions designed "are units of proven efficiency".

So long as the minister's confidence in the chief of the general staff remained unimpaired, the minister would not overrule such a recommendation upon a purely military matter; and he cannot be justly criticized for acting upon it.

It is my duty, however, to consider whether there was any error of judgment in General Crerar's recommendation. Nobody, of course, was in as good a position as General Crerar for arriving at a sound judgment upon the selection of the units. His decision, moreover, was not a mere expression of opinion; it was the basis of his recommendation, made upon his responsibility as the professional adviser of the minister, upon which he expected the minister to act and knew almost at once that he was acting. The evidence, which is discussed in the appendix, satisfies me that General Crerar's recommendation was made upon sound grounds and that he is not chargeable with any error in judgment, still less with any dereliction of duty in relation to it.

The principal criticism directed against this selection concerns certain platoon weapons which are included in the establishment of a Canadian infantry battalion, but which, before October, 1941, were not available generally for training purposes to the Canadian active army. General Crerar says:—

> "There were, however, in Canada at the time in question a number of battalions (among which were Royal Rifles and Winnipeg Grenadiers) which, although somewhat handicapped by lack of supplies of certain platoon weapons (mortars and anti-tank rifles), in my opinion were generally adequately trained to undertake defensive responsibilities such as those in prospect in Hong Kong."

He adds:

> "The short supply of mortars and anti-tank rifles was general in all units of the Canadian Army and not peculiar to the Royal Rifles and the Winnipeg Grenadiers."

This, he adds, is the natural and inevitable handicap of a country which is unprepared for war and has war brought upon it.

If this handicap, as General Crerar describes it, from the "short supply of mortars and anti-tank rifles", was to be a reason for exclusion from the expeditionary force in the case of the two battalions in question, then that reason was based upon a condition that, to repeat General Crerar's words, "was general in all units of the Canadian Army and not peculiar to the Royal Rifles and the Winnipeg Grenadiers" and must have applied equally to all such units; with the logical result of excluding all.

This ground of exclusion indeed, if a proper one, was (as is fully explained in the appendix) applicable with still greater force to Canadian battalions generally than to the two battalions in question. In point of fact, these battalions were in a more advantageous position in respect of these weapons than the units of the army generally. The Royal Rifles had the three-inch mortar for training purposes at least as early as April, 1941. Although they had no ammunition, the mortar platoon was trained in its mechanism and use, tactically as well as otherwise. The mortar platoon of the Winnipeg Grenadiers was also trained in the mechanism and use of the same weapon; and further enjoyed the advantage of having, even before leaving for the West Indies, a number of anti-tank rifles (without ammunition) for training.

There were, moreover, solid reasons for believing that any deficiencies in training in such platoon weapons (with which General Crerar declares he was fully acquainted) could be made good before any encounter with the enemy. The evidence lends support to the expressed conviction of General Crerar and General Stuart (the present chief of the general staff) that this was done.

General Crerar adds:

> "With information at my disposal concerning units of Force C and knowing professional ability and character of Commanding Officer Brigadier Lawson, I would say that Force C was certainly fit to meet an attacking force, even in superior numbers, and to give a fine account of itself by December 8th."

General Crerar says:

> "Information at my disposal during latter part of September, 1941, indicated that outbreak of hostilities with Japan was not imminent and that time would, in all probability, be available to carry out intensive, adequate and possible extensive training of Canadian forces at Hong Kong after their arrival."

General Stuart agrees with this.

The evidence relating to the training, equipment and personnel of the two battalions is fully examined in the appendix. For reasons which there appear, I am satisfied that in respect of weapon training, as in respect of other matters, this selection cannot be justly impeached as affected by any error in judgment.

Third, of the steps taken to bring the units up to strength, including first reinforcements. The selection of the units made, it became necessary to provide "first reinforcements" for both battalions and to bring the Winnipeg Grenadiers up to strength. Both battallions were warned for service on October 9th and the ship which had been provided by the British government to take the expedition to Hong Kong was to sail before the end of the month. In an interval of not more than two weeks it was necessary to obtain the required additions, as well as to attend to the multifarious tasks involved in equipping the expedition. It must be remembered that all these preparations had to go forward, not only with urgency, but also with extreme secrecy. It was decided to obtain the men needed for the Royal Rifles in military district No. 2, with headquarters in Toronto, and those for the Winnipeg Grenadiers in military district No. 10, with headquarters in Winnipeg.

All men who were added to the two battalions prior to the departure for Hong Kong volunteered for service overseas with the battalion to which they went. They were, in the case of each battalion, accepted as satisfactory by the officer commanding, or by officers designated by him. The steps taken by the battalion and district officers were taken under the direction of and were approved by National Defence headquarters at Ottawa and, in particular, of and by Colonel P. Henessy, the director of organization in the adjutant-general's department, upon whom devolved the immediate direction and responsibility for the task of bringing the units up to strength and providing first reinforcements, and who became the senior administrative officer of the expeditionary force.

There were added to the Royal Rifles 154 men from military district No. 2, of whom 52 came from the Midland regiment and 102 from advanced training centres at Camp Borden. There were added to the Winnipeg Grenadiers, 282 men and 12 officers from military district No. 10. In the appendix I have examined in detail the training and qualifications of each group of the men added.

A period of sixteen weeks has been laid down as the standard period to be devoted to the training of an infantry recruit before sending his overseas. In individual cases and by reason of the exigencies of shipping, this standard has on occasion not been enforced. Of the men added to the strength of the Hong Kong expedition, all but six per cent had undergone more than sixteen weeks' military training after enlistment in the active army. As I have already said, all these men volunteered for service with the expedition and all were accepted as suitable by officers of the battalion to which they were going.

A number of officers gave evidence of the great value of the personal selection of men for a unit by competent officers of that unit. For example, Lieutenant-General McNaughton said (and with him General Crerar and General Stuart agreed):

> "If I were the commanding officer and had had the chance to select the men and know them individually—see that they were all right—I would not have worried very much whether they had completed the basic training or not, because character is the thing we lay most stress on, and, if they were people who were suitable in my judgment to incorporate in the battalion, I would have been perfectly happy to have had them. . . . I would not have worried from the point of view of military efficiency one iota, because, if they are the right type of men, even on the voyage over I would have completed their individual training."

I accept this evidence of Generals McNaughton, Crerar and Stuart and of other officers to the like effect as of great weight in deciding upon the propriety of the steps taken to bring the force up to strength and to provide it with first reinforcements.

A considerable amount of evidence was directed to show the effect of adding to two well-trained battalions groups of lesser trained men numbering about 6 per cent of the strength of the two units. That evidence conclusively establishes that an efficient battalion is, and must be, capable of absorbing recruits, who have not fully completed their training, up to a much greater proportion of its strength than 6 per cent, without at all detracting from the efficiency of the battalion as a whole.

From the whole of the evidence (which is fully discussed in the appendix) I have reached the conclusion that there was no unfairness either to the battalions, or to the expedition as a whole, from the addition of this small percentage of men who had not fully completed the standard period of training at the time they were accepted by the battalion officers. Nor have I any doubt that these men who volunteered for the expedition in order to enter

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upon active service would be quickly absorbed into their new units, or that in accepting them there was not any unfairness to the men themselves; and I am satisfied that the acceptance of these men had no detrimental effect upon the efficiency of either battalion. I have found no dereliction of duty or error in judgment in connection with the additions made to the strength of the two units.

In the course of my examination of the evidence I found that the inclusion of this small percentage of men was not the result of any shortage of fully trained men in Canada. It arose from the necessity of obtaining the men with great speed and secrecy and the impracticability in the time available of selecting them from a larger number of training centres.

Four, of the general organization and dispatch of the force, apart from the subject of mechanical transport. The facts are stated in the appendix and they require no comment here.

Five, of mechanical transport. With regard to the mechanical transport of the force, consisting of 212 vehicles, the troopship, the *Awatea*, provided by the British authorities had not sufficient cargo space to take them. The war office was most anxious that the troops should go on this ship, as another opportunity to sail was not likely to occur for two months. Shortly before the expedition sailed, space for the vehicles unexpectedly became available in an Amercian ship and that ship sailed with the vehicles on November 4, but did not reach its destination before the outbreak of hostilities, as she was diverted by the United States naval authorities. Had she been allowed to follow her normal route, she would have reached Hong Kong before the Japanese forces or before the Japanese attack opened. This miscarriage was not in any way due to any fault or mistake of any officer of the Canadian forces or of any official of the Canadian government.

There was a small amount of free cargo space in the ship carrying the force and some twenty vehicles were sent to Vancouver to fill it. These, however, did not arrive before the ship sailed. Had more energy and initiative been shown by the quartermaster-general's branch, charged with the movement of the equipment for the force, the availability of this space would have been ascertained earlier and the vehicles would have arrived in time for loading on October 24; and there is, in my opinion, no good reason for thinking that, had they arrived at that time, they would not have been taken on board. There is no evidence, however, that the troops suffered through lack of them, or that they were not supplied at Hong Kong. The facts are fully examined in the appendix.

After an exhaustive inquiry at the hearings and a lengthy study of the evidence in the appendix of this report, I am able to add a general conclusion about the Hong Kong expedition as a whole.

In October, 1941, the Canadian military authorities undertook a task of considerable difficulty. Subject only to my observation concerning twenty of the two hundred and twelve vehicles of the mechanical transport, they performed that task well. Canada sent forward, in response to the British request, an expedition that was well-trained and (subject as aforesaid, in so far as shipping facilities allowed) well provided with equipment. In spite of the disaster that overtook it soon after its arrival in Hong Kong, it was an expedition of which Canada can and should be proud.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

The war came upon us when we were unprepared for it. In such circumstances, recalling military history, one would perhaps not be greatly surprised to discover that even two years after its commencement some military enterprise had been undertaken which had proved to be ill conceived, or badly managed. The Hong Kong expedition falls under neither description.

All of which is most humbly submitted by

Your Excellency's most humble
obedient servant
L. P. Duff.

His Excellency,
The Governor General in Council,
Ottawa,
4th June, 1942.

With the consent of the house, Mr. Speaker, I would move:

That 1,500 copies in English and 500 copies in French of the report made by Right Hon. Sir Lyman P. Duff, G.C.M.G., a commissioner appointed to inquire into all matters respecting the dispatch of a Canadian expeditionary force to the crown colony of Hong Kong, be printed in blue book form and that standing order 64 be suspended in relation thereto.

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): As this is to be on the record, I hardly see the point in printing it, although I have no great objection. I rise primarily to ask if the evidence will be tabled and made available. I have not had a copy of it, but I do not know that I am entitled to it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: There will probably be a demand for copies of the commissioner's report outside of the house as well as by members of parliament. The report and the appendix could be distributed in a more acceptable form if they were put out as a blue book. The report proper, which contains the conclusions I have read, will be printed in *Hansard*, and the report together with the appendix would be printed as a blue book. As to the evidence, I should have to inquire of the chief justice as to whether the evidence would be available to anyone. I assume that if it had been intended that it should be available, it would have been presented with the report. I believe it will not be available.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I was surprised that it was not tendered with the report, because that is the usual practice with all royal commissions. I think it should be tabled.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Of necessity this particular inquiry conducted by the Chief Justice of Canada was in the nature of a secret inquiry. Any publication of the evidence would certainly disclose many military secrets which should not be disclosed.

Motion agreed to.

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AIR TRAINING PLAN

ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEW AGREEMENT FOLLOWING OTTAWA CONFERENCES

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, the Ottawa air training conference has now concluded its deliberations. It was in reality two conferences. The first conference embraced fourteen of the united nations and was primarily concerned with the coordination of air training in North America. Immediately following this conference the delegations of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand joined with representatives of the Canadian government in a conference to negotiate a renewal of the British commonwealth air training agreement of 1939.

Although the existing agreement does not expire until March 31, 1943, it had been considered desirable to lose no time in making adequate provision for its extension. A new agreement was concluded this morning by the heads of the four delegations; the United Kingdom government being represented by the Right Hon. Harold Balfour; Canada, by my colleague, the Minister of National Defence for Air; Australia, by the Hon. Sir William Glasgow; New Zealand, by the Hon. Frank Langstone.

I should like now to read to the house the formal announcement of the new agreement which will replace the agreement signed on December 17, 1939. A similar announcement is being made in all four countries participating in the British commonwealth air training plan.

A new agreement for the renewal and expansion of the British commonwealth air training plan was reached this morning in Ottawa. This brings to a successful conclusion the deliberations of delegations from Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, the four partners in the plan.

The new agreement replaces that which established the original British commonwealth air training plan on December 17, 1939.

Aircrews by the thousands, the product of that plan, now man the planes which in increasing numbers are carrying the war to the enemy. The plan has undergone changes and modifications. To meet changing war conditions its original scope was greatly increased during 1940. Moreover, because of the increased difficulty in training in combat areas, and because more and more aerodrome space has been required for operational squadrons, a considerable part of the Royal Air Force training organization previously functioning in England, has been transferred to this country by agreement with Canada.

The original British commonwealth air training plan agreement was timed to expire on March 31, 1943. The success of the plan, the necessity of adapting it to new developments, and the need for long-term planning, led the four participating governments to undertake the discussions for renewal of the agreement which has just been concluded.

The United Kingdom has been represented by the Right Honourable Harold Balfour, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Air, and the Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald, M.P., High Commissioner to Canada; Australia by the Honourable Sir William Glasgow, High Commissioner to Canada; New Zealand by the Honourable Frank Langstone, High Commissioner to Canada; and Canada by the Honourable C. G. Power, M.P., Minister of National Defence for Air and the Honourable J. L. Ralston, M.P., Minister of National Defence.

The new agreement will take effect on July 1, 1942, and will terminate on March 31, 1945. Basically the plan remains the same. The original objective, of training in the speediest and most effective manner, the maximum number of aircrews to meet the demands of war, is still its goal. On a greatly expanded scale the extensive facilities in Canada will continue to be used by all four parties to the agreement. Australia and New Zealand, whose domestic air training has been increased because of the extension of the war to the Pacific area, will endeavour to participate in the expanded plan much the same as before. Canada will continue to supply a substantial proportion of the trainees, whilst the total number of pupils sent under the United Kingdom quota, including men drawn from various parts of the empire and from the European members of the united nations, will be augmented. In sum, many more men will be trained in Canada under the new agreement than were provided for in the original plan, as expanded from time to time.

Under the new agreement, there will be complete coordination of air training in Canada. The existing schools of the Royal Air Force in Canada, already organized, will retain their identity, but will for purposes of administration continue to be integrated with those of the air training plan under the control of the Royal Canadian Air Force. Further Royal Air Force units subsequently established in the dominion, will come under the plan. As a result there will be a single pool of trained personnel ready to be drawn upon as needed.

The new agreement provides moreover that there will be an increase in the number of

Royal Canadian Air Force squadrons overseas. In Canada, training on operational types will be on a scale much greater than hitherto. This is a notable development. It will mean that pupils will be trained in Canada, from the very beginning to the point where they will be ready to join Canadian squadrons, in action, against the enemy.

The new agreement provides for a redefinition of inter-governmental policy on many points relating to air training. Within the limitations of security these may be summarized as follows:

Finance: The costs of air training under the new agreement from July 1, 1942, to March 31, 1945, are estimated at almost one and one-half billion dollars. This will include all air training within Canada administered by the Dominion of Canada under the British commonwealth air training plan as expanded, including operational training units and R.A.F. transferred units.

The governments of Australia and New Zealand will each bear the cost of training of their respective pupils received into the plan. The United Kingdom will assume 50 per cent of the estimated cost less payments made by Australia and New Zealand. Canada will assume the remaining 50 per cent of the total as its share.

The United Kingdom's share of the costs will as far as practicable be in the form of a contribution of certain aircraft, engines, spare parts, technical equipment, bombs and ammunition and other supplies as required by the administrator of the plan.

Provisioning of aircraft and equipment. While the liability for providing equipment of the types referred to rests with the United Kingdom, the task of determining the nature of the equipment and the quantities required for agreed establishments will be the responsibility of Canada as administrator of the plan. In the past, this responsibility has, of course, rested largely with the United Kingdom in respect of the Royal Air Force schools and the change is, therefore, an indication of the greater degree of coordination of these schools to which reference has already been made. The willingness of the United Kingdom to entrust the Royal Canadian Air Force with increased responsibility in this important field of provisioning is a tribute to the Royal Canadian Air Force made by those best able to judge its efficiency in this regard.

Home war needs. Full allowance has been made, under the new agreement, to supply aircrews as necessary for the maintenance of any additional numbers of operational squadrons which may be retained in Canada for home defence.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

Royal Air Force units in Canada. Royal Air Force units in Canada will be administered by the Royal Canadian Air Force in the same manner as units constituted under the British commonwealth air training plan. Units now established, will preserve their Royal Air Force identity; all new training capacity created at the request of the United Kingdom will come under the British commonwealth air training plan. Present arrangements for consultation with the United Kingdom air liaison mission will be retained.

Royal Air Force elementary flying training schools, now established in Canada will be civilianized on similar lines to British commonwealth air training plan elementary schools, except that the flying instructional staff and certain specialist ground instructional posts will normally be filled by Royal Air Force personnel in uniform.

Including the trainees from the United Nations and various parts of the empire, the number of trainees sent to Canada by the United Kingdom will be greatly increased.

Control and administration of Royal Canadian Air Force overseas. The agreement provides for important changes in the administration and control of Royal Canadian Air Force personnel overseas. Provision had already existed for consultation on major operational questions. There will now also be a much closer liaison with regard to all other questions affecting the employment of Canadian personnel.

Royal Canadian Air Force overseas headquarters is given general supervision over Royal Canadian Air Force personnel attached to the Royal Air Force, and, subject to operational expediency, may recall any officer or airman so attached to serve with the Royal Canadian Air Force. Also subject to operational expediency the concurrence of Royal Canadian Air Force overseas headquarters is to be obtained in the selection of commanding officers for Royal Canadian Air Force squadrons and in posting of Royal Canadian Air Force officers of the rank of wing commander and above.

The Royal Canadian Air Force personnel reception centre in the United Kingdom is to be functionally controlled by Royal Canadian Air Force overseas headquarters. A Royal Canadian Air Force establishment will be formed in England to which Royal Canadian Air Force officers and airmen awaiting disposal, or convalescing after illness, may be sent.

National Identification. Under both the original and the new agreement, the United Kingdom government undertakes that pupils

of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, after training is completed, and so far as is practicable, shall be identified with their respective dominions. So far as Canada is concerned, the new agreement proposes to implement this purpose, as operational considerations permit, through the constitution overseas of squadrons and higher formations with all-Canadian personnel, commanded by Canadian officers; and through the policy of posting Canadian personnel to squadrons in which Canadians already are serving. At present, Canadian personnel is scattered in over 600 Royal Air Force units.

(1) Bomber Squadrons. A Canadian bomber group to consist of R.C.A.F. bomber squadrons is to be formed and will be under the command of R.C.A.F. officers. Canada will furnish the ground crews for these formations. In preparation for the formation of the Canadian bomber group, and in order that they may gain the necessary experience of group control, a number of R.C.A.F. officers will be appointed supernumerary to posts at group headquarters. In order to keep the implementation of this policy to form a Canadian bomber group under constant review, a Canadian bomber group progress committee will be set up by air ministry. There will be Canadian representation in this committee.

(2) Fighter Squadrons. It has been recognized that by reason of operational requirements, fighter squadrons must necessarily remain under the control of the commander-in-chief, R.A.F., fighter command. In pursuance, however, of the objective of national identification, R.C.A.F. fighter squadrons, so far as possible, will operate from stations which will be made R.C.A.F. stations, manned by Canadian staffs.

(3) Coastal Command Squadrons and Army Cooperation Squadrons Overseas. Canadian coastal command squadrons overseas are to be manned as far as possible with Canadian personnel. Army cooperation squadrons allotted to Canadian army formations will be Canadian squadrons.

Commissioning of Aircrew. The general principle is established that all pilots, observers, air bombers, and navigators, considered suitable according to the standards of their own countries, and who are recommended for commissions, will in fact be commissioned. The existing percentages governing the number of commissions given to wireless operator (air gunners) and air gunners will be maintained, but some flexibility will be permitted to ensure that airmen in these categories with the necessary qualifications are not excluded from commissions on account of the quota.

Transfers Between Air Forces. The partners in the agreement will consider applications of individuals for transfer to the air forces of their own nationality.

The new agreement reaffirms and reinforces the determination and capacity of the nations of the British commonwealth to maintain the training of aircrews on a vast and increasing scale. It emphasises the role of Canada, as "the airdrome of democracy", in this task.

The original training agreement was conceived in a spirit of vigorous enterprise. The agreement concluded this morning will be carried through in the same spirit and will play its part in building up with certainty and with speed air forces of overwhelming and terrifying strength.

[Here the agreed statement ends.]

My colleague, the Minister of National Defence for Air, expects to be able to table in the house next week the report of the Ottawa air training conference, at which representatives of the united nations were present, and also the agreement for renewal of the British commonwealth air training plan, which was signed this morning.

I believe hon. members would wish me, on their behalf and on behalf of the Canadian people, to express a word of appreciation to the delegations from our sister nations of the British commonwealth upon the speedy and businesslike conclusion of the new agreement. Their fine achievement is the result of the frankest and most cordial deliberations. It was particularly appropriate that the United Kingdom delegation should have been presided over by the Right Honourable Harold Balfour, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Air, who shared in the negotiation of the original agreement, and whose special knowledge and continuous association with the enterprise were of exceptional value to the conference.

The wisdom of establishing the gigantic British commonwealth air training plan in Canada has been abundantly demonstrated. The most severe test came quite early; it was in the spring and summer of 1940 when the prospect of immediate danger might well have discouraged long range planning for ultimate victory. But Canada never wavered in her belief in British courage and British resolution, and in ultimate victory. This belief found its expression in our determination not only to go ahead with the plan, but also to speed up and

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expand its development. This supreme act of faith was shared to the full by the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, the other partners in the plan.

To-day, the governments of Australia and New Zealand find themselves in a position very similar to that of Britain in the summer of 1940. They have displayed like courage and resolution, and have made the same decision. The fact that, despite the approach of war to their own shores, Australia and New Zealand have decided to continue as active partners is another striking proof of the soundness of the original project. It is also a further earnest of the determination of their peoples to let nothing divert them from the main objective: the achievement of victory.

Hon. members will, I am sure, join with me in an expression of sincere and wholehearted appreciation of the part taken by the Minister of National Defence for Air as head of the Canadian delegation, and chairman of the conference. We all know how close, almost from its inception, the British commonwealth air training plan has been to his heart. He and his able civilian and service advisers have borne the brunt of Canada's share in negotiating the new agreement.

The gigantic and devastating raids over Germany, of the past few days, particularly those upon Cologne and Essen, have stirred the hearts of the peoples of the united nations. A very large proportion of the gallant young airmen from the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, who took part in these raids, received their training in Canada in schools of the British commonwealth air training plan. There could be no more dramatic or convincing evidence of the magnitude and effectiveness of the plan.

I shall be availing myself of a particularly appropriate moment, if in concluding these remarks, I express on behalf of the parliament of Canada the unbounded admiration and appreciation of all its members of the gallant and important role which Canadian airmen so prominently played in the recent raids. Not only members of parliament but the Canadian people as a whole are filled with admiration of their achievements. We shall ever remember with gratitude what our brave young airmen are so valiantly doing to defend the security of their own Canadian homeland, and to preserve freedom in all parts of the world.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

WAR RISK INSURANCE

APPOINTMENT OF JAMES MATSON AS SUPERVISOR

On the orders of the day:

Hon. J. L. ILSLEY (Minister of Finance): I wish to announce that the government has approved the appointment of Mr. James Matson, Montreal, manager of the Royal Insurance Company in Canada and of the Liverpool, London and Globe Insurance Company and associated companies in Canada, to act as supervisor of war damage insurance. This appointment cannot be confirmed until Bill 56, at present before the House of Commons, has been passed, but in the meantime no time is being lost to organize the scheme of war damage insurance and arrange for its being put into effect as soon as possible after the passage of the bill.

In view of recent events emphasizing the possibility of enemy attack, the government is taking all necessary steps to provide the facilities whereby war damage insurance may be written by the established fire insurance companies and their agents throughout Canada, as soon as possible after the enactment by parliament of the pending legislation. It should be pointed out that any steps taken at the present time, including the appointment of Mr. Matson, and any other personnel, is purely tentative at the moment, and it is hoped that the public will not hamper their organizational work by besieging them with applications for war damage insurance. No war damage insurance can be written under the scheme until the pending legislation has been passed, and after allowing a short period thereafter for completion of the organizational work. The government will announce in advance when the scheme is ready and applications for war damage insurance can be received. In the meantime, until the legislation is passed and the scheme is fully organized there is the promise of protection by the government to the extent indicated by clause 6 of Bill 56, namely:

If any person, during the period between the twenty-fourth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and forty-one, and the thirtieth day after the commencement of this act, both inclusive, has sustained or sustains loss from war damage, and if he makes application to the minister on or before such thirtieth day aforesaid, to enter into a contract of insurance in respect of such property, the minister may enter into a contract of insurance in respect of such property effective from the beginning of the twenty-fourth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and forty-one, but the amount of the indemnity payable under any such contract in respect of war damage to such property during such period shall not exceed fifty thousand dollars.

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LABOUR CONDITIONS

LAYING OFF OF MEN AT CANADIAN PACIFIC ANGUS SHOPS

On the orders of the day:

Mr. ANGUS MacINNIS (Vancouver East): I have given the Minister of Munitions and Supply (Mr. Howe) notice of a question, but as he is not in the house I will state my question and it may be called to his attention. It arises out of a telegram received from John Thomson, secretary of the Canadian Pacific Railway System Federation, and has reference to what is described as a serious situation developing in the Canadian Pacific Railroad Angus shop at Montreal where Valentine tanks are being manufactured. The telegram indicates that 175 men will be laid off as from to-day and that more are to follow. The official reason given for the lay-off is the lack of necessary material and parts. I should like to have this drawn to the attention of the minister so that he may give the house an explanation on Monday.

CLOSING OF CANADIAN ASSOCIATED AIRCRAFT—DISCHARGE OF WORKERS

On the orders of the day:

Mr. J. W. NOSEWORTHY (York South): I sent to the Minister of Munitions and Supply notice of a question which I wish to ask, and probably the Minister of Labour would care to answer it. Have any steps been taken by the government to secure placement for the aircraft workers already discharged and about to be discharged by reason of the closing of Canadian Associated Aircraft Limited?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a question that should be placed on the order paper.

INQUIRY FOR RETURN

MOTOR TRANSPORT OF GOODS IN BOND THROUGH CANADIAN TERRITORY

On the orders of the day:

Mr. D. G. ROSS (St. Paul's): On March 25, as will be seen at page 1767 of *Hansard*, a question of mine was passed as an order for return. May I ask the Minister of National Revenue when I may expect the return?

Mr. GIBSON: What was the subject?

Mr. ROSS (St. Paul's): It is in connection with motor transport of goods in bond through Canadian territory. I might add that there was a motion for the production of papers, and these have been tabled, but what I am referring to at the moment is a question which was passed as an order for return.

Mr. GIBSON: I will look into the matter.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

EXPEDITING OF BUSINESS—EXTENSION OF SITTINGS

On the orders of the day:

Mr. D. A. McNIVEN (Regina City): Last evening I referred to a matter which the Minister of Mines and Resources (Mr. Crerar), who was leading the house, was good enough to assure me that I might bring up to-day on the orders of the day. The rules of the house provide for the adjournment of the house at six o'clock on Wednesday evening, and early in this session a motion was passed providing for adjournment at six o'clock on Friday evening until the following Monday at three o'clock. This is the eightieth day of the session and the amount of business that remains on the order paper which has yet to be considered is such that, in my opinion, we should now consider the advisability of a motion suspending the rule for the adjournment on Wednesday evenings at six o'clock so that we may sit on Wednesday evening as on other evenings, and further that we should at the same time rescind the motion that was passed at an earlier date in the session with respect to Friday evenings.

When speaking last evening I suggested that the house might sit on certain mornings, including Sundays, but I am willing to withdraw the suggestion so far as Sundays are concerned, out of consideration for your Scottish principles, Mr. Speaker, and likewise in consideration of the opinion of my spiritual adviser, the member for Fort William (Mr. McIvor). However, in making that withdrawal I am going to ask the government to consider favourably the making of provision for sittings on Monday mornings, Friday mornings and Saturday mornings at eleven o'clock. At the present time the house sits twenty-four hours a week; and it should be added that on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays committees sit for a couple of hours in the morning. Hon. members have in addition to that their mail and departmental work to attend to.

The British House of Commons sits from 2.45 in the afternoon continuously until 11.45 in the evening on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays; on Friday it sits continuously from 11 in the morning until 4.30 in the afternoon. The House of Representatives in the United States sits from 12 noon I think until 6 in the evening, although the records indicate that the hour of adjournment is at the discretion of the Speaker, and that the Speaker may name the hour on the following day at which the house will again convene.

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This means that the British House of Commons is sitting 40½ hours a week, and the House of Representatives in the United States approximately 30 hours. We in this country ask labour in the munitions plants, in shipyards, in all kinds of war industries, to work anywhere from 55 to 70 hours a week. It seems to me that we as members of the House of Commons could well work a little longer, put in a few more hours in actual sittings, in order to provide the wherewithal for these men whom we expect to work as I have indicated.

The other day the Minister of Finance made reference to this matter during one of the committee meetings. He said: "It is high time that we had some regard for time. If we do not take it into consideration we shall be sitting here all summer." I appreciate fully that the Prime Minister and the members of the war cabinet are exceedingly busy men, and I would not for a moment make this suggestion if I thought it would require the continuous attendance in the house of the Prime Minister and members of the cabinet. But there are other members of the government whose estimates have not yet been considered, and during these extended hours of the session one minister after another could bring his estimates forward for discussion. It would expedite the business of the house; it would enable the war cabinet ministers to advance Canada's war effort, and it would permit members of the house to proceed to their homes at the earliest possible day.

I again refer to the Minister of Finance who the other day said: "There is something wrong with the House of Commons, and I am not able to tell what it is."

Custom, usage and tradition over a matter of seventy-five years have established the practice that there shall be no vote on Mondays or Fridays, and that committees, with the odd exception, shall not meet on either Mondays or Fridays. This practice has grown up with a view to the convenience of hon. members who find it possible to go home over the weekend.

I suggest that some of the things the Minister of Finance had in mind as being wrong with the House of Commons could be remedied if we were given to understand that there will be votes on Mondays and Fridays if necessary, and that committees will meet on Mondays and Fridays if necessary. And there should be some organization of the debates in the house. I believe that the senior whips and the whips of each group, if they were to meet, could so arrange future debates as largely to eliminate much of what the hon. member for Wellington North (Mr. Blair) spoke of the other afternoon.

As an alternative to the suggestion of morning sittings, possibly the Prime Minister would consider doing as they do in the British House of Commons—sit continuously through, and eliminate the dinner recess.

This institution, Mr. Speaker, the House of Commons, is one of the institutions of democracy for which this war is being fought, and we here are, for the time being, the custodians of its rights and its duties and its responsibilities. It becomes our immediate duty, our immediate responsibility, so to conduct this institution as to make it work, and work hard, for the people for whom it was created and designed.

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): I am sure there will be general appreciation of what the hon. member for Regina City (Mr. McNiven) has said with respect to the desirability of expediting the work of the session so that hon. members will not be kept here for the greater part of the year. But there are some matters which perhaps he has not taken as full an account of as might be desirable. One is the fact that the business done by parliament is not to be considered as comprised simply in the time hon. members spend in the House of Commons. My hon. friend's remarks would seem to imply that most of the work we do, is done while sitting here. Work mostly lies in effective preparation in advance of what is reported here. My feeling is rather that the work of the session would be greatly shortened if hon. members came here well prepared on the subjects to be discussed and sought to confine their remarks to the relevant and most important points which should be developed.

But certainly it would be impossible for members of the government, and I think also for most members of the house, to do the kind of work that is expected of them, to have in their minds the information which is essential for purposes of debate without some time for preparation. Nor do I see how they could manage other duties, if they do not have the forenoons, at least, for purposes of conference, and to deal with correspondence. As far as the government is concerned, ministers must have opportunity to confer with the members of their own staffs, some chance to take up with them the different questions that are likely to come, if they are to be prepared to discuss them when they come to the house. They

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must have some opportunity as well to see members of the house on different matters. All this and much else is a part of the business of parliament and time must be found for it.

My hon. friend spoke about sitting on Wednesday and Friday nights. Towards the end of the session it is customary to sit on Wednesday evenings as well as Friday evenings, and also to begin sittings in the mornings and to sit on Saturdays. But the right time to begin extra sittings is when the committees of the house are through with their work and when we see the end of the session in sight. The only effect of starting morning sittings too soon and of sitting every day until eleven at night would be that hon. members would become so fatigued that the sittings almost certainly would tend to become more protracted than ever. The little break on a Wednesday and Friday evenings, the knowledge that the house will only be sitting in the afternoon on those days, enables most members so to adjust matters as to be more regular in their attendance upon the proceedings of the house and to come to the house more or less refreshed and with a feeling that they are able to concentrate on the business during the time the house is actually sitting.

I think my hon. friend is in error about the time taken by the British house in actual sittings. As a matter of fact I would cite the example of the British house as a reason why we should continue the practice we follow at the present time. The British house, as a matter of fact, since the war commenced, has very much abbreviated the time of its sittings. It has done so for the reason that there is so much more of very great importance that has to be considered that more time is required for study, reflection and preparation. Moreover the intensity of the strain on everyone is so much greater. The war itself, apart from ordinary business, puts a strain on all hon. members; the happenings from day to day are something which has to be taken into consideration, but the greatest strain of all is the exceptional importance of the questions which are being discussed, and the care that has to be taken in dealing precisely with every phase of important matters.

Since the war commenced the British house has been sitting on an average three days a week. I have the particulars here as to the length of the sittings in Britain since the war commenced. I gave them in part to the house once before; I repeat them now, since they may be of added interest to hon. members. I noticed my hon. friend's question of last night in *Hansard*, and therefore came prepared to answer him on this particular point this afternoon. I shall take the period after the 1940 election in this country, and the time taken by our sittings and compare it with that of the British house over a corresponding period. From May 21, 1940, to November 20, 1940, the British parliament had in all sixty-two sitting days. Our parliament in the complete session from May 16, 1940, to November 5, 1940, had sixty-one sitting days. The British parliament in a like period of time took one day longer than this parliament to transact its business; I think my hon. friend and all hon. members will agree that the British parliament has a much vaster programme to cover, that the questions coming up from day to day are in degree at least, if not in kind, very much more significant than some we have to consider here. For the year following, during the complete session from November 21, 1940, to November 11, 1941, the British parliament sat 113 days in all. Here, in the complete session from November 7, 1940, to January 21, 1942, the Canadian parliament sat during 105 days. Let me give those figures again. For the first year there were sixty-two sitting days in England as against sixty-one here. The following year, which was last year, there were 113 sitting days in Britain, as against 105 in Canada. Now I come to this year. Since November 12, 1941, up to the present, the British parliament has sat for seventy-seven days. Our parliament, beginning only on January 22, not on November 12 as the British parliament did, has up to to-day sat for eighty days. In other words, we have in this time of war thus far sat this year three days longer than has the British House of Commons.

That, I think, affords a key as to how this existing situation may properly be met. It can only be met by what my hon. friend really has suggested, some organized effort; an arrangement made between the whips in the first instance and between the leaders of the parties, where that is also required, to have discussion in some way so limited that it will not take up an indefinite period of time. Take the present debate on the war appropriation bill. I am sure there might have been on the part of every group in the house an agreement that certain members would speak to certain questions, and all combined occupy a certain length of time. If there were an arrangement of that kind we should certainly get through with the business

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of this house in the same expeditious manner in which the business is dealt with in Britain. I see some hon. members smiling, but if it can be done in Britain certainly it ought to be possible here. I have no desire to limit anyone in regard to discussion, but I do suggest that some arrangement within the groups themselves as to the time that should be devoted to the discussion of different questions would materially shorten the time necessary to deal with the business of the session.

Mr. DOUGLAS (Weyburn): We could organize our members, but could the government organize the hon. member for Témiscouata (Mr. Pouliot)?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I do not think my hon. friend ought to lay that task upon the government; it will have to be taken in hand by the entire house. I am very glad the hon. member for Regina City has brought up this question, because I know it is in the minds of all hon. members and will become increasingly so as we get on into the summer months. There is a large programme still ahead of us, but in my own mind I am perfectly satisfied that we would not be facilitating the business of the house if at this stage of the session we sat in the mornings, or if we altered our present arrangements, at least until after further progress has been made.

Hon. R. B. HANSON (Leader of the Opposition): I do not intend to enter into any extended discussion of this question, but there are some observations which I desire to make. The Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) has in some respects presented my own point of view. I do not, however, quite agree with him with respect to the debate on the war appropriation resolution when I think of the time taken by the Minister of National War Services (Mr. Thorson), for instance, in defeating and delaying the passage of his own estimates, and that without giving us the information requested. I suggest to the Prime Minister that he talk to that hon. gentleman. I have seen other ministers in this house delay their own estimates. I recall with a good deal of amusement a gentleman who in days gone by occupied the position of Minister of Agriculture, who required only an invitation to give the House of Commons a real lecture. I am not saying that in any malicious spirit at all; I just call attention to the situation and to the fact that all the delay has not been occasioned by those on this side of the house.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

With respect to the observations made by the hon. member for Regina City (Mr. McNiven), I do not think it is quite fair to publish to the country the statement that we work only twenty-four hours a week while people in factories are asked to work sixty and sixty-five hours a week. That statement is definitely calculated to mislead the Canadian people. I wonder what the hon. gentleman knows about my working week.

Mr. McNIVEN: I rise to a point of order. The leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) has said that my statement was deliberately calculated to mislead. What I said was that the House of Commons sits twenty-four hours a week, and I enlarged upon that by pointing out that members had to attend meetings of committees and perform other duties.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I could not follow the hon. member's point of order, but if he takes exception to any imputation of motives against himself certainly I shall withdraw. But I will say this, that the statement which went forth from this house last night is calculated to lead the people of Canada to think that members of this House of Commons work only twenty-four hours a week, while we are calling upon labour in this country to work sixty, sixty-five and seventy hours a week.

Mr. McNIVEN: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman has repeated exactly what he said before, that my statement last night was calculated to create a wrong impression. If he would only quote what I said, he would see that my statement was that the House of Commons sits for twenty-four hours each week.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the leader of the opposition is entitled to draw his conclusions from what the hon. member said.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I was giving an interpretation which I think was justified and which I believe will be the interpretation placed upon the words by most people in this country, namely, that we work only twenty-four hours a week in this house. Nothing could be worse than to send out to the people of Canada an impression of that kind. Everyone in this house, everyone in the press gallery, know that for the most part members of this house work long, weary hours. I do not mind saying that when 6 o'clock comes on Friday evening I welcome the release. I work at least fifty-four hours a week, not to mention the work I may find myself obliged to do on an occasional Sunday. I have had to

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work on Sunday, and I do not want to do that unless it is really necessary. To convey the impression that we only work twenty-four hours a week is, in my humble opinion, calculated to bring this institution into disrepute, and the statement is not based on the facts. What is the working day? We get here at 9 o'clock in the morning and, with the exception of a limited lunch period and an hour or so for the dinner recess, we are here until 11 o'clock at night.

I try to slip away at 10.30 p.m. I go home, and go to bed, tired out, and many hon. members do the same. I agree we ought to get along with our business. Of course the solution of our difficulty is a better organization of the work in the House of Commons and of the committee of the whole. After all, however, we are dealing with important problems here. The people of the country expect us to do this work, and to analyse situations. They expect us to investigate the country's operations, especially in relation to the war.

I should hope there may be some better organization of the work. But I do say this, that if we are to be asked to come here in the morning, and to sit morning, afternoon and evening for six days in the week, how in the world are we going to do the other duties which of necessity devolve upon members of the House of Commons, and especially, I should think, upon members of the government? We just cannot do it, and it is not quite reasonable to expect it of us.

I sympathize with the hon. member who is a long way from home, and who does not get home often. Geography is against him as, perhaps to a more limited degree, it is against me. I am not sympathizing with hon. members from Quebec and Ontario, who live nearby and who slip away on Friday afternoons, so that we do not see them again until Monday night. This is no handicap for them.

An hon. MEMBER: And some of them Thursday night.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Some of them Thursday night.

Mr. MacNICOL: Not I.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): No; that does not include my hon. friend the member for Davenport, because he sits here steadily. But I do suggest that we could, I believe, if we put our minds to it, limit the time in which we are engaged in the discussion of specific matters. I do not know what the government is going to do with the hon. member for Témiscouata (Mr. Pouliot); he is not my trouble or worry.

I shall endeavour to cooperate in every possible way with the government to expedite the business of the house, always having due regard to the public interest. I do not think I should go further than that. But I am not willing to work twelve hours a day for six days of the week, and then perhaps have to work on Sunday, too. I just cannot stand it, physically.

Mr. ANGUS MacINNIS (Vancouver East): Mr. Speaker, this group will be willing to cooperate with other hon. members in expediting the work of the house in every way possible. But if we look at the clock, and consider what we have done to-day, we shall have some idea of how well we can kill time. It seems to me that for an hour—other hon. members may think differently—we have listened to the reading of a report which might as well have been tabled, printed, and distributed to the members. Then we have had this discussion, which has taken another half hour or so.

An hon MEMBER: An hour.

Mr. MacINNIS: No, not quite. So that almost two of the three hours we are to sit to-day have, in my opinion, been pretty well frittered away on non-essentials.

I am glad that both the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) and the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) referred to the statement made in the house yesterday evening by the hon. member for Regina City (Mr. McNiven). I believe his was a most unfortunate statement. As it appeared in the press this morning and as it was broadcast over the radio, it was made to appear that members were working only twenty-four hours a week. The hon. member for Regina City may have been speaking for himself, but certainly he was not speaking either for me or for members of this group. We are here at or before nine o'clock every morning, and we cannot find enough hours between that, and eleven o'clock at night when we leave, to attend to the work we have to do.

I believe it was the Prime Minister who said, and rightly, that the work an hon. member does is not all done in this chamber. This is where we either talk for a few hours, or are bored for five or six hours. But the largest part of a member's work is done in his office, in the departments or in committees, and every minute of our time is taken up.

We shall be glad to meet with representatives of the government, the opposition and the group to my left to do everything possible to carry out our work expeditiously and efficiently. But we should not forget that we are paid to come here to do the work for which we were elected.

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Mr. J. H. BLACKMORE (Lethbridge): Mr. Speaker, I think it is a good thing for us to express faith in parliament and in parliamentary institutions. There is altogether too much of a tendency on the part of people throughout the country and in the press to disparage the work of parliament. My impression, since coming here in the spring of 1936, is that this parliament does a difficult job, and does it well. That fact ought to be known throughout the country.

I do not believe the people realize the difficulties connected with governing this country. They do not appreciate the extent of our dominion, the widely varying conditions, and the fact that we are treading over unknown ways. Members have to cope with these conditions and struggle to reach some sort of unity. That takes time, and a great deal of energy.

I have all confidence in this parliament, and all confidence in democratic institutions. We ought to stop talking down, and start talking up.

With respect to the length of our day's work, I sympathize with what has been said by the hon. member for Vancouver East (Mr. MacInnis). I get here about eight o'clock in the morning, and I leave about eleven-twenty at night. I hardly have time to eat. Very few people realize how many problems come before a member of parliament in the course of a week. I have spent as much as twenty-five hours dealing with the problems of one man, and I am sure every hon. member has had similar experiences. Problems arise which simply have to be dealt with. Many of them require a great deal of thought, study, sympathy and care on the part of members and ministers.

As to the ministers, Mr. Speaker, I have found the ministers of the government sympathetic, earnest and willing to do the very best they can to govern well. That has been my experience. I believe if hon. members do their duty, they will be working with those ministers to help them govern well. If an hon. member does that, he will work much more than twenty-four hours a week.

We are passing through a time of transition. We are in an age of abundance, when all our experience has been in an age of scarcity. The result is that we do not know just exactly how to gauge ourselves. But we will find out how to carry on, and we will make this parliament everything we desire it to be.

I am prepared to cooperate with other members in expediting business.

FEED GRAINS

FREIGHT RATES FROM MIDDLE WEST TO EASTERN CANADA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA

On the orders of the day:

Mr. J. G. ROSS (Moose Jaw): I should like to ask a question of the Minister of Agriculture. When speaking the other day he intimated that the government was considering the continuance of the payment of freight rates on feed from the middle west to eastern Canada and to British Columbia. Has the government made a decision on the point, and if so, is the minister ready to acquaint the house with that decision?

Hon. J. G. GARDINER (Minister of Agriculture): Mr. Speaker, the government has made a decision in the matter, and has decided to continue for an indefinite period the freight rates paid on grain moving east, and moving west.

CANADIAN FORCES

PERSONNEL LISTED IN DEFENCE TELEPHONE DIRECTORY

On the orders of the day:

Hon. J. L. RALSTON (Minister of National Defence): Mr. Speaker, may I put on *Hansard* the answers to two questions to which reference was made yesterday by the hon. member for Témiscouata (Mr. Pouliot) at page 3314 of *Hansard*. His first question, as reported at pages 2497-8 of *Hansard*, was: "Of the total number of men enlisted from the thirteen hundred whose names appeared in the directory he held in his hand, how many were bilingual?" His second question was: "Out of that total number, how many officials both civil and military have been living in this country for the last five years?"

So far as the army is concerned, there are 871 names listed in the directory. Of these, 737 have resided in Canada during the past five years, and of these, 140 are bilingual and 597 are not bilingual. Three persons listed have not resided in Canada for the past five years, and of that number two are bilingual and one is not. One hundred and thirty-one persons whose names appear in the directory have been moved away from headquarters since the directory was prepared, and therefore details are not available.

Mr. NEILL: How much time was wasted collecting that information?

Mr. RALSTON: The calculation was that fifty hours' time would be taken in getting that information.

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MAN-POWER ACCORDING TO AGE CLASSES—ENLISTMENTS, POSTPONEMENTS, REJECTIONS, ETC.

Mr. J. G. DIEFENBAKER (Lake Centre): Following up the answers that have just been given, I should like to ask the Minister of National War Services whether he is now in position to answer the several questions that appear at page 3230 of *Hansard* in connection with the mobilization of man-power and the survey of man-power according to age classes.

The understanding was that this information would be given before the debate on the mobilization act amendment next week. Is the minister in position to give that information, as well as that asked for in question No. 26 standing in my name on to-day's order paper, which has to do with the subject matter?

Hon. J. T. THORSON (Minister of National War Services): I do not recall having given any undertaking to obtain the information. I indicated the difficulties involved in getting it. I do not think I have anything to add to what I said on that occasion.

WAR APPROPRIATION BILL

PROVISION FOR GRANTING TO HIS MAJESTY AID FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE AND SECURITY

The house resumed from Thursday, June 4, consideration in committee of a resolution to provide sums not exceeding $2,000,000,000 for the year ending March 31, 1943, for granting to His Majesty aid for national defence and security—Mr. Ilsley—Mr. Bradette in the chair.

Mr. BLACKMORE: Mr. Chairman, last evening the leader of the opposition (Mr. Hanson) made some adverse comment on the price ceiling which the minister had applied, criticizing it considerably. In the course of his remarks he involved social credit ideas and myself. When the minister answered him, he also involved our ideas and myself. At about fifteen minutes to eleven o'clock I rose and made such comments as I had time to make in defence of our views. I think it fitting that I say a little more this afternoon.

The belief was expressed by the minister and by the leader of the opposition that my group were not in favour of taxation or borrowing. I should like to place our position squarely and fairly before the members of the committee.

I did not say that we could carry on this war without borrowing and without taxation, and I have never said that. There is an error on page 3359 of *Hansard* which I think I should correct before it goes any further. It was probably due to a slip in my language. In answering the Minister of Mines and Resources (Mr. Crerar) I am reported as saying:

I did not say I would not tax. I said, "without additional borrowing."

That should be, "without additional debt." Hon. members will find that that is exactly what I had said; I was just repeating. What I did say was that the new money could be got without debt or taxation.

I said that social credit proposes to use the national credit to provide money without additional debt, without additional taxation. That puts an entirely different meaning on the expression used. Hon. members will find that my interpretation is correct. I can understand how the minister interpreted it as he did, but he will find that that is the meaning. In the same passage as reported on page 68 of *Hansard* of November 13, 1940, I went on to say:

Social Crediters maintain that in any well-organized and well-managed state with rich and varied resources, such as we have in Canada, the national credit can and should be used to provide fair prices and adequate home markets for all essential industries.

There are other passages which I believe ought to be read in this connection. I am doing this in order that the minister may realize that we are not so widely at variance in some respects. It is well that men do not misunderstand each other; in a time like this we need all the cooperation we can get. On page 70 of that same *Hansard* I quoted the remarks of Professor A. F. W. Plumptre, as they appeared in the October 5, 1940, *Financial Post*. I quote these words:

The government can always "get money" because it may, as an alternative to borrowing or even to taxation, create the required funds. This it can easily do nowadays through the leadership of the central bank and the cooperation of the chartered banks. In this way 200 millions were created in this fashion last autumn.

Mr. ILSLEY: The amendment of the Social Credit party to the resolution reads—*Hansard*, 1940, page 68:

And this house further regrets the failure of the government to adopt a monetary policy that would permit a maximum war effort without either increasing debt or reducing the standards of living below that necessary for maintaining maximum efficiency.

Does that not indicate that at that time the policy of my hon. friend's party was to conduct the war effort without increasing debt?

Mr. BLACKMORE: The minister's observation is quite logical, and it will require

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some explanation in order to make clear the meaning. May I just use an illustration to show the minister that that is not the exact interpretation that should be placed on the amendment. The minister will understand that if he had used the national credit to give the western farmer, we will say $1.15 a bushel for his wheat, the western farmer would have been able to buy a great deal more. He would have bought more goods, which would have yielded the government more income from taxation, from the tariff and from other means. He would have been better able to pay taxes to his own province, and he would have been in a better psoition to pay his machinery debts, his grocery debts and his other debts. In this way if the income of the people throughout the country were improved, as the amendment clearly indicates the Social Crediters conceive it should be improved, then the country would move progressively out of debt. It is not easy in a short time to explain in detail this matter to the minister. In the minds of Social Crediters it is perfectly feasible. The minister knows, without looking the matter up, that by refunding debts, he has paid off vast sums of money on the national debt in Canada while the war has been going on. He has paid those debts with more money which he has collected by taxation, and money that he has borrowed. If he had been using the technique of creating money, as far as he could do so safely, he would have been able to pay more of these debts with such money. I am sure he would have found out in other ways, as the great billion dollar gift which we made to Britain will indicate, if carefully studied and fully understood and interpreted, that the debt of the country could be progressively decreased while the war is going on without in any way interfering with the progress of the war. Whether we should be able to get through this titanic conflict with less debt than we started with, even under a social credit technique, I cannot just tell, but I should be quite sure that the debt would be far less than it will be under the system which the minister is following. Do I answer the minister sufficiently?

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes.

Mr. BLACKMORE: To explain fully, I would have to go into a great deal of detail. One simply cannot expound in a few words a whole monetary system and a new system of economics. May I read another passage, which I think has a bearing in this connection, from the same speech which I gave. As reported on page 71 of *Hansard* of the same date I stated:

Inflation may be controlled, and there are several ways of doing this. We must remember first of all that inflation is a rise in prices which results from having more money in circulation than there are goods to be purchased. Inflation can be controlled by employing credit restriction. That is what this government has been doing for years and years. Another way is by taxing the people until they have no money to spend.

The minister will notice that in some respects I agree completely with his ideas with respect to warding off inflation.

This is a way very dear to the heart of the present government. Another way is by price fixing. This can be done by setting a point beyond which a commodity price cannot rise. It can be done by the government paying part of the cost of the article.

That brings in the principle of the subsidies which the minister is using.

Great Britain is spending £60,000,000 annually in order to keep down the prices of staple foods to the poor. This will be found on page 304 of *The Economist* of September 7. Great Britain is commencing to use the principle of the just price which was condemned when it was advocated by Social Crediters. And the degree to which Britain safely solves her economic problem will be the degree to which she accepts other principles of the Social Credit doctrine, just as sure as we are in this house.

I wish to put this before the minister so that it will help him to get a conception of the attitude we have toward his whole scheme of price control and his scheme of conducting the economy of Canada for fighting the war.

I endeavoured to illustrate to the leader of the opposition last evening the principle of the creation of money. Professor A. F. W. Plumptre points out it can be done. It was pointed out definitely in the meetings of the banking and commerce committee in 1939 that it can be done. I have, for instance, on page 29 of the report of these hearings this statement of Mr. Towers:

A government can find money in three ways. They may find it by taxation, or they may find it by borrowing the savings of the people, or they may find it by action which is allied with an expansive monetary policy,—

He goes on to say:

that is borrowing which creates additional money in the process.

That, from the bankers' point of view, is the way to do it. From the Social Crediters' point of view new money should not be borrowed. If the money can be created, Social Crediters urge it is a real asset to the state and should be regarded as such and be a clear addition

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to the revenues of the state to the extent that that creation can be carried on without causing inflation.

I endeavoured to illustrate to the leader of the opposition this power to create money by reference to the $26,000,000 which were created definitely in the last war by the Department of Finance under the Finance Act of 1914. This amount of $26,000,000 was used definitely for carrying on government business, probably paying expenses of the Canadian National Railways and other business just as ordinary revenue would be used. Those $26,000,000 were bills, from the printing press.

Social credit, as its name implies, deals with credit. It conceives that most of the money that is created should be created not as bills but as credit; only enough bills should be created to facilitate the ordinary hand-to-hand business of the country in carrying on its affairs. I want to point out to the leader of the opposition that created money is sound. I do not know whether he knows this or not, but he does not act as though he understood it. As reported in *Hansard* at page 3349 he spoke in a somewhat disparaging way of the idea of creating money. This is what he said:

This is not fiat money, I would have the hon. member for Lethbridge understand. This is not printing-press money. This is real, good, hard cash paid by the taxpayers of Canada, and it is going to be paid to certain persons.

The leader of the opposition seems to think that money which was created by the state could not be real, good, hard cash. If the leader of the opposition thinks that, he is completely in error.

I wish to go on with several other matters. I believe I have made quite clear the social credit concept; if I have not, I would appreciate it if the minister would ask me questions. The social credit concept is that in any country of rich resources there can be created a certain amount of money depending upon the goods-and-services-producing-and-consuming-power of the country. Either that money can be created by the banking system as a debt and be borrowed by the government, or it can be created by the government as a sheer asset of the state, as the quotation I read last night from Vickers' "Economic Tribulation" clearly shows the writer believed.

May I read a passage from another source which perhaps has escaped the minister's attention. This passage comes from the London *Times* of recent date and is quoted by the Montreal *Daily Herald* of June 4 in an editorial, "Will Protective Tariffs Disappear?" I am going to read the words from the editorial. I said last night, rather sternly I believe, that all progressive men everywhere are beginning to see the possibility of creating money. This passage will help to show that even the very orthodox and conservative London *Times* is beginning to see that possibility. The words are:

We are not likely to solve our post-war problems unless we make up our minds to treat money as a bookkeeping technique to facilitate the production and exchange of goods and services, not as something the supply of which sets a fixed upper limit to our productive activities.

May I digress for a moment to point this out. Social credit, as I will develop it if my time permits, conceives that the credit of the state may be used greatly to increase the productive capacity and production of the state—which is an idea that is conveyed definitely by the words I have just read. To continue the quotation:

It plays much the same part in the economic life as railway tickets play in transportation. It is dishonesty, akin to inflation, to issue tickets for more trains than can be run. It is absurd to cut down the railway service because the ticket office has run short of tickets.

That is precisely the concept of social credit.

When we were talking in 1939 there was a vast amount of productive capacity and actual production in Canada which was not being used. We could have created enough tickets, enough money to have caused these productive capacities to come into use and all of these idle goods to be used. As an illustration of what might have been done, just think of the lumber which we were not having very much use for during six, eight or ten months; imagine what would have been achieved by means of a credit expansion which would have resulted in houses being built all over Canada and would have kept the lumber mills busy nine months of that year before they were brought into operation by the demand of war. What a change there would have been in the social conditions among the Canadian people! How much stronger we would have been to fight the war! Such credit expansion would have been an example of tickets created for the goods that were already in Canadian lumber yards—not enough tickets to bring about a scarcity of goods, but merely to stimulate, to motivate production to the highest degree possible. If at any time I do not make myself clear, I shall appreciate it if the minister will let me know.

I have never advocated a limitless creation of money. I hope that never again in this house will the minister or the leader of the opposition or anyone else accuse us even by implication of advocating any such thing. It

was the favourite device of Mr. Dunning to say that sort of thing, apparently side-stepping the issue and getting people off on the wrong track. But that is not fair; it is not in the interests of the country. Reference was made last night in two places to unlimited creation of money. As reported at page 3346 of *Hansard* the minister used these words:

Sounder than the creation of unlimited sums of new money.

We have never advocated that, under any circumstances anywhere since we came to the house. Again as reported at page 3347 he spoke of "the unlimited creation of money." That is a misinterpretation of our ideas. This is the rule: The amount of money that can be created and used, as I have said over and over again, depends upon the goods-and-services producing-and-consuming power of the state. That is the simplest way in which it can be expressed in general terms. It is a fairly accurate way of determining the amount of money that can be created and used. The minister himself has that concept; only he has not our concept of "creating" money; he has the concept of the degree to which the "banks" can create money without causing inflation.

Mr. ILSLEY: May I say this for the sake of clarification. The hon. gentleman seems to argue part of the time that we should run the banks. That is the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation policy. He seems to object to the private banking system. Instead of allowing the banks a profit on the carrying on of banking activities, he suggests that the government should carry them on; and, as presumably he would say that the government should have the profit themselves. Is that the position of social credit?

Mr. BLACKMORE: No; that is not quite correct. The social credit movement believes that the banks can work for the government. The banks do not necessarily belong to the government. It may be quite all right for the government to buy the whole banking system. We would certainly never favour having the government seize it or cause any harm to the bankers. We do believe in private enterprise. That, the minister will find, is the distinctive difference between our movement and the socialistic movement, which seems to favour government ownership and direction. We believe it is better for the country to have private ownership.

Mr. ILSLEY: I may become, I am afraid, a minister who delays his own estimates, but I should like to ask the hon. gentleman this question. If the private banks, the commercial banks, are to continue in private hands and continue lending money, are they not creating money in the sense which the hon. gentleman implies, and therefore perpetuating what he says should not be allowed to continue? Bear in mind that the hon. gentleman said a few minutes ago that the creation of money should be a state activity, that money is an asset to the country and should be created by the state. Is that position consistent with the position that the private banking system should be allowed to continue?

Mr. BLACKMORE: First, let me put it in this way. The Bank of Canada prints bills to-day, and the government theoretically borrows those bills from the Bank of Canada, thereby creating a debt to the Bank of Canada, which is a debt to the government itself inasmuch as the Bank of Canada is a government institution, a branch of the minister's own department, as I understand. In that respect, the government can obtain bills and perhaps credit at a very low rate. It should be able to obtain it at cost of printing, cost of bookkeeping and cost of management.

Mr. ILSLEY: What about cost of interest on deposits?

Mr. BLACKMORE: We shall come to that.

Mr. ILSLEY: That is part of the costs.

Mr. BLACKMORE: I was dealing first of all with the central bank.

Mr. GILLIS: I make no pretence at being able to follow the hon. gentleman all the way through, but one thing strikes me. How will you control the issuing of currency or tickets when your productive capacity is in the hands of private enterprise, when it is in someone else's hands and someone else controls it? On what are you going to base the issuing of currency?

Mr. BLACKMORE: I do not want to keep anyone from asking any questions, and perhaps the minister will allow me to answer the hon. member's question first. It would be better, however, if all questions could be deferred until I get through.

Mr. GILLIS: I asked only one question.

Mr. BLACKMORE: It would be better if the hon. member would bring that up at the end, because to answer the minister's searching questions is enough for any hon. member, if the situation is to be made clear for the record. Perhaps my hon. friend will bring it up later.

Answering the minister's question, I would point out in the first place that I was dealing

with the central banking function, and theoretically the primary business of the central bank is not paying interest on deposits.

Mr. ILSLEY: No.

Mr. BLACKMORE: When you come to the secondary or chartered banks you are dealing with another problem. The chartered bank has to pay interest on deposits. This causes the private or chartered bank to incur definite costs. Perhaps it costs them 3 per cent.

Mr. MacNICOL: They pay only one and a half.

Mr. BLACKMORE: I said "perhaps", for the reason that there is a good deal of discussion about the matter. If hon. members will read the proceedings of the banking and commerce committee of 1939, they will see how difficult the question was then, and we in this house can hardly hope to settle it if that committee were unable to. But take 3 per cent as the rate and assume that it costs the Bank of Montreal 3 per cent to lend money to the people, taking into consideration what it pays for its own deposits. The social credit position would be something like this. Farmers are producing the very sinews of war, such as milk, honey, beef, wool and so on, and surely they should never be called upon to pay 6 and 7 per cent. That is adding to their costs; it is adding to the costs both to the community and to the government. It is unsound. Social credit would say that probably 2 per cent or even less is all that the farmer should ever have to pay for production loans. The question would be raised, how would the difference be made up to the bank? How would the Bank of Montreal be saved from loss?

Mr. MacNICOL: It would be the difference between three and two.

Mr. BLACKMORE: Yes, a loss of 1 per cent. I think it will come to be realized as the years go by that the people can afford to have the government subsidize the bank on that loan. If it costs the bank 3 per cent and the government wants the farmer to have it at 2 per cent, the government can afford to pay the 1 per cent; that is, provided the loan is for bona fide production. The increased business will rapidly increase the profits of the bank, which again is an important item. The minister as he realizes has opened up a highly technical question. That is perfectly all right, but it is one which it is difficult to deal with on the floor of the house, one which could be much better dealt with in the banking and commerce committee.

Mr. ILSLEY: That is an additional subsidy for agriculture; that is all.

Mr. BLACKMORE: That is right.

Mr. ILSLEY: There is nothing very difficult about that.

Mr. BLACKMORE: That is true. But it is a new idea that I find people do not apprehend quickly.

Mr. ILSLEY: We are familiar with it.

Mr. BLACKMORE: The minister has raised an important point After all is said and done, if the production of wool, which is disturbing people greatly to-day in Canada, is so vital to the welfare of Canada, why should the producers of wool be penalized by high interest rates? Looked at logically it never can be sound economics.

I think I have said enough on that point. If the minister has no further questions, I shall now turn aside to deal with the question of the hon. member for Cape Breton South before we lose track of him. The hon. member asked in effect: If the government creates through the Bank of Canada a one dollar bill which gives a claim to a bushel of wheat, how can the government create the one dollar bill giving that claim when the government does not possess the bushel of wheat?

Well, the Bank of Montreal and every other chartered bank in Canada were doing that thing for scores of years. They were able to do it; they are able to do it now. When the dominion government created a one dollar bill under the Finance Act of 1914 the dominion did it; they do it now through the Bank of Canada, and that bill is a claim to a dollar's worth of fish, or a dollar's worth of coal—

Mr. GILLIS: Then there is no necessity to change, if they are already doing it.

Mr. BLACKMORE: I am merely answering the hon. member's question.

Mr. GILLIS: That is not answering it. The hon. member's argument is they are doing it and have been doing it. My understanding of his argument was that he desires a change whereby the government would take over the control of the currency of the country, based on the productive capacity of the country, and issue sufficient credit to keep things moving, as it were.

Mr. BLACKMORE: To effect exchanges.

Mr. GILLIS: My question is, if your tickets are based on the productive capacity of the country, you still have no power to move those who control private enterprise as it is now; they are still in a position to keep the

people at poverty level and keep the government in the position where they do not have anything to issue tickets against. As I see it, you must take out of the hands of private enterprise the machinery of production so that you can work your credits and the machinery of production in coordination; you must have control over that.

Mr. BLACKMORE: No. You exercise a certain amount of control over industry in this way: In the first place the power of legal tender which the government possesses enables the government to create a credit instrument which is a claim to the production of any productive enterprise under the jurisdiction of that government. That is a principle which cannot be gainsaid. That is point No. 1. It matters not who owns the productive enterprise.

Point No. 2 is: Any industry is in business for a profit. It does not do an industry, say a coal-mining company, any good to own a coal mine if it cannot produce coal and sell it. The result is that the all-important matters to the coal business are markets and price. When the government creates a dollar bill it creates the means of buying the coal, providing a market, also the means of establishing price.

An hon. MEMBER: Will the—

Mr. BLACKMORE: May I ask hon. members not to divert me from my discussion any more at the present time. I will go into this with the greatest detail, but I should like to finish the speech I am giving and then answer questions. It is not that I have any doubt of the soundness of what I advocate—

Mr. MacNICOL: You are thoroughly convinced yourself.

Mr. BLACKMORE: Utterly, and I think by reference to the principles and practice to-day I can establish the soundness of what I have said.

I was saying that the amount of money that the government can create depends on the goods-and-services-producing-and-consuming-power of the country over which the government has jurisdiction.

Mr. ILSLEY: That is a pretty indefinite criterion.

Mr. BLACKMORE: You cannot put it any other way; it is a general principle. If you had opportunity to go into details you would find it completely sound. I held that in the speech which I gave on March 8, 1938, when I moved a vote of want of confidence in the government. I merely recall that to show that our concept is permanent and stable. We have never advocated and are not advocating the creation of more money than the goods and services of the country justify; not enough to cause inflation.

Mr. ILSLEY: If the Social Credit party is not against borrowing and is not against taxing and is not against private ownership, then the difference between the Social Credit party and the government comes down to this, just a difference in judgment as to how much money should be issued from time to time.

Mr. BLACKMORE: The minister is coming very close to it. The first great difference between the social credit concept and the government concept is this: Social credit says that all the money in the state, all that it is possible to create, fundamentally is the property of the people in the state and should be owned by the government to be used for the welfare of the state.

Mr. ILSLEY: So do we. Of course the monetary policy should be the policy that is in the interest of the welfare of the state. There is no difference between the Social Credit party and the government there.

Mr. BLACKMORE: Only that the Social Credit party says that new money should be issued as a clear asset to the state, should be a definite addition to the revenues of the state.

Mr. NOSEWORTHY: Even the Conservatives did that.

Mr. BLACKMORE: I am not saying they did not.

Mr. ILSLEY: What does that mean?

Mr. BLACKMORE: Take as an illustration the $26,000,000 we talked of last night. In the last war $26,000,000 of new money was created outright by the Department of Finance, and spent, just as though it had been borrowed or as though it had been taxed. The result was the $26,000,000 was definitely added to the revenue of the country, but it was revenue which did not entail a tax on the people and did not create a debt which would go on through generations.

Mr. ILSLEY: The reason why the hon. gentleman takes that $26,000,000 is that at that time there was a gold standard, which was departed from to the extent that that $26,000,000 was created. To-day there is no gold standard, and to the extent that we borrow from the Bank of Canada, as we do to a limited extent, are we not doing exactly what that government did when it issued the $26,000,000?

Mr. BLACKMORE: I think you are going into debt.

Mr. ILSLEY: We are not going into debt when we borrow from the Bank of Canada because we are the Bank of Canada. Therefore, the difference between the hon. gentleman and myself comes down to this, does it not, merely a matter of judgment as to how far we should go in borrowing from the Bank of Canada?

Mr. BLACKMORE: I think so.

Mr. ILSLEY: I think the hon. gentleman does not say we should go the whole length. He does not say we should have borrowed $1,000,000,000 in 1940 and $2,000,000,000 in 1941 and $3,000,000,000 in 1942. He says now he does not mean that, and his party does not mean that. He believes we should go on borrowing otherwise than from the Bank of Canada, which is not borrowing at all but which is the creation of money. He says some money should be created, so the issue seems to have become just a matter of judgment as to degree. That is a very small issue, is it not?

Mr. BLACKMORE: The minister really should be on the other side of the house.

Mr. ILSLEY: I was going to suggest that perhaps we could isolate these other people a little more, and the hon. gentleman might join us.

Mr. BLACKMORE: There is just one point that needs to be stressed right here. Of course this is just on the first fundamental principle of social credit. There are three great principles. The first is the creation of money. The second is the just price, and the government is far, far away from us on that. The third is a policy of financing consumption, and the government is a considerable distance from us on that; in fact it is far away from us on that.

Mr. ILSLEY: What was the first one?

Mr. BLACKMORE: The first one is the creation of money.

Mr. ILSLEY: I think that is reduced to a difference of opinion as to amount. The second one was the just price. That is a matter of a difference of opinion as to what is a just price. The hon. gentleman is advocating high prices all the time. There is nothing very difficult about that. He has a great many friends outside his own party on that. Then the third one was a subsidy to consumers. Well, there again there is nothing very fundamental about that, unless he means that there should be a general subsidy of so much to all consumers, regardless of their need, which I do not believe would be a rational policy.

Mr. BLACKMORE: It may come ultimately. Just to keep the record straight, let us put it in this way. The government's policy, if I interpret it aright as I have listened to it, has been to raise all that can be raised by taxation.

Mr. ILSLEY: Absolutely.

Mr. BLACKMORE: And all that is possible by borrowing.

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes.

Mr. BLACKMORE: Whether or not the government creates any money in addition, I do not know. Social credit goes at it from the other angle. Social credit will say, create all that it is safe to create, and then—

Mr. MacNICOL: Is that not a matter of judgment, too?

Mr. BLACKMORE: Yes.

Mr. ILSLEY: We believe it would be quite unsafe to go any further than we have gone, in view of the danger of inflation. We do not believe we could control inflation by our price-ceiling policy if we went much further in the issue of money, because it would burst the price ceiling. If the price ceiling, by some miracle, should hold, then it would mean the indefinite continuance of the price ceiling after the war, because there would be such a volume of bank credit or currency or both that the removal of the price ceiling would be impossible, because prices would soar so desperately.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): The whole theory means inflation; it cannot mean anything else.

Mr. ILSLEY: The hon. gentleman denies that his policy means inflation. We argue and believe that it does, if it goes much beyond what we are doing anyway, or probably if it goes at all beyond what we are doing anyway. That is what we believe. We get the best advice we can; we exercise the best judgment we can, and our judgment tells us that we want to withdraw purchasing power from the consumers of this country. We want desperately to do that, because of the terrific upward pressure on the price level if we do not.

Mr. BLACKMORE: I appreciate the minister's position, and I sympathize with him.

Mr. ILSLEY: Excuse me; there is just one more thing. We think the importance of the objective is so great that it is worth paying a price for it, a price we do not like; that is, the increase of internal debt and the increased interest burden on the people. While that does not impoverish the

country, because it is merely the payment of money from one set of Canadians to another set of Canadians, either in this generation or in future generations, we do not think that is a desirable thing to do. But we are so much impressed with the dangers of inflation, and with the inevitability of inflation if we depart from the policy that we are following, that we are prepared to pay the price by increasing the interest burden.

Mr. BLACKMORE: I think the minister has put it very well.

I wish to go and discuss the question of inflation. It is quite clear, is it not that the whole discussion is going to centre round what constitutes inflation?

Mr. ILSLEY: No.

Mr. BLACKMORE: We have pretty well reached that point, have we not?

Mr. NOSEWORTHY: That also is a matter of opinion.

Mr. ILSLEY: What constitutes inflation is one point as to which there should not be any disagreement.

Mr. BLACKMORE: The minister would agree, I think, that it comes about as a result of the scarcity of goods as compared with the amount of money in circulation?

Mr. ILSLEY: I mean an increase in prices due to the issuance of money.

Mr. BLACKMORE: Would it not be just as true to say inflation is an increase in price due to the fact that there are less goods than there is money?

Mr. ILSLEY: The hon. gentleman is not logical there; he is ascribing a reason which may be contentious. I thought he was dealing with a definition. I thought he was attempting to describe inflation. I do not think there is any difference between us on that.

Mr. BLACKMORE: There is just this difference. There has been, for a considerable length of time, propaganda going out through the banks in an effort to convey to people the idea that if the government should print a one dollar bill, that is inflation. It is not inflation at all unless there is a rise in price. What we need to do all over the continent of North America in this generation is to get definitely in mind the fact that there is no inflation unless there is a rise in price, and a rise in price does not necessarily occur unless there is a shortage of goods. Once that is granted we are on a basis from which we can reason, and we will go forward during the rest of the period on that basis.

[Mr. Ilsley.]

The important thing in dealing with inflation is first of all to increase your production, both in amount and in variety. The next thing is to keep your price down, perhaps by means other than price ceilings, though the price ceiling is one way of keeping prices down. Do I make that quite clear, and does the minister agree with me there?

Mr. FURNISS: What if you have not enough men to create the goods?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Bradette): The hon. gentleman has now spoken for forty minutes, and in addition I have allowed him twenty-five minutes for answering questions and for interruptions.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: I should like to ask the minister a few questions in connection with this item, because I believe no more important matter will come before the house this session. To-day we find ourselves in this position, that practically our entire economic life has become the monopoly of a board, more or less independent of parliament, with power to put through its own legislation without reference to parliament. The item with which we are dealing has to do with administration, as well as the payment of subsidies. I am not one of those who criticize what has been done. When the matter was first introduced in parliament I criticized the method of its introduction, namely by order in council, regimenting as it did and as it does now the economic life of this dominion. I felt then, and I feel now, that it should have been brought before parliament. But one part of it must be brought before parliament, that is the cost of the subsidies that are being paid in connection with the operation of the plan, and the cost of administration of the price ceiling. Recently I endeavoured to secure some information with regard to these costs. The estimate for the coming year is $50,000,000. That estimate must be based upon the experience that has been gained since the inception of the scheme. On May 28 I asked this question:

What is the total amount that has been disbursed for (a) domestic subsidies, (b) import subsidies since the commencement of price ceiling operations?

The answer was given that the sum of approximately $4,000,000 had been expended to date. Then I asked a further question, and it is necessary to have the answer to that question in order to understand the extent of the expenditures which may be made in connection with the operation of this price ceiling. I asked:

2. What is the total amount as yet unpaid now due or accruing due and for which the government is liable, (a) for domestic subsidies, (b) for import subsidies?

I point out to the committee that while the answer given technically follows the question asked, it is not sufficient for the committee or for the people of Canada. It is as follows:

Importers or other claimants are allowed ninety days in which to file their claims. All claims are carefully examined, and in some cases disallowed, and in others substantially reduced. It is therefore impossible to state what amounts of subsidies are due or accrued at any given date.

That does not necessarily follow. I think we have a right to that information, and I am sure the minister is now in a position to give it. He must now be ready to answer the question: What is the total number of claims filed to date for domestic and import subsidies, and if those claims were allowed, how much would be disbursed? He should be in a position now to give that information. The estimate for the next year is $50,000,000; parliament has a right to that information.

Next I wish to ask the minister one or two questions in regard to enforcement. True enough, the patriotic element enters into the equation. I remember well, along with other hon. members, receiving a letter from the minister dated March 26, 1942, wherein he forwarded to us a copy of an address he had given in connection with the price ceiling. He added these words:

It always worries me when any hon. member makes slighting reference to something our boards have done in enforcing our ceiling policies. I do not want to discourage criticism, but I do want members making this criticism to do so with a deep sense of responsibility.

If the minister asked the members to take that position, he has a right to ask. At the same time, however, he owes a duty to the committee to give full information with respect to possible expenditures during the coming year in connection with subsidies, and also with respect to what expenditures would have been to date on the basis of the claims already filed.

Also, in connection with the $4,000,000 already expended I should like to know the total value of goods purchased in respect of which the operation of the price ceiling has necessitated the paying of subsidies to the amount of $4,000,000 to date. That information would give some indication as to what the expenditures will be during the coming year.

In connection with enforcement I would ask the minister how many prosecutions have taken place since the inception of the scheme. How many prosecutions are anticipated at the present time? How many investigations are now being proceeded with? I do not wish to delay the committee unduly, but I suggest we should have this information.

Mr. ILSLEY: With respect to value, does the hon. member mean the value to the importer or to the consumer?

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: To the importer. If the minister would answer the question I have already asked, I would ask two or three more arising from his answers. I suggest we ought to have that information now.

Mr. ILSLEY: I do not have it here. It would take until Monday to get all this information.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Surely the minister is in a position to inform the committee upon what he bases his expenditure for the next year at $50,000,000, in connection with subsidies?

Mr. ILSLEY: I made it clear that it was possible to make an estimate, but I also pointed out that this $50,000,000 is not a close estimate. There is no way of knowing.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: That is just the point I am making. If you go into the United States you find that economists over there say that during the present year Canada will have to expend $150,000,000 or possibly more than that if it intends to uphold its price ceiling.

Mr. ILSLEY: How do they know?

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: The minister himself cannot give us any indication. He says the basis of experience up to the present time—

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes, I say that.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: —is not sufficient to say to the house and to the country what the expenditures will be during the coming year.

Mr. ILSLEY: That is correct; I do not know.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Can the minister tell us now how much would be expended in settlement of the claims at present before the department?

Mr. ILSLEY: I can get it, but not in fifteen minutes.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: I asked the question three or four days ago.

Mr. ILSLEY: Not that question.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Yes, on the order paper; and it stood over. I asked the question on June 2, and the Minister of Finance said that it should stand over. That is one piece of information which the committee has a right to expect, and which it must have if there is to be an intelligent discussion respecting the operation of subsidies.

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Mr. BLACKMORE: Would the hon. member permit a question?

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: At the moment I am asking questions. This is one of the most important matters concerning which we must have information. Without it all the discussion respecting social credit and inflation has no purpose at all. This is information the committee wishes to get.

Then, speaking to the leader of the opposition yesterday the minister said the best recommendation for the scheme was the fact that it had been adopted by the United States. The inference was left that the scheme was something new, and that it had been inaugurated for the first time by the Minister of Finance in Canada. The fact is that this is Mr. Bernard Baruch's scheme. It was recommended a long time ago in the United States, and was never adopted. It preferred the Henderson scheme.

Mr. ILSLEY: I did not say I invented it.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: But the minister left the impression that this was his own scheme, and that any criticism of it was answered by the fact that it had been adopted by the United States.

The Baruch scheme sets out certain things which must be done in order to make the scheme a success. He says that prices, rents, wages, commission fees and interest rates—in short the price of every item of goods or services should not be permitted to rise above the maximum of that date. They should fluctuate below this ceiling.

Mr. ILSLEY: Then our scheme is not the same as the Baruch scheme.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Just a moment; I was coming to that. Everything was adopted, with the exception of that part relating to interest rates. Would the minister explain why that particular part of the scheme was not followed?

Mr. ILSLEY: Does the hon. member want an answer now?

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Yes.

Mr. ILSLEY: The reason is that the risk varies so greatly that we did not think we could put a price ceiling on it. Money is worth 6 per cent when it is lent on one class of risk and only 3 per cent when it is lent on another. You cannot do that unless you made it 10 per cent, 24 per cent or something like that. You could have a ceiling such as that, but it would completely prevent lending in many places where lending should take place. I may say that the matter was not overlooked.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Generally speaking, I think the discussion this afternoon has been far removed from the item before the committee. I believe it was suggested by the minister last November that managerial and executive salaries, directors fees, et cetera, would be controlled. Have they been controlled?

Mr. ILSLEY: They certainly have.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Is there complete control in that regard?

Mr. ILSLEY: As complete as we can make it without a terrible upset. Nothing has given us more trouble in our ceiling policy than our determination to control salaries. The hon. member heard what was said last night by the hon. member for St. Paul's (Mr. Ross). We have set up a salary controller and provided a board headed by Mr. Justice Hyndman to advise him. We have put an enormous amount of work on drafting orders in council and amendments to orders in council for the purpose of controlling salaries.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: What is the control over directors' fees?

Mr. ILSLEY: The order in council reads:

Unless otherwise permitted by paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 hereof, no employer shall, on or after November 7, 1941:

(c) pay fees to a director of a company at a rate in excess of the rate of fees paid to such director in the twelve months ending November 6, 1941, provided, however, that a newly appointed director of a company may be paid fees at the same rate as that paid to other directors of the said company during the twelve months ending November 6, 1941, and the payment thereof to such newly appointed director shall not be regarded as an increase in the salary of the said director for the purposes of this order.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Can the minister give an estimate of how much has been expended to date for subsidies, assuming that all claims that have been filed are paid in full? Surely that estimate could be given within one or two million dollars.

Mr. ILSLEY: The amount paid up to and including the week ended June 2, 1942, was $4,482,308.88. There were 9,039 claims filed, of which 7,746 were for milk. The secretary of the board tells me that claims are paid promptly. The hon. member wanted an estimate of the amounts that have not been paid to date?

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Yes.

Mr. ILSLEY: It would be most unsatisfactory to make an estimate.

Mr. DIEFENBAKER: Can the minister give one within a million dollars?

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Mr. ILSLEY: The secretary tells me that it would be less than a million dollars.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Cotton goods are under the price ceiling, but we all know that the cotton companies are faced with having to replace their stocks of raw cotton at greatly increased prices. I am not certain, but I believe cotton has gone up to 18 cents a pound in the United States.

Mr. ILSLEY: That much at least.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): This means that the cost is doubled as compared with the cost of cotton that was fabricated before the ceiling went into effect. Subsidies on this will run into the millions.

Mr. ILSLEY: It depends upon the arrangements made with the cotton companies.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): These companies import millions of pounds every year, and the consumption of cotton textiles will certainly not decrease. The needs for the army may be decreased slightly if the summer uniforms have been. Will not this one item run into millions of dollars?

Mr. ILSLEY: If we had to pay the difference between the present cost of cotton and that paid for goods sold during the basic period, it would amount to a considerable amount of money. If the hon. gentleman will look up the speech I made on subsidies, which I mentioned last night, he will see that there is a limiting factor. We will not subsidize a company into the excess profits tax category. This means that the Canadian companies will have to bear a large part of the additional cost.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): The intention is to squeeze them. I do not know whether that is the right word to use.

Mr. ILSLEY: That is the word we use.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): That means they will have to reduce production.

Mr. ILSLEY: Oh, no; their profits will be reduced.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): This resolution has been before the committee for a long time, and I am going to suggest that the resolution be reported in order to permit the minister to introduce his bill. However, the minister should give us an undertaking that on the committee stage of the bill, or when any estimates are before us, full opportunity will be permitted hon. members to ask questions. This would be particularly necessary in connection with those departments which have not been covered fully, such as the Department of Labour which has just been touched upon in this series of interrogatories. I hope the committee will adopt this suggestion.

Mr. ILSLEY: I am much obliged for the suggestion, and I will give the undertaking asked for. If any member wishes to ask any question on the bill, he may.

Mr. MacNICOL: On any one of these departments?

Mr. ILSLEY: He is entitled to that privilege in any event.

Mr. MacINNIS: He is entitled to much more than that.

Mr. BLACKMORE: I should like to support the leader of the opposition's proposal, provided we are given complete liberty to discuss these matters. I think the matter we have been discussing is the most vital matter that has been discussed.

Mr. ILSLEY: If I understand the rules correctly, hon. members will have the right, under the section of the bill which grants $2,000,000,000—it is really $1,500,000,000—to enable the government to defray the expenses of the war, to discuss all the expenses of the war.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): The only limitation that there might be on that is the interpretation which the chairman of the committee of the whole might place upon it. The minister knows that at times he is rather restrictive. I think the minister ought to undertake that there will be full discussion on the committee stage of the bill.

Mr. ILSLEY: I will undertake that. I do not see how the chairman could rule otherwise under that section.

Mr. MacNICOL: Let me be clear. Later on, when a bill is before the house, if I want to ask a question under the item, surveys and engineering branch, shall I be at liberty to ask a question about any amount mentioned under aids?

Mr. ILSLEY: Is the hon. member talking about non-war estimates?

Mr. MacNICOL: On the war appropriation.

Mr. ILSLEY: On anything in the war appropriations, he may ask.

Mr. MacINNIS: I admire the generosity of the leader of the opposition to the New Democracy. But I think our hon. friends are monopolizing the available time for discussion this afternoon. The hon. member for Cape Breton South has been waiting here for a number of days with something which

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he wishes to raise, and, being a man of polite instincts, he always allowed other people to get ahead of him. If we could continue for about ten minutes this afternoon and allow him to introduce the point he has in mind, we would be glad to let the matter go as was suggested by the leader of the opposition.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Do not attribute to me any time killing. I have not killed any time this afternoon. I think the Prime Minister took up all the time on other matters. But if any hon. gentleman objects to this procedure, he certainly has the right to do so, in order to hold this up. I was not speaking for anybody but my own group.

Mr. ILSLEY: With regard to anyone getting ahead of the hon. member for Cape Breton South, I never heard of anyone that did. I am afraid that he may introduce something which requires some answer.

Mr. QUELCH: Some of us are supposed to leave at six o'clock to meet some people outside.

Mr. GILLIS: I do not wish to detain the committee. This matter which I have to bring to the attention of the minister has to do with the administration of the fuel control board, which comes under the wartime prices and trade board, and a portion of this appropriation is for their administration. I will be brief and explicit.

I think that organization, the fuel control board particularly, has wholly fallen down on the job and there is a serious situation developing in Canada as regards fuel. The Minister of Munitions and Supply (Mr. Howe) made the statement to the house that oil for domestic purposes is to be curtailed and that consumers of oil have to tighten their belts.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): That was a little premature, was it not?

Mr. GILLIS: Then Mr. Stewart, in a statement on June 3, points out that the coal situation in the United States is serious and that Canada depends for 60 per cent of her consumption on the United States. There is a long statement in the Ottawa *Journal* of May 4, to the effect that possibly coal will have to be rationed. Coal is an essential war commodity. The situation has become so serious in Britain that they have nationalized the industry and taken it over. In the face of the fuel controller making such statements, and the Minister of Munitions and Supply stressing the seriousness of the situation with respect to oil, we find in the east and in the west coal mines being closed or put on short time. The public is wondering about this.

What I should like to bring specifically to the minister's attention is this statement released from Nanaimo, British Columbia, and printed in the *Canadian Tribune* of this week. I am going to read it for the minister's information, because in the back of my mind for the past two years I have had the definite belief that most of the trouble we have experienced in the mining industry was organized behind the scenes by an unseen influence, and the miners have suffered the consequences:

> Declaring he had uncovered a situation that was "unbelievable until he investigated," John Stokaluk, District 18 vice-president of the U.M.W.A., charged at a meeting of several hundred coal miners here that oil interests were trying to slow production in Vancouver island coal mines.
>
> Stokaluk flew to Nanaimo following walkouts of workers in two mines. The miners' action was taken after crude unsigned pencilled notices had been posted up and Stokaluk made the direct charge that certain members of the union local were being paid to stir up trouble.

I believe that, because I have gone through similar situations.

> "There is plenty of coal," he said, "but the oil interests are trying to show the people of Canada and the government that this coming winter there will be a shortage of coal and miners.
>
> "The more strikes and shortages we have the better for the oil interests," he added.
>
> Stokaluk told the meeting that provided the miners' legitimate grievances were properly adjusted, Vancouver island mines can supply 800,000 tons of coal a year, sufficient to meet market requirements.
>
> Demanding immediate action to settle these legitimate grievances, he declared "that the union would fight any unpatriotic efforts, oil or other interests might make to interfere with coal production.

I know that during the past two years there have been serious upheavals in the mining industry in Nova Scotia; and, knowing that situation very well, I have time and time again come to the conclusion that interests other than the miners were the cause of 75 per cent of the trouble which has taken place since the outbreak of war. I bring this to the minister's attention specifically. I believe that the charges made by Stokaluk in Nanaimo, should be examined by this government, and examined immediately, either through the fuel control board or through someone else. If it is true that the oil interests of this country, thinking in terms of after the war, are deliberately sabotaging the

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coal industry and preventing its expansion at this time in order that they may build up in Canada a market for oil in the aftermath of this war, and a continuation and expansion of their own industry, it is time that we found out.

These are specific charges as carried in the public press. If they are true in respect of British Columbia, they are true of other parts of Canada. A few days ago the executive board of the miners of Nova Scotia was notified by the heads of the coal companies that from now on the mines of Nova Scotia would be on short time. It is only a few months ago that the press carried full-page statements from the same coal company, when there was an upheaval there which was not, in my opinion, organized by the men, characterizing these men as saboteurs. To-day the companies themselves are sabotaging the industry, and it is time that the people of Canada, through the medium of their responsible elected officials, came to an understanding as far as this industry is concerned.

Mr. ILSLEY: Well, Mr. Chairman, the hon. gentleman says that the companies are sabotaging the industry, and, he fears, at the instance of their competitors, the oil people.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): I do not think that follows.

Mr. GILLIS: That is the direct charge made by district 18 vice-president of the United Mine Workers' Association in British Columbia. He said that after investigation "he had uncovered a situation that was unbelievable", and he charged directly that the oil interests of Canada are sabotaging the mines. John Stokaluk has information of that kind at his disposal; that information should come to the government and something should be done about it.

Mr. ILSLEY: May I say right now that if he will forward his information, it certainly will be investigated. I am doubtful whether there is anything definite about that. On what occasion did he make his speech, or in what form?

Mr. GILLIS: Apparently, according to this statement, he was summoned to Nanaimo, where the mines are on short time or idle. He flew there and, addressing a mass meeting of the miners, he makes these charges. But what I am concerned about is the possibility of rationing fuel this winter. There is no oil available. The mines east and west are on short time, while the fuel controller, Mr. Stewart, is warning the people of central Canada that coal will have to be rationed. It is about time we found out why mines should be idle in such a situation.

Mr. ILSLEY: I will bring the remarks of my hon. friend to the attention of the coal administrator, and if the gentleman in Vancouver has definite information, the matter will be taken account of, if the charges and statements are definite enough, and are based on anything except hearsay or surmise. I do not know much about the coal situation, but I am told there is a transportation bottleneck in regard to coal. That may or may not be so. I shall have to get further information.

Mr. BLACKMORE: I should like to know whether such matters as these, which affect inflation and price ceiling, may be discussed later on. Will it be in order to deal with these questions when we come to the discussion which the leader of the opposition has indicated?

Mr. ILSLEY: Yes. I want to make it clear that the resolution about to be reported is the resolution as amended. There was a $500,000,000 reduction carried one night.

Resolution as amended reported, read the second time and concurred in. Mr. Ilsley thereupon moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 95, for granting to His Majesty aid for national defence and security.

Motion agreed to and bill read the first time.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): What will be the business on Monday? Are we to have the mobilization bill?

Mr. CRERAR: On Monday the Minister of Finance will take up Bill No. 56, having to do with war risk insurance; also the resolution standing in his name to raise by way of loan $750,000,000. He is not in a position at the moment to say which he will take first, but hon. members should be prepared to proceed with either.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Is it definite that we shall not have Bill No. 80 on Monday?

Mr. CRERAR: I think that may be understood.

Mr. DOUGLAS (Weyburn): Has the minister any idea when we shall have it?

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): We ought to have a definite understanding now.

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Mr. CRERAR: It will depend on the progress made with the other measures.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): That is not good enough. We have facilitated the passage of the war appropriation resolution and the introduction of the bill, and the government should undertake to bring along the other bill, on Tuesday at any rate.

Mr. CRERAR: The Prime Minister can make a statement on Monday. After all, he is sponsoring the bill. He is not here, and I am not in a position to say what he may be prepared to do—whether it will be Monday or Tuesday or Wednesday.

Mr. HANSON (York-Sunbury): Wednesday is a short day.

Mr. DOUGLAS (Weyburn): The Prime Minister intimated that it would be brought down as soon as this stage of the war appropriation measure had been disposed of.

On motion of Mr. Crerar the house adjourned at 6.16 p.m.

D 60198

OFFICIAL REPORT OF DEBATES

The Daily Edition is issued on the morning following each day's sitting, the speeches being reported in the language in which they were delivered. Speeches in French are translated into English and appear in that form as an appendix to the daily issue. Speeches in English are translated and appear in the French edition on the day following delivery.

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

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

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L'édition quotidienne, publiée dans le texte original, paraît le lendemain matin de chaque séance. La version anglaise des discours prononcés en français est publiée en annexe à l'édition quotidienne du texte original.

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Il est publié, pour l'édition anglaise, deux index séparés, l'un pour l'édition quotidienne, après la clôture de la session; l'autre concernant l'édition définitive reliée, paraît un peu plus tard. L'Index se fait en cours de session et peut être consulté au bureau des Débats.

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

OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

MEMORANDUM

Copy sent to Mr. Turnbull.

June 3rd, 1942.

D 60199

For the Prime Minister:

Re: Air Training Agreement - statement in House of Commons.

-- Attached are draft paragraphs for your use in making the agreed statement in the House regarding the Air Training Agreement, also a copy of the agreed statement itself, retyped and inserted between pages 2 and 3 of your draft remarks.

Signature has now been fixed for Friday morning at 11 a.m., with arrangements for the agreed statement to be released that afternoon, when you have spoken in the House.

A. D. P. H.

D 60200

(Agreed Statement begins)

"A new Agreement for the renewal and expansion of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was reached yesterday in Ottawa. This brings to a successful conclusion the deliberations of Delegations from Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, the four partners in the Plan.

The new Agreement replaces that which established the original British Commonwealth Air Training Plan on December 17, 1939.

Aircrews by the thousands, the product of that Plan, now man the planes which in increasing numbers are carrying the war to the enemy. The Plan has undergone changes and modifications. To meet changing war conditions its original scope was greatly increased during 1940. Moreover, because of the increased difficulty in training in combat areas, and because more and more aerodrome space has been required for operational squadrons, a considerable part of the Royal Air Force training organization previously functioning in England, has been transferred to this country by agreement with Canada.

The original British Commonwealth Air Training Plan Agreement was timed to expire on March 31, 1943. The

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success of the Plan, the necessity of adapting it to new developments, and the need for long term planning, led the four participating Governments to undertake the discussions for renewal of the Agreement which have just been concluded.

The United Kingdom has been represented by the Right Honourable Harold Balfour, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Air and the Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald, M.P., High Commissioner to Canada; Australia by the Honourable Sir William Glasgow, High Commissioner to Canada; New Zealand by the Honourable Frank Langstone, High Commissioner to Canada; and Canada by the Honourable C.G.Power, M.P., Minister of National Defence for Air and the Honourable J.L.Ralston, M.P., Minister of National Defence.

The new Agreement will take effect on July 1, 1942 and will terminate on March 31, 1945. Basically the Plan remains the same. The original objective, of training in the speediest and most effective manner, the maximum number of aircrews to meet the demands of war, is still its goal. On a greatly expanded scale the extensive facilities in Canada will continue to be used by all four parties to the Agreement.. Australia and New Zealand, whose domestic air training has been increased because of the extension of the war to the Pacific area, will participate in the expanded

Plan much the same as before. Canada will continue to supply a substantial proportion of the trainees, whilst the total number of pupils sent under the United Kingdom quota, including men drawn from various parts of the Empire and from the European members of the United Nations, will be augmented. In sum, many more men will be trained in Canada under the new Agreement than were provided for in the original Plan, as expanded from time to time.

Under the new Agreement, there will be complete co-ordination of air training in Canada. The existing Schools of the Royal Air Force in Canada, already organized, will retain their identity, but will for purposes of administration continue to be integrated with those of the Air Training Plan under the control of the Royal Canadian Air Force. Further Royal Air Force units subsequently established in the Dominion, will come under the Plan. As a result there will be a single pool of trained personnel ready to be drawn upon as needed.

The new Agreement provides moreover that there will be an increase in the number of Royal Canadian Air Force Squadrons overseas. In Canada, training on operational types will be on a scale much greater than hitherto. This is a notable development. It will mean that pupils will be trained in Canada, from the very beginning to the point where they will be ready to join

Canadian Squadrons, in action, against the enemy.

The new Agreement provides for a re-definition of inter-governmental policy on many points relating to air training. Within the limitations of security these may be summarized as follows:

(5)

D 60204

FINANCE:

The costs of air training under the new agreement from July 1, 1942 to March 31, 1945, are estimated at almost one and one-half billion dollars. This will include all air training within Canada administered by the Dominion of Canada under the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan as expanded, including Operational Training Units and R.A.F. Transferred Units.

The Governments of Australia and New Zealand will each bear the cost of training of their respective pupils received into the Plan. The United Kingdom will assume 50 percent. of the estimated cost less payments made by Autralia and New Zealand. Canada will assume the remaining 50 percent. of the total as its share.

The United Kingdom's share of the costs will as far as practicable be in the form of a contribution of certain aircraft, engines, spare parts, technical equipment, bombs and ammunition and other supplies as required by the Administrator of the Plan.

PROVISIONING OF AIRCRAFT AND EQUIPMENT

While the liability for providing equipment of the types referred to rests with the United Kingdom, the task of determining the nature of the equipment and

the quantities required for agreed establishments will be the responsibility of Canada as Administrator of the Plan. In the past, this responsibility has, of course, rested largely with the United Kingdom in respect of the Royal Air Force Schools and the change is, therefore, an indication of the greater degree of co-ordination of these Schools to which reference has already been made. The willingness of the United Kingdom to entrust the Royal Canadian Air Force with increased responsibility in this important field of provisioning is a tribute to the Royal Canadian Air Force made by those best able to judge its efficiency in this regard.

HOME WAR NEEDS

Full allowance has been made, under the new Agreement, to supply aircrews as necessary for the maintenance of any additional numbers of operational squadrons which may be retained in Canada for home defence.

ROYAL AIR FORCE UNITS IN CANADA

Royal Air Force Units in Canada will be administered by the Royal Canadian Air Force in the same manner as units constituted under the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. Units now established, will preserve their Royal Air Force identity; all new training capacity created

at the request of the United Kingdom will come under the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. Present arrangements for consultation with the United Kingdom Air Liaison Mission will be retained.

Royal Air Force Elementary Flying Training Schools, now established in Canada will be civilianized on similar lines to British Commonwealth Air Training Plan Elementary Schools, except that the flying instructional staff and certain specialist ground instructional posts will normally be filled by Royal Air Force personnel in uniform.

Including the trainees from the United Nations and various parts of the Empire, the number of trainees sent to Canada by the United Kingdom will be greatly increased.

(8)

D 60207

CONTROL AND ADMINISTRATION OF ROYAL CANADIAN AIR FORCE OVERSEAS

The Agreement provides for important changes in the Administration and control of Royal Canadian Air Force personnel overseas. Provision had already existed for consultation on major operational questions. There will now also be a much closer liaison with regard to all other questions affecting the employment of Canadian personnel.

Royal Canadian Air Force Overseas Headquarters is given general supervision over Royal Canadian Air Force personnel attached to the Royal Air Force, and, subject to operational expediency, may recall any Officer or Airman so attached to serve with the Royal Canadian Air Force. Also subject to operational expediency the concurrence of Royal Canadian Air Force Overseas Headquarters is to be obtained in the selection of Commanding Officers for Royal Canadian Air Force Squadrons and in posting of Royal Canadian Air Force Officers of the rank of Wing Commander and above.

The Royal Canadian Air Force Personnel Reception Centre in the United Kingdom is to be functionally controlled by Royal Canadian Air Force Overseas Headquarters. A Royal Canadian Air Force Establishment will be formed in England to which Royal Canadian Air Force Officers and Airmen awaiting disposal, or convalescing after

illness, may be sent.

NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION

Under both the original and the new Agreement, the United Kingdom Government undertakes that pupils of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, after training is completed, and so far as is practicable, shall be identified with their respective Dominions. So far as Canada is concerned, the new Agreement proposes to implement this purpose, as operational considerations permit, through the constitution overseas of squadrons and higher formations with all-Canadian personnel, commanded by Canadian officers; and through the policy of posting Canadian personnel to squadrons in which Canadians already are serving. At present, Canadian personnel is scattered in over 600 Royal Air Force Units.

(1) Bomber Squadrons

A Canadian Bomber Group to consist of R. C. A. F. Bomber Squadrons is to be formed and will be under the command of R. C. A. F. officers. Canada will furnish the ground crews for these formations. In preparation for the formation of the Canadian Bomber Group, and in order that they may gain the necessary experience of group control, a number of R. C. A. F. officers will be appointed supernumerary to posts at group

headquarters. In order to keep the implementation of this policy to form a Canadian Bomber Group under constant review, a Canadian Bomber Group Progress Committee will be set up by Air Ministry. There will be Canadian representation in this Committee.

(2) Fighter Squadrons

It has been recognized that by reason of operational requirements, Fighter Squadrons must necessarily remain under the control of the Commander-in-Chief, R.A.F., Fighter Command. In pursuance, however, of the objective of national identification, R. C. A. F. Fighter Squadrons, so far as possible, will operate from stations which will be made R. C. A. F. Stations, manned by Canadian staffs.

(3) Coastal Command Squadrons and Army-Co-operation Squadrons Overseas.

Canadian Coastal Command Squadrons overseas are to be manned as far as possible with Canadian personnel. Army Co-operation Squadrons allotted to Canadian Army formations will be Canadian Squadrons.

COMMISSIONING OF AIRCREW

The general principle is established that all Pilots, Observers, Air Bombers, and Navigators, considered suitable according to the standards of their own countries,

and who are recommended for commissions, will infact be commissioned. The existing percentages governing the number of commissions given to Wireless Operator (Air Gunners) and Air Gunners will be maintained, but some flexibility will be permitted to ensure that airmen in these categories with the necessary qualifications are not excluded from commissions on account of the quota.

TRANSFERS BETWEEN AIR FORCES.

The partners in the Agreement will consider applications of individuals for transfer to the Air Forces of their own nationality.

The new Agreement reaffirms and reinforces the determination and capacity of the nations of the British Commonwealth to maintain the training of aircrews on a vast and increasing scale. It emphasizes the role of Canada, as "the Airdrome of Democracy", in this task.

The original Training Agreement was conceived in a spirit of vigorous enterprise. The Agreement concluded ~~yesterday~~ today will be carried through in the same spirit and will play its part in building up with certainty and with speed air forces of overwhelming and terrifying strength."

(Agreed statement ends.)

I believe hon. members would wish me, on their behalf and on behalf of the Canadian people, to express a word of appreciation to the delegations from our sister nations of the British Commonwealth upon the speedy and business-like conclusion of the new agreement. Their fine achievement is the result of the frankest and most cordial deliberations. It is particularly appropriate that the United Kingdom delegation should have been presided over by Captain Balfour who shared in the negotiation of the original agreement.

The wisdom of establishing the gigantic British Commonwealth Air Training Plan in Canada has been abundantly demonstrated. The most severe test came in the spring and summer of 1940 when the prospect of immediate disaster might well have discouraged long range planning for ultimate victory. By a supreme act of faith, the government of the United Kingdom urged us not to waver in our determination to go ahead with the Plan. Canada, Australia and New Zealand share the faith of the British government in British courage and British resolution.

Today the governments of Australia and

New Zealand find themselves in a similar position to that of Britain in the summer of 1940. They have made the same decision. The fact that, despite the approach of war to their own shores, Australia and New Zealand have decided to continue as active partners is another striking proof of the soundness of the original project. It is also a further earnest of the determination of their peoples to let nothing divert them from the main objective: the achievement of victory.

Hon. members will, I am sure, join with me in an expression of our sincere and whole-hearted appreciation of the part played by the Minister of National Defence for Air as head of the Canadian delegation. We all know how close, almost from its inception, the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan has been to his heart. He and his able civilian and Service advisers have borne the brunt of Canada's share in negotiating the new agreement.

The gigantic and devasting raids over Germany, of the past few days, particularly those upon Cologne and Essen, have stirred the hearts of the peoples of the United Nations. A very large proportion of the gallant young airmen from the United Kingdom, Canada,

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Australia and New Zealand, who took part, received their training in this country in schools of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan - dramatic evidence of the magnitude of the enterprise in which Canadians will be proud to continue to play a leading part.

Pour publication au moment où le Premier ministre fera sa déclaration à la Chambre des Communes.

for our files

D 60214

LA CONFERENCE D'OTTAWA SUR L'ENTRAÎNEMENT AERIEN

Ottawa, le 5 juin 1942.

DECLARATION AU PARLEMENT

Un nouvel Accord en vue du renouvellement et de l'expansion du Plan d'entraînement aérien du Commonwealth britannique a été ~~signé hier~~ conclu aujourd'hui, à Ottawa. Cet accord mène à bonne fin les délibérations des délégués du Canada, du Royaume-Uni, de l'Australie et de la Nouvelle-Zélande, les quatre associés dans la mise en oeuvre du plan précité.

Le nouvel accord remplace celui qui donna naissance au Plan d'entraînement aérien du Commonwealth britannique, le 17 décembre 1939.

Des milliers d'aviateurs, formés grâce à ce plan, montent maintenant les avions qui, en nombre croissant, portent la guerre chez l'ennemi. Le plan a subi certaines modifications: afin de faire face aux conditions créées par la guerre, il a fallu, au cours de 1940, en élargir de beaucoup les cadres. De plus, en raison de la difficulté toujours plus grande d'entraîner les équipages dans des régions directement atteintes par la guerre, sans compter la nécessité de compter sur de plus vastes aérodromes pour les escadrilles d'opérations militaires, nombre de services de la Royal Air Force qui, auparavant, fonctionnaient en Angleterre, ont été transportés ici, à la suite d'un accord intervenu avec le Canada.

Le Plan primitif devait prendre fin le 31 mars 1943. Toutefois, la réussite de ce projet, l'obligation de l'adapter à de nouveaux développements et la nécessité de prévoir longtemps d'avance, ont déterminé les quatre Gouvernements intéressés à aborder la question de renouveler l'accord qui vient d'être conclu.

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Le Royaume-Uni était représenté par le Très honorable Harold Balfour, député, sous-secrétaire d'Etat parlementaire pour l'air et le Très honorable Malcolm MacDonald, député, Haut Commissaire au Canada; l'honorable Sir William Glasgow, Haut Commissaire au Canada, représentait l'Australie, tandis que le représentant de la Nouvelle-Zélande était l'honorable Frank Langstone, Haut Commissaire au Canada. Le Canada se trouvait représenté par les honorables C.G. Power, député, ministre de la Défense nationale pour l'air et J.L. Ralston, ministre de la Défense nationale.

Le nouvel accord entrera en vigueur le 1er juillet 1942 et prendra fin le 31 mars 1945. En principe, le plan demeure le même. Son objet est encore de former aussi rapidement et le mieux possible, le plus grand nombre possible d'équipages de bord en vue de faire face aux besoins de la guerre. Les quatre parties contractantes continueront d'utiliser, mais beaucoup plus en grand, les facilités déjà très étendues qu'offre le Canada sous ce rapport. L'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande, dont l'entraînement aérien à l'intérieur s'est intensifié par suite de la création d'un nouveau théâtre de guerre dans le Pacifique, tentent de participer~~ront~~ à peu près comme auparavant à la mise en oeuvre du plan. Le Canada continuera à fournir une bonne proportion des élèves, tandis que le nombre total des élèves envoyés par la Grande-Bretagne, les autres parties de l'Empire, et les Etats d'Europe membres des Nations unies, sous le régime des contingentements, sera fortement augmenté. En bref, le nouvel accord permettra l'entraînement au Canada d'un nombre d'hommes de beaucoup supérieur à celui prévu par le plan primitif, tel qu'élargi de temps à autre.

Aux termes du nouvel accord, il y aura complète coordination de l'entraînement aérien au Canada. Les écoles de la Royal Air Force déjà organisées conserveront leur identité, mais, pour les fins d'administration, continueront d'être intégrées aux autres écoles du Plan d'entraînement aérien sous la direction du Corps d'aviation royal canadien. De plus, les unités de la R.A.F. qui, subséquemment, seront établies au Canada, relèveront du plan. C'est ainsi qu'il y aura une réserve unique où, selon les besoins du moment, l'on puisera le personnel exercé.

En outre, le nouvel accord prévoit un accroissement dans le nombre des escadrilles canadiennes outre-mer. Au Canada, l'entraînement aux opérations de guerre se poursuivra beaucoup plus en grand. Voilà qui constitue un progrès notable. En effet, les élèves pourront ainsi être formés au Canada, à compter des premiers stades de l'instruction jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient prêts à faire partie des escadrilles canadiennes et livrer combat à l'ennemi.

Enfin, le nouvel accord prévoit une nouvelle définition de la politique intergouvernementale sur nombre de points relatifs à l'entraînement aérien. Sous réserve des mesures nécessaires de sécurité, ces points peuvent se résumer comme suit:

FINANCE

Du 1er juillet 1942 au 31 mars 1945, la mise en oeuvre du nouvel accord se traduira par une dépense estimée à près d'un milliard et demi de dollars. Cette dépense couvrira tous les frais de l'entraînement aérien au Canada, administré par le Dominion du Canada aux termes du plan d'entraînement aérien du Commonwealth, tel qu'élargi, y compris les unités d'entraînement en opérations de guerre et les unités de la R.A.F. transportées au Canada.

Les gouvernements de l'Australie et de la Nouvelle-Zélande supporteront respectivement les frais d'entraînement de leurs élèves admis au bénéfice du plan. Le Royaume-Uni prendra à sa charge la moitié des frais moins les versements effectués par l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande. Quant au Canada, sa part sera fixée à l'autre moitié du total des frais.

Pour autant que cela sera pratique, la quote-part du Royaume-Uni sera versée en nature: sous forme d'aéronefs, de moteurs, d'accessoires, d'équipement technique, de bombes, de munitions et d'autres matériaux selon les besoins de l'Administrateur.

FOURNITURE D'AERONEFS ET D'EQUIPEMENT

Bien qu'il appartienne au Royaume-Uni de fournir les divers types d'équipement en question, ce sera au Canada, en sa qualité d'administrateur, qu'il incombera de décider de la nature de cet équipement et des quantités requises pour faire face aux prévisions fixées. Auparavant, dans le cas des écoles de la R.A.F., le Royaume-Uni assumait, pour une large part, une telle responsabilité. Le fait que le Royaume-Uni ait consenti que le Corps d'aviation royal canadien prenne une plus large part des responsabilités dans cet important domaine de la fourniture des aéronefs et de l'équipement constitue, à l'endroit de cette arme, un hommage de la part de ceux qui sont les mieux placés pour ju er de sa compétence en la matière.

BESOINS À L'INTERIEUR POUR LES FINS DE LA GUERRE

Le nouvel accord prévoit pleinement la fourniture des équipages nécessaires au maintien de toutes autres escadrilles d'opérations de guerre qui pourraient être retenues au Canada pour la défense intérieure.

UNITES DE LA R.A.F. AU CANADA

Les unités de la Royal Air Force au Canada seront administrées par le Corps d'aviation royal canadien, tout comme les unités constituées en vertu du plan d'entraînement aérien du Commonwealth britannique. Les unités déjà établies, conserveront leur identité comme unités de la R.A.F.; tout nouveau personnel en accroissement des présents effectifs, affecté à l'entraînement à la requête du Royaume-Uni, relèvera du Plan d'entraînement. Les présentes dispositions en ce qui concerne les consultations avec la Mission de liaison de l'air du Royaume-Uni seront maintenues en vigueur.

Les écoles élémentaires d'aviation de la Royal Air Force actuellement établies au Canada seront dotées d'une administration

civile sur le même modèle que les écoles élémentaires d'aviation exploitées en vertu du plan d'entraînement aérien, sauf que les postes de moniteurs d'aviation, et certains autres d'instructeurs spécialisés pour l'enseignement théorique seront remplis par des membres de la R.A.F. en uniformes.

Compte tenu des élèves provenant des Nations Unies et des autres parties de l'empire, le nombre des élèves qui seront envoyés au Canada par le Royaume-Uni sera fortement accru.

CONTRÔLE ET ADMINISTRATION DU CORPS D'AVIATION ROYAL CANADIEN OUTRE-MER

L'accord prévoit d'importantes modifications dans l'administration et le contrôle du personnel du Corps d'aviation royal canadien outre-mer. Les dispositions voulues existaient déjà en ce qui concerne les consultations sur les questions importantes en matière d'opérations aériennes. Dorénavant, il existera également une liaison beaucoup plus étroite pour ce qui a trait aux questions relatives à l'emploi du personnel canadien.

Le quartier général du Corps d'aviation royal canadien outre-mer se voit confier la surveillance générale du personnel de cette arme attaché à la Royal Air Force, et, sous réserve que cela con iendra aux opérations aériennes, il pourra rappeler, pour service dans le C.A.R.C., tout officier et tout aviateur ainsi attaché à la Royal Air Force. Egalement, toujours sous réserve que cela convienne aux opérations aériennes, on devra obtenir l'assentiment du quartier général du Corps d'aviation royal canadien outre-mer lorsqu'il s'agira de choisir les officiers commandants les escadrilles du C.A.R.C. et d'affecter à tel ou tel poste des officiers du Corps d'aviation royal canadien ayant le grade de commandant d'escadre ou un grade plus élevé.

Le centre de réception du personnel du C.A.R.C. au Royaume-Uni sera placé, du point de vue de son fonctionnement, sous le

contrôle du quartier général du Corps d'aviation royal canadien outre-mer. On établira en Angleterre un effectif du C.A.R.C. auquel pourront être versés les officiers et les aviateurs du Corps d'aviation royal canadien attendant leur affectation, ou encore en convalescence.

IDENTITE NATIONALE

Aux termes de l'ancien et du nouvel accord, le Gouvernement du Royaume-Uni s'engage, pour autant que cela est possible, à faire en sorte que les élèves canadiens, australiens et néozélandais soient identifiés avec leurs pays respectifs. Dans le cas du Canada, en tant que le permettront les raisons d'ordre militaire, le nouvel accord aura pour effet d'ajouter encore à une telle disposition, grâce à la création outre-mer d'escadrilles et de formations plus importantes essentiellement canadiennes, sous le commandement d'officiers canadiens, grâce également à l'affectation de personnel canadien à des escadrilles dans lesquelles des Canadiens sont déjà en service. À l'heure actuelle, le personnel canadien est disséminé dans plus de 600 unités de la Royal Air Force.

(1) Escadrilles de bombardement

Un groupe de bombardement canadien, constitué par des escadrilles de bombardement du C.A.R.C., sera formé et placé sous le commandement d'officiers du C.A.R.C. Le Canada fournira les équipes au sol pour ces formations. Pour préparer un tel groupe et afin de leur permettre d'acquérir l'expérience voulue dans la direction d'un groupe, un certain nombre d'officiers du C.A.R.C. seront nommés officiers à la suite aux quartiers généraux de divers groupes. Afin de ne jamais perdre de vue le projet de créer un groupe de bombardement canadien, le ministère de l'Air nommera un comité désigné sous le nom de "Canadian Bomber Progress Committee", et au sein duquel

D 60220

le Canada sera représenté.

(2) Escadrilles de combat

Il a été reconnu que, pour les fins des opérations aériennes, les escadrilles de combat doivent nécessairement demeurer sous le contrôle du commandant en chef du commandement de combat, qui est un officier de la R.A.F. Toutefois, pour atteindre le but visé, c'est-à-dire l'identification nationale, les escadrilles de combat du C.A.R.C. seront, dans toute la mesure du possible, attachées à des stations qui deviendront des stations du C.A.R.C. et dont le personnel sera canadien.

(3) Escadrilles des commandements côtiers et de coopération avec l'armée outre-mer

Autant que possible, outre-mer, le personnel des escadrilles des commandements côtiers canadiens sera canadien. Quant aux escadrilles de coopération avec l'armée canadienne, ce sera des escadrilles canadiennes.

Brevets d'officiers aux membres d'équipages de bord

On a admis le principe général, savoir que tous les pilotes, observateurs, bombardiers de bord et navigateurs considérés, selon la norme de leurs pays respectifs, comme possédant les aptitudes requises et qui sont recommandés par l'autorité compétente, seront de fait nommés officiers. La proportion des radiotélégraphistes-mitrailleurs et des mitrailleurs à qui des brevets d'officiers seront accordés demeurera la même. Toutefois, on permettra une certaine flexibilité d' application afin d'assurer que les aviateurs relevant de ces catégories et qui possèdent les qualités requises ne se voient pas privés du brevet d'officier à cause du régime des contingentements.

Mutations d'un corps d'aviation à un autre

Les parties contractantes étudieront les demandes formées par des particuliers en vue d'être versés au Corps d'aviation de

D 60221

leur propre pays.

Le nouvel accord réaffirme la détermination des pays du Commonwealth britannique et augmente leur pouvoir de maintenir l'entraînement des équipages de bord sur une base de plus en plus vaste. Il souligne le rôle du Canada dans cette tâche importante, celui d ' "aérodrome de la démocratie".

L'accord primitif avait été conçu dans un vigoureux esprit d'entreprise. L'accord conclu ~~hier~~ aujourd'hui sera mis à exécution dans le même esprit et jouera un rôle de premier plan dans la formation sure et rapide d'armées de l'air d'une puissance à la fois terrifiante et invincible

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D 60222

THE 75th ANNIVERSARY OF CONFEDERATION

This day, the seventy-fifth anniversary of Canadian Confederation, falls at a time when Canada is employing the nation's energy and resources against an enemy who would destroy our very existence as a free people. At this time, when the citizens of Canada are engaged upon one all-absorbing task, elaborate ceremonies would be out of place even in celebrating so splendid an achievement as Confederation represents. We may, however, rightly pause on this anniversary, gratefully to reflect on the vision and the wisdom which enabled the Fathers of Confederation to bring our nation into being.

Today the very existence of the nation which was established in 1867 is threatened. A few days ago, for the first time since Confederation, Canadian soil was attacked. We are freely and fully associated with the other free peoples of the world in a death struggle with an enemy seeking to remove from the earth the heritage of freedom on which our institutions are founded.

The Fathers of Confederation built this nation on a foundation of human freedom, of self-government, of religious liberty, of racial equality, and of deep and abiding attachment to a common homeland. ~~The security of the nation we have built~~

D 60223

~~depends upon the maintenance and the strengthening of its foundation.~~ These are the sources of the harmony and mutual understanding among our people which, in turn, is the essence of our national strength, alike in war and peace.

Our enemies seek, everywhere, to replace freedom by slavery, self-government by tyranny, religious liberty and racial equality by the pagan conception of the master race; they seek to make of the homelands of all free peoples, colonies of slaves in which the sanctity of home and family will be sacrificed to the lust and greed of the conqueror.

To meet this threat to Christian civilization, to national existence, ~~to~~ homes and families, Canada is mobilizing all ~~her~~ resources of skill and strength, of brains and energy, of farm and forest, of mine and factory, of wealth and manpower. Our fighting forces, with those of our allies, are on many shores and many seas, and in the skies over many countries, battling to make sure that victory is won before war comes to Canadian soil. Along the coasts of Canada, our soldiers stand on watchful guard, ~~and~~ our coastal waters are ceaselessly patrolled by vessels of the Canadian Navy and planes of the Canadian Air Force. In all the centres of industry, men and women are labouring to make huge stores of ~~the~~ weapons and munitions. From fields and mines and forests workers are extracting the essential supplies of war.

D 60224

It is particularly fitting that the celebration of our seventy-fifth national anniversary should coincide with Army Week in Canada. Our national pride has deepened with the knowledge of Canada's army guarding the heart of the Empire, protecting the world's greatest citadel of freedom, and prepared for action in any place, at any time. We have all been profoundly stirred by the exploits of Canadian airmen in every theatre of war; Cologne, Essen, Emden, now Bremen, are a witness to their magnificent daring and to their important role. We know how great and how vital has been the work of our navy. We have been told that Canadian machines and munitions, Canadian food and Canadian money were essential to keep Britain fighting in the dark days of 1940 and 1941. But our ~~magnificent~~ Canadian army, because it has seen little fighting, has not thus far received its fair share of credit. This week, throughout all Canada, the Canadian people are being given a special opportunity to restore the balance by showing their appreciation of the Canadians in battle dress.

May I pause to recall the record. The first contingent of the Canadian army landed in Britain on December 17, 1939. But for the collapse of France, the first division would have come to grips with the enemy in the summer of 1940. All through that dark summer they stood waiting for the expected invasion. They were joined, during that time, by the second division and at Christmas of 1940 the Canadian Corps was formed. In 1941, a third infantry division, an armoured division, an army tank brigade, and thousands upon thousands of specialized troops and reinforcements were added to their numbers.

D 60225

This year more units and reinforcements have crossed the sea, and others will follow. The Canadian Corps in Britain has become a highly trained, hard hitting, mobile Canadian army.

Mr. Churchill has told us what the Canadian army has meant to him and to the people of Britain. Let me repeat what he said last September:

"There they stand, and there they have stood through the whole of the critical period of the last fifteen months at the very point where they would be the first to be hurled into a counter-stroke against an invader. No greater service can be rendered to this country, no more important military duty can be performed by any troops in all the Allies."

There has been no glamour; there have been no great headlines. We, in Canada, have not realized as fully as the people of Britain how greatly our army has contributed and continues to contribute to the security of the bridge-head which separates the tyrant of Europe from the western hemisphere, and which is also our own surest defence.

I doubt, too, if we ~~will then, perhaps~~, have given the credit which is their due to the men in battle-dress who have stood in ceaseless vigil at the lonely outposts of our own country. When the balance-sheet of war is struck, we shall do well never to forget the long dreary months of dull, but vital routine which the Army has performed, with little notice and no complaint, on our coasts and in vulnerable areas in Canada, in Newfoundland and Labrador, and on the islands of the Atlantic.

D 60226

The Canadian army is not an instrument built only to resist attack. It was planned, it has been organized, and is trained, as a highly mechanized and armoured striking force. The day is coming--it may be close at hand--when it will have an honoured place in the van of attack. No Canadian doubts that when that day comes our army will do its full part--and a glorious part--in helping to defeat and to destroy the military might of an enemy whose design and ambition is to conquer the whole free world.

Canada's army is strong, it is united by a common purpose. It is the duty of all Canadian citizens to be no less strong, no less united by a common purpose. On this seventy-fifth anniversary of Confederation the need is greater than ever before in our history, to let nothing divide us as a people, to compose our differences and to throw all our energies into the [redacted] task of saving our country and, helping to save the freedom of the world. If we would be worthy of our past, and the sacrifices of the past, if we would be worthy of the many brave sons of Canada who, in the present war, have given their all [redacted], and of the half million young Canadians who have [redacted] offered, if need be, to die for their country, [redacted], it is our supreme duty, while striving for victory, to preserve for them and for future generations a free and a united Canada.

fil. 236

Press Release July 1, 1942.

D 60227

THE 75th ANNIVERSARY OF CONFEDERATION

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The Fathers of Confederation built this nation on a foundation of human freedom, of self-government, of religious liberty, of racial equality, and of deep and abiding attachment to a common homeland. These are the sources of the

D 60228

harmony and mutual understanding among our people which, in turn, is the essence of our national strength, alike in war and peace.

Our enemies seek, everywhere, to replace freedom by slavery, self-government by tyranny, religious liberty and racial equality by the pagan conception of the master race; they seek to make of the homelands of all free peoples, colonies of slaves in which the sanctity of home and family will be sacrificed to the lust and greed of the conqueror.

To meet this threat to Christian civilization, to national existence, to homes and families, Canada is mobilizing all her resources of skill and strength, of brains and energy, of farm and forest, of mine and factory, of wealth and manpower. Our fighting forces, with those of our allies, are on many shores and many seas, and in the skies over many countries, battling to make sure that victory is won before war comes to Canadian soil. Along the coasts of Canada, our soldiers stand on watchful guard. Our coastal waters are ceaselessly patrolled by vessels of the Canadian Navy and planes of the Canadian Air Force. In all the centres of industry, men and women are labouring to make huge stores of weapons and munitions. From fields and mines and forests workers are extracting the essential supplies of war.

D 60229

It is particularly fitting that the celebration of our seventy-fifth national anniversary should coincide with Army Week in Canada. Our national pride has deepened with the knowledge of Canada's army guarding the heart of the Empire, protecting the world's greatest citadel of freedom, and prepared for action in any place, at any time. We have all been profoundly stirred by the exploits of Canadian airmen in every theatre of war; Ceylon Cologne, Essen, Emden, now Bremen, are a witness to their magnificent daring and to their important role. We know how great and how vital has been the work of our navy. We have been told that Canadian machines and munitions, Canadian food and Canadian money were essential to keep Britain fighting in the dark days of 1940 and 1941. But our Canadian army, because it has seen little fighting, has not thus far received its fair share of credit. This week, throughout all Canada, the Canadian people are being given a special opportunity to restore the balance by showing their appreciation of the Canadians in battle dress.

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D 60230

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

D 60232

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister.

Notes which may be useful in preparing remarks for dinner in honour of Mr. Nygaardsvold, Prime Minister of Norway.

E.K.B.

Ottawa.
19th June, 1942.

D 60233

1. Tribute to Scandinavian Civilization

A. Exemplary devotion to democratic spirit, and intelligence and skill in making democratic system effective.

Note description of democracy, with special reference to Norway, by Mr. Halfdan Koht, Foreign Minister of Norway: "(Norway is) a society with a steadily deepening respect for the individual and for the people - a democracy founded upon a broadly educated people where everyone felt personally interested in the progress and the well-being of the nation." This is our Canadian ideal: the aim of Canada and the aim of Norway are the same.

 D 60234

B. Democracy is strengthened in Scandinavia, as here, by enlightened social legislation. Scandinavia notable for its peaceful labor-capital relationships and its fine programmes for popular education, both for children and adults.

C. Scandinavia also notable for distinguished achievements in the arts - notably in architecture, music, (Grieg a Norwegian), drama and literature (Ibsen, Madame Sigrid
x Undset both Norwegian).

x Refer to Madame Undset's great contribution to the war of ideas and her personal heroism, along with her great novels such as the Kristin Lavransdattar trilogy.

 D 60235

2. Special Ties between Norway and Canada

A. Canada proud of her Scandinavian residents and citizens. About 100,000 of these are of Norwegian origin, substantially more than of any other Scandinavian people.

B. Norwegian Air Training Plan, with centre at Toronto. Full and cordial co-operation with R.C.A.F.

3. Tribute to Norway in her present suffering state.

A. Heroism of the Norwegian merchant

D 60236

marine - second largest in Europe, fourth largest in world. Contribution to Battle of Atlantic. No war-service more vital, or more heroic.

B. Also obdurate resistance to the invader on the part of Norwegian population. Mention mass resignation of Norwegian bishops. ~~Greater~~ Mention co-operation with British in raids on strategic places along Norwegian coast. Mention non-co-operation with Nazis.

D 60237

4. A word on the stake in this conflict of small nations such as Norway and Canada. They especially dare not falter until the conscience-less and greedy aggressor is utterly defeated.

D 60238

C. Policy laid down by His Majesty Haakon VII, speaking over the air from England to his people on August 25th, 1940, has been fully carried out. Admirable policy, as indicated in following quotation from his broadcast:

"At the same time I send my thanks and my greetings to all Norwegian men and women, to those working and suffering in silence, and to all those who in public positions or in their professions must work under conditions which I well understand must mean an almost insupportable strain.

Keep clear of anything that is contrary to our national dignity; remain Norwegian in spirit and thinking, even if thoughts under the conditions of the moment cannot be translated into speech or writing or action.

That this should be done is an absolutely necessary condition for safeguarding that strong national feeling which is the heritage of our nation and which in the last instance will make impossible every attempt to annihilate Norway as an independent realm.

God bless Norway, its land and its people!"

D 60239

Suggested notes for Prime Minister, if remarks required at dinner in honour of Prime Minister of Norway.

Welcome Prime Minister Nygaardsvold and members of his party, not only for themselves, but as representatives of an allied nation which has contributed vastly, suffered grievously in common cause.

We in Canada have close kinship to the people of Norway; our ideals of citizenship are the same, and we have benefitted by Norway's distinguished contributions in music, drama, literature, and architecture.

Canada is proud of her Scandinavian residents and citizens. About 100,000 of Norwegian origin; substantially more than any other Scandinavian people.

Canada is also training ground for the Norwegian Air Training Plan, with its centre at "Little Norway", Toronto.

Tribute to Norway's contribution to war; the quality of Norway's fighting men fully demonstrated, but perhaps not widely enough recognized that Norwegian Merchant Marine has made such a vital contribution to battle of Atlantic;

Norwegian Merchant Marine fleet second largest in Europe, fourth larges in world;

No war service more vital or more heroic.

Spirit of the Norwegian people in proudly resisting Nazi tyranny has called forth admiration of all freedom-loving people; mass resignation of Norwegian bishops but one striking instance of refusal to co-operate with Nazi plans for a new world order of coercion.

In adversity Norwegian people have been faithful to trust imposed on them by His Majesty Haakon VII, who speaking to his people on August 24, 1940, laid down the following admirable policy:

D 60241

"At the same time I send my thanks and my greetings to all Norwegian men and women, to those working and suffering in silense, and to all those who in public positions or in their professions must work under conditions which I well understand must mean an almost insupportable strain.

Keep clear of anything that is contrary to our national dignity; remain Norwegian in spirit and thinking, even if thoughts under the conditions of the moment can not be translated into speech or writing or action.

That this should be done is an absolutely necessary condition for safe-guarding that strong national feeling which is the heritage of our nation and which in the last instance will make impossible every attempt to annihilate Norway as an independent realm.

God bless Norway, its land and its people!"

WE too echo the words "God Bless Norway, its land and its people!"

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Miss Gordon

not used

September 2, 1942.

D 60242

I am pleased to welcome you home to Canada.

It is not easy for us to realize that only the night before last you were dropping bombs on German territory and that last night you crossed the Atlantic.

I doubt if all of us here in Canada have even yet fully realized how close the danger is to our homes and families. Your quick return to Canada and what you can tell us of your experiences will give us all a more real understanding of the danger.

No doubt you feel a long way from home when you are over Germany in a raid. I ask you to remember that our hearts are with you as we read of your exploits or hear of them over the radio. I want you to know how proud we all are of what you are doing, and to ask you, when you go back to the fight, to tell your comrades in the R.C.A.F. of our pride and appreciation.

Our whole country has been stirred by the reports of the courage, and skill, and effectiveness of the Canadian fliers in this way.

We are proud that the Army was at last privileged to share with the Air Force in actual fighting against the Germans in the operation against Dieppe. The men of Canada's free fighting services at sea, on land, and in the air are upholding the name of our country and adding new chapters of courage and daring to our history.

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(1).

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER D 60243

MEMORANDUM

As member for Saskatchewan
special pleasure to welcome our
guests from that province.

Constant regret that opportunities
to visit West and own constituency
so infrequent.

Trip to Coast last summer
preceding trip overseas an
inspiration.

Delegations serve valuable purpose.
Getting together of members of
Government and those who
are engaged in the various basic
industries desirable at all times
but particularly so during
stress and strain of war.

Our meeting this evening under the
comparatively care free circumstances

(2)

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER D 60244

MEMORANDUM

of the dinner tour affords opportunity to greet old friends and to meet new ones.

Government are unacquainted with your problem - and decidedly not unsympathetic

How to view all problems against broad background of world struggle.

On outcome of that struggle depends the liberty of all men of all races.

Even from most selfish & motives our chief concern must be outcome of struggle.

Think of position of Western agriculture if Hitler and his hordes and those of treacherous Japan - an successful in world domination

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER (3)

D 60245

MEMORANDUM

Without sending a man to the country the Nazis and their allies could and would do control world markets and the prices of agricultural products.

There would be no talk of 70 cent wheat - or $1 wheat - no! as slaves of the new world order under the economic lash all of us would eke out a miserable existence - if we were allowed to exist at all.

Consider what the Nazis are doing to the Poles - to the Greeks - to the slavs and others of Europe.

Let us not delude ourselves that the broad acres of Canada

(4.)

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER D60246

MEMORANDUM

would go unnoticed and unavenged by a land hungry - power mad men ~~leaders~~ of Germany or Japan.

For these reasons Government which not unmindful of domestic problems must devote so much study to prosecution of war.

In this we need help of all men of goodwill.

Only by united effort - by mutual trust can we hope to succeed. We cannot fight Hitler abroad if we are fighting with one another at home.

As we sit together to-night

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

(5)

MEMORANDUM

D 60247

We gain something of trust something of confidence in the motives and purposes of one another.

If meeting had served no other purpose it would have been well worth-while.

In concluding would like as one of your hosts and perhaps for all others - hosts and guests to convey thanks to committee responsible for arrangement.

Hope that during to-morrow can enjoy something of Ottawa and ~~[illegible]~~ return home refreshed in spirit if not in body.

A safe journey and our appreciation of your kindly understanding.

Nazi "new order"

D 60248

Let us next ask ourselves what the achievement of this great design would mean for this hemisphere? Without any attempt at the invasion of this continent, Nazi Germany would already have dealt a terrible blow at our standards of life.

Look for a moment at its effect upon agriculture. The Nazi preparations for war, the war itself, and the extension of the blockade have already created enormous surpluses of agricultural commodities, like wheat, which we normally export. Without world markets, there can be no permanent prosperity for our great primary industries. The destruction of Hitlerism will alone make possible the opening of the channels of trade, and the restoration of markets for our exportable surpluses.

Not only can there be no permanent prosperity, but there might well be no future at all for western agriculture in a world in which the whole eastern hemisphere was dominated by Germany and her axis partners. Without markets in the old world, these western plains would face an economic drought beside which the natural droughts experienced in the past would pale into insignificance. Whether the rains fell or whether they failed to come, Nazi domination, in the Old World, would make of western Canada an economic desert. Agriculture would be the first victim of a Nazi victory, but it would not be the only victim.

D 60249

House of Commons
Canada

Ottawa, ,Ont. February 2, 1942.

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Camada,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Mr. King:-

As we have intimated to Mr. Turnbull the Saskatchewan members of the House of Commons are tendering a complimentary dinner to the members of the Saskatchewan farm delegation now in the city.

The dinner will be held in the Parliamentary restaurant this evening at 6:30 p. m. Although, as a member from Saskatchewan, you are one of the hosts, knowing the demands made upon your time, the committee has not troubled you with the details.

It is the expressed hope of all the members that time will permit you to be present at the dinner and enjoy this respite from your exacting duties. Should this not be possible we sincerely hope it will be convenient for you to attend before the function concludes and we would indeed be glad if you would address the gathering briefly by way of a welcome to the delegates.

No programme has been arranged. There will be no speeches other than your remarks. At this conclusion of this function the delegates will be shown through the building and be given an opportunity to see the House of Commons in action.

We sincerely hope you can be with us and would ask you to be present at the private dining room at the entrance to the Parliamentary Restaurant at 6:20 to accompany other guests to the head table.

Yours sincerely,
Mrs. D. W. Nielsen.
E. E. Perley,
A. M. Nicholson,
D. A. McNiven,
per D. A. McNiven
Committee in charge.

DM/AS.

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94		1942: Notes for Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	19 June 1942	D 60232 - D 60241	
94		Miscellaneous Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Sept. 1942	D 60242	
94		Agriculturists, Delegation Dinner. Speeches outside Parliament	2 Feb. 1942	D 60243 - D 60249	
94		Second Victory Loan, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Feb. 1942	D 60250 - D 60282	
94		Second Victory Loan, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Mar. 1942	D 60283 - D 60299	
94		Plebiscite, The Issue in National Security, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 Apr. 1942	D 60300 - D 60326	

D 60250

Victory Loan Broadcast

By The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada

Sunday, February 15, 1942.

Tomorrow the people of Canada will begin to subscribe to a war loan of $600,000,000. Never was there a time when the need was so great and so imperative for every man and every woman to make the utmost contribution to the winning of a war. Almost every nation on earth has taken sides in the present struggle. At this very hour, the fate of mankind hangs in the balance. Reverses of the recent past give cause for the greatest concern. The issue of the world-wide conflict is in no place certain. Because it is in no place certain, the very existence of the free world, the survival of free countries and of free men is at stake. The forces of freedom are everywhere beset by the forces of aggression. Whether world chaos will follow in the wake of universal destruction, or world security be established, will depend upon the contribution of every nation still possessing its freedom.

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What, however, many have still to learn is that in a fight unto death, neutrality and isolation are no more possible for individuals than they are for nations. One has only to look at the conquered countries to see how inescapable, for every individual, are the consequences of defeat.

The conflict today encompasses the globe. The enemy has demonstrated how powerful his combined forces are on land, at sea and in the air -- not in one part of the world only, but on the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific, and on the continents beyond their shores. From every continent and from every ocean, the call comes for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, moore food, more men. It is a call to every individual to make the utmost <u>personal</u> contribution in that form of service for which he or she is best fitted. It is equally

D 60252

a call to every man and woman to make, through taxation and through loans, the largest financial contribution of which they are capable.

It is well that in subscribing to the loan, all should have a full appreciation of the contribution they are making. First of all, the proceeds of the loan will make possible a national war effort on a scale that otherwise could not be achieved. Secondly, they will make possible a greater combined effort on the part of the United Nations. It is true that the resources, the men and materials of the United Nations are far greater than those of the enemy nations. It is, notwithstanding, also true, that in actual immediate fighting power the enemy is still stronger than the forces of freedom arrayed against him. The proceeds of the loan are required to transform materials and manpower into actual fighting strength in terms of foodstuffs, weapons, munitions, ships, planes, and trained fighting men. It is because our enemies have increased in numbers and in power that the need for increasing our actual fighting strength, in all these directions, is greater today than at any time since the outbreak of war. Every enemy gain now, makes the battle

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In Canada we have already done much, but we must now strive harder than ever before. We must make sure that our response to the needs of the hour, as individuals and as a nation, is the strongest response that we can give. We have our part to play on many fronts. Of these the financial sector of our home front is now -- this week -- of first importance. On this front the battle must be completely won if, in ways already planned, our utmost effort is to be achieved.

That effort demands the expansion of Canada's navy as fast as ships can be acquired, and the men trained to man them. It demands that the new formations of the Canadian Army shall be raised and trained, and the existing units and formations kept up to strength, so that Canada's Army overseas will be a thoroughly modern, well-balanced and hard-hitting striking force. It demands that airmen shall be trained to the utmost limit of Canada's gigantic air training facilities. It demands that the defences of Canada's coasts and of vulnerable areas shall be continuously strengthened. We must provide the immense sums required for the upkeep and expansion of our navy, army and air force.

For our own armed forces, we must provide food, ships, planes, tanks, guns, equipment and munitions of all kinds. But that is only the beginning of Canada's productive task. All these machines and munitions of war must be produced in ever-larger quantities. We are producing them not only for ourselves but are producing also in varying quantities for Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the United States, and other of the Allied powers. We have a large and growing share in the task of feeding Britain.

We have undertaken to provide one billion dollars to pay the Canadian producers of the war supplies and the foodstuffs which we have offered to Britain as a contribution to the defeat of the enemy.

But Canada's war loan has an even wider significance. It is essential not only to the immediate prosecution of the war, and the ultimate attainment of victory, but equally to the achievement of a new world order. On more than one occasion, I have said that if a new world order is not already on its way before the war is over, we may look for it in vain. Happily that new world order is already on its way. The forces which have

D 60255

combined to work such havoc throughout the world, have equally combined to bring together the forces of freedom.

Today the British and American peoples are associated in a close union to preserve and to restore the freedom of mankind. In that union will be found the foundation of the new world order. That union has been achieved so quickly and so completely that it is difficult to realize how significant it is to our own and to the world's future. The principles upon which the new order will rest have already found expression in the Atlantic Charter, signed at sea in August last by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

The spirit of mutual good-will and unity of purpose reflected in the Atlantic Charter, found further expression during Mr. Churchill's recent visit to this continent. It was expressed in the warmth of the welcome accorded to the Prime Minister of Great Britain by the peoples of the United States and of Canada. It has found noteworthy expression in the co-operative manner in which the problems of wartime strategy and command have been worked out at Washington and Ottawa.

The mutual understanding and good-will, so evident throught Mr. Churchill's momentous visit, have established a firm foundation for the combined war effort, not merely of the nations of the British Commonwealth and of the United States, but also of the twenty-six nations which today are united as one. It is upon this foundation of mutual trust and mutual aid that nations may hope to build an enduring order of peace and good-will.

Free men throughout the world are today united in one great partnership. In that partnership lies the hope of crushing the evil forces which threaten civilization. In that partnership also lies the hope of the future of mankind.

Of the part which, through the years, Canada has played in bringing about the closer union between the British and American peoples, much as been said by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States.

Mr. Churchill had planned to participate in this broadcast. It is not difficult to understand the exceptional pressure on his time due to war developments

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As we listen to the President's words, we will appreciate more than ever how true it is that nothing that has happened since the beginning of the war is so significant for the future of mankind as the combined effort in the cause of world freedom of the British Commonwealth and the United States.

On behalf of the Government and people of Canada, I wish to thank Mr. Roosevelt for this latest expression of the good-will towards Canada which he has always cherished, and which he has expressed in so many ways.

I have now the honour to introduce the President of the United States.

D 60258

Victory Loan Broadcast

By The Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Prime Minister of Canada

Sunday, February 15, 1942.

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D 60260

a call to every man and woman to make, through taxation and through loans, the largest financial contribution of which they are capable.

It is well that in subscribing to the loan, all should have a full appreciation of the contribution they are making. First of all, the proceeds of the loan will make possible a national war effort on a scale that otherwise could not be achieved. Secondly, they will make possible a greater combined effort on the part of the United Nations. It is true that the resources, the men and materials of the United Nations are far greater than those of the enemy nations. It is, notwithstanding, also true, that in actual immediate fighting power the enemy is still stronger than the forces of freedom arrayed against him. The proceeds of the loan are required to transform materials and manpower into actual fighting strength in terms of foodstuffs, weapons, munitions, ships, planes, and trained fighting men. It is because our enemies have increased in numbers and in power that the need for increasing our actual fighting strength, in all these directions, is greater today than at any time since the outbreak of war. Every enemy gain now, makes the battle

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That effort demands the expansion of Canada's navy as fast as ships can be acquired, and the men trained to man them. It demands that the new formations of the Canadian Army shall be raised and trained, and the existing units and formations kept up to strength, so that Canada's Army overseas will be a thoroughly modern, well-balanced and hard-hitting striking force. It demands that airmen shall be trained to the utmost limit of Canada's gigantic air training facilities. It demands that the defences of Canada's coasts and of vulnerable areas shall be continuously strengthened. We must provide the immense sums required for the upkeep and expansion of our navy, army and air force.

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We have undertaken to provide one billion dollars to pay the Canadian producers of the war supplies and the foodstuffs which we have offered to Britain as a contribution to the defeat of the enemy.

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D 60263

combined to work such havoc throughout the world, have equally combined to bring together the forces of freedom.

Today the British and American peoples are associated in a close union to preserve and to restore the freedom of mankind. In that union will be found the foundation of the new world order. That union has been achieved so quickly and so completely that it is difficult to realise how significant it is to our own and to the world's future. The principles upon which the new order will rest have already found expression in the Atlantic Charter, signed at sea in August last by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

The spirit of mutual good-will and unity of purpose reflected in the Atlantic Charter, found further expression during Mr. Churchill's recent visit to this continent. It was expressed in the warmth of the welcome accorded to the Prime Minister of Great Britain by the peoples of the United States and of Canada. It has found noteworthy expression in the co-operative manner in which the problems of wartime strategy and command have been worked out at Washington and Ottawa.

D 60264

The mutual understanding and good-will, so evident throught Mr. Churchill's momentous visit, have established a firm foundation for the combined war effort, not merely of the nations of the British Commonwealth and of the United States, but also of the twenty-six nations which today are united as one. It is upon this foundation of mutual trust and mutual aid that nations may hope to build an enduring order of peace and good-will.

Free men throughout the world are today united in one great partnership. In that partnership lies the hope of crushing the evil forces which threaten civilization. In that partnership also lies the hope of the future of mankind.

Of the part which, through the years, Canada has played in bringing about the closer union between the British and American peoples, much as been said by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States.

Mr. Churchill had planned to participate in this broadcast. It is not difficult to understand the exceptional pressure on his time due to war developments

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On behalf of the Government and people of Canada, I wish to thank Mr. Roosevelt for this latest expression of the good-will towards Canada which he has always cherished, and which he has expressed in so many ways.

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D 60266

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Prime Minister of Canada

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D 60269

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D 60271

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The mutual understanding and good-will, so evident throughout Mr. Churchill's momentous visit, have established a firm foundation for the combined war effort, not merely of the nations of the British Commonwealth and of the United States, but also of the twenty-six nations which today are united as one. It is upon this foundation of mutual trust and mutual aid that nations may hope to build an enduring order of peace and good-will.

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Of the part which, through the years, Canada has played in bringing about the closer union between the British and American peoples, much has been said by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States.

Referring in London to his meeting with the President, at sea, Mr. Churchill said: "Canada with those relations of friendly, affectionate intimacy with the United States on the one hand, and with her unswerving fidelity to the British Commonwealth and Motherland on the other, is the link which joins together these great branches of the human family. . . . Canada is the linchpin of the English-speaking world."

Our pride as a people was stirred ~~up~~ when, on his recent visit to Canada, Mr. Churchill, speaking in the House of Commons Chamber, said: "Canada occupies a unique position in the British Empire because of its unbreakable ties with Britain and its ever-growing friendship and intimate associations with the United States. Canada is a potent magnet drawing together those in the new world and in the old whose fortunes are now united in a deadly struggle for life and honour against the common foe."

D 60273

Our national pride was equally stirred when, in his recent speech in the British House of Commons, Mr. Churchill referred to Canada's great and growing contribution to the common cause, in men, in money, and in materials. Speaking of Canada's financial contribution which the present loan is intended in part to implement, Mr. Churchill said: "I know the House will wish me to convey to the Government of Canada our lively appreciation of their kind and most generous offer, unequalled in its scale in the whole history of the British Empire. It is a convincing proof of the determination of Canada to make her maximum contribution to the successful prosecution of the war."

I venture to recall these references Mr. Churchill has made to Canada because of a cable received yesterday from Canada's High Commissioner in Great Britain in which Mr. Massey says: "Mr. Churchill has asked me to express to you his deep regret that events deprive him of an opportunity to refer again publicly to the admiration with which the Government and people of Britain have heard of Canada's generous financial gift." Mr. Churchill had planned to participate in this broadcast. It is not difficult to understand the exceptional pressure on his time due to war developments of the moment. I am sure all of us would wish to spare Mr. Churchill any additional burden.

I am happy to say that we are to be honoured in the opening of the present Victory Loan campaign by a personal word from our good neighbour and good friend the President of the United States. Nothing could better symbolize our common aim and purpose than this gracious act of friendship and encouragement.

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On behalf of the Government and people of Canada, I wish to thank Mr. Roosevelt for this latest expression of the good-will towards Canada which he has always cherished, and which he has expressed in so many ways.

I have now the honour to introduce the President of the United States.

D 60275 236

SUGGESTED RADIO SPEECH FOR
THE PRIME MINISTER - 9 MINUTES

Tonight I wish to direct the attention of my fellow-Canadians to Canada's great winter offensive on the financial front, for tonight we are on the eve of launching that offensive in which we hope and expect that Canadians in every walk of life will help to strike a deadly blow at the enemies of freedom. Tomorrow morning is the zero hour - the launching of Canada's Second Victory Loan in which our citizens are asked again to lend their country not less than $600,000,000.

Freezing temperatures, winter storms, dark skies of February, can no more deter Canadians from going forward than similar conditions have deterred the great Russian armies from thrusting forward.

$600,000,000 is a large sum of money. It represents for the fiscal year which closes on March 31st, 1942, the remaining sum that it is necessary to borrow for the war, over and above the amount that is provided by taxation and other lesser sources of revenue. I am confident that this loan is not beyond the capacity and the willingness of our people.

D 60276

Our country faces a tremendous financial task. The figures have become so large as to be altogether beyond any previous conception of our capacity. But the same was true in the last great war, when the citizens of this great country performed prodigies of finance altogether beyond their previous experience.

The magnitude of our operations at this time reflects the fact that we are fighting for our lives and for freedom itself. They embody in figures the fact that our nation will never be safe until this war is won.

Eight months ago Canadians were asked to subscribe a similar amount for the same purpose - to arm and equip our fighting men with weapons equal to those of the enemy, or better. Canadians over-subscribed the loan by nearly $240,000,000. What Canadians have done before - in this war and the last - I am thoroughly confident they can and will do again.

There is in this country today an overwhelming desire on the part of nearly every man, woman and child to make some direct and tangible contribution to the war and to the securing of freedom. "What can I do to help?" is a question very frequently heard.

The Second Victory Loan provides at least a partial answer to that question. Everybody can help by lending freely

D 60277

of their money - past savings, present assets or potential income - in buying Victory Bonds. Not only the savings of today but the anticipated earnings of the future can be pledged. That is the substance of my appeal to my fellow-Canadians tonight.

May I say to you that this nation has a right to be proud of the magnificent response to the Victory Loan of last June and indeed of the effective reply that has been made by Canadians to all of this country's money-raising appeals in this war. Canadians have shouldered manfully, tremendous increases in taxation and they have responded nobly to appeals such as the one I now make, for funds which taxation alone cannot provide.

We are embarked upon a financial policy in relation to the war that can in truth be termed the nation's policy. It is my great pleasure to acknowledge the patriotic help of Canadians in all walks of life, regardless of race, sect, creed or party allegiance, in the matter of money for war. Money for the war always has been outside the realm of party politics. Eminent Canadians of all parties, of all faiths, the powerful free press of this country, the pulpit itself regardless of denomination-- these have ever turned their aid without stint or reservation to the nation's financial calls.

D 60278

Thus I would deem it improper to speak to you tonight of this country's financial effort as a "government effort" - I speak of it as the proud, united effort of all Canadians; and in that effort I again enlist your aid. From the outbreak of war it has been this country's will that as far as possible we should pay the costs of war from taxes and as we go along. But the development of the war itself and the consequent expansion of Canada's own effort, the industrial revolution that has taken place, the tremendous increase in production of war materials, have required us to spend, especially in the past year, much more than even our heavy taxes can overtake.

Consequently, to span the space between war-spending and taxation, the nation must borrow. It can borrow only from its own citizens, This borrowing has taken two forms hitherto, namely, War Savings Certificates and Victory Loans. For a time, organization for these two methods of borrowing travelled separately. Now, however, the organization has become one. A National War Finance Committee has been formed under which all of these borrowing operations are to be conducted. This Committee, I am glad to say, is headed by Mr. George W. Spinney, who headed the highly successful Victory Loan of 1941, It is under his guidance and direction that the February appeal for $600,000,000 is made.

D 60279

During the fiscal year ending on the last day of next month, Canada has been expending far more than we could possibly take back from the people by taxation. Our financial needs will tend to grow as the war goes on. The magnitude of our war requirements is such that more and more we, as individuals, must prepare to go without many of the things that we would like to have. We must do without things that we have been accustomed to buy ordinarily as a matter of course. When materials are needed for war they must be provided, even though civilian supplies must be curtailed to meet the need. By curtailing the manufacture of many articles ordinarily in civilian demand, essential commodities are diverted into the manufacturing of goods for war. Restrictions upon manufacturing - amounting in some cases to rationing - must tend for the time being to lower the standard of living to which we have all become accustomed, for we must all sacrifice if we are to do our share in winning this war. We must accommodate ourselves to any discomfort arising from the changes thus brought about.

We are expending for war labour and war manufacturing more than we can take back at once in taxes without disrupting the effective machinery of war production. Thus, Canadians as a people, are receiving more money. Our national income has risen from $4½ billions at the outbreak of war to $6 billions in the current fiscal year. While taxes and borrow-

ings have made considerable inroads into this increase, the fact remains that much more money than before is being left in the hands of the people. By reason of price ceilings, wage ceilings, priorities, rationing and the restriction of many lines of manufacture, our Canadian people who are in receipt of this vastly increased national income, will have less that they can spend it upon.

Therefore I submit to you that this country must rely very heavily upon its people to save with all their might and to make unstinted investment of those savings in the nation's Victory Bonds. There is no substitute for individual responsibility. There is no substitute for voluntary saving and voluntary lending to the nation in order to carry on its part in the war. Nothing can take effectively the place of this voluntary principle. Canada could not, for instance, make a flat exaction of every citizen or every family, and distribute the burden of war equitably. Two families on exactly the same income may readily have widely varying responsibilities. One family may be able to save half its income; another family, by reason of illness or other considerations, may not be able to save more than 5% or 10% of its income. So that a flat exaction, if that were ever contemplated, would be a form of compulsion, bearing with it unfairnesses impossible to justify. On the contrary, every citizen should economize, save and lend to the utmost of his or her ability.

I ask all Canadians to rally again to the nation to make this second great Victory Loan successful. Expansion of the war into the Pacific, marked by an unscrupulous and treacherous blow from our deadly enemy in the Far East - intensification of the Battle of the Atlantic and renewed savagery of Nazi warfare, have required an expansion in this country's war effort. The threat to Canada from two oceans demands production of guns and planes and ships and munitions on a scale and with a speed never before anticipated. I am confident that our people will rise to this new challenge as they have risen to every challenge in our historic past.

Faith in our destiny; in the people; in the institutions of this Dominion; in the very method of freedom and in equal justice under the law; courage to meet every challenge of despotism; confidence in our spiritual strength; pride in our unity and integrity of purpose and determination that all of the vigor and power of this young nation will be exerted to preserve the institutions of freedom - these are the mainspring of our will to fight to a victorious end.

We all realize, I know, we are fighting so that in Abraham Lincoln's immortal words, "Government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth". We are fighting for the four freedoms so well stated by President Roosevelt - freedom of speech and expression, freedom to worship according to conscience, freedom from want, freedom

D 60282

from fear. We are fighting so that fear of want shall be removed from every man and that economic security, set down in the Atlantic Charter as one of our war purposes, shall be realized for all.

Systematic saving, which is now more than ever an obligation of the individual, and systematic lending of those savings to the Government will contribute toward economic security in more ways than one. We have fewer things to buy; we have more money. Let us lend our money to the country to be repaid when due; the stored-up demand for those civilian goods of which we thus deprive ourselves, will provide work when the war is won - jobs when jobs are most needed.

Tomorrow the books will open. Tomorrow Canada's winter offensive starts. Tomorrow the salesmen will be calling upon you and asking you to help your country march on in this great struggle. It is my duty and privilege to ask that each do his or her utmost; not only with the money in hand, not only with accumulated savings, but that as sturdy Canadians we anticipate potential savings from present and future earnings - pledge our individual credit too - and buy the new Victory Bonds to the limit. Thus we shall be setting our money to work, vitally aiding our country - and helping to preserve for ourselves and for those who follow us, the priceless heritage of freedom.

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94		Second Victory Loan, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	15 Feb. 1942	D 60250 - D 60282	
94		Second Victory Loan, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	11 Mar. 1942	D 60283 - D 60299	
94		Plebiscite, The Issue in National Security, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	7 Apr. 1942	D 60300 - D 60326	

March 11, 1942.

D 60283

Broadcast of Thanks for Response
to Second Victory Loan

It is my privilege, tonight, to express the Government's appreciation of the whole-hearted manner in which the people of Canada have subscribed to the Second Victory Loan.

It is no small achievement for a nation of less than twelve million people to subscribe nearly a billion dollars. The amount, of itself, is impressive. Even more impressive is the fact that there were over 1,500,000 individual subscribers to the loan. In other words, one Canadian out of every eight is a subscriber. This splendid response reflects a growing appreciation of the gravity of the struggle. It reveals how generally, and how deeply, the Canadian people have come to feel the need, on the part of all, for the utmost effort.

The self-denial of unoticed lives which has made possible subscriptions in such numbers is the surest guarantee of the enduring quality of our effort.

There is a story of an old man who had cast bells all his life. "Each bell I cast," he said, "goes

away from me and I never see it again, but I know that afar off it is ringing in the clouds and I hear it in my dreams."

While their savings are secured to them by the State, and will be returned with interest later on, those who have sacrificed in order to save, and who have saved in order to contribute to the cause of freedom, have nevertheless reason to feel that in some field of action, near or remote, their subscriptions will continue to make a vital contribution to the winning of the war.

The vast sum of money subscribed in this loan will be added to the immense sums collected in taxes to further the maximum war effort of which our country is capable. It will help to expand our navy, our army and our air force. It will help to strengthen the defences of our coasts and of vulnerable areas within the country. It will mean more complete equipment for Canadian fighting men. It will mean more tanks, more corvettes. It will help to provide food, weapons and munitions, not only for our own armed forces, but also for the armed forces of other nations with whom we are joined in the common struggle. It will help to shorten the war. It will mean the loss of fewer lives.

The success of the Victory Loan is gratifying to the Government. It should be equally so to all the citizens of Canada. It is a magnificent demonstration of national determination. It will be a source of profound encouragement to the United Kingdom, the United States, and, indeed, to all the United Nations.

I desire to thank all who have subscribed to the loan, and all who have contributed to the success of the campaign. Large subscriptions have given volume to the total, but the hundreds of thousands of small subscriptions have given it national significance. I should like to make special reference to the contributions of wage earners. In every free country, labour has clearly understood the issues of the present war. The workmen of Canada have made this understanding count in their subscriptions to this loan. Through the employee canvass plan, almost half a million employees subscribed to the loan.

In your name, as well as on behalf of the Government, I wish to thank Mr. G. W. Spinney, the Chairman of the Committee in charge of the organisation of the Loan, who, this year, as last, has been indefatigable in his

labours. Mr. Spinney's associates, and the voluntary workers who conducted the canvass, were equally devoted and tireless in the discharge of their self-imposed tasks. In planning and in execution, the campaign has been a triumph of efficiency.

I should like also to express appreciation of the valuable help given in the campaign by the newspapers, the radio, the motion picture industry, and by others who contributed to the publicity for the loan. To the artists and speakers from our own and other lands whose contributions lent so much colour and vitality to the different programmes, we owe a special debt of thanks.

I am sure it will not be taken amiss if I add a word of appreciation of the important contribution made by my colleague, the Minister of Finance, and if I venture to extend to Mr. Ilsley warm congratulations upon what has been so splendidly achieved.

At the outset of the campaign, I said that the enemy's superiority in numbers of trained fighting men and munitions of war disclosed the need for every individual to make the utmost personal contribution. I said it was equally a call to every man and woman to make the

greatest possible financial contribution. The response to that call, as expressed in this second Victory Loan, has been splendid. We cannot, however, even for a moment, afford to be content with what we have achieved. Never in this world's history has the danger to civilization itself been comparable to what it is at this very hour. Even in the short period since the launching of the loan, the enemy, on all fronts but one, has gained an almost continuous series of military successes. He is continuing to make further and far-reaching gains. From every continent and from every ocean the call continues to come for more planes, more tanks, more munitions, more ships, more food, more fighting men.

The present is the crucial year. Germany and Japan are staking everything on 1942. The pattern of world conquest, planned from the outset, is only too apparent in their combined and co-ordinated action. The survival of every free nation is at stake. Now, more than at any other time, the maximum force of the United Nations must be brought into full action. By their response to the second Victory Loan appeal the Canadian people

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have again evidenced, on the financial front, their united support of a maximum national effort. The gravity of the hour demands a like united determination in the prosecution of its every aspect.

March 11, 1942

D 60289

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D 60292

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The present is the crucial year. Germany and Japan are staking everything on 1942. The pattern of world conquest, planned from the outset, is only too apparent in their combined and co-ordinated action. The survival of free/every nation is at stake. Now, more than at any other time, the maximum force of the United Nations must be brought full/into action. By their response to the second Victory Loan appeal the Canadian people have again evidenced, on the financial front, their united support of a maximum national effort. The gravity of the hour demands a like united determination in the prosecution of its every aspect.

D 60294

C'est un privilège pour moi, ce soir, d'exprimer l'appréciation du Gouvernement pour la façon si cordiale dont la population du Canada a répondu à l'appel du Deuxième Emprunt de la Victoire.

Qu'une nation de moins de 12 millions d'habitants ait souscrit près d'un milliard de dollars, voilà qui tient de l'exploit. Car un tel montant est impressionnant. Il est encore plus impressionnant qu'un Canadien sur huit ait tenu à souscrire, c'est-à-dire qu'un million et demi d'individus aient participé à cet emprunt. Cet accueil si généreux à l'emprunt démontre qu'on se rend compte de plus en plus de la gravité du conflit, que la population du Canada en général sent la nécessité d'un effort suprême de la part de tous.

Le désintéressement que représentent ces souscriptions garantit la qualité de notre effort.

Vous connaissez l'histoire de ce vieux fondeur de cloches qui disait : "Chaque cloche que je fonds m'abandonne pour toujours et je ne la revois plus, mais je sais que dans le lointain des nuages elle sonne et j'entends sa voix dans mon rêve". Bien que leurs épargnes soient passées aux mains de l'Etat, qui se chargera de leur re-

D 60295

tourner plus tard avec intérêt, ceux qui se sont sacrifiés pour épargner, et qui ont épargné pour contribuer à la cause de la liberté, ont raison de sentir que leur souscription continue à représenter une contribution vitale pour la poursuite de la guerre.

La somme énorme de ces souscriptions viendra s'ajouter aux impôts, ce qui permettra à ce pays de fournir un effort de guerre maximum. Elle servira à développer notre marine, notre aviation et notre armée de terre, à renforcer les défenses de nos côtes et les régions exposées à l'intérieur du pays; à perfectionner l'équipement de nos soldats; elle se traduira en tanks, en bombardiers, en corvettes; en approvisionnements, armes et munitions de toutes sortes, aussi bien pour nor propres armées que pour celles des autres ntaions engagées à nos côtés dans cette lutte commune. Elle réduira la durée du conflit et épargnera ainsi de nombreuses vies humaines.

Le succès de cet emprunt de la Victoire remplit le Gouvernement de satisfaction, satisfaction que devraient également partager tous les citoyens du Canada. C'est là une preuve magnifique de détermination nationale et aussi un chaleureux encouragement pour le Royaume-Uni, les Etats-

Unis, voire pour toutes les nations unies.

Je voudrais remercier tous ceux qui ont souscrit à cet emprunt et aussi ceux qui ont participé au succès de cette campagne. Il est vrai que les fortes souscriptions ont augmenté la somme globale, mais ce sont les centaines de milliers de petits souscripteurs qui ont donné à cet emprunt son sens national. Je voudrais surtout souligner les contributions faites par les salariés. Dans chaque pays libre, en effet, le travailleur a parfaitement compris l'enjeu de cette guerre; ceux du Canada viennent de le démontrer, par leurs souscriptions à cet emprunt puisqu'un demi-million d'entre eux ont soucrit aux termes d'un plan spécial.

D 60297

En votre nom aussi bien qu'en celui du Gouvernement, je désire remercier M. C. W. Spinney, le président du comité chargé de l'organisation de l'emprunt qui, cette année comme l'an dernier, s'est donné sans compter avec ses associés de même que les volontaires chargés de la sollicitation qui, tous, méritent les mêmes éloges. Cette campagne, dans sa conception et dans son exécution, fut un triomphe d'efficacité.

Il serait malséant de ne pas exprimer toute notre appréciation pour l'appui chaleureux accordé à l'emprunt par les journaux, la radio, le cinéma, par tous ceux qui se sont chargés de la publicité de l'emprunt, surtout les artistes et orateurs de notre pays ou de l'étranger qui ont ajouté tellement de couleur et de vitalité aux différents programmes.

Je suis sûr qu'on ne le prendra pas en mauvaise part si je souligne le rôle important joué par mon collègue le Ministre des Finances et si je me permets d'offrir à M. Ilsley nos sincères féliciations pour un si beau succès.

D 60298

Lors de l'inauguration de la campagne, je disais que la supériorité de nos ennemis sur nous tant en soldats qu'en munitions vouait chaque individu à un effort personnel extrême.

Je disais que chaque homme, chaque femme était appelé à contribuer généreusement jusqu'à la limite de ses moyens. La réponse à cet appel telle qu'inscrite dans les livres de ce second emprunt de la victoire a été splendide. Cependant nous ne pouvons pas, même l'espace d'un instant, être satisfaits de ce résultat. En effet, jamais dans l'histoire de l'humanité, le danger encouru par la civilisation a-t-il été aussi imminent qu'en cette heure où je vous parle. Même depuis le début de cette campagne de l'emprunt, l'ennemi a remporté une série de succès militaires sur tous les fronts, sauf un; partout il continue sa marche victorieuse. De chaque continent, de chaque océan, le même appel : Plus d'avions, plus de tanks, plus de munitions, plus de navires, plus d'approvisionnements, plus de soldats.

Nous sommes dans l'année critique par excellence. L'Allemagne et le Japon mettront toutes leurs ressources en oeuvre en 1942. Leur intention de conquête mondiale apparaît maintenant clairement à tous. La survivance de chaque nation est en jeu.

Maintenant plus que jamais auparavant, nous devons être absolument certains que les nations unies se serviront de toutes les forces dont elles disposent. Par la façon dont ils ont répondu à ce second emprunt de la victoire, les Canadiens ont démontré sur le front financier qu'ils étaient unis dans cet effort maximum nécessaire à chaque nation. La gravité de l'heure demande qu'une telle détermination dans la poursuite de la guerre s'applique à tous les fronts.

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94		1942 Session, Air Training Agreement. Speeches in Parliament	3-5 June 1942	D 60151 - D 60221	
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NATIONAL SECURITY—THE ISSUE IN THE PLEBISCITE

AN APPEAL TO THE CANADIAN ELECTORATE
FOR AN AFFIRMATIVE VOTE ON APRIL 27th, 1942

An Address broadcast by

The Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

OVER THE CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION NETWORK

APRIL, 7th 1942

Issued by the Director of Public Information under authority of
Hon. J. T. Thorson, Minister of National War Services

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1942

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NATIONAL SECURITY—THE ISSUE IN THE PLEBISCITE

An Appeal to the Canadian Electorate for an Affirmative Vote on April 27th, 1942

AN ADDRESS BROADCAST BY

The Right Honourable MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

APRIL 7th, 1942

I wish to speak to you to-night, my fellow Canadians, on a matter which, at this time of war, is of first importance—of first importance to the present position of our country, and to its future security; and, therefore, of real concern to the homes and lives of all.

On Monday, the 27th of this month, you will be asked to give the government a free hand in the discharge of its duty in carrying on the war. This may seem to you a strange request. What may seem stranger still is that this request is being made at a time of war. All of us, I believe, realize that, in war time, a government has greater need for a free hand than in peace time. Why then, you ask, does the government at this time of war, come to us for a free hand?

The answer is not, as you might suppose, that the government lacks full legal power for the conduct of the war. The hands of the government are not tied either by the law or the constitution. The government has been given by Parliament much wider powers for war-time than it commands in peace-time. It is important that you should understand, that at the present time, as far as legal power goes, the government is perfectly free to take any action which

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D 60302

a majority in Parliament will support. This will continue to be true of the power of the Government at Ottawa to the end of the war.

How then, you ask, are the hands of the government tied? What is it that binds the government? What is the restriction which the government seeks to have removed? Why was the restriction ever imposed? Why should the government and Parliament not tackle this question on their own responsibility without resorting to a plebiscite, and why, after two and a half years of war, has it become necessary to have the restriction removed?

These are questions which have been repeatedly raised ever since the government announced its intention to ask you to free its hands. They are very natural questions. They are questions to which you will expect a satisfactory answer.

If the only thing that mattered in the relations between the people and the government was the possession of power, the government would, of course, be free to do as it pleases. That is what obtains under a dictatorship. No account is taken of the will of the people. It is on that principle that the Nazi, Italian and Japanese dictators are acting to-day. Under democratic government, however, quite as important as the possession of power is its exercise in accordance with the will of the people.

When those who hold representative and responsible positions have given a definite promise to the people, they have created an obligation to act in accordance with that promise, until the people are again consulted. Such an obligation may not be binding according to law, but as an obligation it is no less sacred.

There are those, I know, who make light of what they call "political promises." It will, I think, be generally agreed that a political platform or programme is one thing; a definite and concrete promise or pledge is quite another. Because of circumstances, a government may, without breaking faith, fail to carry out, to the letter, its full programme. No change in circumstances could, however, justify a government in ignoring a specific pledge to the people, unless it was clear that the safety of the nation was immediately involved, and there was no possibility of consulting the people.

~~No Ordinary Political Pledge Involved~~

The pledge from which the present government is asking to be freed is not related to any ordinary day-to-day matter of policy. It is a pledge which was made specifically in relation to the conduct of the present war. It is a pledge which was given, by government and opposition alike, before and since the outbreak of the war, and to which, at the time it was made, no political party took exception. The present House of Commons was returned in the light of that pledge.

D 60303

The pledge to which I refer is, as you are all aware, that, as a method of raising men for military service overseas, resort would not be had to conscription. In other words, that voluntary enlistment would be the method by which men would be raised for service overseas.

That promise is a restriction upon the government to-day. It is, as I have said, not a legal restriction. It is a moral obligation and I need not add a moral obligation of the most solemn kind. It is equally the one and only restriction upon the exercise by the government of its full power.

You ask: why was the restriction ever imposed? Why was the promise given? "Surely," many will say, "the government should have known that it would need a free hand in time of war. Why, then, did the government tie its own hands?" The answer to this question is very simple.

The pledge not to impose conscription, as everyone knows, was the result of Canada's experience in the last war. The way in which conscription was then introduced, and the way it was enforced, gave rise to bitter resentment. Moreover, events proved that conscription in the last war had little or no military value.

Before, and at the commencement of the war, the people of Canada, like the peoples of most other countries, continued to think of the present war in terms of the last war. They thought of the situation *overseas* as they remembered it from 1914 to 1918. They thought of the situation *in Canada* in terms of the disunity which followed the introduction of conscription. They thought of just another European war. They most certainly did not think of a war in which all the nations of the world would be in danger. Much less did Canadians think of the war as one in which Canada might become the most coveted of all the prizes of war. That, however, is the actual situation to-day.

The pledge not to impose conscription for service overseas was given in order to maintain the unity of Canada. Without this assurance, I do not believe that Parliament would have given, as it did, prompt and wholehearted approval to Canada's entry into the war. It was the trust of the people in the pledged word of the government which then maintained our national unity.

We must never lose sight of the importance of national unity. National unity is, I believe, more essential to the success of the war effort of any country than most other factors combined. "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and a house divided against a house falleth".

The restriction upon the power of the government was necessary at the outset to preserve national unity. It has helped until recently

D 60304

to maintain national unity. In the past few months it has, however, become a matter of controversy and a threat to unity. You know full well that a foremost aim of my public life has been the preservation of the unity of Canada. I must say that under the changed conditions of to-day, and with Canada's record in the war what it has been over the past two and a half years, I see no reason why the removal of the restriction should weaken our unity. Instead, I believe firmly that its removal will help to overcome a source of irritation and disunity within our own country. It will, I believe, also help to remove a source of misunderstanding in the other countries united with Canada in the common effort to preserve freedom in the world.

Why ~~Resort to a~~ Plebiscite necessary

I come now to the question: why have the government and parliament not tackled this question on their own responsibility without resorting to a plebiscite?

The answer is very simple. Had the government taken the position that, as conditions had changed, it did not intend longer to be bound by any pledge, it would immediately have been said that the government had violated the most sacred undertaking ever given in its name.

It would most certainly have been said that, before so deciding, we should have referred the matter to the people in a general election, or a referendum, or as we are doing, by means of a plebiscite, and asked to be relieved from all past commitments. It would have been asserted that we were no better than the Nazis; that we had ceased to have regard for the will of the people and were now relying upon force to give effect to policies which were the direct opposite of those on which we had been returned to power. Had the present government attempted to do such a thing, does anyone imagine it would have been able to retain the confidence of parliament? For the government to have disregarded its pledged word would, I believe, have helped to destroy faith, not merely in the government, but in democratic institutions. Far from increasing our total war effort, the disunity caused by such a beach of faith would, I believe, have made our effort less effective. By such an arbitrary act, we might well have destroyed the national unity on which our war effort is founded.

maintenance of faith in democratic institutions (Canada)

There never was a time when the need is what it is to-day to conserve what still exists of faith in democratic institutions. The present unhappy state of the world is, in large part, the result of broken pledges. Nazi Germany has erected bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action. Bad faith, broken pledges, and

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disregard of the popular will, are the forces against which Canada is fighting to-day.

But, you may say, no one would expect the government to have taken any such arbitrary action. What the government should have done was to have gone to parliament and asked the members to give it a free hand. It is said that a release would have been granted immediately. But would it? I am certain, in fact, it would not. And that for the simple reason that members of parliament would, for the most part, have taken the position that they were as much bound by past commitments as were the members of the government.

And that brings me to the last of the questions to which you are awaiting a reply: "Why, after two and a half years of war, has it become necessary to have the restriction removed?"

Our War Effort in a False Light

One answer is that this restriction is being represented as the bar to an all-out effort on Canada's part. It makes no difference whether conscription for service overseas would add to Canada's total effort or not, the fact that the government is not free to consider its adoption is made to appear as limiting Canada's war effort.

The truth, of course, is that our army to-day is just as large as it would have been if conscription for overseas service had been adopted. The absence of conscription for overseas service has not limited our war effort. The lack of power to impose such conscription has, however, placed our war effort in a wholly false light before our own citizens, and, what is worse, before our allies. In other words, conscription has been made the symbol of a total effort, regardless of all Canada is doing to help win the war.

The issue at present is not conscription; it is whether or not the government, subject to its responsibility to Parliament, is to be free to decide that question itself in the light of all national considerations. The government is not asking you to say whether or not conscription should be adopted. That responsibility the government is asking you to leave to itself and to parliament, with entire freedom to decide the question on its merits.

The question of conscription, properly viewed, is a *military question*. The place to discuss it is in parliament. What the government now seeks for itself and for parliament is freedom to consider and debate and decide this question, like all other questions connected with the war, unrestricted by any pledge and in the light only of the needs of national security.

A part of our forces should be kept in Canada to protect us against attack; a part of our forces should be sent overseas to help defeat the enemy and thus prevent him from attacking Canada.

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Both tasks are equally essential to our safety. Anyone who tells you that only one of these tasks is necessary is deceiving you. The government with the information which it alone possesses is in a position to decide where Canada's forces can be used to the greatest advantage in defending Canada, and in helping to defeat Germany and Japan, or how the armed forces required can best be raised. We do not ask the people to make that decision. But we believe the matter is so important that the government and parliament should be completely free to decide the question wholly on its merits.

The people of Canada are not going to hesitate to take any step which they believe to be necessary for the preservation of their freedom. They are certainly not going to hesitate to adopt any measure needed to preserve their national existence, but they will wish to know, and they have a right to know, that before any step is taken, that step is necessary. This is particularly true in the case of a measure which has been the subject of bitter controversy and the source of disunity in the past.

Parliament Will Decide

The only place it can satisfactorily be decided whether a particular step is necessary or a particular measure needed, is in parliament. In parliament, the government can state its case and provide the information on which a wise decision can alone be made.

In the greatest of all emergencies, I ask you, are you not prepared to trust the government and your own parliament to see that only those things are done which are wholly in the interest of the country? If there are any who are not, who or what are they prepared to trust? This is the question I should like every citizen of Canada to ask himself, and herself as he or she proceeds to answer "yes" or "no" to the question being asked on the 27th of this month.

But there is a greater and more urgent reason why the restriction on the power of the government should be removed. And to this I ask your special attention. I have spoken of unity but to a nation, there is one thing even more important than the preservation of its unity. That is the preservation of its existence. To those who, beyond the events of to-day, are able to look into the future, it is no longer the unity, it is the very existence of our country as a free nation which they see is in danger to-day. We are no longer in a world where even the most powerful nation is able, by itself, to save itself from the ambition and greed of the aggressor nations. For the preservation of its very existence, each free country is going to need all the help that other free countries can give. It will require the utmost co-operation on the part of all free countries to save them from becoming victims, one by one, of the gangster nations whose undoubted aim is world conquest. With our immense territory, great resources and small

population, no country may come to need the help of the other countries more than our own. Unless we continue to do all we can to help others, we shall have no right to expect them to do all they can to help us. Until the present tide of conquest is turned into overwhelming defeat for the enemy, no country—and assuredly not Canada—can consider itself secure.

The last thing I have been or would wish to be is an alarmist. I would, however, not be true to the trust the people of Canada have reposed in me did I not say that I believe the situation, for all free nations, is far more critical today than it has ever been. Canada's position is by no means an exception. Look at what has happened in the past two and a half years of war; look at what is happening today, and ask yourselves what other view is possible. Practically the whole of continental Europe, except Russia, is under the domination of Germany, and is compelled to serve her war machine. Despite Russia's magnificent campaign and the ground she has regained, much of her European territory is still in Nazi hands. Who can say what the outcome of the struggle between Russia and Germany may be? In the Middle East and in Africa, the situation is also desperately critical. In Asia and in the Pacific, Japan controls a large part of China, and has seized most of the strategic strongholds and territories formerly possessed by The Netherlands, France, Britain and the United States.

The Seriousness of the Military Situation

Across the Pacific, the tide of Japanese conquest has swept swiftly over thousands of miles of sea. A few weeks ago, it was Hong Kong, Singapore and the East Indies—attacked and taken; a little later, Burma and Australia attacked, with New Zealand also threatened. Today it is Ceylon and India. Who can say how, or when, or where, the sweep of attempted invasion and actual conquest is going to end. Neither sea nor land defences have stopped the advances of the Germans and the Japanese. It becomes increasingly clear that both Germany and Japan are putting forth a supreme effort to achieve world mastery in 1942. At the moment, they are aiming at uniting their forces in a manner which will give them control of the strategic lines of communication in the whole eastern hemisphere.

In the British Commonwealth of Nations, Canada and South Africa are the only countries not immediately subject to attack. Does anyone imagine that if the aggressor nations are successful in the present areas of conflict, they will leave the western hemisphere alone? Is anyone so blind as to believe that already they have not cast their covetous eyes upon the vast territory and resources of our own Dominion? Off our own Atlantic coasts and those of the United States, enemy U-boats have been destroying shipping at an

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alarming rate. There are strong reasons for believing that Germany hopes, in the course of the next few months, to be able by means of a great naval offensive on the Atlantic, to cut the sea lanes between North America and Britain, and to cripple the merchant fleets of Britain and the United States. Japan has a similar aim on the Pacific. These offensives may come at any time. One thing is perfectly certain. If the enemy is not kept at bay on the oceans, and defeated beyond the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific, the final battles of the world conflict will be fought in the waters and upon the soil of Canada and the United States.

Here surely is the most powerful of reasons why every effort should be made, as it is being made, alike by the United States and Canada, to help the other united nations to engage the enemy and try to defeat him where he is to be found to-day. We cannot defend our country and save our homes and families by waiting at home for the enemy to attack us. Every country that has stood behind its own defences in this war has sooner or later been attacked. To remain on the defensive is the surest way to bring the war to Canada. Of course, we should look to our defences; we should protect our coasts; we should strengthen our ports and our cities against attack. But we must also take our full part in the combat; we must go out to meet the enemy before he reaches our shores; we must, if we can, defeat him before he attacks us, before our cities are laid waste and before the women and children of Canada are injured or killed in our streets and our homes.

Canada fighting to preserve moved freedom and her own existence

~~We are Fighting to Preserve our Freedom~~

It is unfortunate that so many have come to think of Canada's war effort as aid for other countries. In reality, it is much more than that. Every sailor, every soldier, every airman in Canada's forces, wherever they serve; every ship, every gun, every plane we manufacture, regardless of the forces that use them; the food we supply to our allies; all these may be aid to other countries against a common enemy, but are equally a contribution to the defence of Canada. Let no one tell you that Canada is in this war to uphold any selfish cause of empire. It is not true. We are fighting to preserve our freedom and our national existence, to defend our homes and families, from an enemy drawing ever nearer. We would do well to remember that, against the piratical ambitions of Germany and Japan alike, the one sure shield of defence is actual combat in the front line of battle, whether on land, at sea or in the air.

Here is the strongest of reasons why no excuse should remain for anyone to say that because of a restriction upon the exercise by the government of its full powers, Canada's war effort is not all it

D 60309

might be. Should the day come—and it may come soon—when Canada is faced with attack, and we need help from the United States or Britain or any of the United Nations, how would we feel if we thought their governments were restricted in their power to aid Canada? We would do well, I think, not to permit any misunderstanding to arise in other countries as to our readiness to do our full part in the struggle we are all fighting together.

Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next year, next month or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. It is in the face of this peril that for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand.

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Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next year, next month or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. *It is in the face of this peril that for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand.*

W. L. Mackenzie King.

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1 Government seeks a Free Hand
2 Legal Powers & Moral Obligations
3 Nature & Restriction upon Government.
4 How Restriction came to be Imposed
5 Importance of National Unity
6 Why Plebiscite Necessary?
7 Maintenance of Faith in democratic institutions
8 ~~Canada's Part & Effort being placed in false light by Removal of Restriction if Necessary~~
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9 Issue not Conscription but Powers of Government.
11 National existence as well as national freedom threatened.
10 Parliament to settle controversy
12 International situation exceeding critical
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14 Canada fighting to preserve World ~~national~~ freedom and her own ~~national~~ existence.

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World peril

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National Security
— The cover is the publication
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DANGER THREATENS US

FROM THE EAST AND FROM THE WEST

AN APPEAL TO THE CANADIAN ELECTORATE
FOR AN AFFIRMATIVE VOTE ~~IN THE NATIONAL~~
in ~~PLEBISCITE~~ 27th APRIL, ~~1942~~

An Address broadcast by

The Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

OVER THE CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION NETWORK

7th APRIL, 1942

Issued by the Director of Public Information under authority of
Hon. J. T. Thorson, Minister of National War Services

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1942

M/88

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DANGER THREATENS US

FROM THE EAST AND FROM THE WEST

AN ADDRESS BROADCAST BY

The Right Honourable MACKENZIE KING, M.P.

Prime Minister of Canada

I wish to speak to you to-night, my fellow Canadians, on a matter which, at this time of war, is of first importance—of first importance to the present position of our country, and to its future security; and, therefore, of real concern to the homes and lives of all.

On Monday, the 27th of this month, you will be asked to give the government a free hand in the discharge of its duty in carrying on the war. This may seem to you a strange request. What may seem stranger still is that this request is being made at a time of war. All of us, I believe, realize that, in war time, a government has greater need for a free hand than in peace time. Why then, you ask, does the government at this time of war, come to us for a free hand?

The answer is not, as you might suppose, that the government lacks full legal power for the conduct of the war. The hands of the government are not tied either by the law or the constitution. The government has been given by Parliament much wider powers for wartime than it commands in peacetime. It is important that you should understand, that at the present time, as far as legal power goes, the government is perfectly free to take any action which a majority in Parliament will support. This will continue to be true of the power of the Government at Ottawa to the end of the war.

How then, you ask, are the hands of the government tied? What is it that binds the government? What is the restriction which the government seeks to have removed? Why was the restriction ever imposed? Why should the government and Parliament not tackle this question on their own responsibility without resorting to a plebiscite, and why, after two and a half years of war, has it become necessary to have the restriction removed?

These are questions which have been repeatedly raised ever since the government announced its intention to ask you to free its hands. They are very natural questions. They are questions to which you will expect a satisfactory answer.

If the only thing that mattered in the relations betwen the people and the government was the possession of power, the government would, of course, be free to do as it pleases. That is what obtains under a dictatorship. No account is taken of the will of the people. It is on that principle that the Nazi, Italian and Japanese dictators are acting to-day. Under democratic government, however, quite as important as the possession of power is its exercise in accordance with the will of the people.

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When those who hold representative and responsible positions have given a definite promise to the people, they have created an obligation to act in accordance with that promise, until the people are again consulted. Such an obligation may not be binding according to law, but as an obligation it is no less sacred.

There are those, I know, who make light of what they call "political promises." It will, I think, be generally agreed that a political platform or programme is one thing; a definite and concrete promise or pledge is quite another. Because of circumstances, a government may, without breaking faith, fail to carry out, to the letter, its full programme. No change in circumstances could, however, justify a government in ignoring a specific pledge to the people, unless it was clear that the safety of the nation was immediately involved, and there was no possibility of consulting the people.

~~No Ordinary Political Pledge Involved~~

The pledge from which the present government is asking to be freed is not related to any ordinary day-to-day matter of policy. It is a pledge which was made specifically in relation to the conduct of the present war. It is a pledge which was given, by government and opposition alike, before and since the outbreak of the war, and to which, at the time it was made, no political party took exception. The present House of Commons was returned in the light of that pledge.

The pledge to which I refer is, as you are all aware, that, as a method of raising men for military service overseas, resort would not be had to conscription. In other words, that voluntary enlistment would be the method by which men would be raised for service overseas.

That promise is a restriction upon the government today. It is, as I have said, not a legal restriction. It is a moral obligation and I need not add a moral obligation of the most solemn kind. It is equally the one and only restriction upon the exercise by the government of its full power.

You ask: why was the restriction ever imposed? Why was the promise given? "Surely", many will say, "the government should have known that it would need a free hand in time of war. Why, then, did the government tie its own hands?" The answer to this question is very simple.

The pledge not to impose conscription, as everyone knows, was the result of Canada's experience in the last war. The way in which conscription was then introduced, and the way it was enforced, gave rise to bitter resentment. Moreover, events proved that conscription in the last war had little or no military value.

Before, and at the commencement of the war, the people of Canada, like the peoples of most other countries, continued to think of the present war in terms of the last war. They thought of the situation *overseas* as they remembered it from 1914 to 1918. They thought of the situation *in Canada* in terms of the disunity which followed the introduction of conscription. They thought of just another European war. They most certainly did not think of a war in which all the nations of the world would be in danger. Much less did Canadians think of the war as one in which Canada might become the most coveted of all the prizes of war. That, however, is the actual situation today.

The pledge not to impose conscription for service overseas was given in order to maintain the unity of Canada. Without this assurance, I do not believe that Parliament would have given, as it did, prompt and wholehearted approval to Canada's entry into the war. It was the trust of the people in the pledged word of the government which then maintained our national unity.

We must never lose sight of the importance of national unity. National unity is, I believe, more essential to the success of the war effort of any country than most other factors combined. "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and a house divided against a house falleth".

The restriction upon the power of the government was necessary at the outset to preserve national unity. It has helped until recently to maintain national unity. In the past few months it has, however, become a matter of controversy and a threat to unity. You know full well that a foremost aim of my public life has been the preservation of the unity of Canada. I must say that under the changed conditions of today, and with Canada's record in the war what it has been over the past two and a half years, I see no reason why the removal of the restriction should weaken our unity. Instead, I believe firmly that its removal will help to overcome a source of irritation and disunity within our own country. It will, I believe also help to remove a source of misunderstanding in the other countries united with Canada in the common effort to preserve freedom in the world.

Why Resort to a Plebiscite?

I come now to the question: why have the government and parliament not tackled this question on their own responsibility without resorting to a plebiscite?

The answer is very simple. Had the government taken the position that, as conditions had changed, it did not intend longer to be bound by any pledge, it would immediately have been said that the government had violated the most sacred undertaking ever given in its name.

It would most certainly have been said that, before so deciding, we should have referred the matter to the people in a general election, or a referendum, or as we are doing, by means of a plebiscite, and asked to be relieved from all past commitments. It would have been asserted that we were no better than the Nazis; that we had ceased to have regard for the will of the people and were now relying upon force to give effect to policies which were the direct opposite of those on which we had been returned to power. Had the present government attempted to do such a thing, does anyone imagine it would have been able to retain the confidence of parliament? For the goverment to have disregarded its pledged word would, I believe, have helped to destroy faith, not merely in the government, but in democratic institutions. Far from increasing our total war effort, the disunity caused by such a breach of faith would, I believe, have made our effort less effective. By such an arbitrary act, we might well have destroyed the national unity on which our war effort is founded.

There never was a time when the need is what it is to-day to conserve what still exists of faith in democratic institutions. The present unhappy state of the world is, in large part, the result of broken pledges. Nazi Germany has erected bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action. Bad faith, broken pledges, and disregard of the popular will, are the forces against which Canada is fighting to-day.

But, you may say, no one would expect the government to have taken any such arbitrary action. What the government should have done was to have gone to parliament and asked the members to give it a free hand. It is said that a release would have been granted immediately. But would it? I am certain, in fact, it would not. And that for the simple reason that members of parliament would, for the most part, have taken the position that they were as much bound by past commitments as were the members of the government.

And that brings me to the last of the questions to which you are awaiting a reply: "Why, after two and a half years of war, has it become necessary to have the restriction removed?"

~~Our~~ *War Effort in a False Light*

One answer is that this restriction is being represented as the bar to an all-out efforts on Canada's part. It makes no difference whether conscription for service overseas would add to Canada's total effort or not, the fact that the government is not free to consider its adoption is made to appear as limiting Canada's war effort.

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The issue at present is not conscription; it is whether or not the government, subject to its responsibility to Parliament, is to be free to decide that question itself in the light of all national considerations. The government is not asking you to say whether or not conscription should be adopted. That responsibility the government is asking you to leave to itself and to parliament, with entire freedom to decide the question on its merits.

The question of conscription, properly viewed, is a *military question*. The place to discuss it is in parliament. What the government now seeks for itself and for parliament is freedom to consider and debate and decide this question, like all other questions connected with the war, unrestricted by any pledge and in the light only of the needs of national security.

A part of our forces should be kept in Canada to protect us against attack; a part of our forces should be sent overseas to help defeat the enemy and thus prevent him from attacking Canada. Both tasks are equally essential to our safety. Anyone who tells you that only one of these tasks is necessary is deceiving you. The government with the information which it alone possesses is in a position to decide where Canada's forces can be used to the greatest advantage in defending Canada, and in helping to defeat Germany and Japan, or how the armed forces required can best be raised. We do not ask the people to make that decision. But we believe the matter is so important that the government and parliament should be completely free to decide the question wholly on its merits.

The people of Canada are not going to hesitate to take any step which they believe to be necessary for the preservation of their freedom. They are certainly not going to hesitate to adopt any measure needed to preserve their national existence, but they will wish to know, and they have a right to know, that before any step is taken, that step is necessary. This is particularly true in the case of a measure which has been the subject of bitter controversy and the source of disunity in the past.

The only place it can satisfactorily be decided whether a particular step is necessary or a particular measure needed, is in parliament. In parliament, the government can state its case and provide the information on which a wise decision can alone be made.

In the greatest of all emergencies, I ask you, are you not prepared to trust the government and your own parliament to see that only those things are done which are wholly in the interest of the country? If there are any who are not,

who or what are they prepared to trust? This is the question I should like every citizen of Canada to ask himself, and herself as he or she proceeds to answer "yes" or "no" to the question being asked on the 27th of this month.

But there is a greater and more urgent reason why the restriction on the power of the government should be removed. And to this I ask your special attention. I have spoken of unity, but to a nation, there is one thing even more important than the preservation of its unity. That is the preservation of its existence. To those who, beyond the events of to-day, are able to look into the future, it is no longer the unity, it is the very existence of our country as a free nation which they see is in danger to-day. We are no longer in a world where even the most powerful nation is able, by itself, to save itself from the ambition and greed of the aggressor nations. For the preservation of its very existence, each free country is going to need all the help that other free countries can give. It will require the utmost co-operation on the part of all free countries to save them from becoming victims, one by one, of the gangster nations whose undoubted aim is world conquest. With our immense territory, great resources and small population, no country may come to need the help of the other countries more than our own. Unless we continue to do all we can to help others, we shall have no right to expect them to do all they can to help us. Until the present tide of conquest is turned into overwhelming defeat for the enemy, no country—and assuredly not Canada—can consider itself secure.

The last thing I have been or would wish to be is an alarmist. I would, however, not be true to the trust the people of Canada have reposed in me did I not say that I believe the situation, for all free nations, is far more critical today than it has ever been. Canada's position is by no means an exception. Look at what has happened in the past two and a half years of war; look at what is happening today, and ask yourselves what other view is possible. Practically the whole of continental Europe, except Russia, is under the domination of Germany, and is compelled to serve her war machine. Despite Russia's magnificent campaign and the ground she has regained, much of her European territory is still in Nazi hands. Who can say what the outcome of the struggle between Russia and Germany may be? In the Middle East and in Africa, the situation is also desperately critical. In Asia and in the Pacific, Japan controls a large part of China, and has seized most of the strategic strongholds and territories formerly possessed by The Netherlands, France, Britain and the United States.

The Seriousness of the Military Situation

Across the Pacific, the tide of Japanese conquest has swept swiftly over thousands of miles of sea. A few weeks ago, it was Hong Kong, Singapore and the East Indies—attacked and taken; a little later, Burma and Australia attacked, with New Zealand also threatened. Today it is Ceylon and India. Who can say how, or when, or where, the sweep of attempted invasion and actual conquest is going to end. Neither sea nor land defences have stopped the advances of the Germans and the Japanese. It becomes increasingly clear that both Germany and Japan are putting forth a supreme effort to achieve world mastery in 1942. At the moment, they are aiming at uniting their forces in a manner which will give them control of the strategic lines of communication in the whole eastern hemisphere.

In the British Commonwealth of Nations, Canada and South Africa are the only countries not immediately subject to attack. Does anyone imagine that if the aggressor nations are successful in the present areas of conflict, they will leave the western hemisphere alone? Is anyone so blind as to believe that already they have not cast their covetous eyes upon the vast territory and

resources of our own Dominion? Off our own Atlantic coasts and those of the United States, enemy U-boats have been destroying shipping at an alarming rate. There are strong reasons for believing that Germany hopes, in the course of the next few months, to be able by means of a great naval offensive on the Atlantic, to cut the sea lanes between North America and Britain, and to cripple the merchant fleets of Britain and the United States. Japan has a similar aim on the Pacific. These offensives may come at any time. One thing is perfectly certain. If the enemy is not kept at bay on the oceans, and defeated beyond the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific, the final battles of the world conflict will be fought in the waters and upon the soil of Canada and the United States.

Here surely is the most powerful of reasons why every effort should be made, as it is being made, alike by the United States and Canada, to help the other united nations to engage the enemy and try to defeat him where he is to be found to-day. We cannot defend our country and save our homes and families by waiting at home for the enemy to attack us. Every country that has stood behind its own defences in this war has sooner or later been attacked. To remain on the defensive is the surest way to bring the war to Canada. Of course, we should look to our defences; we should protect our coasts; we should strengthen our ports and our cities against attack. But we must also take our full part in the combat; we must go out to meet the enemy before he reaches our shores; we must, if we can, defeat him before he attacks us, before our cities are laid waste and before the women and children of Canada are injured or killed in our streets and our homes.

~~*We are Fighting to Preserve our Freedom and our National Existence*~~

It is unfortunate that so many have come to think of Canada's war effort as aid for other countries. In reality, it is much more than that. Every sailor, every soldier, every airman in Canada's forces, wherever they serve; every ship, every gun, every plane we manufacture, regardless of the forces that use them; the food we supply to our allies; all these may be aid to other countries against a common enemy, but are equally a contribution to the defence of Canada. Let no one tell you that Canada is in this war to uphold any selfish cause of empire. It is not true. We are fighting to preserve our freedom and our national existence, to defend our homes and families, from an enemy drawing ever nearer. We would do well to remember that, against the piratical ambitions of Germany and Japan alike, the one sure shield of defence is actual combat in the front line of battle, whether on land, at sea or in the air.

Here is the strongest of reasons why no excuse should remain for anyone to say that because of a restriction upon the exercise by the government of its full powers, Canada's war effort is not all it might be. Should the day come—and it may come soon—when Canada is faced with attack, and we need help from the United States or Britain or any of the United Nations, how would we feel if we thought their governments were restricted in their power to aid Canada. We would do well, I think, not to permit any misunderstanding to arise in other countries as to our readiness to do our full part in the struggle we are all fighting together.

Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next year, next month or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. It is in the face of this peril that for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand.

D 60320

Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next year, next month or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. *It is in the face of this peril that for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand.*

W. L. Mackenzie King.

D 60321

NATIONAL SECURITY—THE ISSUE IN THE PLEBISCITE

AN APPEAL TO THE CANADIAN ELECTORATE
FOR AN AFFIRMATIVE VOTE ON APRIL 27th

An Address broadcast by

The Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

OVER THE CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION NETWORK

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NATIONAL SECURITY—THE ISSUE IN THE PLEBISCITE

An Appeal to the Canadian Electorate for an Affirmative Vote on April 27th, 1942

AN ADDRESS BROADCAST BY

The Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

I wish to speak to you to-night, my fellow Canadians, on a matter which, at this time of war, is of first importance—of first importance to the present position of our country, and to its future security; and, therefore, of real concern to the homes and lives of all.

Government Seeks a Free Hand

On Monday, the 27th of this month, you will be asked to give the government a free hand in the discharge of its duty in carrying on the war. This may seem to you a strange request. What may seem stranger still is that this request is being made at a time of war. All of us, I believe, realize that, in war time, a government has greater need for a free hand than in peace time. Why then, you ask, does the government at this time of war, come to us for a free hand?

The answer is not, as you might suppose, that the government lacks full legal power for the conduct of the war. The hands of the government are not tied either by the law or the constitution. The government has been given by parliament much wider powers for wartime than it commands in peacetime. It is important that you should understand, that at the present time, as far as legal power goes, the government is perfectly free to take any action which a majority in parliament will support. This will continue to be true of the power of the Government at Ottawa to the end of the war.

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How then, you ask, are the hands of the government tied? What is it that binds the government? What is the restriction which the government seeks to have removed? Why was the restriction ever imposed? Why should the government and parliament not tackle this question on their own responsibility without resorting to a plebiscite, and why, after two and a half years of war, has it become necessary to have the restriction removed?

These are questions which have been repeatedly raised ever since the government announced its intention to ask you to free its hands. They are very natural questions. They are questions to which you will expect a satisfactory answer.

Legal Powers and Moral Obligations

If the only thing that mattered in the relations between the people and the government was the possession of power, the government would, of course, be free to do as it pleases. That is what obtains under a dictatorship. No account is taken of the will of the people. It is on that principle that the Nazi, Italian and Japanese dictators are acting to-day. Under democratic government, however, quite as important as the possession of power is its exercise in accordance with the will of the people.

When those who hold representative and responsible positions have given a definite promise to the people, they have created an obligation to act in accordance with that promise, until the people are again consulted. Such an obligation may not be binding according to law, but as an obligation it is no less sacred.

There are those, I know, who make light of what they call "political promises." It will, I think, be generally agreed that a political platform or programme is one thing; a definite and concrete promise or pledge is quite another. Because of circumstances, a government may, without breaking faith, fail to carry out, to the letter, its full programme. No change in circumstances could, however, justify a government in ignoring a specific pledge to the people, unless it was clear that the safety of the nation was immediately involved, and there was no possibility of consulting the people.

Nature of Restriction upon Government

The pledge from which the present government is asking to be freed is not related to any ordinary day-to-day matter of policy. It is a pledge which was made specifically in relation to the conduct of the present war. It is a pledge which was given, by government and opposition alike, before and since the outbreak of the war, and to which, at the time it was made, no political party took exception. The present House of Commons was returned in the light of that pledge.

The pledge to which I refer is, as you are all aware, that, as a method of raising men for military service overseas, resort would not be had to conscription. In other words, that voluntary enlistment would be the method by which men would be raised for service overseas.

That promise is a restriction upon the government to-day. It is, as I have said, not a legal restriction. It is a moral obligation and I need not add a moral obligation of the most solemn kind. It is equally the one and only restriction upon the exercise by the government of its full power.

How Restriction came to be Imposed

You ask: why was the restriction ever imposed? Why was the promise given? "Surely," many will say, "the government should have known that it would need a free hand in time of war. Why, then, did the government tie its own hands?" The answer to this question is very simple.

The pledge not to impose conscription, as everyone knows, was the result of Canada's experience in the last war. The way in which conscription was then introduced, and the way it was enforced, gave rise to bitter resentment. Moreover, events proved that conscription in the last war had little or no military value.

Before, and at the commencement of the war, the people of Canada, like the peoples of most other countries, continued to think of the present war in terms of the last war. They thought of the situation *overseas* as they remembered it from 1914 to 1918. They thought of the situation *in Canada* in terms of the disunity which followed the introduction of conscription. They thought of just another European war. They most certainly did not think of a war in which all the nations of the world would be in danger. Much less did Canadians think of the war as one in which Canada might become the most coveted of all the prizes of war. That, however, is the actual situation to-day.

The pledge not to impose conscription for service overseas was given in order to maintain the unity of Canada. Without this assurance, I do not believe that parliament would have given, as it did, prompt and wholehearted approval to Canada's entry into the war. It was the trust of the people in the pledged word of the government which then maintained our national unity.

Importance of National Unity

We must never lose sight of the importance of national unity. National unity is, I believe, more essential to the success of the war effort of any country than most other factors combined. "Every

kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and a house divided against a house falleth".

The restriction upon the power of the government was necessary at the outset to preserve national unity. It has helped until recently to maintain national unity. In the past few months it has, however, become a matter of controversy and a threat to unity. You know full well that a foremost aim of my public life has been the preservation of the unity of Canada. I must say that under the changed conditions of to-day, and with Canada's record in the war what it has been over the past two and a half years, I see no reason why the removal of the restriction should weaken our unity. Instead, I believe firmly that its removal will help to overcome a source of irritation and disunity within our own country. It will, I believe, also help to remove a source of misunderstanding in the other countries united with Canada in the common effort to preserve freedom in the world.

Why Plebiscite Necessary

I come now to the question: why have the government and parliament not tackled this question on their own responsibility without resorting to a plebiscite?

The answer is very simple. Had the government taken the position that, as conditions had changed, it did not intend longer to be bound by any pledge, it would immediately have been said that the government had violated the most sacred undertaking ever given in its name.

It would most certainly have been said that, before so deciding, we should have referred the matter to the people in a general election, or a referendum, or as we are doing, by means of a plebiscite, and asked to be relieved from all past commitments. It would have been asserted that we were no better than the Nazis; that we had ceased to have regard for the will of the people and were now relying upon force to give effect to policies which were the direct opposite of those on which we had been returned to power. Had the present government attempted to do such a thing, does anyone imagine it would have been able to retain the confidence of parliament? For the government to have disregarded its pledged word would, I believe, have helped to destroy faith, not merely in the government, but in democratic institutions. Far from increasing our total war effort, the disunity caused by such a breach of faith would, I believe, have made our effort less effective. By such an arbitrary act, we might well have destroyed the national unity on which our war effort is founded.

Maintenance of Faith in Democratic Institutions

There never was a time when the need is what it is to-day to conserve what still exists of faith in democratic institutions. The present unhappy state of the world is, in large part, the result of broken pledges. Nazi Germany has erected bad faith and the broken pledge into a principle of action. Bad faith, broken pledges, and disregard of the popular will, are the forces against which Canada is fighting to-day.

But, you may say, no one would expect the government to have taken any such arbitrary action. What the government should have done was to have gone to parliament and asked the members to give it a free hand. It is said that a release would have been granted immediately. But would it? I am certain, in fact, it would not. And that for the simple reason that members of parliament would, for the most part, have taken the position that they were as much bound by past commitments as were the members of the government.

Canada's War Effort Being Placed in False Light

And that brings me to the last of the questions to which you are awaiting a reply: "Why, after two and a half years of war, has it become necessary to have the restriction removed?"

One answer is that this restriction is being represented as the bar to an all-out effort on Canada's part. It makes no difference whether conscription for service overseas would add to Canada's total effort or not, the fact that the government is not free to consider its adoption is made to appear as limiting Canada's war effort.

The truth, of course, is that our army to-day is just as large as it would have been if conscription for overseas service had been adopted. The absence of conscription for overseas service has not limited our war effort. The lack of power to impose such conscription has, however, placed our war effort in a wholly false light before our own citizens, and, what is worse, before our allies. In other words, conscription has been made the symbol of a total effort, regardless of all Canada is doing to help win the war.

Issue not Conscription—but Powers of Government

The issue at present is not conscription; it is whether or not the government, subject to its responsibility to parliament, is to be free to decide that question itself in the light of all national considerations. The government is not asking you to say whether or not conscription should be adopted. That responsibility the government is asking you to leave to itself and to parliament, with entire freedom to decide the question on its merits.

The question of conscription, properly viewed, is a *military question*. The place to discuss it is in parliament. What the government now seeks for itself and for parliament is freedom to consider and debate and decide this question, like all other questions connected with the war, unrestricted by any pledge and in the light only of the needs of national security.

A part of our forces should be kept in Canada to protect us against attack; a part of our forces should be sent overseas to help defeat the enemy and thus prevent him from attacking Canada. Both tasks are equally essential to our safety. Anyone who tells you that only one of these tasks is necessary is deceiving you. The government with the information which it alone possesses is in a position to decide where Canada's forces can be used to the greatest advantage in defending Canada, and in helping to defeat Germany and Japan, or how the armed forces required can best be raised. We do not ask the people to make that decision. But we believe the matter is so important that the government and parliament should be completely free to decide the question wholly on its merits.

Parliament to Safeguard Rights of People

The people of Canada are not going to hesitate to take any step which they believe to be necessary for the preservation of their freedom. They are certainly not going to hesitate to adopt any measure needed to preserve their national existence, but they will wish to know, and they have a right to know, that before any step is taken, that step is necessary. This is particularly true in the case of a measure which has been the subject of bitter controversy and the source of disunity in the past.

The only place it can satisfactorily be decided whether a particular step is necessary or a particular measure needed, is in parliament. In parliament, the government can state its case and provide the information on which a wise decision can alone be made.

In the greatest of all emergencies, I ask you, are you not prepared to trust the government and your own parliament to see that only those things are done which are wholly in the interest of the country? If there are any who are not, who or what are they prepared to trust? This is the question I should like every citizen of Canada to ask himself, and herself as he or she proceeds to answer "yes" or "no" to the question being asked on the 27th of this month.

National Existence as well as National Freedom Threatened

But there is a greater and more urgent reason why the restriction on the power of the government should be removed. And to this I ask your special attention. I have spoken of unity. To a nation, there is one thing even more important than the preservation of its unity.

That is the preservation of its existence. To those who, beyond the events of to-day, are able to look into the future, it is no longer the unity, it is the very existence of our country as a free nation which they see is in danger to-day. We are no longer in a world where even the most powerful nation is able, by itself, to save itself from the ambition and greed of the aggressor nations. For the preservation of its very existence, each free country is going to need all the help that other free countries can give. It will require the utmost co-operation on the part of all free countries to save them from becoming victims, one by one, of the gangster nations whose undoubted aim is world conquest. With our immense territory, great resources and small population, no country may come to need the help of the other countries more than our own. Unless we continue to do all we can to help others, we shall have no right to expect them to do all they can to help us. Until the present tide of conquest is turned into overwhelming defeat for the enemy, no country—and assuredly not Canada—can consider itself secure.

International Situation Exceedingly Critical

The last thing I have been or would wish to be is an alarmist. I would, however, not be true to the trust the people of Canada have reposed in me did I not say that I believe the situation, for all free nations, is far more critical to-day than it has ever been. Canada's position is by no means an exception. Look at what has happened in the past two and a half years of war; look at what is happening to-day, and ask yourselves what other view is possible. Practically the whole of continental Europe, except Russia, is under the domination of Germany, and is compelled to serve her war machine. Despite Russia's magnificent campaign and the ground she has regained, much of her European territory is still in Nazi hands. Who can say what the outcome of the struggle between Russia and Germany may be? In the Middle East and in Africa, the situation is also desperately critical. In Asia and in the Pacific, Japan controls a large part of China, and has seized most of the strategic strongholds and territories formerly possessed by The Netherlands, France, Britain and the United States.

Across the Pacific, the tide of Japanese conquest has swept swiftly over thousands of miles of sea. A few weeks ago, it was Hong Kong, Singapore and the East Indies—attacked and taken; a little later, Burma and Australia attacked, with New Zealand also threatened. To-day it is Ceylon and India. Who can say how, or when, or where, the sweep of attempted invasion and actual conquest is going to end. Neither sea nor land defences have stopped the advances of the Germans and the Japanese. It becomes increasingly clear that both Germany and Japan are putting forth a supreme effort to achieve

world mastery in 1942. At the moment, they are aiming at uniting their forces in a manner which will give them control of the strategic lines of communication in the whole eastern hemisphere.

Mounting Dangers to Canada from East and West

In the British Commonwealth of Nations, Canada and South Africa are the only countries not immediately subject to attack. Does anyone imagine that if the aggressor nations are successful in the present areas of conflict, they will leave the western hemisphere alone? Is anyone so blind as to believe that already they have not cast their covetous eyes upon the vast territory and resources of our own Dominion? Off our own Atlantic coasts and those of the United States, enemy U-boats have been destroying shipping at an alarming rate. There are strong reasons for believing that Germany hopes, in the course of the next few months, to be able by means of a great naval offensive on the Atlantic, to cut the sea lanes between North America and Britain, and to cripple the merchant fleets of Britain and the United States. Japan has a similar aim on the Pacific. These offensives may come at any time. One thing is perfectly certain. If the enemy is not kept at bay on the oceans, and defeated beyond the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific, the final battles of the world conflict will be fought in the waters and upon the soil of Canada and the United States.

Here surely is the most powerful of reasons why every effort should be made, as it is being made, alike by the United States and Canada, to help the other united nations to engage the enemy and try to defeat him where he is to be found to-day. We cannot defend our country and save our homes and families by waiting at home for the enemy to attack us. Every country that has stood behind its own defences in this war has sooner or later been attacked. To remain on the defensive is the surest way to bring the war to Canada. Of course, we should look to our defences; we should protect our coasts; we should strengthen our ports and our cities against attack. But we must also take our full part in the combat; we must go out to meet the enemy before he reaches our shores; we must, if we can, defeat him before he attacks us, before our cities are laid waste and before the women and children of Canada are injured or killed in our streets and our homes.

Canada Fighting to Preserve Freedom and her own Existence

It is unfortunate that so many have come to think of Canada's war effort as aid for other countries. In reality, it is much more than that. Every sailor, every soldier, every airman in Canada's forces, wherever they serve; every ship, every gun, every plane we

manufacture, regardless of the forces that use them; the food we supply to our allies; all these may be aid to other countries against a common enemy, but are equally a contribution to the defence of Canada. Let no one tell you that Canada is in this war to uphold any selfish cause of empire. It is not true. We are fighting to preserve our freedom and our national existence, to defend our homes and families, from an enemy drawing ever nearer. We would do well to remember that, against the piratical ambitions of Germany and Japan alike, the one sure shield of defence is actual combat in the front line of battle, whether on land, at sea or in the air.

Mutual Defence and Mutual Aid

Here is the strongest of reasons why no excuse should remain for anyone to say that because of a restriction upon the exercise by the government of its full powers, Canada's war effort is not all it might be. Should the day come—and it may come soon—when Canada is faced with attack, and we need help from the United States or Britain or any of the United Nations, how would we feel if we thought their governments were restricted in their power to aid Canada? We would do well, I think, not to permit any misunderstanding to arise in other countries as to our readiness to do our full part in the struggle we are all fighting together.

Aggression has followed aggression with such speed in so many parts of the world that no one can now predict what new areas the war may reach next year, next month or next week. Danger threatens us from the east and from the west. It is in the face of this peril that for the defence of our freedom and of our country, the government asks you to give it a free hand.

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W. L. Mackenzie King.

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ADDRESS BROADCAST BY

The Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.

Prime Minister of Canada

Fellow Canadians:

Since I last spoke to you, there has been much discussion of the forthcoming plebiscite over the radio, in the press, and at public meetings. This discussion has gone far to clarify the issue. It has, however, also disclosed how little, in some parts of our country, the gravity of the world situation is appreciated; and how greatly, as a consequence, people are in danger of being misled by some of those who are asking them to vote NO on Monday next. I hope that what I say to-night may resolve any doubts in your minds about the importance of your voting YES. I hope it may also convince you of the necessity of doing all you can to see that the affirmative vote is as large as possible.

When the plebiscite was announced, many did not understand what it was on which they were going to be asked to express an opinion. Many thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was placing on the people the responsibility of deciding the issue of conscription, instead of assuming that responsibility itself, and making its own recommendation to parliament.

It has now been made clear that conscription is not the issue. Let me emphasize that fact. Those who tell you that conscription is the issue are misleading you. The sole purpose of the plebiscite is to obtain for the government, and for parliament, a perfectly free hand in dealing with this, as with all other questions. All you are being asked to say is whether or not you are in favour of the government's hands being perfectly free at this time of war. That is the meaning of the question to which you are being asked to reply YES or NO. If you reply YES, you will not be committing the government to conscription for service overseas; but you will be enabling the government and parliament to discuss and decide that question solely on its merits. Members of the government and members of parliament will no longer be suspected of being influenced in their judgment by political or other considerations arising out of promises or pledges which have been given in the past.

When I spoke to you on April 7, I said that I would not be true to the trust the people of Canada had reposed in me, did I not say that I believed the situation, for all free nations, was far more critical than it had ever been. I added that Canada's position was no exception. I said then, and I wish to repeat to-night, that I have never been an alarmist. Throughout my public life, where I believed the situation required it, I have always tried to measure my words, to speak with moderation, and only after careful reflection. I never spoke with a fuller consciousness of the meaning and weight of my words than I did when I told you how very critical is the situation which faces the free nations to-day.

Nothing has surprised me more than that this statement has been called into question by some of those who are urging you to vote NO on Monday next. They accuse me of exaggerating the danger. They say that I do not really believe the enemy has any designs on Canada. They say, for example, that Mr. King knows that it is scarcely possible that the British Empire and the United States, allied with Russia and with so many other countries, could find themselves in a desperate situation.

Now that is precisely what I did say, and it is precisely what I meant to say, because I believe it to be true. I do not believe that the United Nations are going to be defeated, if each and all of them put forth their utmost effort. But I do believe it is possible for them to be defeated, unless they put forth their utmost effort. I believe it is my duty to tell you this quite frankly. There is nothing to be gained by pretending that the danger to us all is not great. Nothing could be more harmful than to encourage the people to

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The persons who have thus been questioning my statement have not stopped there. They have gone on to say that, even if I were right as to the danger, the enemy would not attack Canada, even if he were victorious. Why, with Russia defeated, with England at their mercy, with the whole European continent at their feet, with the immense resources of the Middle East available, with the United States exposed to their attacks, why, they ask, should the Nazis attack Canada? Looking across the Pacific, they ask, why with the whole of India, Malaya and the East Indies to possess, with the almost empty continent of Australia to occupy, why should the Japanese attempt to come and instal themselves in California, in Oregon or in British Columbia? They say that Mr. King has too good judgment to believe in these dangers; that they are, in fact, unbelievable. They say that other countries are as large and much richer, or more accessible and empty, or more desirable and easier to defend than Canada. They conclude that I am knowingly exaggerating the danger to our country.

I do not believe I am exaggerating. If I did not believe it to be true, what possible motive could I have for saying that a world encircling danger may yet jeopardize the very existence of our country.

The fact that any persons could think that Canada is not liable to attack shows how little they realize how greatly conditions have changed as a result of the war. So thought most of the peoples of Europe about their countries at the beginning of the war; so, until a few months ago, thought the people of the United States; so, until a few weeks ago, thought the peoples of Australia, New Zealand and India. None of them seemed to perceive the enemy's plan of world conquest.

When those who tell you to vote NO say that no sensible man would wish to believe such stories or yield to such terrors, they are clearly attempting to suggest that no serious danger exists. They thereby foster a false sense of security. When they say, as they have said, that one may question whether Canada could withstand invasion, if Russia, the United States and England cannot remove this danger, they are, in effect, saying that Canada should let other nations win the war for Canada. Let me ask what the fate of Canada would be if the peoples of Russia, of England and of the United States adopted the attitude which those who thus advise you to vote NO suggest that Canada should adopt? If each of the United Nations had taken the attitude that the other nations could, without help, defeat Germany and Japan, the cause of freedom would already be lost, and Canada itself might by this time have been invaded.

When those who, in such words, tell you to vote NO, they are telling you to trust other nations to keep the enemy from our shores. They are telling you to trust the enemy to attack some other country instead of attacking Canada. At the same time, they are telling you not to trust the government of your own country to do what is necessary to defend your homes and your families.

Of published statements to which my attention has been drawn the most incredible is one which reads: "by voting NO you will protect yourselves, by voting YES you will be at the mercy of your own government." I would say that by voting "NO," you may be helping to place yourself and your country at the mercy of the enemy; whereas by voting YES you will, I believe, be helping to protect yourself and your country from the enemy. At a time of war is it reasonable to trust the intentions of the enemy, rather than those of the freely elected government of your own country?

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My colleagues and I have been elected to carry on the government at this time of war. If you cannot trust us to do what is right in the interest of the people, whom are you going to trust? If you cannot trust the members whom you have elected to represent you in parliament to see that no step is taken which is not in your interest, and in the interest of our country, whom are you going to trust? This is not an ordinary time; it is a time of war. The whole world is in a state of rapid change. At any time the responsibilities of government are heavy enough. They are greater to-day than they have ever been. For my part, if I did not believe that as head of the government, I continued to enjoy the confidence of the people, who, time and again, have returned me to office, I would not wish to remain in office an hour longer.

Surely, you are not going to be influenced in your vote on Monday by parades of young boys carrying banners and shouting "Down with Conscription," when conscription is not the issue. Nor do I imagine that you will be influenced by the radio from Paris, suggesting that you vote NO, when you are well aware that its voice is the voice of Hitler. When so much is at stake in the lives and homes of everyone, surely you will wish to be guided by the best informed and wisest counsel it is possible for you to receive.

Do you think that every member of the present government would be asking you to vote YES on Monday, if we did not all honestly believe that it was in the interest of yourselves, your families and our country for you to do so? I want you to know that that is what I very firmly believe. Let no one tell you that I am half-hearted in this matter.

Let me give you some of the reasons why in my last broadcast, I said, that to those who are able to look beyond the events of to-day into the future, it is no longer merely the unity, but the very existence of our country which they see to be in danger.

Germany, Italy and Japan were not *forced* into war. They were not even *drawn* into war. *They were themselves* aggressors. They made war of their own choosing, at their own time.

Germany, Italy and Japan assumed the role of aggressor with full knowledge of the military and industrial power of the free nations, and of the extent of the populations, territories and resources of the British Empire, the United States, Russia, China and the empires of France and the Netherlands. When Hitler and his fellow gangsters attacked the free nations they knew they were attacking nations immensely superior to themselves in resources and population. Their action was proof that they believed, that, in the end, they would be able to conquer all the continents; and that, later on, they would divide the spoils of a conquered world among themselves.

Far from regarding resources, populations, and vast territories as sources of strength to the free nations, these were the very things that lured the gangster nations into war. These were the very means by which, in their warfare, the aggressors hoped to be sustained. These were the prizes of war for which they were prepared to make any sacrifice.

Up to the present, the enemy no doubt feels that his policy has been justified by success. Germany has conquered country after country in Europe, and has made their enslaved populations feed her own. She has compelled their great industries to contribute to her own powerful military machine. The populations and resources of a dozen countries, which less than three years ago were free, are to-day forced to aid further Nazi aggression. The territories of the conquered countries have been turned from barriers against attack, into effective bases for further conquest.

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The same is true of the swift and extensive gains of Japan in the Orient. In one-third of a year, Japan has acquired the physical structure of a vast overseas empire. The French Empire in Asia has become a vassal state of Germany or a dependency of Japan. The United States has lost a number of its strategic island possessions. The British Empire has been in part dismembered; and in both the Pacific and the Indian oceans its very existence is threatened as never before. The Dutch Empire in the Far East has been destroyed.

In the Orient, as in Europe, what the free nations have lost in territory, in vital war supplies, in military and naval bases and strategic strongholds, the enemy has gained. The rubber, the tin, the oil which were formerly at the disposal of the free nations now go to strengthen the war effort of Japan. The security afforded until recently to the British, the Americans, the Dutch and the other democratic nations by the possession of Hong Kong, Singapore, the Philippines and Java, these bases now afford to the Japanese. They serve also as Japanese outposts for further aggression and conquest.

The full significance of these facts, I am convinced, has never been appreciated.

There has been far too great a tendency to measure the strength of the United Nations, not in terms of what it actually is, but in terms of what it is hoped it will become. There has been too great a disposition to speak of that strength, in terms of the relative sizes of populations, and extent of resources. We should think and speak only in terms of effective fighting forces and ships, tanks, planes, guns, and other equipment and munitions of war, actually available. The whole course of the war has shown that all else may prove to be a delusion and a snare.

We must also guard against another delusion, perhaps the most fatal of all forms of deception in war-time. I refer to the comfortable doctrine that time is on our side. Time will prove to be on our side only if the enemy can be held at bay and prevented from acquiring new sources of strength.

It is now altogether certain that Germany and Japan plan to unite their land forces in the course of this present year. They plan also by gaining supremacy at sea to isolate this hemisphere. Once isolated, North and South America would sooner or later be attacked both from the East and from the West. The first of these attacks might well be directed against our own country. Surely the Axis pattern of world conquest is now wholly clear. We must never forget that its aim is ultimate mastery of the entire world.

Even in the two and a half weeks since I last spoke to you, there have been still graver threats to the security of the nations with whose efforts our own are united. The sweep of aggression has been carried still further in the Pacific. British naval losses in the Indian ocean have been severe. In Burma, despite the determined efforts of British and Chinese troops, the Japanese continue to advance. The Japanese threat to India has become daily more serious. After resistance that was heroically prolonged, the gallant defenders of Bataan in the Philippines have had to retire. Signs are not lacking of the growing domination of the whole of France by Nazi Germany. In Europe and in the Middle East, the great lines of battle are definitely emerging. These ominous signs all emphasize the growing danger.

When we stop to consider the extent to which the Axis' plan of world conquest has already been achieved, it becomes perfectly clear that we cannot wait for time to win the victory for us. Unless every possible means is taken to hold the enemy while the free countries gather their strength, time will be on his side, not on ours. The fact that other nations have been struck, and Canada has so far been spared, should blind no one to the danger to our national existence. Too many nations that believed themselves safe, are to-day enslaved.

You are being told that if the danger is as great as it is said to be our men should be kept at home; that if you vote YES they will all be sent overseas to fight for some other country, and that Canada's own coasts will be left unprotected. This is the argument being used by those who tell you that Canada is not fighting for its own interests, but to protect the Imperial interests of Britain, or the interests of Communist Russia, or the interests of the United States, or the interests of some other country than our own.

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The Canadian army is in Britain for exactly the same reason as the troops of the United States are now also in the British Isles, and for exactly the same reason as the troops of the United States are in Australia. They are there to keep the enemy away from this continent and to help defeat the enemy before he becomes strong enough to defeat us. These matters, however, have nothing to do with the question at issue in the plebiscite. The government itself is well aware of the need of increased home defences. In fact, additional provision to this end has already been made. This, like all other questions of defence, will be fully weighed by the government in the light of all existing conditions and available knowledge. They are proper subjects of debate in parliament. They will not be decided by the plebiscite.

In the light of the dangers I have described; in the light of the threat to our own country, may I ask those who have been thinking of voting NO, if they have fully considered how great a responsibility they are thereby taking upon themselves.

By voting NO, as I see it, you will be saying that you understand the needs of our country, in this terrible crisis, better than they are understood by the government. You will be saying that you know better than the government how Canada should be defended. You will be saying that you refuse to trust the government of your own country, and the parliament you yourselves elected, to make the right decisions for the protection of your homes and families.

The plebiscite affords a great opportunity for a demonstration of national unity. In appealing to you to vote YES, I am appealing to my fellow Canadians of all races, and all creeds, in all parts of Canada to trust one another. I am appealing to you all to demonstrate to your fellow Canadians and to the rest of the world that the unity of Canada is unbreakable. I am asking you to show that you are capable of making any sacrifice which is necessary to preserve our united national existence. Without unity, Canada cannot make her full contribution to the winning of the war, to the preservation of her own freedom, and to the restoration of freedom in the world. A free Canada can only survive in a free world.

I have sought to bring before your minds, the broad outline of the world situation as I see it in this titanic conflict between world freedom and world slavery. President Roosevelt has termed it the war of survival. And such in reality, I believe it to be. I ask you, my fellow citizens, faced with such a situation, is it in the interests of our country, whose future is irrevocably bound up with the future of the United Nations, that its government, in any particular, should be restricted in the exercise of its powers? I believe it is not.

The government and parliament should be wholly free to exercise their best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada, and for Canada's effort in the present war.

Let me just say this, that if disaster should ever overtake us it will certainly be said for generations to come that had the government's powers not been restricted the disaster would never have occurred. Such is the responsibility that may come to rest upon those who, in the existing crisis are unwilling to remove restrictions and give to the government a free hand in its war policies.

To-day, the enemy is so strong that he can only be held at bay and finally defeated by the common action of all the United Nations. For her own security, Canada should make it perfectly clear to the other United Nations, and, above all, to the United States, that Canada is as ready to help them as we know they will be ready to help us. An overwhelming affirmative vote on Monday next will serve to make that perfectly clear.

To-day, despite the magnificence of Canada's war effort, the impression is being fostered among other nations that because of a restriction on the powers of the government, Canada's effort is not an all-out effort. This impression is quite unfounded. Nevertheless, it is working a grave injustice to our country as a whole, and to every man and woman who is making any contribution towards the winning of the war. I want that injustice to end. And so I ask you, my fellow-countrymen—everyone of you—to help give to our country complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes, and in the eyes of the world. You can do this by voting YES on Monday next.

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NATIONAL UNITY AND NATIONAL SURVIVAL

Responsibility to our own and future generations

A SECOND APPEAL TO THE CANADIAN ELECTORATE
FOR AN AFFIRMATIVE VOTE ON APRIL 27th

An Address broadcast by

The Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

OVER THE CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION NETWORK

APRIL 24th, 1942

Issued by the Director of Public Information under authority of
Hon. J. T. Thorson, Minister of National War Services

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1942

NATIONAL UNITY AND NATIONAL SURVIVAL

Responsibility to our own and future generations

A Second Appeal to the Canadian Electorate for an Affirmative Vote on April 27th, 1942

AN ADDRESS BROADCAST BY

The Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

APRIL 24th, 1942

Fellow Canadians:

Since I last spoke to you, there has been much discussion of the forthcoming plebiscite over the radio, in the press, and at public meetings. This discussion has gone far to clarify the issue. It has, however, also disclosed how little, in some parts of our country, the gravity of the world situation is appreciated; and how greatly, as a consequence, people are in danger of being misled by some of those who are asking them to vote NO on Monday next. I hope that what I say to-night may resolve any doubts in your minds about the importance of your voting YES. I hope it may also convince you of the necessity of doing all you can to see that the affirmative vote is as large as possible.

Freedom, not Conscription, the Issue

When the plebiscite was announced, many did not understand what it was on which they were going to be asked to express an opinion. Many thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was

placing on the people the responsibility of deciding the issue of conscription, instead of assuming that responsibility itself, and making its own recommendation to parliament.

It has now been made clear that conscription is not the issue. Let me emphasize that fact. Those who tell you that conscription is the issue are misleading you. The sole purpose of the plebiscite is to obtain for the government, and for parliament, a perfectly free hand in dealing with this, as with all other questions. All you are being asked to say is whether or not you are in favour of the government's hands being perfectly free at this time of war. That is the meaning of the question to which you are being asked to reply YES or NO. If you reply YES, you will not be committing the government to conscription for service overseas; but you will be enabling the government and parliament to discuss and decide that question solely on its merits. Members of the government and members of parliament will no longer be suspected of being influenced in their judgment by political or other considerations arising out of promises or pledges which have been given in the past.

World Situation Exceedingly Critical

When I spoke to you on April 7, I said that I would not be true to the trust the people of Canada had reposed in me, did I not say that I believed the situation, for all free nations, was far more critical than it had ever been. I added that Canada's position was no exception. I said then, and I wish to repeat to-night, that I have never been an alarmist. Throughout my public life, where I believed the situation required it, I have always tried to measure my words, to speak with moderation, and only after careful reflection. I never spoke with a fuller consciousness of the meaning and weight of my words than I did when I told you how very critical is the situation which faces the free nations to-day.

Nothing has surprised me more than that this statement has been called into question by some of those who are urging you to vote NO on Monday next. They accuse me of exaggerating the danger. They say that I do not really believe the enemy has any designs on Canada. They say, for example, that Mr. King knows that it is scarcely possible that the British Empire and the United States, allied with Russia and with so many other countries, could find themselves in a desperate situation.

Now that is precisely what I did say, and it is precisely what I meant to say, because I believe it to be true. I do not believe that the United Nations are going to be defeated, if each and all of them put forth their utmost effort. But I do believe it is possible for them to be defeated, unless they put forth their utmost effort. I believe it is my duty to tell you this quite frankly. There is nothing

to be gained by pretending that the danger to us all is not great. Nothing could be more harmful than to encourage the people to believe that it is impossible for the enemy to win. Those who tell you such things refuse to face the truth.

Canada Liable to Attack

The persons who have thus been questioning my statement have not stopped there. They have gone on to say that, even if I were right as to the danger, the enemy would not attack Canada, even if he were victorious. Why, with Russia defeated, with England at their mercy, with the whole European continent at their feet, with the immense resources of the Middle East available, with the United States exposed to their attacks, why, they ask, should the Nazis attack Canada? Looking across the Pacific, they ask, why with the whole of India, Malaya and the East Indies to possess, with the almost empty continent of Australia to occupy, why should the Japanese attempt to come and instal themselves in California, in Oregon or in British Columbia? They say that Mr. King has too good judgment to believe in these dangers; that they are, in fact, unbelievable. They say that other countries are as large and much richer, or more accessible and empty, or more desirable and easier to defend than Canada. They conclude that I am knowingly exaggerating the danger to our country.

I do not believe I am exaggerating. If I did not believe it to be true, what possible motive could I have for saying that a world encircling danger may yet jeopardize the very existence of our country.

The fact that any persons could think that Canada is not liable to attack shows how little they realize how greatly conditions have changed as a result of the war. So thought most of the peoples of Europe about their countries at the beginning of the war; so, until a few months ago, thought the people of the United States; so, until a few weeks ago, thought the peoples of Australia, New Zealand and India. None of them seemed to perceive the enemy's plan of world conquest.

The Enemy Not to be Trusted

When those who tell you to vote NO say that no sensible man would wish to believe such stories or yield to such terrors, they are clearly attempting to suggest that no serious danger exists. They thereby foster a false sense of security. When they say, as they have said, that one may question whether Canada could withstand invasion, if Russia, the United States and England cannot remove this danger, they are, in effect, saying that Canada should let other nations win the war for Canada. Let me ask what the fate of

Canada would be if the peoples of Russia, of England and of the United States adopted the attitude which those who thus advise you to vote NO suggest that Canada should adopt? If each of the United Nations had taken the attitude that the other nations could, without help, defeat Germany and Japan, the cause of freedom would already be lost, and Canada itself might by this time have been invaded.

When those who, in such words, tell you to vote NO, they are telling you to trust other nations to keep the enemy from our shores. They are telling you to trust the enemy to attack some other country instead of attacking Canada. At the same time, they are telling you not to trust the government of your own country to do what is necessary to defend your homes and your families.

Of published statements to which my attention has been drawn the most incredible is one which reads: "by voting NO you will protect yourselves, by voting YES you will be at the mercy of your own government." I would say that by voting "NO," you may be helping to place yourself and your country at the mercy of the enemy; whereas by voting YES you will, I believe, be helping to protect yourself and your country from the enemy. At a time of war is it reasonable to trust the intentions of the enemy, rather than those of the freely elected government of your own country?

Importance of Trusting the Government

My colleagues and I have been elected to carry on the government at this time of war. If you cannot trust us to do what is right in the interest of the people, whom are you going to trust? If you cannot trust the members whom you have elected to represent you in parliament to see that no step is taken which is not in your interest, and in the interest of our country, whom are you going to trust? This is not an ordinary time; it is a time of war. The whole world is in a state of rapid change. At any time the responsibilities of government are heavy enough. They are greater to-day than they have ever been. For my part, if I did not believe that as head of the government, I continued to enjoy the confidence of the people, who, time and again, have returned me to office, I would not wish to remain in office an hour longer.

Surely, you are not going to be influenced in your vote on Monday by parades of young boys carrying banners and shouting "Down with Conscription," when conscription is not the issue. Nor do I imagine that you will be influenced by the radio from Paris, suggesting that you vote NO, when you are well aware that its voice is the voice of Hitler. When so much is at stake in the lives and homes of everyone, surely you will wish to be guided by the best informed and wisest counsel it is possible for you to receive.

Do you think that every member of the present government would be asking you to vote YES on Monday, if we did not all honestly believe that it was in the interest of yourselves, your families and our country for you to do so? I want you to know that that is what I very firmly believe. Let no one tell you that I am half-hearted in this matter.

Enemy Expects to Conquer All Continents

Let me give you some of the reasons why in my last broadcast, I said, that to those who are able to look beyond the events of to-day into the future, it is no longer merely the unity, but the very existence of our country which they see to be in danger.

Germany, Italy and Japan were not *forced* into war. They were not even *drawn* into war. *They were themselves* aggressors. They made war of their own choosing, at their own time.

Germany, Italy and Japan assumed the role of aggressor with full knowledge of the military and industrial power of the free nations, and of the extent of the populations, territories and resources of the British Empire, the United States, Russia, China and the empires of France and the Netherlands. When Hitler and his fellow gangsters attacked the free nations they knew they were attacking nations immensely superior to themselves in resources and population. Their action was proof that they believed, that, in the end, they would be able to conquer all the continents; and that, later on, they would divide the spoils of a conquered world among themselves.

Far from regarding resources, populations, and vast territories as sources of strength to the free nations, these were the very things that lured the gangster nations into war. These were the very means by which, in their warfare, the aggressors hoped to be sustained. These were the prizes of war for which they were prepared to make any sacrifice.

Up to the present, the enemy no doubt feels that his policy has been justified by success. Germany has conquered country after country in Europe, and has made their enslaved populations feed her own. She has compelled their great industries to contribute to her own powerful military machine. The populations and resources of a dozen countries, which less than three years ago were free, are to-day forced to aid further Nazi aggression. The territories of the conquered countries have been turned from barriers against attack, into effective bases for further conquest.

Enemy Gains in Asia and in Europe

The same is true of the swift and extensive gains of Japan in the Orient. In one-third of a year, Japan has acquired the physical structure of a vast overseas empire. The French Empire in Asia has become a vassal state of Germany or a dependency of Japan.

The United States has lost a number of its strategic island possessions. The British Empire has been in part dismembered; and in both the Pacific and the Indian oceans its very existence is threatened as never before. The Dutch Empire in the Far East has been destroyed.

In the Orient, as in Europe, what the free nations have lost in territory, in vital war supplies, in military and naval bases and strategic strongholds, the enemy has gained. The rubber, the tin, the oil which were formerly at the disposal of the free nations now go to strengthen the war effort of Japan. The security afforded until recently to the British, the Americans, the Dutch and the other democratic nations by the possession of Hong Kong, Singapore, the Philippines and Java, these bases now afford to the Japanese. They serve also as Japanese outposts for further aggression and conquest.

The full significance of these facts, I am convinced, has never been appreciated.

The Factors that Count in War

There has been far too great a tendency to measure the strength of the United Nations, not in terms of what it actually is, but in terms of what it is hoped it will become. There has been too great a disposition to speak of that strength, in terms of the relative sizes of populations, and extent of resources. We should think and speak only in terms of effective fighting forces and ships, tanks, planes, guns, and other equipment and munitions of war, actually available. The whole course of the war has shown that all else may prove to be a delusion and a snare.

We must also guard against another delusion, perhaps the most fatal of all forms of deception in war-time. I refer to the comfortable doctrine that time is on our side. Time will prove to be on our side only if the enemy can be held at bay and prevented from acquiring new sources of strength.

It is now altogether certain that Germany and Japan plan to unite their land forces in the course of this present year. They plan also by gaining supremacy at sea to isolate this hemisphere. Once isolated, North and South America would sooner or later be attacked both from the East and from the West. The first of these attacks might well be directed against our own country. Surely the Axis pattern of world conquest is now wholly clear. We must never forget that its aim is ultimate mastery of the entire world.

The Sweep of Aggression Continues

Even in the two and a half weeks since I last spoke to you, there have been still graver threats to the security of the nations with whose efforts our own are united. The sweep of aggression has been

carried still further in the Pacific. British naval losses in the Indian ocean have been severe. In Burma, despite the determined efforts of British and Chinese troops, the Japanese continue to advance. The Japanese threat to India has become daily more serious. After resistance that was heroically prolonged, the gallant defenders of Bataan in the Philippines have had to retire. Signs are not lacking of the growing domination of the whole of France by Nazi Germany. In Europe and in the Middle East, the great lines of battle are definitely emerging. These ominous signs all emphasize the growing danger.

When we stop to consider the extent to which the Axis' plan of world conquest has already been achieved, it becomes perfectly clear that we cannot wait for time to win the victory for us. Unless every possible means is taken to hold the enemy while the free countries gather their strength, time will be on his side, not on ours. The fact that other nations have been struck, and Canada has so far been spared, should blind no one to the danger to our national existence. Too many nations that believed themselves safe, are to-day enslaved.

Regard for all Aspects and Dangers

You are being told that if the danger is as great as it is said to be our men should be kept at home; that if you vote YES they will all be sent overseas to fight for some other country, and that Canada's own coasts will be left unprotected. This is the argument being used by those who tell you that Canada is not fighting for its own interests, but to protect the imperial interests of Britain, or the interests of Communist Russia, or the interests of the United States, or the interests of some other country than our own.

The Canadian army is in Britain for exactly the same reason as the troops of the United States are now also in the British Isles, and for exactly the same reason as the troops of the United States are in Australia. They are there to help preserve freedom in this world, to keep the enemy away from this continent, and to help defeat the enemy before he becomes strong enough to defeat us. These matters, however, have nothing to do with the question at issue in the plebiscite. The government itself is well aware of the need of increased home defences. In fact, additional provision to this end has already been made. This, like all other questions of defence, will be fully weighed by the government in the light of all existing conditions and available knowledge. They are proper subjects of debate in parliament. They will not be decided by the plebiscite.

Grave Responsibility Attaching to Vote

In the light of the dangers I have described; in the light of the threat to our own country, may I ask those who have been thinking of voting NO, if they have fully considered how great a responsibility they are thereby taking upon themselves.

By voting NO, as I see it, you will be saying that you understand the needs of our country, in this terrible crisis, better than they are understood by the government. You will be saying that you know better than the government how Canada should be defended. You will be saying that you refuse to trust the government of your own country and the parliament you yourselves elected, to make the right decisions for the protection of your homes and families.

National Unity and National Survival

The plebiscite affords a great opportunity for a demonstration of national unity. In appealing to you to vote YES, I am appealing to my fellow Canadians of all races, and all creeds, in all parts of Canada to trust one another. I am appealing to you all to demonstrate to your fellow Canadians and to the rest of the world that the unity of Canada is unbreakable. I am asking you to show that you are capable of making any sacrifice which is necessary to preserve our united national existence. Without unity, Canada cannot make her full contribution to the winning of the war, to the preservation of her own freedom, and to the restoration of freedom in the world. A free Canada can only survive in a free world.

I have sought to bring before your minds, the broad outline of the world situation as I see it in this titanic conflict between world freedom and world slavery. President Roosevelt has termed it the war of survival. And such in reality, I believe it to be. I ask you, my fellow citizens, faced with such a situation, is it in the interests of our country, whose future is irrevocably bound up with the future of the United Nations, that its government, in any particular, should be restricted in the exercise of its powers? I believe it is not.

The government and parliament should be wholly free to exercise their best judgment in dealing with every situation in the light of what is best for Canada, and for Canada's effort in the present war.

Our Own and Future Generations

Let me just say this, that if disaster should ever overtake us, it will certainly be said for generations to come that had the government's powers not been restricted the disaster would never have occurred. Such is the responsibility that may come to rest upon those who, in the existing crisis, are unwilling to remove restrictions and give to the government a free hand in its war policies.

To-day, the enemy is so strong that he can only be held at bay and finally defeated by the common action of all the United Nations. For her own security, Canada should make it perfectly clear to the other United Nations, and, above all, to the United States, that Canada is as ready to help them as we know they will be ready to help us. An overwhelming affirmative vote on Monday next will serve to make that perfectly clear.

The Eyes of the World on Canada

To-day, despite the magnificence of Canada's war effort, the impression is being fostered among other nations that because of a restriction on the powers of the government, Canada's effort is not an all-out effort. This impression is quite unfounded. Nevertheless, it is working a grave injustice to our country as a whole, and to every man and woman who is making any contribution towards the winning of the war. I want that injustice to end. And so I ask you, my fellow-countrymen—everyone of you—to help give to our country complete freedom and strength for an utmost effort both in its own eyes, and in the eyes of the world. You can do this by voting YES on Monday next.

If disaster should ever overtake us, it will certainly be said for generations to come that had the government's powers not been restricted the disaster would never have occurred. Such is the responsibility that may come to rest upon those who, in the existing crisis, are unwilling to remove restrictions and give to the government a free hand in its war policies.

W. L. Mackenzie King.

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NATIONAL UNITY AND NATIONAL SURVIVAL

Responsibility to our own and future generations

A SECOND APPEAL TO THE CANADIAN ELECTORATE
FOR AN AFFIRMATIVE VOTE ON APRIL 27th

An Address broadcast by

The Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

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APRIL 24th, 1942

Fellow Canadians:

Since I last spoke to you, there has been much discussion of the forthcoming plebiscite over the radio, in the press, and at public meetings. This discussion has gone far to clarify the issue. It has, however, also disclosed how little, in some parts of our country, the gravity of the world situation is appreciated; and how greatly, as a consequence, people are in danger of being misled by some of those who are asking them to vote NO on Monday next. I hope that what I say to-night may resolve any doubts in your minds about the importance of your voting YES. I hope it may also convince you of the necessity of doing all you can to see that the affirmative vote is as large as possible.

Freedom, not Conscription, the Issue

When the plebiscite was announced, many did not understand what it was on which they were going to be asked to express an opinion. Many thought that conscription was the question to be decided. In other words, they believed that the government was

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W. L. Mackenzie King.

Missing Page Numbers

The following pages were not microfilmed because they are duplicates.

They are numbers D603368 & D60337

Numéros des pages manquantes

Les pages suivantes n'ont pas été microfilmées parce qu'elles sont des doubles.

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94		Air Training Conferences, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	19 May 1942	D 60338 - D 60369	
94		Benes, Dr. Eduard. Speeches outside Parliament	4 June 1943	D 60370 - D 60373	
94		Morin-Robillard Honour, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1942	D 60374 - D 60386	
94		U.N. Day, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	4 July 1942	D 60387 - D 60409	
94		Queen Wilhelmina, Government Dinner for. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Aug. 1942	D 60410 - D 60430	
95		Aid to Russia Campaign, Material. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Jan. 1942	D 60431 - D 60444	
95		Notes for Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1943	D 60445 - D 60458	

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Air Training Conference
Government Dinner - Country Club
May 20, 1942.

Pleasure of meeting personally.

It is a pleasure to my colleagues and myself, as I know it is also to His Excellency, to have the opportunity of meeting personally with the delegates to the Air Training Conference, their advisers, and others who are present this evening.

I should like to say at once that this evening's gathering is for the purpose of enabling us all to become better acquainted, affording to members of the conference a little change and relaxation in the midst of their onerous and exacting duties, and to afford as much as possible in the way of complete freedom. By this I mean that no one is to be burdened either with having to make a speech or listening to a speech.

Renewal of welcome to delegates.

I should like, however, to renew in a more immediate and personal way, the welcome to Canada and to Ottawa which was extended in a more or less formal way yesterday and, in particular, to those who have come from other countries, and to all who have come totthe conference itself.

We know that your time is taken up with the work of the conference, but we hope that odd momemts such as the present will afford you opportunity, in the course of your stay, to renew old associations and to make new acquaintances and friendships, and at the same time to get a few glimpses of our own capital city, which at this deason of the year is particularly attractive.

I might say to Capt. Balfour and Mr. Lovett that while we have sought to base our political institutions upon those of the United Kingdom, and our parliamentary practice and procedure upon those of Westminster, it was long ago decided in the planning and developing of the Capital that we should seek to make Ottawa "the Washington of the north". In this way we think we have succeeded in having the best of two worlds.

Appréciation of their addresses.

At yesterday's meeting, I thanked the delegates from the several countries for the addresses which they made at the opening meeting of the conference. I should like, tonight, to extend to one and all very warm congratulations upon the excellence of those addresses. Read together they constitute a chapter

of history, which in relation to facts and achievements surpass anything which has hitherto been imagined in the realm of world romance.

Achievements prophetic of ultimate victory.

I doubt if it would be possible to conveive of anything more prophetic of ultimate victory than the picture of the emergence of the new power which has done more to help to eliminate time and space as obstacles to united effort, and to bring about a unified effort on the part of all the forces that are combatting aggression and seeking the preservation, restoration, and expansion of freedom.

The story of the rise and fall of nations and of empires has in the past been told mainly in terms of land and seapower. Neither have lost their place today, but a third power - the power of the air - has arisen to supplement and to unite the strength of the other two and to increase their effectiveness manyfold.

The present Air Training Conference has enabled us to envisage the rise and the growth of that power as little else possibly could. It has given us a picture

of the emergence of the air forces of the nations, and their heroic defence of the respective countries to which they belong, of the significance and growth of their combined effort and its extension until, literally, it has come to encompass the globe.

Three epochs in surveying man's supremacy over the world.

Surveying the story of man's supremacy over the world which has had its immediate association with the onward march and conquest of civilization, there would appear to be three great eras. The first has its immediate association with a people's supremacy on land; the second its immediate association with a people's supremacy at sea; the third - on which we have now entered - the people's supremacy in the air. The Conference affords us a vision of how this latter supremacy is to be achieved by the United Nations.

Relation of Conference to United Nations.

Another thought is suggested by the presence of the nations represented here. It is related to the new world order that would be brought into existence as the outcome of the present war.

As nation after nation was overrun in Europe, their leaders sought the continuance of their political and national existence by the transfer of their governments to Great Britain. There these several nations, temporarily in exile, formed the nucleus of a group of nations united in their determination to see the freedom of their homelands restored and freedom itself given new birth throughout the world.

At Washington, on the first day of this year, a wider significance was given to this union of exiled and allied nations. Along with the greater and lesser powers, who still possess their freedom and are fighting for its preservation, they became a part of the larger company - that of the United Nations, twenty-six in number, brought together as one in a solemn pact to fight as one until victory for freedom is achieved.

Note:
Many changes made on this page.

Today we have assembled in this Capital of Canada representatives of more than one-half of the nations thus united; assembled not in conference to frame some new constitution for the world, but in the perfecting

of the practical means by which the constitution of that new and larger brotherhood may ultimately be attained. In other words, this Conference is not merely prophetic of victory, it is prophetic of the new order that is to govern the world. This order will be one universal law for the preservation of peace, an order maintained by supremacy of power in the air.

Changes made on this page.

Notes by Prime Minister May 20, 1942

Government Dinner - Air Training Conference

1) Personal pleasure of meeting delegates

no burdening with making or listening to speeches

a chance to see the Capital

Ottawa -- Washington of the North

2) Congratulations on speeches of yesterday

rise of power of the air

3) Historic significance of Conference to Canada

4) Historic significance of Conference in relation to New World Order

a) armed resistance of free nations

b) Allied Conferences in London -- June and September 1941

c) Atlantic Declaration: purposes and principles

d) Declaration of the United Nations at Washington to use resources and fight till victory

e) Ottawa Conference -- half of United Nations perfecting means of enemy conquest through effecting supremacy of the air

D 60344

5) Three eras in effecting man's supremacy over the world:

land
water
air

6) Conference: prophetic of victory and also prophetic of new world order

prophetic of victory in what has been done in two and a half years and expansion certain to follow

prophetic of new world order in that power so strong that would be able to keep all fretful realms in awe

By Prime Minister

File

May 20, 1942

D 60346

Historic significance of Ottawa Conference

1) emergence in armed resistance of free nations against aggression

   a) at top of list, seen in the armed resistance of China against aggressor in the Orient

   b) armed resistance of nations of Europe headed by Poland, followed by that of other nations of Europe represented at this table -- the last of which was Russia

   c) armed resistance of the free nations in the Orient and of the U.S. of A

2) meetings of Allied Governments in London in June and September of 1941

   that is forming the nucleus --

   constituting a formal alliance somewhat nebulous as all things are at their beginning

   concerned with economic problems

3) The Joint Declaration known as the Atlantic Charter -- August 14, 1941 -- setting forth common program of purposes and principles

4) Joint Delcaration at Washington of the United Nations to employ their full resources, military and economic, against the Tri-Partite Pact and to co-operate with other Governments to continue the war against the common enemy

5) The present Conference of Air Training for the practical purpose of perfecting training and co-ordinating effort

JAG.

United National Air Training Conference
Government Dinner for Delegates
May 20, 1942

D 60348

I. Present conference the most representative gathering of the United Nations in Canada since the outbreak of war.

2. Hope that the proceedings of the conference will give substance and a new reality to the phrase "United Nations".

3. Significant that we should here be concerned with a vital development of the wair <u>in the air</u>.

The air arm is specially associated with the national life and spirit of Canada.

A nation of broad spaces bridged by air transport in times of peace;

A nation turning its resources of men and machines into the largest air training scheme in history, at a time of war.

D 60349

War in the Air
emphasizes a third great epoch
in the history of the world.

I. Ascendancy at sea

the age of maritime discovery,
the building of great war-time
empires.

2. Mastery on land

attempted for generations
through the known world;

as western civilization was
carried ever farther afield,
arms of conflict were
broadened too;

motives broadened from economic
power to political domination.

3. Supremacy in the air

A development of this century,
and given most formidable
shape in this present war;

the air weapon more powerful
than army combination of
land forces ever yet
assembled or devised;

the outlook for humanity may
well be determined by control
of air resources.

D 60350

Canada not without experience in the war in the air.

The heroic record of Canada's airman in the Great War a leading star and an inspiration for present war.

Feats of heroism by airmen of many nations in the present war fast becoming a part of the heritage of all the United Nations:

Polish - in the skies over Britain and over Libya;

Dutch - In the Netherlands Indies;

Chinese - in training in U.S.A. to take their place in defending their homeland;

American - throughout the Far East;

The Royal Air Force:
Australian
New Zealand
South Africa
Canadian - in the Battle of Britain,
in the renewed aerial offensive against enemy territory in Europe,
in Africa,
in India,
in the Far East.

This gathering in Ottawa has a serious purpose;

but, amid the concerns of official business, glad there has been this opportunity for a friendly meeting together;

friendship and good fellowship in a common task of importance in carrying out or urgent tasks.

Have already expressed a welcome to all the delegations now assembled in Ottawa - many meeting again as old friends -

would like to renew that welcome in a personal way and

express best wishes to all present.

D 60352

Ottawa Air Training Conference

Tuesday May 19, 1942.

Opening Speech by the Prime Minister

Gentlemen:

On behalf of the Canadian Government, I desire to extend a very hearty welcome to Canada to those who have come from other countries to attend the Ottawa Air Training Conference. To all who are here as members of the Conference itself, I extend the warmest of welcomes. It is a pleasure to recognize in the personnel of the delegations so many who have been foremost in the establishment and development of air training. Their associations have been so constant and intimate during the years of the war that they will need no introduction to one another. Many of you meet here as old friends; very many are familiar figures in this capital.

The Conference is assembling at a time which, in the course of the war, may prove to be the most telling of all. On every continent and on all oceans the opposed forces are in conflict. Over continents and oceans alike, the forces in the air hold their sway, combining their strength with the strength of the armies

and navies of the United Nations to ensure the ultimate triumph of freedom. In the perfecting of co-ordinated effort among the combined forces of the United Nations lies the key to victory. Taking account of the stage hostilities have now reached, as well as of the purpose of its deliberations, the Ottawa Air Training Conference is of first importance to all the nations that, on the first day of the present year, united in a pact to fight together till victory is achieved.

I should like, at the outset, to say a word as to the origin of the Conference. The proposal to hold the Conference grew out of the preliminary consideration which the Canadian Government had been giving to the terms upon which the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan should be extended when the existing agreement expires on March 31, 1943. We felt that it would be an advantage to the common cause to have the widest possible use made of the experience gained in Canada, in co-operative air training, by the nations of the British Commonwealth. It was also felt that the fuller the knowledge on the part of those engaged in air training, both in the United

States and Canada, of existing conditions in our respective countries and of probable future developments the better it would be for our joint efforts. The other British nations participating in the Plan shared the view of the Canadian Government. Accordingly, during my visit to Washington in April, I discussed the proposal with Mr. Roosevelt. As to the advantages of a Conference, the President expressed himself as being in whole-hearted agreement. Mr. Roosevelt made important suggestions as to the scope of the Conference and its agenda. The announcement that, at Canada's invitation, an Air Training Conference would be held at Ottawa was made immediately thereafter from the White House by the President and myself.

It was originally contemplated that the Conference would be confined to those of the United Nations with Air Training Programmes actually under way on the North American continent. It was realized that the North American training problems to be discussed might not be of immediate concern to the other United Nations. It was felt, however, that it would be to the general

advantage to invite to the Conference representatives from all the United Nations who are actively participating in combat in the air. Today, only one month after the Conference was announced, the delegates of fourteen nations are assembled here to begin its deliberations.

It is a matter of regret to the Canadian Government, as I am sure it is to all present, that circumstances have made it impossible for the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics to be represented. The magnificent effort and achievement of the Soviet Air Force in actual combat would have ensured for its representatives the warmest of welcomes.

It will, I am certain, not be regarded as invidious if I extend a word of special welcome to the Chinese delegation. We are proud to be associated with China in the struggle for freedom which that country waged alone for so long, and has continued so heroically. None know better than our Chinese allies how vital to ultimate triumph is supremacy in the air.

It was the same appreciation of the need for superiority in the air that brought about the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. The negotation of an agreement

to establish a joint air training plan was begun in Canada at the very commencement of the war. The agreement establishing the Plan in Canada was reached by the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, in this city, on December 17, 1939. The Plan has now been in operation for over two years. In that time, Canada has become one of the greatest air training centres in the world. The Plan has already far exceeded its original objective. Thousands of pilots and airmen trained in its schools are engaged in combat with the enemy. They are serving in every theatre of war. The Plan has been so designed and developed that its output can be readily and speedily increased.

The aim of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was stated, at the outset, to be the achievement, for the nations of the British Commonwealth, by co-operative effort, of air forces whose co-ordinated strength would be overwhelming. Since the Plan was inaugurated, the scope and, to some extent, the character of the war has changed. To-day the whole world is involved in a universal, indivisible conflict. The success of the United Nations will depend, in large part, upon the

development of unified planning and of organization of all their activities directed towards the common aim of winning the war.

In many fields, the means of achieving common unified action in the prosecution of the war have already been devised. There is a unified organization for the strategic direction of the war, for common planning, for the allocation of finished munitions and of raw materials. This common organization is evidence of a growing realization that there is but one war, in which the fate of all alike is at stake.

It is not unnatural that, in the wider co-ordination of air training, Canada should take the initiative. In this field, we have already met and successfully overcome many of the problems of rapid expansion under pressure of time.

The aim of the Air Training Conference is, however, not merely the discussion of problems. It is proposed to explore all possible avenues of co-operation and co-ordination in the field of air training, with a

D 60358

view to planning the best and speediest use of all existing facilities. It is our hope that the Conference will make a definite contribution to the air strength of the United Nations.

In the joint announcement by President Roosevelt and myself, the broad purpose of the Conference was set forth in these terms:

"Plans for the Conference developed out of the recognition of the desirability of more closely co-ordinating the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan with the greatly extended Air Training Programme undertaken by the United States and others of the United Nations.

"The purpose of the meeting lies along the lines of further united military efforts. The meeting in Ottawa would extend the Air Programmes to take in the training of personnel to operate the military aircraft to the end that the most effective use will be made of all resources of personnel.

"Great progress has already been made in pooling the aeroplane production of the United Nations."

D 60359

The holding at Ottawa of the present Conference is a recognition of the imperative need of co-ordinated air strength as an element, perhaps the vital element, in victory. But it is more than that. It also marks a recognition of the central position which North America has come to occupy geographically and strategically in a world-encircling war in the air. In relation to the great areas of combat, Canada and the United States are coming to have interior lines of communication. This continent is at the very centre of a war which is all around us. In aerial warfare on a global scale, we, of the North American continent have a distinct advantage in that we are able, in the disposition of our forces, in relation either to the Atlantic or Pacific oceans, freely to cross the continent itself.

It is imperative to keep in mind that air training is directed to actual combat in the air. The ultimate purpose all have in view is the attainment of overpowering and decisive air strength. The magnificent contributions already made to that end by the United Kingdom and the United States are the pride of all who love valour and who cherish freedom.

Canada's contribution is not to be measured by the extent of our population. In numbers we are a small nation. Planning and experience during two years of war have combined with geography to make Canada, in terms of the development of air strength, a world power. These advantages of planning, experience and geography, the Canadian people are proud to have an opportunity to share.

It is in this spirit that I invite the delegations from our sister nations of the British Commonwealth, from our great neighbour the United States, from Belgium, from China, from Czechoslovakia, from Greece, from the Netherlands, from Norway, from Poland and from Yugoslavia, to share in the deliberations of this Conference dedicated to the common cause of world freedom.

D 60361

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Tuesday May 19, 1942.

Opening Speech by the Prime Minister

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The Conference is assembling at a time which, in the course of the war, may prove to be the most telling of all. On every continent and on all oceans the opposed forces are in conflict. Over continents and oceans alike, the forces in the air hold their sway, combining their strength with the strength of the armies

and navies of the United Nations to ensure the ultimate triumph of freedom. In the perfecting of co-ordinated effort among the combined forces of the United Nations lies the key to victory. Taking account of the stage hostilities have now reached, as well as of the purpose of its deliberations, the Ottawa Air Training Conference is of first importance to all the nations that, on the first day of the present year, united in a pact to fight together till victory is achieved.

I should like, at the outset, to say a word as to the origin of the Conference. The proposal to hold the Conference grew out of the preliminary consideration which the Canadian Government had been giving to the terms upon which the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan should be extended when the existing agreement expires on March 31, 1943. We felt that it would be an advantage to the common cause to have the widest possible use made of the experience gained in Canada, in co-operative air training, by the nations of the British Commonwealth. It was also felt that the fuller the knowledge on the part of those engaged in air training, both in the United

D 60363

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D 60364

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D 60365

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development of unified planning and of organization of all their activities directed towards the common aim of winning the war.

In many fields, the means of achieving common unified action in the prosecution of the war have already been devised. There is a unified organization for the strategic direction of the war, for common planning, for the allocation of finished munitions and of raw materials. This common organization is evidence of a growing realization that there is but one war, in which the fate of all alike is at stake.

It is not unnatural that, in the wider co-ordination of air training, Canada should take the initiative. In this field, we have already met and successfully overcome many of the problems of rapid expansion under pressure of time.

The aim of the Air Training Conference is, however, not merely the discussion of problems. It is proposed to explore all possible avenues of co-operation and co-ordination in the field of air training, with a

D 60367

view to planning the best and speediest use of all existing facilities. It is our hope that the Conference will make a definite contribution to the air strength of the United Nations.

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
94		Plebiscite, National Unity and National Survival, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	24 Apr. 1942	D 60327 - D 60337	
94		Air Training Conferences, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	19 May 1942	D 60338 - D 60369	
94		Benes, Dr. Eduard. Speeches outside Parliament	4 June 1943	D 60370 - D 60373	
94		Morin-Robillard Honour, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1942	D 60374 - D 60386	
94		U.N. Day, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	4 July 1942	D 60387 - D 60409	
94		Queen Wilhelmina, Government Dinner for. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Aug. 1942	D 60410 - D 60430	
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95		Notes for Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1943	D 60445 - D 60458	

File

Dinner - Country Club

In Honour of Dr. Eduard Benes
President of Czechoslovakia

June 4, 1943

D 60370

Thanks for visit to Ottawa,

for address to Members of both Houses,

" opportunities of conversation:

colleagues and self,
members of External Affairs Department.

Dr. Benes' career during last 30 years:

began academic life;

became active in politics beginning of last war;

active on behalf of Allies in the war

first with Russia against Germany and later with France " " .

Co-founder of the Republic of Czechoslovakia.

Foreign Minister at 34.

Time spent in interval seeking to erect a temple of peace.

, Premier of Czechoslovakia 1921-1922.

President of the Republic 1935-1938.

Veryaactively identified with the
League of Nations.

Personal acquaintance formed at that time.

Many friends in Canada - Dandurand.

Member of the Council of the League:

1923 - 1927
1933 - 1938

Signed Briand-Kellogg Pact 1928.

President of the League Assembly 1935.

(I was Vice--President of the League
in 1928 and 1936.
Member of the Council in 1928).

Dr. Benes' position.

Had a clear vision of the war.

Re meeting at Munich

Saw one pillar of the temple of
peace after the other pulled out.

Disappointed in France and Britain .

Choice between going to war
against Germany by joining Russia
with position misunderstood.

Germany probably winning and
getting the rest of Europe to
think she was their saviour or
agreeing to partition of his
bwncountry for purpose of
preserving peace.

 D 60372

Protested against -

Denounced by some as a traitor.

His part in the war.

Leave for London and Chicago,
organize war,
direct plans and forces.

A wide circle of friends.

An <u>author</u>.

He is now interested in the winning of the war and in plans for the reconstruction of the world -

New Order.

Word about his country:

Their services to <u>freedom</u>.

First fighting against Germany before attack on Poland,

and then her own forces formed in Britain and her own men in our forces.

Czech squadrons protecting our ground troops at Dieppe.

Formation of government in London.

Hope country will be restored and prepared to see his hope realized -

independent country,
free Europe,
peace.

D 60373

Welcome and thanks.

A man - delight to honour -

honour for self and country.

Dr. Benes - marvellous career.

Patriot
Liberator
Prophet

Intervening period -

Temple of peace
and League of Nations
Briand-Kellogg Pact 1928.

Present war - Munich.

Government in exile.

Representation of Canada.

His country's services to freedom

to Canada.

Visit to Russia.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
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95		Notes for Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1943	D 60445 - D 60458	

D 60374

Speech by the Prime Minister
Civic Demonstration on Parliament Hill
in honour of
Pilot Officer Morin
Pilot Officer Robillard
June 5, 1942

I am happy to have the opportunity, on behalf of the members of the government, to join with His Worship the Mayor of our Capital city in extending our congratulations to Pilot Officer Morin and Pilot Officer Robillard, in whose honour tonight's demonstration is being held on Parliament Hill.

To all citizens of Ottawa it is a source of pride that these two young men, Ottawa born and Ottawa bred, should, by their exceptional achievements, have brought us much in the way of distinction to themselves, and reflected so much credit upon the Royal Canadian Air Force to which they belong.

The record of the adventures and accomplishments of these two young Canadians of French descent makes them worthy successors of the great and brave company of explorers and pioneers to whose daring and resource we owe the discovery of our own country and its early development from a state of savagery to that of a highly civilized land.

D 60375

It is well that all the citizens of Canada, in particular, the young of our country, should know why it is that these young men are worthy of so great an honour at the hands of their fellow citizens. Let me tell you the story in a few words:

Pilot Officer Morin received his wings in January 1941, and proceeded to England; he took part in no fewer than 32 operational flights over enemy territory, ranging from Bremen and Hamburg as far as Berlin. He took part in flights for the bombing of the Scharnhorst and the Gneisenau at Brest. On all occasions he manifested the utmost resolution and daring. For his great courage, his exceptional skill, and his remarkable achievements, he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Medal.

Pilot Officer Robillard, when he first applied to enter the Royal Canadian Air Force, was refused on the grounds that he was 14 pounds under weight. After months of special dietary treatment, he succeeded in satisfying the medical examiners. He left for England

D 60376

in March 1941, and on June 1st, 1941, accounted for his first enemy plane. Among his exploits I shall mention but one. In a battle over France, his Squadron Leader was shot down and forced to descend by parachute; nine German planes raked him with their fire while he was still descending helpless through the air. Robillard dived into their midst, shot down two enemy planes, and drove off the other seven. As a result of this encounter, his plane was so damaged that he was forced to come down near Lille. Over a period of six weeks he resourcefully made his way through occupied France, unoccupied France, and Spain, until he reached British soil at Gibraltar. For this signal heroism he, also, was awarded the Distinguished Flying Medal.

These are records which speak for themselves. They speak to us tonight of the glorious record past, present and future of the Royal Canadian Air Force, which will constitute, through time, one of the most romantic, heroic and inspiring pages of Canadian history. They speak to us, as well, of the spirit of Canada itself.

D 60377

In the annals of the world, there is no more illuminating and inspiring history than the history of Canada.

The presence of our two young French Canadian heroes remind us tonight that that history began with the long procession of discoverers, explorers, pioneers and settlers, sailors and soldiers, missionaries and traders, who came to the New World from Old France. Their courage and daring, heroic purpose and steadfast endurance, their record of achievement constitute the opening chapter of that marvelous story.

The resourcefulness of the pioneer, the co-operativeness of the liberty loving individual, the daring of the hereo, these are all qualities that are written large in the record of Canadian history from its earliest times down to the present day.

Our young friends, whom we are delighted to honour tonight, stand as a link between the achievements of this romantic past to which I have referred, and the mightier achievements of the glorious future that is to be.

They are a powerful witness to the bravery, the chivalry, the determination, and the strength, of the Canadian people. We delight to honour them, we delight to honour the splendid force whose highest traditions they have so magnificently upheld. In honouring them as we do, we do honour to our own country, and, above all to those noble sons and daughters of Canada who have given their lives for their fellow-men or who today in our defence services, are placing their lives at their country's service gloriously defending its liberties at home and abroad, helping as well to defend and to preserve freedom itself in all quarters of the globe.

Press release - June 5, 1942.

D 60379

I am happy to have the opportunity, on behalf of the members of the government, to join with His Worship the Mayor of our Capital city in extending our congratulations to Pilot Officer Morin and Pilot Officer Robillard, in whose honour tonight's demonstration is being held on Parliament Hill.

To all citizens of Ottawa it is a source of pride that these two young men, Ottawa born and Ottawa bred, should, by their exceptional achievements, have brought us much in the way of distinction to themselves, and reflected so much credit upon the Royal Canadian Air Force to which they belong.

The record of the adventures and accomplishments of these two young Canadians of French descent makes them worthy successors of the great and brave company of explorers and pioneers to whose daring and resource we owe the discovery of our own country and its early development from a state of savagery to that of a highly civilized land.

It is well that all the citizens of Canada, in particular, the young of our country, should know why it is that these young men are worthy of so great an honour at the hands of their fellow citizens. Let me tell you the story in a few words:

Pilot Officer Morin received his wings in January 1941 and proceeded to England; he took part in no fewer than 32 operational flights over enemy territory, ranging from Bremen and Hamburg as far as Berlin. He took part in flights for the bombing of the Scharnhorst and the Gneisnau at Brest. On all occasions he manifested the utmost resolution and daring. For his re great courage, his exceptional skill, and his remarkable achievements, he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Medal.

Pilot Officer Robillard, when he first applied to enter the Royal Canadian Air Force, was refused on the grounds that he was 14 pounds under weight. After months of special dietary treatment, he succeeded in satisfying the medical examiners. He left for England in March 1941 and on June 1st, 1941, accounted for his first enemy plane. Among his exploits I shall mention but one. In a battle over France, his Squadron Leader was shot down and dorced to descend by parachute; nine German planes raked him with their fire while he was still descending helpless through the air. Robillard dived into their midst, shot down two enemy planes, and drove off the other seven. As a result of this encounter, his plane was so damaged that he was forced to come down near Lille. Over a period of six weeks he resourcefully made his way through occupied France, unoccupied France, and Spain, until he reached British soil at

D 60381

Gibraltar. For this signal heroism he, also, was awarded the Distinguished Flying Medal.

These are records which speak for themselves. They speak to us tonight of the glorious record past, present and future of the Royal Canadian Air Force, which will constitute, through time, one of the most romantic, heroic and inspiring pages of Canadian history. They speak to us, as well, of the spirit of Canada itself.

In the annals of the world, there is no more illuminating and inspiring history than the history of Canada.

The presence of our two young French Canadian heroes remind us tonight that that history began with the long procession of discoverers, explorers, pioneers and settlers, sailors and soldiers, missionaries and traders, who came to the New World from Old France. Their courage and daring, heroic purpose and steadfast endurance, their record of achievement constitute the opening chapter of that marvelous story.

The resourcefulness of the pioneer, the co-operativeness of the liberty loving individual, the daring of the hero, these are all qualities that are written large in the record of Canadian history from its earliest times down to the present day.

Our young friends, whom we are delighted to honour

tonight, stand as a link between the achievements of this romantic past to which I have referred, and the mightier achievements of the glorious future that is to be.

They are a powerful witness to the bravery, the chivalry, the determination, and the strength, of the Canadian people. We delight to honour them, we delight to honour the splendid force whose highest traditions they have so magnificently upheld. In honouring them as we do, we do honour to our own country, and, above all to those noble sons and daughters of Canada who have given their lives for their fellow men or who today in our defence services, are placing their lives at their country's service gloriously defending its liberties at home and abroad, helping as well to defend and to preserve freedom itself in all quarters of the globe.

Press release - June 5, 1942.

D 60383

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Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
94		Plebiscite, National Unity and National Survival, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	24 Apr. 1942	D 60327 - D 60337	
94		Air Training Conferences, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	19 May 1942	D 60338 - D 60369	
94		Benes, Dr. Eduard. Speeches outside Parliament	4 June 1943	D 60370 - D 60373	
94		Morin-Robillard Honour, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1942	D 60374 - D 60386	
94		U.N. Day, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	4 July 1942	D 60387 - D 60409	
94		Queen Wilhelmina, Government Dinner for. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Aug. 1942	D 60410 - D 60430	
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Address by Prime Minister,
United Nations' Day,
Army Week.

July 4, 1942.

D 60387

Your Excellency, Your Royal Highness,
Your Majesty,
Your Worship,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

As the Mayor of Ottawa has just reminded us, the present week has, by Royal Proclamation, been chosen as Army Week. This particular day has been selected as United Nations Day.

As we gather together here, on Parliament Hill, in Army Week, and on United Nations' Day, we see in the open square before us soldiers of Canada and soldiers of the United States, side by side. Flanking the square are the flags of the 28 United Nations and the flag of Free France. The scene is resplendent and symbolic of the forces which today in all parts of the world are fighting to preserve the world's freedom.

We are assembled here to pay a special tribute to the Canadian army. We are gathered also to do honour to the valour and heroism of the fighting men and women of the United Nations, and to call to mind their privations and sacrifices, their fortitude and endurance.

By mere coincidence, this ceremony occurs on the day when our powerful and friendly neighbour, the United

D 60388

States of America, is celebrating the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. No circumstance could perhaps more effectively demonstrate the common love of freedom which unites our two peoples than that we are able today to speak of this event as one which marks an important stage in the growth of democracy and liberty.

Here on a day which links Army Week in Canada with Independence Day in the United States, detachments of the American and Canadian armies are to be found side by side in front of our Houses of Parliament doing honour to the flags of the many nations that today are united in the cause of world freedom. Few expressions could be more eloquent of the determination of the new world to preserve its own freedom and to help to restore the freedom of other nations.

We are particularly pleased and especially honoured that this afternoon's ceremony should be graced by the presence of the representative of His Majesty the King, by Her Royal Highness Princess Alice, and by His Majesty the King of the Hellenes.

His Excellency and Her Royal Highness know how greatly their presence is welcomed on all occasions, and in all parts of Canada.

I should like immediately to say to King George of Greece, on behalf of the government and the people of

Canada, how greatly we welcome His Majesty's presence in Canada at this time. We are pleased indeed to have an opportunity to pay tribute to his own gallantry and to express the profound admiration and the deep sympathy we all feel for the people of Greece. We shall never forget with what bravery they resisted the invasion of their country, and with what fortitude they are bearing the martyrdom to which they have been subjected by a ruthless and barbaric foe.

May I say to Your Majesty that in the heroic defence of their own soil by the Hellenic people, we, in Canada, were quick to recognize the defence of freedom everywhere. The Canadian people have come to see that it was not alone the soil of Greece but also the soil of Canada which was being defended in that resistance as it has also been defended by the resistance of those other nations in Europe who have done what lay within their power to thwart the enemy. We shall never rest until, by the employment of the full resources of our country, Canada has done her utmost to restore the freedom of those lands which have helped to preserve the freedom of our own.

While we recognize that no words of ours can moderate the sufferings of Greece, all Canadians are pleased that at last a way has been found for Canada to lighten those sufferings by gifts of food from our ample stores.

When Lord Athlone arrived in Canada just two years ago, I am sure His Excellency little thought that today, he would have at his side, on Parliament Hill, the King of the Hellenes and

D 60390

that together they would be speaking from this place to the people of Canada.

This, however, is but one of many events which serve to show how the cause of all freedom-loving nations has been united as one in the great period of history through which the world is now passing.

This unity of purpose among the united nations has significantly been illustrated for us by the establishment in Ottawa of diplomatic representatives of many of the nations united with Canada in the present struggle. Of the United Nations, The Netherlands, China, Poland, Greece, Norway, and Yugoslavia have added their legations to those of the United States and Belgium already here before the outbreak of war. In addition, we shall shortly welcome ministers representing the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

It is not only by official representation that our close relationship with the United Nations has been strengthened. Your Majesty's visit is but one notable example of those personal contacts which have helped to cement our common effort. Recently we welcomed Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands. We expect soon to welcome King Peter of Yugoslavia. The Grand Duchess of Luxembourg, and Crown Prince Olaf of Norway have honoured us with their visits, and we have been happy to have the Crown Princess Juliana of the Netherlands as a resident of our Capital.

The Prime Ministers of three sister nations of the British Commonwealth, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of many other of the united nations have been numbered among our honoured guests. Today we are specially honoured to have also as a guest of our country, the Prime Minister of Greece. I wish to extend to Mr. Tsouderos a warm word of welcome, and the best wishes of the Canadian people.

The unity of purpose among the united nations is also illustrated by the presence of Canadian fighting men in the skies and on the battlefields of the world and on all the seven seas.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I have now the honour of calling upon His Excellency the Governor General and His Majesty the King of the Hellenes to address you. In inviting the Governor General to speak to you, I am calling upon one who all his life has been a soldier. On that account, no less than in his official capacity as the representative in Canada of the King, it is particularly gratifying that, at this, the climax of Army Week in our capital city, Lord Athlone should be paying tribute to the United Nations. That His Majesty the King of the Hellenes, as a soldier and as the head of one of the United Nations should be responding to that tribute will be no less deeply appreciated by all the people of Canada.

File

D 60392

Semaine de l'Armée

Journée des Nations Unies

Discours prononcé par le Premier ministre

Excellence, Altesse Royale,

Votre Majesté,

Votre Honneur,

Mesdames et Messieurs,

Ainsi que le maire d'Ottawa vient de nous le rappeler, cette semaine a été désignée comme Semaine de l'Armée, par proclamation royale. Et cette journée particulière a été choisie comme Journée des Nations Unies.

En nous rassemblant ici, sur la colline du Parlement, pour cette Semaine de l'Armée et pour cette Journée des Nations Unies, nous voyons, sur la vaste place qui s'étale devant nous, des soldats du Canada et des soldats des Etats-Unis côte à côte. Autour de la place flottent les drapeaux des 28 Nations Unies et le drapeau de la France Libre. Cette mà scène éclatante symbolise les forces qui, dans toutes les parties du monde, luttent aujourd'hui pour préserver la liberté.

Nous sommes rassemblés pour rendre un hommage spécial à l'armée canadienne. Nous sommes également venus pour honorer la valeur et l'héroïsme des combattants et des combattantes des Nations Unies, pour évoquer leurs privations et leurs sacrifices, leur force morale et leur

endurance.

Par simple coïncidence, cette cérémonie se déroule le jour où nos puissants voisins et amis, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, célèbrent l'anniversaire de la Déclaration d'Indépendance. Aucune circonstance, peut-être, n'aurait mieux démontré l'amour de la liberté unissant nos deux peuples que la possibilité où nous sommes aujourd'hui de rappeler cet événement comme une étape importante dans la croissance de la démocratie et de la liberté.

En ce jour où la Semaine de l'Armée au Canada coïncide avec le Jour de l'Indépendance aux Etats-Unis, des détachements des armées américaine et canadienne, figurant côte à côte devant nos édifices du Parlement, honorent les drapeaux des nombreuses nations qui se sont unies pour la cause de la liberté universelle. Le nouveau monde ne pourrait guère démontrer d'une façon plus éloquente sa détermination de conserver sa propre liberté et de restaurer la liberté des autres nations.

Nous sommes particulièrement heureux et particulièrement honorés que la cérémonie de cet après-midi soit rehaussée par la présence du représentant de Sa Majesté le Roi, par la présence de Son Altesse Royale la Princesse Alice et par celle de Sa Majesté le Roi des Hellènes.

Son Excellence et Son Altesse Royale savent à quel point leur présence est appréciée dans toutes les occasions, et dans toutes les parties du Canada.

Je désire sans plus tarder dire au roi Georges de Grèce, au nom du Gouvernement et du peuple canadiens, combien nous sommes xxxx honorés de la venue de Sa Majesté au Canada à l'heure actuelle. Nous sommes très

heureux d'avoir l'occasion de rendre hommage à sa propre bravoure et d'exprimer la vive admiration et la profonde sympathie que nous ressentons à l'endroit du peuple de Grèce. Jamais nous n'oublierons le courage dont ils ont fait preuve en résistant à l'invasion de leur pays et la force d'âme avec laquelle ils supportent le martyre qui leur est imposé par un ennemi barbare et sans pitié.

Puis-je dire à Sa Majesté que nous, au Canada, avons vite reconnu qu'en défendant héroïquement son pays, le peuple grec combattait également pour sauvegarder la liberté dans le monde. Le peuple canadien s'est rendu compte que les Grecs ainsi que les autres nations européennes qui ont fait tout en leur pouvoir pour frustrer les menées de l'ennemi, ne défendaient pas seulement leur propre sol mais aussi le sol canadien. Nous ne cesserons nos efforts qu'après avoir mis en jeu toutes les ressources de notre pays et accompli l'impossible pour restaurer la liberté des nations qui ont contribué à sauvegarder notre propre liberté.

Aucune parole ne peut atténuer les souffrances de la Grèce, mais tous les Canadiens sont heureux que le Canada ait enfin trouvé moyen de les alléger en expédiant de la nourriture provenant de ses réserves abondantes.

A son arrivée au Canada, il y a exactement deux ans, Son Excellence Lord Athlone était loin de penser, j'en suis sûr, qu'il aurait aujourd'hui à ses côtés, sur la colline du Parlement, le roi des Hellènes, et qu'ensemble ils adresseraient la parole au peuple canadien.

Ce n'est là cependant que l'un des nombreux événements qui servent à démontrer comment toutes les nations avides de liberté ont uni leur cause

D 60395

dans cette grande période de l'histoire que le monde traverse actuellement. L'arrivée à Ottawa de représentants diplomatiques de bien des nations qui se sont jointes au Canada dans la présente lutte, témoigne manifestement de cette communauté de vues des Nations Unies. Parmi les Nations Unies, les légations des Pays-Bas, de la Chine, de la Pologne, de la Grèce, de la Norvège et de la Yougoslavie se sont ajoutées à celles des Etats-Unis et de la Belgique qui étaient déjà établies avant le commencement des hostilités. En outre, nous accueillerons sous peu les représentants de l'Union soviétique et de la Tchécoslovaquie.

Nos relations étroites avec les Nations Unies n'ont pas été renforcé uniquement par une représentation officielle. La visite de Votre Majest n'est qu'un exemple notable de ces contacts personnels qui ont aidé à cimenter notre effort commun. Récemment, nous avons accueilli la reine Wilhelmine des Pays-Bas. Nous espérons bientôt recevoir le roi Pierre de Yougoslavie. La grande-duchesse de Luxembourg et le prince héritier Olaf de Norvège nous ont honorés de leurs visites et nous sommes heureux de compter la princesse héritière Juliana des Pays-Bas parmi les citoyens de notre capitale.

Les premiers ministres des trois nations soeurs du Commonwealth britannique, la Grande-Bretagne, l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande, de même que les premiers ministres et les ministres des Affaires étrangères de plusieurs autres nations unies, ont figuré au nombre de nos hôtes de marque. Aujourd'hui, nous avons l'insigne honneur de compter comme hôte de notre pays le premier ministre de Grèce. Je tiens à offrir à monsieur Tsouderos un chaleureux témoignage de bienvenue ainsi que les meilleurs souhaits du peuple canadien.

D 60396

L'unité d'intention parmi les nations unies est également illustrée par la présence de combattants canadiens dans tous les cieux, sur tous les champs de bataille et sur toutes les mers du monde.

Mesdames et messieurs, j'ai maintenant l'honneur de prier Son Excellence le Gouverneur général et Sa Majesté le roi des Hellènes de prendre la parole. En invitant le Gouverneur général à vous parler, je m'adresse à un homme qui a passé toute sa vie dans la carrière des armes. A ce titre, non moins que comme représentant officiel du Roi au Canada, nous nous réjouissons de voir Lord Athlone rendre hommage aux Nations Unies à la fin de la Semaine de l'Armée dans notre capitale. Le peuple du Canada ne sera pas moins heureux que la réponse à cet hommage soit donnée par Sa Majesté le roi de Grèce, en sa qualité de soldat et de chef de l'une des Nations Unies.

Mesdames et messieurs, Son Excellence le Gouverneur général.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER JWP/MDS

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister: 236

RE: United Nations Day of Army Week

Attached is a draft for the
-- Prime Minister's speech prepared jointly by Mr. Brown and myself. The order of precedence in the salutation is that suggested by Mr. Coleman.

Also attached are:

-- 1. The proclamation of Army Week
-- 2. A memorandum regarding arrangements.
3. The published texts of addresses on United Nations Day in the United States (June 14).

July 2nd, 1942. J.W.P.

D 60397

D 60398

Your Excellency, Your Royal Highness, Your Majesty, Your Worship, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The present week has by Royal proclamation, been chosen as Army Week. This particular day has been selected as United Nations Day. We are gathered together here on Parliament Hill, in Army Week and on United Nations Day, to do homage to the army of Canada and to the allies with whom we have entered into free and full association for the preservation of the freedom of mankind. By coincidence - and it is the happiest of coincidences - this ceremony occurs on the day when our great neighbour and powerful ally, the United States of America, is celebrating the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, an event which marked one of the chief stages in the growth of liberty and democracy. It is a source of deep satisfaction to us all to have with us to-day the Minister of the United States, and a detachment from the American Army.

Throughout the whole of Canada during this week we have accorded outstanding and conspicuous honour to our army. The overseas army of Canada is at the position of focal importance in the defence of the citadel of freedom, the island of Britain.

From those dark days after Dunkirk when the British Army returned from France, exhausted and unarmed, right up to the present moment, the Canadian army in Britain has been a vital element in the structure of British defence. To defend Britain is to defend Canada: if Britain were to fall the Nazi horde would

D 60399

rapidly force its way over that great northern bridge, one end of which is Britain and the other our own Atlantic coast. Our overseas army defends Britain and it defends Canada, but wars are not won by defence no matter how resolute or successful. Wars are won by attack and the time will come when our overseas army, planned, organized and trained as a highly mechanized and armoured striking force, will take its part in the offensive. How powerful our army will be in that day we know: with excellence of equipment and organization it will combine the initiative and dash in the attack which was shown by the Canadian Corps, twenty-five years ago, in the fields of Flanders and of France.

We also honour to-day the army retained in Canada for the protection of our shores. That army carries out from one grim hard day to the next the necessary duties of defence. The service of this army has not offered, and I pray that it may never offer, the opportunity for engaging the force of our foes on Canadian soil. But the world-encircling danger grows ever closer and the security of this granary and arsenal of the United Nations, of this aerodrome of democracy, as President Roosevelt has described Canada, is absolutely indispensable to the success of our common cause. That security is guarded by Canadian soldiers in co-operation with our navy and our air force and with the armed might of the United States.

D 60400

Our army is a part of the great band of champions of freedom, the forces of the United Nations. Each of these nations has contributed nobly and strongly to the common effort. None of them has proved itself more valiant, more determined, more enduring than the army of Greece. The incomparable tradition of Thermopylae and Marathon guided the Greeks in those long months when they were driving out the Italian aggressor despite his overwhelming numerical superiority in men and in machines. The Greek army showed itself to be superior to the Italian in two vital elements: the warlike spirit that animated every part of it, and the tactics and strategy employed by its leaders. To-day we have among us the Commander-in-Chief of that army of heroes, His Majesty the King of Greece.

After the Nazis had joined the Italians in their invasion of Greece further resistance must have seemed to many impossible. The King took supreme command of the nation and led its force through its most heroic hour. He proved to the entire world that he possessed the highest kind of bravery in the part that he played, first on the mainland of Greece and later in the defence of Crete.

None of the United Nations is to-day undergoing greater suffering than the people of Greece. In Greece there are all the terrors of German occupation, from forced labour and the lash of the Gestapo, to mass executions and grim starvation. No words of ours can moderate the sufferings of Greece, but I would say to His Majesty that all Canadians are proud to be able to contribute

D 60401

some food to lighten the sufferings of his people, and that for the Greek people all Canadians cherish a deep admiration as they burn with sympathy and indignation at the ordeal through which Greece is now passing.

A year ago the prospect was dark. After a gallant and costly resistance, Yugoslavia has been completely occupied except for those mountainous tracts in which heroic guerillas continue to fight down to this very hour. Greece had fallen. The full force of the German army had been hurled against the unproved army of Russia. The summer of 1941 seemed to be heavy with the threat of disasters worse than any that had gone before. To-day again the immediate prospect is dark once more. Britain has undergone a grave reverse and the United Nations are confronted with the appalling danger of a giant pincer movement in which the Germans will seek to unite the force gathered in the Ukraine with their forces in the Middle East. But if the immediate prospect is dark, the combined strength of the United Nations is far greater than it was a year ago, greater than it was six months ago. In the gloom of the present we should not lose our hope for the future.

The Russians have destroyed once and for all the legend that German armies cannot be defeated: to the mighty armies of the Soviet Union our debt is beyond all computation. The Chinese continue to show that the might of Japan can be resisted, and we may be wholly sure that, given adequate equipment, they will

D 60402

perform prodigies of valour. The whole force of the United States is now being mobilized against the dictators and the victory at Midway is but the beginning of what may be hoped for in the months to come. The devastating raids by the British and Canadian air forces on industrial and strategic centres in Germany mark the beginning of aerial successes unparalleled and, indeed, not even foreshadowed by anything that has gone before.

This is no time for shallow confidence: it is equally no time for morbid depression. This is the time for mutual faith among the United Nations; in that faith, it is the time for the greatest effort we can put forth as individuals and as members of an alliance which embraces all the forces of good in this world.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I am happy to have the privilege of presenting to you one who all his life has been a soldier. On that account no less than in his official capacity as the representative in Canada of the King, it is ~~fitting~~ gratifying that, at this, the climax of Army Week in our capital city, he should be paying tribute to the United Nations. ~~It is no less appropriate~~ that His Majesty the King of the Hellenes, as a soldier and as the head of one of the United Nations should be responding to that tribute ~~on behalf of all the nations joined together in the common cause of freedom~~ will be no less deeply appreciated by all the people of Canada.

Ladies and Gentlemen: ~~I am honoured to introduce~~ His Excellency, the Governor-General.

D 60403 6 JAG

United Nations Day Celebration
Parliament Hill, July 4, 1942

Historic scene on Parliament Hill today -

armed forces of Canada
some also of United States

flanked by the flags of 28 united nations
and the flag of Free France

A ceremony commemorating the valor and heroism of fighting men and women of all these nations and honoring the flags they bear

A ceremony graced by the presence of
His Majesty the King of Greece
His Excellency the Governor General, and
Her Royal Highness Princess Alice

If, at the time Lord Athlone came to Canada as personal representative of the King (accompanied by H.R.H. Princess Alice-- a grand daughter of Queen Victoria) if at that time anyone had told us that Ottawa would shortly become the meeting-place of so many nations -- that we should have the flags of 29 nations flying here today -- we would scarcely have believed it.

This ceremony shows very vividly:

-- how the cause of all of the United Nations has been united as one

-- how Canada, and Canada's contribution, has grown in relation to the war efforts of these valiant peoples

-- how, from now until the end of hostilities Canada will become a centre to which embattled nations may turn for help and

for encouragement

D 60404

-- how, also, Canada may have a share in the rebuilding of an ordered, equitable and free society

Few things could show in more striking fashion the great age of history through which we are now passing, nor yet the strength of the free forces of the world, than this assemblage on Parliament Hill

and I should like to express my own great pleasure in sharing in it.

D 60405

Perhaps it will not be out of place,
on Independence Day, the national
holiday of the nearest and oldest
of our good neighbors

to call attention to armed forces of
United States here on Parliament Hill
joining with Canadian forces in this
demonstration today

Recently announced that Canadian forces
had been on active service in ALASKA,
helping their American neighbors there

The forces of Canada indeed have been
fighting on the battlefields of the
world

-- on all the seven seas
-- in the air over: Germany and enemy
occupied Europe
Malta and the Middle East
Ceylon and India
Alaska and the Arctic
shores of this hemisphere

-- and on land, in the chief citadel of
the world's freedom in watchful
readiness for a great offensive --

the dagger pointed at the heart of
Berlin

D 60406

In Ottawa our own official connections with other nations have increased manyfold since war began:

Before September, 1939

there were Legations of: United States
France
Japan
Belgium

(not counting the High Commissioners of United Kingdom, Australia and South Africa)(New Zealand, 1942)

Since September, 1939

Canada has welcomed Ministers from:

The Netherlands
Brazil
Argentine
China
Poland
Greece
Norway
Yugoslavia

We expect shortly to see the establishment of legations by:

Soviet Union
Czechoslovakia
Chile

War conditions have also brought to Ottawa distinguished visitors from many nations:

Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands
King George of Greece (today)

hope, that King Peter of Yugoslavia will visit Canada shortly

D 60407

Duke of Kent
Grand Duchess of Luxembourg
Crown Prince Olaf of Norway

In addition to soverigns and sons of royal houses,

The Prime Ministers of:

United Kingdom	(Churchill)
Australia	(Menzies)
New Zealand	(Fraser)
Luxembourg	(Dupong)
Poland	(Sikorski)
Norway	(Nygaardsvold)
Greece (today)	(Tsuderos)
(shortly expected) Belgium	(Pierlot)

Ministers of State:

Australia . . .	(Evatt) (Sir Earle Page)
Belgium . . .	(Camille Gutt) P.H. Spaak)
Brazil	(de Souza Costa)
China	(T.V.Soong)
Czechoslovakia .	(Jan Masaryk)
Netherlands . .	(Van Kleppens)
New Zealand - -	(Coates; Langstone)
Poland	(Raczynski; Falter)
United Kingdom .	(Attlee Balfour

(Malcolm MacDonald still a member of U.K. Cabinet)

(Beaverbrook was still in Cabinet when in Ottawa, Dec. 1941)

D 60408

United States . . . (Jackson - Attorney General)
(Knox (Navy) at Montreal)
(Miss Perkins at Winnipeg)

(Yugoslavia - Ministers expected shortly

D 60409

With this picture before me of what this day symbolizes for Canada and for the United Nations --

I have very great pleasure in calling

first, upon His Excellency the Governor General, and then upon

His Majesty the King of Greece

to speak to the people of Canada from Parliament Hill

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
94		Plebiscite, National Unity and National Survival, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	24 Apr. 1942	D 60327 - D 60337	
94		Air Training Conferences, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	19 May 1942	D 60338 - D 60369	
94		Benes, Dr. Eduard. Speeches outside Parliament	4 June 1943	D 60370 - D 60373	
94		Morin-Robillard Honour, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1942	D 60374 - D 60386	
94		U.N. Day, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	4 July 1942	D 60387 - D 60409	
94		Queen Wilhelmina, Government Dinner for. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Aug. 1942	D 60410 - D 60430	
95		Aid to Russia Campaign, Material. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Jan. 1942	D 60431 - D 60444	
95		Notes for Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1943	D 60445 - D 60458	

Draft of remarks by Prime Minister for use by Netherlands broadcaster.

Canada is honoured this week by an official visit of Her Majesty, the Queen of the Netherlands. I have had the privilege of several conversations with the Queen and I should like to tell you how profoundly I have been impressed by ~~her immense experience of life and the world,~~ her unbreakable spirit and her complete dedication to the cause of the United Nations. Her presence has been a climax in our happy relations with the royal family of the Netherlands. We have been proud and happy to have in our midst, in our capital city, Her Royal Highness, the Princess Juliana and her little daughters who have made for themselves a warm place in the affections of the Canadian people.

We know that the people of Holland are today subject to the brutal and systematic terrorism of Nazi occupation. We know of the threats to religion and education and culture; we know of the looting and vandalism; we know of the abominable system of hostages and the mass deportations. But we know too of the valiant spirit of the people of the Netherlands; we know that the people of the Netherlands East Indies are under the ~~horrible~~ brutal regime of the Japanese aggressor. ~~Of what~~

D 60411

~~goes on under that regime we know little but~~ We render homage to the bravery and resolution of those who continue to resist ~~dwell~~ in those great islands. To the people of Holland and the Netherlands East Indies we in Canada say:

Canadians join with the people of all the United Nations in the determination that the gangster powers be totally defeated. In this determination we shall not falter: we shall be satisfied with nothing short of total victory. When that victory is won, it is our Canadian prayer that the Netherlands be restored to their former happy state, as one of the areas where the human spirit has accomplished high deeds and uttered great words and created a noble, serene and lofty civilization.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

D 60412

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

The Prime Minister will probably desire to use at most only a part of the quotations which run from page 7 to page 10. It may be worth recalling to the Prime Minister that the people of the Netherlands resent the use of the word Dutch.

E.K.B.

August 6, 1942.

EKB/MS

D 60413

NOTES FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S USE AT THE DINNER TO BE GIVEN IN HONOUR OF THE QUEEN OF THE NETHERLANDS

1. Welcome to the Queen

Canadian warmly and cordially welcome Queen Wilhelmina.

Affection for the House of Orange has been stimulated by the presence in Ottawa of Princess Juliana and her daughters, the Princess Beatrix and the Princess Irene. Canada is not only exceedingly happy to have these members of the House of Orange in her capital; Canada appreciates the compliment paid to us by the decision to establish residence here.

To Queen Wilhelmina I should like to be permitted to say that after the visit of our own King and Queen nothing has contributed so much to our Canadian appreciation of the virtue and charm of royalty and royal life as the presence in our midst of these members of her family.

D 60414

No doubt one of the happy factors in the life of the Princess Juliana in Ottawa is her relationship to the Governor-General and the Princess Alice (Queen Wilhelmina's maternal aunt was the mother of Princess Alice: they are, accordingly, first cousins).

In these days Your Majesty's mind must go back to distant 1907 when the Earl of Athlone presented the Grand Cross of the Bath to your late husband as a recognition of his heroism in rescuing passengers and crew of the Great Eastern Railway Company's ship Berlin, sinking off the coast of the Netherlands.

11. Between the people of the Netherlands and the people of British nations there are special affinities.

A. Both are seafaring nations. This is natural when one remembers that both Britain and Holland are not quite parts of Europe. Britain is an island, protected by the great

D 60415

moat of the Channel over which no invader has come in over eight hundred years. Holland has been called the balcony of Europe, a balcony hanging over the sea.

B. Both are colonizing nations. The Dutch empire is the richest island empire in the world. With Holland as with Britain a small motherland is the heart of a vast overseas organization.

C. Both are intensely religious nations, two great cradles, Switzerland being the third, of the Protestant religion.

D. Both are liberty-loving nations. Among the many prophets of liberty some of the most eminent are of Netherland origin: Erasmus, Grotius, etc.

E. Both are peace-loving nations, their energies devoted above all to the peaceful pursuits of commerce and agriculture and transport and the arts. But when faced with

D 60416

aggression both are valiant and resourceful. Their motto is the motto of the House of Orange: I will maintain (Je maintiendrai). Both say at all the crises of their history what your great ~~king~~ prince William the Silent said when faced with a powerful aggressor: "You mean to destroy us, and we do not mean to be destroyed." That is the quiet courage of peace-loving peoples, terrible to their enemies when they take up arms.

III. Canadian sympathy with the people of Holland and indignation at what they are required to undergo by their oppressors.

Interference with religion and education in order to attempt Nazification of the people, especially the children.

Mass deportation to eastern Europe, notably to already depopulated Poland - two crimes perpetrated at once.

Barbarian system of hostages.

D 60417

Punishment, often brutal, of the elite.

Similar sympathy and indignation at what has been occurring in the other Holland, the great islands of the Netherlands East Indies.

Little news penetrates from the darkness of Japanese domination; but what little comes awakens alarm and foreboding. These "honorary Aryans", as the Germans call their gangster allies, are worthy of Hitlerism's praise: they outdo the Germans at their own evil game.

As reports of the government of the Netherland East Indies make plan, the "evil gnomes" of Japan, as an Australian poet called them long ago, have coveted the wealth of the great islands of the South Pacific for generations: what is now occurring is the climax of long meditated and long prepared treachery.

D 60418

. But the Netherlands are still in the battle, very much in it.

We have cause to know it. The flag of the Netherlands flies at Stratford over a training school which is a model of its kind.

Netherland submarines are active, notably in the Mediterranean; and surface ships of the Netherland navy after giving a brilliant account of themselves in the Java Sea, continue in diminished numbers but with heightened spirit, to serve the common cause, faithful to the principle Your Majesty set forth on Thursday last at the commissioning of the ship Queen Wilhelmina in the Netherlands Navy: "Resistance unto the end, resistance in every practical shape and form."

The government of the Netherlands and Your Majesty should and do receive the tribute of the warm praise and gratitude of all your allies.

D 60419

V. I was profoundly impressed when I read a short time ago the account of what a preacher at Leyden had said in a sermon last October.

He began by speaking of the epic resistance to Spanish invasion that the burghers of Leyden had made centuries ago.

And he said: "Why all this suffering and praying and fighting, with an apparently uncertain result ahead? Because no side-issues were at stake; it was rather the highest point which may be at issue in the life of a people; the liberty of being allowed to live in accordance with the Word of God. The point at issue was not a fight for this or that ruler, for this or that form of government, but rather the preservation of the liberties and rights of our people, to be allowed to live according to the Commandment of God and their own conscience. Behind the Spanish domination there was the constraint, the tyranny, the absolutism, which

D 60420

absolutely want to subject all the manifestations of life not to the Commandment of God, but to the coercion of the State. That was, in their great struggle for freedom, the point at issue with our people."

"The fight against this has been decreed by God, the fight against this is worthy of every sacrifice and will never be allowed to be given up. And this was most clearly apprehended by all those who lived with their Bible open, who experienced in those years the liberating discovery: the opening of the Scriptures, the rediscovery of the living Word of God."

And applying his ideas to the present ordeal of his people he continued:

"Once more our people is a people in distress. Again, we live in the midst of overwhelming and terrible dangers. Once more our people finds itself involved in a decisive

 D 60421

crisis of its history, as it seldom encountered before. And again, this above all will be the main point at issue with our people, whether also in future the Church will be permitted to preach the Gospel in liberty and whether the Government will be a righteous Government, servant of God, attached to Him."

"Christ's wish was that a free people should live here, ready to His service. He did not desire a people living in servility in these Low Countries....And on the strength of His Goodness we pray to Him, that for the sake of Christ, also in the future He will deliver us from all tyranny and allow us to live as a people ready to His service....Nor should we forget that, then, He endowed us with a righteous government. At a time, when there was so immense a tyranny, a prayer rose: O God! Shield us from a chaos without rights, grant us by Thy patience a just government,

D 60422

which will take care of the liberty of the Church....Nor should we forget that He delivered our Church. The relief of Leyden and the liberation of these countries in general would ultimately be of no value whatsoever, if not a true and full freedom to serve God in accordance with His Word would have been granted to us."

Here is the spirit that must animate us all, the people not only of the Netherlands but of all the United Nations till victory perches on our banners, and darkness has been swept away from the face of the whole earth.

To the great purpose of our common victory all the energies and abilities of the Canadian people are dedicated. There will be no turning back; there will be no wavering; we will press on to the very end, knowing that he that endureth to the end shall be saved.

D 60423

VI. Conclusion

And when the end comes, when victory is ours, I pray that Your Majesty will take a high place at the conference table.

As of all the now reigning sovereigns the one who has been longest on the throne, and can thus place at the world's disposal a presently unrivalled store of experience and practical wisdom.

As a great example of devotion to duty and of courage; stopping at no danger when the cause of the Netherlands and of the United Nations can be served; flying across the ocean in its service; consecrating to freedom and justice all the resources of your mind and soul.

JAG/Z
12-8-42

D 60424

Government Dinner
in honour of
Her Majesty Queen Wilhelmina
of the Netherlands
August 12, 1942

Toasts

(I) by His Excellency the Governor General to H.M. The Queen.

(2) by Queen of Netherlands to the health of our King.

A few additional words of warmest welcome appreciation and thanks to Her Majesty;

also to Dr. van Kleffens Minister of Foreign Affairs,

and to other members of the party.

Sunshine and shadow

in inevitable succession.

Joys and sorrows

seldom come singly but are subtly intertwined;

at no time has the intermingling been greater than today;

D 60425

One of the epochs of some
Divine dispensation -

to usher in some new era of
light and liberty.

Queen Wilhelmina

has held the sceptre longer than
any other reigning sovereign.

Separation from her people in a
tragic hour -

she in exile,

they suffering relentless
tyranny.

Risks in a transatlantic flight, -

(to thank other countries for
sympathy and assistance);

Perhaps to find in the New World
greatest hope and assurance of
redress of wrongs in the Old.

Princess Julianna

Little Princesses Beatrix
Irene.

The understanding heart of the
Canadian people.

D 60426

Similarities of two great Empires:

the sea,

exploring and venturesome spirit,

colonizing capacties;

strong in the defence of freedom;

" " religious convictions.

Each a peace-loving people -

fond of the simple and beautiful
and tender things of life;

forsaking evil
cleaving to the good.

All of these
the strongest bonds of understanding
and sympathy.

In childhood days

<u>one</u> sovereign (The Queen)

memories of the people.

D 60427

"Homeland" - Canada.

"Motherland" - The British Isles.

The position of the people of the Netherlands and their Queen today

we understand
we feel
we know.

The nations which have resisted the aggressor

are the nations which have made secure for us the freedom we still enjoy.

World conquest plotted by tyrants

opposed by valiant peoples.

Debt of the free nations to

the Netherlands - in Europe
West Indies
East Indies.

Strengthened resolve of all the United Nations, -

end of struggle,

restoration of rights and liberties.

D 60428

Hope Her Majesty may retur with a

lighter heart.

Visit has strengthened resolution

in the hearts of men and
women.

They will leave nothing undone.

Human endeavour.

WLMK/Z

P 60429

Government Dinner
in honour of
Her Majesty Queen Wilhelmina
of the Netherlands
August 12, 1942

The Toasts.

Order of nature -
sunshine and shadow:
lot of human family;
joy and sorrow.

Epoch of Divine dispensation.

Honour entertaining Sovereign

longest reign;
know meaning of separation.

Queen's determination

to thank - brought her to
this side;

Queenly act - recorded in
history.

Her Majesty carry away

understanding of heart of Canadian
people.

Similarities of two Empires:

Dutch and British.

Sea, colony, freedom,
religious conviction,
peace-loving, hate evil,
cleave good.

WLMK/Z

P 60429

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in honour of
Her Majesty Queen Wilhelmina
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Similarities of two Empires:

Dutch and British.

Sea, colony, freedom,
religious conviction,
peace-loving, hate evil,
cleave good.

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 60430

More Personal

Childhood days -

one sovereign -

greatly beloved Queen.

Two words - (same for both)

Homeland and Motherland

our homeland.

We know, understand and feel.

Our debt to Netherlands.

Agressor's march.

Resolve of peoples of free continents

relieve oppression.

Her Majesty returning to Government

and continent with lighter heart.

Visit has served to strengthen resolution.

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PRESS RELEASE N.B. Not to be released before broadcast at 9:10 p.m. January 19, 1943

AID TO RUSSIA CAMPAIGN

Montreal -- January 19, 1943

Remarks by the Prime Minister of Canada
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

In Introducing Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Roosevelt, Mr. Minister, Mr. Premier, Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The City of Montreal has been especially honoured today in having as its guest Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. Tonight, all Canada is pleased to share the privilege of hearing Mrs. Roosevelt's words to this vast gathering. Our honoured guest has come to appeal for Aid to Russia. The people of Russia are passing through as terrible an ordeal as any people have ever been called upon to suffer. All the United Nations will be heartened when they are reminded anew tomorrow morning that Canada and the United States are continuing to aid the civil populations of the Soviet Union no less than its armed forces.

A welcome to this largest of our cities has already been extended to you, Mrs. Roosevelt, by His Worship the Mayor and members of the Corporation of Montreal. And you have been welcomed to this old province by the Premier of Quebec. How delighted all are by your presence here, you have heard, and are able to see for yourself.

D 60432

Before leaving Ottawa, I received from His Excellency the Governor General, a letter which extends a further welcome. The letter is addressed to myself, and is as follows:

Government House,
Ottawa.

18th January, 1943.

My dear Prime Minister,

Princess Alice and I are so sorry that owing to a previous engagement of long standing, we are unable to be present at the great gathering in Montreal in support of the Aid to Russia Fund, and to welcome Mrs. Roosevelt.

Every day there is good news of the magnificent achievements of our Russian Allies in smashing the resistance of our common enemy, and at this momentous juncture in the history of the war and indeed of mankind, the appeal to send all possible aid to the Russians should stir the heart of every Canadian.

Will you kindly welcome Mrs. Roosevelt on our behalf and assure her that the doors of our house are always open to her and the President.

We hope that in the not distant future they will give us the pleasure and the honour of being our guests.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd.) Athlone.

The Right Honourable
W.L. Mackenzie King, P.C., M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada, Ottawa.

D 60433

There is one more welcome which I have the honour to extend to you. It is a welcome on behalf of all the people of Canada. In this welcome, there are none who join more heartily than my colleagues in the government and myself.

There are, Mrs. Roosevelt, many reasons why the people of Canada are pleased to have an opportunity of extending the warmest of welcomes to you; [illegible]velt; of expressing their pleasure at your presence in our country tonight; and of thanking you, in particular, for lending your powerful support in Canada's "Aid to Russia" campaign. Some of these reasons it may not be difficult for you to surmise. Others you might be too modest to admit.

Before, however, I speak of the pleasure it gives us to welcome you to Canada, may I say a word about the "Aid to Russia" campaign? Although the campaign has the warm support of the Government, it has not an official character. It is a nation-wide tribute by the people themselves to a gallant ally. It has been organized and is being supported by Canadians without regard to race, class or creed. Contributors are actuated solely by a spirit of human brotherhood and admiration for human fortitude.

D 60434

Particularly gratifying is the support given the campaign by Canadian churches. Their leaders have unitedly extended their patronage to its appeal. The campaign is one of many manifestations of the unity of the spirit and purpose of the whole Canadian people. It bears witness to the way in which national unity can come to serve the larger needs of humanity.

In this great war, we of the United Nations are all debtors one of another. We need the help of Russia, and Russia needs our help.

To help Russia maintain her magnificent military effort, it has been the duty of the Allied governments to see that Russia's industrial production is supplemented by the factories and the workshops of Britain, the United States and Canada. We are proud that we have been able to make the contribution we have. But, the civilian population, no less than the armed forces of Russia, need all the help that can be given. In addition to military supplies, the people of Russia are in the greatest need of medical supplies, food, clothing and other necessaries to help relieve their terrible sufferings.

D 60435

The story of their sufferings is but partly told in the staggering figures of Russia's losses on the field of battle. To begin to understand the situation at all, we need to think of the thousands upon thousands of families - old men, old women, young mothers and little children - driven from their burning homes by barbaric invaders, who have killed, or are seeking to kill the men folk to whom they look for sustenance and support. We need to think of a people scantily clothed, severely rationed as to food, with nothing but wood for fuel, fighting famine and disease, as well as the most ruthless enemy; and all this in the midst of weather much colder than most of us in Canada have ever been called upon to face. It should not be hard for us in Canada to appreciate how much the sufferings of war can be intensified by the extreme cold of the Russian winter.

In the new world which airpower is making, Russia, next to the United States, is becoming our nearest neighbour. She is just over our northern horizon beyond the pole. The Arctic wastes, so long an impenetrable barrier between us, are now coming to join us closer together. As we become neighbours, we desire more than ever to become also the most helpful of friends. A friend in need, is a friend indeed. This is as true of Nations, as it is of individuals.

D 60436

But, let me return to our immediate neighbour to the South, and refer more particularly to our guest of this evening.

You, Mrs. Roosevelt, will, I know, not be surprised when I say that, first and foremost, your visit speaks to us of the White House at Washington, and of the two good friends who, at all times, Canada has had in the persons of the President and yourself.

Long before Washington began to assert its official claims, that friendship had a very close association with Canada through Campobello, in New Brunswick, where, over many years, you and Mr. Roosevelt had your summer residence.

Tonight, however, our thoughts are of sterner times. We all remember how, in the dark days of 1940, you, Mrs. Roosevelt, not less than the President, courageously showed yourself an outspoken and staunch friend of the British people, and of all the peoples of the British Commonwealth. No one will need to be reminded of how, since the entry of the United States into the war, you have further cemented the friendship between Britain and America by your travels, your actions, your writings, and your speeches.

Mrs. Roosevelt's services to the cause of freedom far transcend the bounds of nationality. The active sympathy with human need and human suffering, which she has shown in a thousand ways in her own country, has never stopped at its borders. She has always shown a deep concern for the welfare of men and women everywhere. The breadth of her interests is as wide as the cause for which we fight. She has been a strong supporter of the rights of Labour, a fearless advocate of women's rights, a bold champion of racial equality. She is keenly interested in the welfare of youth, in all forms of social service, and in the best means of effecting social security. Her interest in the armed forces is that of a mother, all of whose sons are on active service.

What all who know her well have never failed to admire in Mrs. Roosevelt is the manner in which she has used her high position to make known the unknown among the people of her land; to reveal to others virtues and talents that dwell in obscurity; to arouse and to assert a social conscience which brings with it a true sense of human brotherhood. This aim of a wider opportunity for all she has had not less for nations than for individuals. It is a part of her larger vision of the future well-being of mankind.

D 60438

Possessing so broad and deep a sympathy with the sufferings of humanity, no one could be better fitted to speak to us on this occasion.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in introducing to you, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who will now address you.

NE PAS PUBLIER AVANT QUE LE DISCOURS SOIT PRONONCE

CAMPAGNE EN FAVEUR DE L'AIDE A LA RUSSIE

Montréal, le 19 janvier 1943.

D 60439

Allocution du Premier Ministre du Canada
le très honorable W.-L. Mackenzie King

Pour présenter Madame Franklin-D. Roosevelt

Monsieur le président, Madame Roosevelt, Monsieur le Ministre, Monsieur le Premier Ministre, Monsieur le Maire, Mesdames et Messieurs,

La ville de Montréal se trouve particulièrement honorée de recevoir Madame Franklin-D. Roosevelt. Ce soir, le Canada tout entier se réjouit d'avoir le privilège d'entendre les paroles que Madame Roosevelt doit adresser à ce vaste auditoire. Notre invitée d'honneur est venue ~~faire~~ lancer un appel en faveur de l'Aide à la Russie. Le peuple russe passe en ce moment par des épreuves aussi dures qu'aucun peuple ait pu subir. Toutes les Nations unies seront réconfortées quand elles se rappeleront de nouveau demain matin que le Canada et les Etats-Unis continuent d'aider la population civile de l'Union Soviétique au même titre que ses forces armées.

La plus grande ville du Canada vous a déjà souhaité la bienvenue, Madame Roosevelt, par l'intermédiaire de Son Honneur le maire et des membres du conseil municipal de Montréal. Et le Premier Ministre du Québec vous a aussi adressé la bienvenue au nom de cette vieille province. On

D 60440

vous a dit quelle grande joie votre présence ici cause à tous, et vous avez pu vous en rendre compte par vous-même.

Avant de quitter Ottawa, j'ai reçu de Son Excellence le Gouverneur général une lettre contenant une bienvenue de plus. La lettre adressée à moi-même se lit comme suit :

Hôtel du Gouvernement,
Ottawa.

18 janvier 1943.

Mon cher Premier Ministre,

La Princesse Alice et moi-même regrettons bien profondément que, par suite d'un précédent engagement de longue date, nous ne puissions assister à la grande assemblée tenue à Montréal en faveur de l'Aide à la Russie, ni y accueillir Madame Roosevelt.

Chaque jour nous apporte de bonnes nouvelles des magnifiques accomplissements de nos alliés russes dans leur lutte pour écraser la résistance de notre ennemi commun, et à cette période d'extrême importance dans l'histoire de la guerre et de l'humanité, l'appel en faveur d'une aide entière aux Russes devrait émouvoir le coeur de chaque Canadien.

Auriez-vous l'obligeance de transmettre à Madame Roosevelt notre bienvenue et de l'assurer que la porte de notre maison lui est toujours ouverte ainsi qu'au Président.

Nous espérons que, dans un avenir prochain, ils nous feront le plaisir et l'honneur d'être nos hôtes.

Bien sincèrement vôtre,
(signé) Athlone.

D 60441

Il me reste une bienvenue à vous adresser; c'est celle que j'ai l'honneur de formuler au nom de tout le peuple canadien. A cette bienvenue participent le plus cordialement mes collègues du gouvernement et moi-même.

Il y a plusieurs raisons pour lesquelles le peuple canadien se réjouit, Madame Roosevelt, de vous accueillir si chaleureusement, de vous manifester son plaisir de vous voir sur son sol ce soir, et de vous remercier en particulier d'apporter votre puissante contribution au mouvement canadien pour l'Aide à la Russie. Il vous est facile de deviner certaines de ces raisons. Mais il en est d'autres que votre modestie vous empêche peut-être d'admettre.

Toutefois, avant de parler plus longuement du plaisir que nous avons à vous accueillir au Canada, permettez-moi de dire quelques mots au sujet du mouvement de l'Aide à la Russie. Bien que cette campagne reçoive l'appui empressé du gouvernement, elle n'a aucun caractère officiel. Elle représente un hommage de la nation entière, adressé par le peuple lui-même, à un valeureux allié. Elle a été organisée et elle est soutenue par les Canadiens sans considération de race, de classe ou de religion. Les participants sont mûs exclusivement par un esprit de fraternité humaine et d'admiration pour la force d'âme d'un peuple.

Ce qui est particulièrement réjouissant, c'est l'appui donné à la campagne par les Eglises du Canada. Leurs

chefs lui ont, d'un commun accord, accordér leur patronage. La campagne est une des nombreuses manifestations de l'unité d'esprit et de but de tout le peuple canadien. Elle illustre la manière par laquelle l'unité nationale peut servir aux besoins plus considérables de l'humanité.

Dans cette grande guerre, chacune des Nations unies est débitrice de l'autre. Nous avons besoin de l'aide russe, et les Russes ont besoin de notre aide.

Pour permettre à la Russie de soutenir son magnifique effort militaire, ce fut le devoir des Alliés de compléter sa production industrielle à l'aide des manufactures et des ateliers de la Grande-Bretagne, des Etats-Unis et du Canada. Nous sommes fiers d'avoir pu contribuer dans ce sens comme nous l'avons fait. Mais la population civile, tout autant que les armées de Russie, requiert toute l'aide possible. Le peuple russe a le plus grand besoin, non seulement d'armes ~~militaires~~, mais aussi de secours médicaux, de nourriture, de vêtements et d'autres nécessités propres à soulager ses terribles souffrances. L'histoire de celles-ci n'est relatée que partiellement par le nombre terrifiant des pertes russes subies sur le champ de bataille. Si nous voulons seulement avoir une idée de la situation, pensons aux milliers et milliers de familles -- vieillards, femmes âgées, jeunes mères et petits enfants -- chassées de leurs foyers en flammes par l'envahisseur barbare qui a déjà

exterminé ou cherche à exterminer les hommes sur qui ces familles comptaient pour leur subsistance et leur soutien. Pensons à une population à peine vêtue, sévèrement rationnée dans sa nourriture, n'ayant autre chose que du bois pour se chauffer, aux prises avec la famine et la maladie comme avec l'ennemi le plus impitoyable; et tout cela sous un climat beaucoup plus froit que la plupart d'entre nous au Canada ont jamais eu à supporter. Il n'est pas difficile pour nous, Canadiens, de réaliser combien les souffrances de la guerre peuvent être accentuées par le froid extrême de l'hiver russe.

Dans le monde nouveau, basé sur les communications aériennes, la Russie devient notre plus proche voisin après les Etats-Unis. Elle s'étend jusque au delà de notre horizon septentrional de l'autre côté du pôle. Les solitudes arctiques, qui ont formé si longtemps une barrière impénétrable entre la Russie et nous, nous rapprochent maintenant l'un de l'autre. Devenus voisins, nous désirons plus que jamais devenir aussi des amis précieux. C'est dans le besoin qu'on connaît ses véritables amis. Cela est aussi vrai entre nations qu'entre individus.

Mais laiss-ezmoi revenir à notre premier voisin du Sud et m'adresser plus particulièrement à notre invitée de ce soir. Ce n'est pas vous, madame Roosevelt, qui serez surprise, je le sais, si je vous dis que, d'abord et avant tout, votre visite évoque pour nous la Maison Blanche, et

D 60A43-1

les deux bons amis que, de tous temps, le Canada a eus en la personne du Président ~~de~~ et en vous-même.

Bien avant que Washington ait commencé à affirmer son titre officiel à cette amitié, celle-ci avait des racines profondes dans le sol canadien grâce à Campobello, dans le Nouveau-Brunswick, où vous et M. Roosevelt avez eu pendant plusieurs années votre résidence d'été. Ce soir, cependant, nous avons souvenance de jours plus durs. Nous nous souvenons tous comment aux époques sombres de 1940 vous, Madame Roosevelt, non moins que le Président, avez montré courageusement votre amitié franche et indéfectible à l'égard du peuple britannique et de tous les peuples du Commonwealth. Il n'est besoin de rappeler à personne comment, depuis l'entrée des Etats-Unis dans cette guerre, vous avez cimenté davantage l'amitié qui existait entre la Grande-Bretagne et l'Amérique par vos voyages, vos actes, vos écrits et vos paroles. Les services que Madame Roosevelt a rendus à la cause de la liberté dépassent de beaucoup les frontières nationales. La sympathie active qu'elle a montrée pour les besoins humains et les souffrances humaines de mille et une manières dans son propre pays, ne s'est jamais arrêtée à la frontière. Elle a ~~déjà~~ porté un intérêt profond au bien-être des hommes et des femmes en tous lieux. La grandeur de ses vues égale la grandeur de la cause pour laquelle nous combattons. Elle a été une partisane précieuse

D 60444

des droits de l'ouvrier, avocate résolue des droits de la femme, et une championne audacieuse de l'égalité des races. Elle s'intéresse vivement au bien-être de la jeunesse, à toutes les formes d'aide sociale et aux meilleurs moyens de réaliser la sécurité sociale. L'intérêt qu'elle porte aux forces armées est celui d'une mère dont tous les fils sont en service actif.

Ce que tous ceux qui connaissent bien Madame Roosevelt n'ont jamais cessé d'admirer chez elle, c'est l'usage qu'elle a fait de sa haute position pour révéler ce qui était ignoré dans le peuple de son pays; pour mettre en lumière les qualités et vertus qui demeuraient dans l'obscurité; pour susciter et affermir une conscience sociale comportant un sens réel de fraternité humaine. Ce désir d'épanouissement pour chadun, elle l'a voulu pour les peuples aussi bien que pour les individus. Il se rattache à la grande vision qu'elle a du bien-être futur de l'humanité.

Avec un sens si large et si profond de sympathie pour les souffrances de l'humanité, Madame Roosevelt, était qualifiée mieux que personne pour nous adresser la parole en une occasion comme celle-ci.

Mesdames et Messieurs, j'ai le grand plaisir de vous présenter Madame Franklin-D. Roosevelt qui va maintenant vous adresser la parole.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
94		Plebiscite, National Unity and National Survival, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	24 Apr. 1942	D 60327 - D 60337	
94		Air Training Conferences, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	19 May 1942	D 60338 - D 60369	
94		Benes, Dr. Eduard. Speeches outside Parliament	4 June 1943	D 60370 - D 60373	
94		Morin-Robillard Honour, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	5 June 1942	D 60374 - D 60386	
94		U.N. Day, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	4 July 1942	D 60387 - D 60409	
94		Queen Wilhelmina, Government Dinner for. Speeches outside Parliament	12 Aug. 1942	D 60410 - D 60430	
95		Aid to Russia Campaign, Material. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Jan. 1942	D 60431 - D 60444	
95		Notes for Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1943	D 60445 - D 60458	

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J. A. G.
28.12.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

D 60445

Invitation to speak in Metropolitan Opera Series

I have enquired about the way in which the invitation extended to you arose. The sequence appears to be as follows:

1. The Canadian sponsors of the Metropolitan Opera broadcasts on Saturday afternoon suggested that you record for broadcasting during the opening broadcast of the 1943/44 series on November 27th, a short address on Canada's place among the United Nations. This was intended to be a part of a Canadian series, broadcast in Canada only.

2. In addition, the New York office of Wartime Information Board raised the question of Canadian participation in the United States broadcasts (during intermissions in the opera performance).

   In the United States series, leading representatives of the United Nations were to be invited to speak.

   The United Nations Information Office in New York issued an invitation to the Prime Minister to speak in this series on December 18th.

3. Subsequently, the Canadian Sponsors had to cancel the broadcast proposed for November 27th.

4. The December 18 proposal was not proceeded with because of the Prime Minister's absence in the United States.

5. Meanwhile, in a telephone conversation with Mr. Heeney, on December 3rd, the Secretary-General of the United Nations Information Office in New York asked whether the Prime Minister would speak on January 1 or 8, in the series called "A Lasting Peace" (in which Elmer Davis and Jan Masaryk have already spoken).

6. On December 7, Pickersgill reported to the Prime Minister (at Williamsburg) that the Metropolitan Opera were pressing for a decision for January 1

7. The Prime Minister replied that "Robertson alone could give a decision". Pickersgill then reported that Robertson had "reluctantly concluded that Metropolitan broadcast should not be accepted... because limitation on scope would scarcely compensate for additional demands upon your time at busy season".

D 60446

8. It is understood that in New York on December 11th, the Metropolitan Opera authorities spoke to Mr. King about a possible future broadcast.

9. A draft address prepared in the Department of External Affairs was sent to the Prime Minister on December 18th. I reported to the Prime Minister verbally on December 23 that this draft was available.

10. It is learned that the Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Committee of the United Nations Information Office in New York of December 15, mention that it was hoped to arrange broadcasts for representatives of Britain, the United States, Norway and Canada (in that order) beginning January 1.

11. It was also announced, in the Opera broadcast of December 25. that the speaker on January 1 would be Rt. Hon. Richard Law, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of the British Foreign Office.

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D 60447

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THE RIGHT HONORABLE MACKENZIE KING

LAURIER HOUSE OTTAWA ONT CAN 1255

IT WOULD GIVE ALL OF US CONNECTED WITH THE METROPOLITAN OPERA VICTORY RALLIES DEDICATED THIS YEAT TO THE RAOD TO LASTING PEACE MUCH PLEASURE IF YOU SHOULD FIND IT CONVENIENT TO BE GUEST OF HONOUR AND PRINCIPAL SPEAKER ON SATURDAY JANUARY 29TH YOU WILL BE INTERESTED TO KNOW THAT SPEAKERS ON EARLIER SATURDAYS IN JANUARY WILL BE RICHARD K LAW MICHAEL PIERSON [illegible] WENDELL WILLKIE AND C J HAMBRO IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT DURING YOUR RECENT VISIT YOU INDICATED APPROVAL OF THIS PARTICULAR DATE TO EDWARD JOHNSON YOUR APPEARANCE ON THIS SERIES WILL BE MOST WELCOME TO THE MANY MILLIONS OF AMERICAN PEOPLE WHO LISTEN TO THESE FAMED BRAODCASTS MAY WE HEAR FROM YOU AT CONVENIENCE / HENRY SOUVAINE CHAIRMAN OF THE METROPOLOTAN COMMITTEE 30ROCKEFELLER PLAZA NEW YORK NY

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D 60449

NAR/SR
18.12.43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRIME MINISTER

Herewith is a draft text of an address for your consideration. It was prepared to be delivered to a Canadian and American audience on January 1st. I do not know where matters now stand with regard to the proposed Metropolitan broadcast, but understand you had some further conversation on the subject with Edward Johnston in New York. Something along the lines of this draft might do for such an audience, though obviously some of the specific references to the United Nations Declaration would have to be modified if the talk were not given on January 1st, the anniversary of its signing.

MacK

D 60450

ADDRESS - JANUARY 1, 1944

RGR/LF
17.12.43

Two years ago to-day 26 nations joined in a declaration of solidarity and union in the great war now being waged. That declaration, signed in Washington, has become known as the United Nations Declaration. The nations which signed it were described as the United Nations. Six Nations have since adhered to the declaration and thereby joined the company of United Nations. The Declaration was principally a declaration of war. It was an agreement to wage war together, with all the strength that each nation might contribute to the joint effort, until their enemies went down to defeat along with all for which they stood. The Declaration was also a declaration of peace. It set out the fundamentals of any peace that might be achieved, but at the time it was signed there was not in sight any peace on those terms.

Today, two years later, the situation has radically altered. For more than two years before January 1, 1942, the enemy forces had had an unbroken record of success in campaign after campaign. All of Europe was in their grip. Any hope of release was at best remote. The fate of North Africa was hanging in the balance. The wanton German attack on the Soviet Union had barely been stopped at the gates of Moscow. No one knew where its next surge might carry it. The Japanese were proceeding to reap to the full the gains of their paralyzing attack at Pearl Harbour less than a month before. On January 1, 1944, while most of Europe still lies in bondage, one of her tyrants has fallen, and the hold of the other becomes steadily more uncertain. North Africa, by the united strength of British and American arms,

D 60451

has been freed entirely of the Nazi and Fascist grip. The Soviet Union, rising with power we had scarcely dared to hope for -- the power of a people determined that no effort is too great and no sacrifice too painful in face of the threat to their country -- is beating to death the armies that were thrown against her. The Japanese have yet to experience to the full the deadly strength of the countries whose peace with them they violated. But they have lost the advantage gained by their original treacherous blow, and they are slowly being forced back. The doom of the Japanese Empire was pronounced from Cairo only a month ago, and, beyond any doubt whatever, it will be meted out. Two years ago, the United Nations Declaration had of necessity to be a pledge for the junction of forces for the pursuit of war. To-day those same United Nations and their peoples have the right to contemplate in the measurable future, the certainty of a victorious conclusion to the present war.

There are, I believe, two things for us particularly to remember in contemplating the prospect of victory. One is that the victory is not ours yet and will not be won without continuing effort and sacrifice of greater magnitude than any we have yet known. The other is, in the long term, fully as important as the attainment of victory itself. It is the realization that victory does not necessarily mean peace, and that no treaty has yet been devised which of itself will ensure the maintenance of peace. Only if we realize this, and if realizing it we ask ourselves what we must do to achieve a lasting peace will we have any real prospect of attaining that objective. Twenty-five years ago we achieved victory in another war. In twenty years we lost the peace that we thought was ours.

D 60452

We should, I believe, be able to learn much from our experience in those years -- and unless we learn why we failed then, and avoid the same errors again, the prospect is not great for continued peace in the future.

There are certain essentials, I believe, that must be realized and must form the basis of any peace that is to endure. The first of these is almost too obvious to mention were it not for the fact that it is not believed in by all peoples to-day. That essential is the will for peace. Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy have taught their people deliberately to abhor peace as weakening and degrading. For the Japanese, death in the military service of the Emperor is the highest reward that can be offered. So long as powerful nations glorify war, peace cannot be secure. If peace it to prevail, the vast majority of men and nations must have a positive will for peace. They must be ready to work and to make sacrifices to keep the peace.

A second essential that must be achieved is economic well-being and opportunity for all nations such that they will not contemplate the resort to force in order to secure the economic fundamentals of life. This requires a willingness to trade, a removal of the barriers to trade, and a restoration of the shattered productive apparatus of the devastated regions of the world. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is an admirable first step toward this objective. Through it, nations that have been blighted by war and peoples who are in the depths of poverty may be set on the road toward economic well-being. It is only a start. Every nation must be prepared

D 60453

to work with every other for the elimination of that economic nationalism which has helped in the past to produce poverty and war.

A third essential is the realization that both peace and war are indivisible. There is no inhabited region of the earth, however remote, that has not been grievously affected by the war. Certain nations have, it is true, managed to abstain from active participation. But they are few in number, and it would be rash to say that because they are not engaged in actual combat, they therefore are enjoying "peace". Their peace is only maintained at the cost of heavy burdens of arms, and the almost total obliteration of their trade. Security and prosperity have been lost even for those countries not actually in the war. Peace can be achieved for all or for none. It cannot be divided and given to some while it is denied to others.

A fourth essential is international organization for peace. It has been said that the League of Nations failed because there was "too much church and too little faith". A lack of faith there undoubtedly was, but faith alone is not enough. Machinery must be created through which the united efforts of all the nations may be directed to achieve that cooperation, that elimination of distrust and jealousy, and that organization of economic welfare that is necessary if peace is to last. The "United Nations" are in name and in attitude the symbol of the spirit that must dominate the post-war world. Symbolism is not enough; the United Nations must become the builders of a solid and enduring structure of world peace. The great powers cannot alone hand peace to the world. Their domination, however beneficent in spirit, would be far inferior to

D 60454

the cooperation of all in seeking the welfare of all. Other nations have much to contribute, and their full contribution will only be obtained if they feel that they share the responsibility and also the opportunity of taking part in the work of peace.

Let me say here that we in Canada look forward with conviction to the early restoration of France to her high place among the nations. In her vivid and splendid history France has survived many tribulations, none more severe than those of the last three and a half years. Her place is still in the vanguard of mankind, and from that proud place she will, I am sure, make her contribution to a peaceful and prosperous world.

As Canadians and Americans we must, I think, admit that we have not at all times been free from the blame of having failed to act in the best interests of world peace. At the same time we may, with justice, claim to have set an example in international harmony in our relations with one another that has seen no equal in the world. Canada and the United States have shown that two nations of very unequal military, industrial and economic power can live together in a complete trust, trade with one another for mutual benefit, and dispose of all problems and misunderstandings by discussion and negotiation. Not only has war been unknown, but the fear of war is so remote that its absence is scarcely recognized as being the boon that few nations have ever known. Here we may, without complacency, find a spirit and a practice which must guide the international society of the future. The example of our own two countries shows that war and the blighting fear of war can be banished from a

-2-

P.T.O.

PA/JMC. 2.2.43.

D 60455

Notes for remarks at semi-annual dinner

of

Directors of Canadian Weekly Newspaper Association.

at Ottawa, Feb. 19th, 1943

Introduction

It gives me great pleasure to be present this evening and to take this opportunity to express a few words of thanks to the editors of Canada's weekly newspapers for the fine work they are doing in helping to give the Canadian public an intelligent and inspiring picture of this country's war effort.

Power of Weeklies to stimulate national war effort.

The power of the weeklies to stimulate the national war effort is very great. This is not only because their main circulation is in the smaller towns, villages and rural communities where over half of Canada's population lives and works.

Power partly due to intimate approach.

This power of the weeklies is also due to the unusually intimate approach of the editors into the lives of their communities. Often, the editor is a prominent local figure, and not infrequently is the leader in many public-spirited enterprises. He knows many of his readers so well - and in turn, is so well known by them - that "first name"greetings are common.

D 60456

Influence spreads through neighbours.

Being so closely in touch with the lives of their readers, the weeklies can exert a powerful influence both on the readers themselves and on their neighbours, thus spreading their influence over a very wide community indeed.

Gratifying that influence supported war effort.

It is therefore most gratifying to my colleagues and myself that Canada's weekly newspapers have exerted themselves so generously and so devotedly in the support of the government's war effort, and also in support of the auxiliary war services.

War far from over - hope efforts will grow even greater.

In thanking you for the exceptionally fine work you have already done, may I express the hope that your efforts will continue and grow even greater through the long and critical months ahead.

The war picture is indeed brighter. But there is a vast difference between the first glimmer of dawn and the high noon of victory. We must realize that Germany and the countries it controls constitute a vast and almost impregnable fortress which cannot easily be carried by storm and which

D 60457

may therefore require a long and bloddy siege. And in addition to Germany we have to deal with Japan, still a powerful and dangerous enemy, which may take long and bitter fighting to subdue.

Need for morale in year ahead.

This year will see all of our armed forces engaged with the enemy, and the casualties are bound to be severe. Success in war can seldom be achieved without heavy expenditure of life.

We in Canada are therefore likely to be subjected to more severe trials in the year ahead than in any we have yet known.

It is therefore vitally important that one and all of us do everything in our power not only to maintain but to increase the national war effort.

I am confident that the editors of Canada's Weekly newspapers who have done so much for their country in the past years of the war, will appreciate the need for doing even more until at last we see the day of final victory.

Reconstruction after war.

Furthermore, after victory, will come the great work of rehabilitation and reconstruction. This is something which we need to keep in mind even through the months of bitter fighting which lie ahead.

D 60458

The editors of Canada's weekly newspapers will, I am sure, take their part as leaders in helping to educate the public towards an understanding of the problems of reconstruction, for such understanding is vital if we are to enjoy the blessings of peace.

Vol	File/Dossier	Subject/Sujet	Dates	Pages	Reel\Bobine
95		Fourth Victory Loan, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Apr. 1943	D 60459 - D 60531	
95		Fourth Victory Loan, Thanks, Recording, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	23 May 1943	D 60532 - D 60537	
95		Chang Kai-Shek, Madame, Government Dinner, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	16 June 1943	D 60538 - D 60539	
95		Canadian-Soviet Friendship Rally, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	22 June 1943	D 60540 - D 60575	
95		U.S. Congress, Representatives of. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	28 June 1943	D 60576 - D 60584	
95		Sicily, Invasion of. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 July 1943	D 60585 - D 60590	
95		The War and Italy, Ottawa. Speeches in Parliament	2 Aug. 1943	D 60591 - D 60601	
95		Quebec Conference Dinner at Citadel, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1943	D 60602 - D 60607	

ORDERS OF THE DAY

D 60459

April 19, 1943.

No. 31 - Mr. LaCroix (Quebec-Montmorency)

Question:

1. Was Mr. Pamphile R. DuTremblay requested to resign as member of the legislative council of the province of Quebec, before his appointment to the Senate?

2. Is the governor in council approving the fact that a person may be at the same time a member of the Senate at $4,000 per year, and of the legislative council at $3,000 per year?

3. Did negotiations take place between the premier of the province of Quebec, and the Prime Minister of Canada, with respect to the dual offices held by Mr. DuTremblay?

Answer:

1. No.

2. There is no legal obstacle to a Member of the Legislative Council of the Province of Quebec being at the same time a Member of the Senate. A number of Senators through the years have continued to hold office as Members of the Legislative Council of Quebec.

3. No.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

MEMORANDUM

Turnbull

D 60460

For the Prime Minister:

Mr. Turnbull telephoned to report that Dr. Beauchesne is of the opinion that the Question appearing on the Order Paper regarding the appointment of Mr. P. R. DuTremblay to the Senate is a proper one to ask.

DR

April 17, 1943

D 60461

April 16th, 1943

Mr. Turnbull,
Prime Minister's Office.

It is perfectly proper and legal for a Member of the Legislative Council of the Province of Quebec to be at the same time a Member of the Senate. A number of Senators through the years have continued to hold office as Members of the Legislative Council of Quebec; and at the present time, in addition to Senator DuTremblay, is the conspicuous case of Senator Sir Thomas Chapais who was appointed to the Legislative Council of Quebec in 1892, and is still a M.L.C. Sir Thomas Chapais was summoned to the Senate in 1919.

L. G. Mongeau

D 60462

NOTICES OF MOTIONS AND QUESTIONS

Mr. LaCroix (Quebec-Montmorency) — On Monday next — INQUIRY OF MINISTRY—1. Was Mr. Pamphile R. DuTremblay requested to resign as member of the legislative council of the province of Quebec, before his appointment to the Senate? NO

2. Is the governor in council approving the fact that a person may be at the same time a member of the Senate at $4,000 per year, and of the legislative council at $3,000 per year?

3. Did negotiations take place between the premier of the province of Quebec, and the Prime Minister of Canada, with respect to the dual offices held by Mr. DuTremblay? NO.

D 60463

ORDERS OF THE DAY

April 19, 1943.

No. 27 - Mr. Diefenbaker.

Question:

1. Does the War Information Board operate a private wire and teletype service between Ottawa and Washington, D.C.?

2. If so, what has been the cost to operate the same, including salaries, rentals, etc., monthly since the said board commenced using such facilities?

Answer:

1. No.

2. See answer to 1.

D 60464

ORDER OF THE DAY - April 19, 1943

- Mr. Diefenbaker

Question -

1. Does the War Information Board operate a private wire and teletype service between Ottawa and Washington, D.C.?

2. If so, what has been the cost to operate the same, including salaries, rentals, etc., monthly since the said board commenced using such facilities?

Answer -

1. No.

2. See answer to 1.

Form 122

Pour publication après 3 heures, le 17 mai 1943. D 60465

DECLARATION DU PREMIER MINISTRE, LE TRES HONORABLE W.-L.-MACKENZIE KING, AU SUJET DU QUATRIEME EMPRUNT DE LA VICTOIRE

Je désire profiter de la première occasion pour faire connaître l'appréciation du gouvernement pour la réponse splendide du peuple canadien à l'appel en faveur du Quatrième emprunt de la victoire. Lorsque, le 15 de de mois, le temps fixé pour la campagne fut expiré, l'objectif de $1,100,000,000 avait été dépassé par plus de $100,000,000. Dès que le résultat final de la campagne sera connu, le ministre des Finances en fera évidemment part à la Chambre. Ce qui est encore plus significatif que le fait que l'objectif total a été dépassé est que les rapports démontrent que l'objectif de $500,000,000 fixé à la sollicitation générale et aux déductions de salaires sera aussi dépassé. Ce fait en lui-même est une preuve magnifique du patriotisme des hommes et des femmes du Canada et un témoignage tout aussi expressif de l'unité de but de la nation à supporter fermement les combattants du Canada dans les campagnes qui doivent être entreprises jusqu'à l'obtention de la victoire.

Je désire exprimer les remerciements du gouvernement au président du Comité national des finances de guerre, M. G.-W. Spinney et aux milliers de Canadiens

dévoués des organisations nationales, provinciales et locales, sans les efforts incessants desquels l'emprunt n'aurait pu réussir. Je suis certain que tous les honorables membres [illegible] ont le même désir d'exprimer leur appréciation au sujet des services rendus par les hommes et les femmes de notre pays de même que par les personnes d'autres pays qui ont consacré de leur talent, de leur temps et de leurs énergies à cette phase de l'effort de guerre du Canada.

Parlant au nom du gouvernement, je me permets aussi d'exprimer notre appréciation de la contribution apportée au sujet de cette campagne par les honorables membres de tous les partis dans leur propre circonscription et ailleurs. Les honorables députés, j'en suis sûr, trouveront que je suis justifié d'adresser mes félicitations cordiales au ministre des Finances qui a consacré au succès de l'emprunt des efforts incessants. Il a bien droit à ce sentiment de profonde satisfaction qu'il doit ressentir aujourd'hui. La confiance qu'il a placée dans le peuple canadien en fixant l'objectif élevé du Quatrième emprunt de la victoire a été largement récompensée.

En exprimant l'appréciation de l'appui et de la détermination du peuple canadien, il y a un mot que je

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voudrais ajouter. La grandeur de la victoire de l'Afrique du Nord incite certaines gens qui devraient être mieux renseignés à dire que la phase principale de la guerre européenne est terminée et que nous pouvons envisager la fin de la guerre pour cette année. Toute importante que soit la victoire nord-africaine, je suis certain que les luttes les plus dures restent éà livrer en Europe. D'autres batailles décisives restent à être livrées et gagnées. Nous n'avons pas encore atteint l'épreuve suprême.

La manière avec laquelle le peuple canadien a souscrit à l'emprunt de la victoire démontre qu'il n'a pas laissé un faux optimisme,entrevoyant une victoire rapide, affaiblir sa volonté. Nous savons qu'il serait fatal de faire en sorte qu'une victoire détruise notre sens de la mesure. La victoire d'Afrique n'a fait qu'entamer les défenses de l'Axe; l'attaque de l'Europe n'est pas encore commencée. Il reste aussi la tâche de vaincre le Japon. Sans aucun doute, le temps n'est pas venu de nous relâcher mais, au contraire, de redoubler nos efforts. Le temps présent doit nous inciter à fortifier nos coeurs et nos volontés en vue des efforts gigantesques qui seront requis pour que la cause de la liberté connaisse l'heure victorieuse.

A supreme effort for the Supreme Loan

Dictated by the Prime Minister
14-3-43

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A SUPREME EFFORT

Note for Victory Loan Address
Toronto, April 1943

1. 1943 the year of the big attack

"Think it not strange that this peril and this fiery trial....."

2. A picture of Canada as a nation in this war.

At the beginning nothing could have been more disinterested than Canada's action;

Canada's action was for a love of freedom in support of a cause born of freedom;

How we have gradually built up all the attributes of a strong nation.

Army

Navy

Air Force

Munitions

Even more interesting is emergence into international sphere:

Canadian army protecting Britain;

Canadian navy in Mediterranean;

Canadian Air Force bombing over Europe, serving in Alaska, Ceylon, North Africa.

These are all external evidences; behind all this we have caught the breath of world freedom - free nations

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bound together in a bundle of life

("No man liveth to himself....")

3. Canada and the secret of mutual co-operation

mutual aid

(note significance of name
" " " Stettinius ref.
" parable of the Good Samaritan)

4. We have made our position known in the world

essentially a new world point of view

" " Christian " " "

" " democratic outlook

(note Wallace statement - conflict of three philosophies)

class struggle in Germany

Russia in the balance - materialistic vs. spiritual;
materialist conception we are fighting
is world domination;

the spiritual conception is essentially Christianity.

5. This year will see all of our forces in action.

tribute to army working and training in patience;

training for supreme effort.

wisdom of having made no invasion up to present

necessity of securing lines of communication and being equal to winning when landing can be made

circle of fire around Germany - she has brought it on herself

6. The nation must realize that something is coming which will

stir the whole soul of our people;

our army will go into action as a unit,
(it takes the weak to confound the strong)

this nation raised up with a view to help to bring
this war to a conclusion,

note poem by William Wilfred Campbell: Peniel, p.230

"Under the wide roof-tree of the world"

"....life's supremest hour"

(casting bread of freedom on the waters
to see it return after many days)

the role of the deliverer - a true instinct.

7. This blow may be the one which will bring them to their knees;

this will all depend on what can be accomplished
between <u>now</u> and the moment of the attack,

preparations for Canada's supreme effort,

(make a list of the things the navy
has done, e.g. Assiniboine, Ville
de Quebec, Port Arthur, Regina)

(also re Air Force, munitions
production etc.)

this will break into a tremendous symphony when the
<u>army</u> goes into action

this can be made the end of the war <u>in Europe</u>; defeat
of the enemy <u>in Far East</u> will then be easier.

8. The role of Canada in developing machinery for the United Nations.

(See P.M.'s statement H. of C. Feb. 1st, Hansard p.44

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(Deal with attack in speeches by Green
Jackman

re Canada playing second fiddle - people talking this way do not understand:

the magnitude of the problem

the mechanism of conferences)

The test of anything that is good is whether it can endure indefinitely.

9. Another of Canada's contributions - showing the value of co-operation and building up confidence in relations with e.g. Britain
China
Russia etc.

unless we can work these things out in wartime we cannot work them out at all.

10. Reasons why the people of Canada should give: for the rest of their lives they will either

rejoice — their contribution has meant something
it has helped to get the whole business across

repent — if we fail, the failure is on us; not on the men and women who have waited patiently for four years

they will not fail unless we fail them.

11. Canada has achieved a full effort without identifying it with any "ism"

nor with conscription

Note Canada's gift of $1,000,000,000 as a contribution to the full effort needed to win.

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12. Canada as future generations will see her

After 1918 showed her spirit

After 1943 growth into full stature of manhood through constructive help.

13. Discussions on post-war reconstruction and social security

must not become an escapist thing

" " " removed from realities

(See Vancouver Province editorial March 5th re P.M. and social reform)

must realize that social security is meaningless unless

Victory is won first.

14. Reasons for believing we are going to win

Point now is not will victory be worthwhile

but how quickly we can win it

Stalingrad
Bismarck Sea
North Africa

} but the citadel has still to be taken

by striking terror into Germany, they might see it is better to yield than to be annihilated.

15. Note other developments in Canada

Legations, governments-in-exile, Royal visitors (Greece
Yugoslavia
Netherlands

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16. Conclusion -

The final blow against the enemy will be the greatest step of all that Canada has ever taken.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

CANADA'S FIGHTING MEN

An Address on the Opening
of the Fourth Victory Loan Campaign

by

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

TORONTO, APRIL 19, 1943

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1943

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CANADA AND THE WAR

CANADA'S FIGHTING MEN

An Address before the Canadian Club of Toronto

by

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

Toronto, April 19, 1943

May I express to you, Mr. President, and to other officers and members of the Canadian Club of Toronto, my warm appreciation of the invitations so kindly extended to me from time to time. I am especially pleased that the occasion to address the Club's members has presented itself at the opening of Canada's Fourth Victory Loan campaign. I am not less grateful that the opportunity to make an appeal to my fellow-citizens throughout the Dominion should be afforded in the city which, for me, holds so much in the way of personal association.

An Urgent and Compelling Appeal

The Victory Loan has become a symbol of private determination and public duty—a symbol which reflects the strength and vigour of the Canadian people. The Victory Loan is a most essential part of Canada's war effort.

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There has never been a time in Canada's history when an appeal for a Victory Loan was more urgent or more compelling. The appeal is urgent, because we are nearer than ever to the days of supreme effort. It is compelling, because it concerns so immediately the lives of Canada's fighting men.

It is of Canada's fighting men that I should like to speak particularly to-day. I wish to emphasize what we owe to them.

From Nationhood to World Power

As we stand at the threshold of this Fourth Victory Loan campaign, and view Canada's war effort from the vantage ground of the years of war, we are able to see our effort in its true proportions, to see it in its relation to the war effort of the other United Nations, and in its relation to common objectives. But that is not all. We can see how greatly, within the compass of the United Nations, Canada's status as a nation has broadened. We gain a larger vision of our country's opportunities and responsibilities. We see Canada now emerging from mere nationhood to the position of a world power.

In this pause of a moment, we obtain another, a still more significant vision. It is as if all Canada, having striven steadily onward and upward, under continually increasing burdens, for nearly four years, had been brought suddenly to realize that the summit has not yet been reached; and that if everything thus far accomplished is not to fail of ultimate achievement, a great new effort—a supreme effort—is now necessary.

Growth of Canada's War Effort

Our war effort as a whole has been carefully planned and organized. Our military forces, our war production and our essential services, have been kept in balance. We have sought to make our national effort, a maximum effort.

Our forces, three and a half years ago, were limited in numbers, in equipment, and in training. We have steadily expanded our forces. They have been provided with the best equipment. Training has been continous, and is constantly being improved. We have developed many new kinds of war production. We have combined our effort harmoniously and efficiently with the efforts of our allies. Canadian forces and Canadian supplies have become a telling part of the total strength of the United Nations.

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British Commonwealth Air Training Plan

There could be no finer illustration of the spirit of co-operation, characteristic of our whole war effort, than the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. Nor has greater foresight been shown in any strategic aspect of war planning than has been revealed by this vast project. The Agreement, establishing the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, was signed on December 17, 1939. On the same day, the first contingent of Canada's army landed in Britain.

The rapidity of the organization, and the scale of development of the Air Training Plan, have far exceeded the expectations of all who shared the responsibility of bringing it into being. A year ago, President Roosevelt said the training plan had made of Canada "the Aerodrome of Democracy". In his recent address to both Houses of our Parliament, Mr. Anthony Eden said: "If Canada had done nothing else in this war, her predominant share in the Commonwealth Air Training scheme would insure for her an enduring place in the roll of fame".

The vast development of the Air Training Plan is an assurance that Canada will continue to contribute trained fighting airmen to sustain the offensives against Germany, Italy, and Japan, until the fate of all three is sealed.

The Royal Canadian Air Force

The Royal Canadian Air Force, in addition to its administration of the training plan, has, from the outset, patrolled and protected the approaches to our coasts. Long-range aircraft, manned by Canadians, are employed in growing numbers in protecting escorted ships across the sea lanes of the Atlantic.

Since 1940, our Air Force has shared increasingly in action against the enemy wherever he may be found. Canadian airmen have been operating, on this continent, from Newfoundland to Alaska and the Aleutians; in the Far East, in India and Ceylon; in the Middle East, in Palestine, Egypt and Libya. From Malta and the African coasts, they have been operating over Italy and the waters of the Mediterranean. Growing numbers of Canadian squadrons, based in Britain, have ranged far and wide over Germany and enemy-occupied Europe. I could give no more graphic picture of the extent to which Canada's war effort has become part of a world-wide conflict. Canada, to-day, is the fourth greatest military air power among the United Nations.

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The Royal Canadian Navy

The Canadian Navy, like the Canadian Air Force, has developed phenomenally. Its spirit, its organization, and its training, like those of the Air Force, have all stressed the need of smooth and effective co-operation with allied forces. Through more than three long and bitter years, whether on destroyers, corvettes, minesweepers, patrol vessels, sub-chasers, or other craft, men of the Royal Canadian Navy, in ever-growing numbers, have helped to hold the sea lanes open.

In recent months, our Navy has been sharing nearly half the burden of convoy duty on the North Atlantic sea routes. This is very arduous and very dangerous work. It is being carried on through every kind of weather and with unceasing vigil. Units of Canada's Navy have also operated in other theatres of war. On the Pacific Ocean, and in the waters of the Mediterranean, our ships and men have been in action against the foe.

When our present programme of Naval expansion is completed a year hence, the personnel of Canada's Navy will approximately equal in numbers the personnel of the British Navy shortly before the outbreak of war.

The Merchant Marine

Closely associated with our Navy is Canada's merchant marine. In this service also there has been immense expansion. Our merchant seamen operate the ships in the convoys. Theirs are the ships that transport across the seas the food, the guns, the tanks, the planes, and other munitions of war produced in Canada. Their rugged endurance of the stormy life of the sea and all its wartime dangers is equalled only by their constant resolution to bring these precious cargoes to their destination. Our merchant seamen are making a noble contribution to this world-wide fight for freedom.

The Canadian Army

The Canadian Army, like the Canadian Air Force and the Canadian Navy, has been built up and developed in close co-operation with the British forces, and more recently with those of other of our Allies.

After Dunkirk, the First Canadian Division was one of very few divisions in Britain equipped to fight. It was the presence there of our First Division, and the arrival of our Second Division, which, later in the year, made it possible for the British Government to send

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reinforcements to Egypt. These reinforcements, with other troops from Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India, saved the Middle East. New units, formations and reserves have gone forward from Canada to Britain as quickly and as continuously as ships could be found to carry them. The First Canadian Army Corps, formed at Christmas 1940, has now grown into an army of two corps with an appropriate proportion of armoured formations. General McNaughton has said that the Army he commands is, for its size, "the most highly mechanized force in the world".

Training and Strategy

In all the varied aspects of modern war, the officers and men of Canada's Army have undergone unending training. Our Army has brought its training—individually by units, and collectively as a striking force—to a perfection perhaps never exceeded. That training has been hard, a training resembling as closely as possible the conditions of actual warfare. All the while, at the heart of the world's greatest citadel of freedom, Canada's Army has stood guard. It has been constantly in readiness to repel the invader. It has been a means of holding in Western Europe, and of withholding from Russia and Africa, German forces many times its size.

There have been several periods of intense activity, when battle against the enemy seemed imminent. In the spring of 1940, a part of the First Division was all ready to set out for Norway. Our troops were prepared to go to France before Dunkirk. Some detachments actually landed in France after Dunkirk. In 1941, there was the expedition to Spitzbergen, in the Arctic. In 1942, there was Dieppe.

If our forces overseas have remained so largely, and for so long, within the British Isles, if Canadian formations have not been broken up for service in other theatres, this has been due entirely to the considered judgment and advice of those concerned with the strategical direction of the war. It has not been because of any restriction imposed by the government of Canada. War strategy must be planned as a whole. With respect to the operations of Canadian troops, our government, since the outbreak of war, has taken but one position. It is that Canadian forces, in whole or in part, should be used where and when they can make the best contribution to the winning of the war.

Service at Home and Abroad

From a very small beginning, the strength of the Canadian Active Army has now grown to more than 435,000 men, of which

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number over 190,000 are in Britain. A few thousands more are serving outside Canada in this hemisphere. Of the more than 240,000 soldiers in Canada, over 180,000 have volunteered for service anywhere in the world.

Units of our army are manning coastal and anti-aircraft defences in Canada and providing mobile reserves in the coastal regions. Many thousands more are in training. Throughout the war, units of the Canadian Army have served in many parts of the Western Hemisphere. From Canada's east coast, they reached out to Newfoundland, to Labrador, and to Iceland. Canadian forces have served in Bermuda, in Jamaica, and in the Caribbean area. Still others are co-operating with United States forces in Alaska.

For over a year, Canadian tunnellers were stationed at Gibraltar. To gain first-hand battle experience, officers and non-commissioned officers of the Canadian Army in Britain have been attached to and are fighting as part of the British First Army in North Africa.

Units of Canada's Army have also served in the Far East. In recounting the actions which have made of Canada's defence against aggression a memorable part of the world-wide fight for freedom, sufficient recognition has never been given to the Canadian expedition which in the autumn of 1941, sailed for Hong Kong. Nor has adequate honour been done its heroic part in the defence of that distant island fortress.

When, in the great silence which will follow the defeat of Germany and Japan, the thoughts of the world revert to the days when these mighty powers were challenged, no episodes of chivalry or daring will shine forth more brightly than those which tell of the Canadians at Hong Kong and Dieppe.

Canada a Vast Arsenal

War-making is not merely a task for the armed forces. Obviously, for Canada, the military effort, however great, can only be a part of a total effort. To effect a total effort our national economy has been transformed. Canada has become a vast arsenal. In three years, our industrial output has been doubled. In volume of war production, our country is fourth among the United Nations.

From the beginning of the war, we planned to produce far more supplies than were required for Canada's forces. In foodstuffs, in munitions, in weapons, in aircraft, and in ships, we have sought to produce to the limit of our capacity.

Under our policy of mutual aid, we are doing everything we can to make sure that our munitions and supplies are available in the theatres of war where they are most needed. In sending supplies to other United Nations, we are in reality helping to defend our own country. We are supplying munitions of war to Russia and China, to Australia and New Zealand, as well as to Britain and the United States. We are supplying these munitions to fight for these countries, to fight for Canada, to fight for freedom, to shorten the war, and to save human lives.

Canada's Armed Forces as a Whole

In round numbers, the total strength of our armed forces is over 700,000. Naval personnel numbers, in men, over 55,000; air force personnel about 200,000; and army personnel over 435,000. In addition, there are 22,000 women serving in the uniforms of the three armed services. These numbers do not include many tens of thousands of men giving part time service in the Reserve Army.

Our war strategy is based on the principle that wherever the enemy can be successfully engaged, Canada's interests are being advanced, and world freedom preserved.

We have not neglected our particular responsibility for the local defence of our homeland and of nearby areas. But we have clearly recognized that, so long as the enemy is undefeated anywhere, Canada will not be secure.

Canadian airmen have fought over almost every battle area around the globe. Canadian sailors have served on every ocean. Canadian soldiers have seen action on all three continents of the Old World. By their deeds, our fighting men have shown that the Canadian people understand there are no real frontiers in this world war, except the frontier between freedom and servitude.

Canada's Supreme Hour

The supreme hour for Canada will come when, along with the combined forces of the Allied powers, all our forces in the air, at sea, and on land, are attacking as one, in a mighty effort to batter down the ramparts of Prussian power, and to slay the dragon of Nazi brutality in its native lair. It is to hasten the day of this final attack, and to give to our fighting men all the support that we can possibly give, that the government appeals to-day to men and women in all

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parts of Canada to make to the Fourth Victory Loan the largest response that Canada has made to any appeal, at any time.

The Supreme Task of the War

I wish I were in a position to tell you when the days of supreme effort will come. I wish much more it were possible to foretell the day of victory. These, no one in this world can foresee. I may be able, however, to help you form your own estimate.

Existing situations may continue favourable. They may change rapidly. It is well, therefore, that we should be prepared for the invasion of Europe at any time. But conditions may change in unexpected ways. It is well, therefore, that we should also be prepared to wait. Through some unpredictable event, all our present calculations may be set at naught. We may be found to have been too hopeful. Moreover, we must never lose sight of the fact that the Allied powers are at war with Japan, as well as with Germany and Italy. Major battles may be fought at any moment in any quarter of the globe.

Those who count upon recent Allied successes as an assurance of an early defeat of the Axis powers should recall the ebb and flow of battle over the past three years. Within that time what most people imagined would be a European war has become a conflict of hemispheres. Of the present situation, the most one can say is that, in the Orient and the Occident alike, the sweep appears to be narrowing. Against this contraction in the areas of conflict, we must offset the intensity of the fighting.

Of the defeat of Italy in this war there can be no doubt whatever. Her colonial empire has already been torn to shreds. Her troops, used by the Germans so largely to meet the onslaught of opposing forces, and to cover their own retreats, have been slain or captured by the hundreds of thousands; her shores daily face the prospect of invasion. The defeat of Japan is remote, but nonetheless a certainty once Germany is defeated. To destroy the military might of the German war machine remains for the Allied powers the supreme task of the war. That task can be finally accomplished only on German soil.

The Invasion of Europe

It is not for me, nor indeed for anyone else, to hint at Allied strategy, much less to disclose to the enemy its essential aspects.

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There are, however, some secrets, even military secrets, which are open secrets. The invasion of the continent of Europe by the combined Allied forces is one. The unconditional surrender of German forces on German soil is another. There is to be no other surrender. When the hour of supreme effort comes, each of the contending forces will know it is the end, and that one of them must yield or die. That hour will also decide whether civilization itself is to live or die. All that has gone before, all that is now taking place, is leading up to that hour.

As I think of the ordeal through which our country will be called upon to pass in the days of supreme effort, I wish I were able to express to you the thoughts that will be required to sustain the hearts of us all. I can but say, quoting from words of inspiration with which you are already familiar:

> "Think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you."

Rather, let us rejoice that it has been given to us to be partakers of the spirit of those—the flower of our land—who, to save mankind, proudly have gathered

"rank on rank to war
"As who had heard God's message from afar."

Difficulties of Invasion

In contemplating the conquest of Germany, we must keep in mind the way in which Nazi power has reached out in Europe. Little more than three years ago, the might of the Prussian war machine was held within the confines of a single country. It now controls a continent. The German stronghold has expanded into a European fortress. For the materials of war, and for food, Germany is able to draw upon a storehouse which comprises many countries. Nazi brutality continues to terrorize and to enslave conquered millions, to force their labour, and to exploit their resources.

Invasion from the sea is many times more difficult than invasion of adjacent lands. Before the Allied powers attempt invasion across the Mediterranean, the English channel, or the North Sea, or from the waters of the Atlantic, we will have to be very certain of being able to land forces and equipment, and to hold the bridgehead. It

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would be no help to ourselves, to Russia or China, or to any other of the Allied powers to have landing forces annihilated. Once forces have landed, they will be dependent on supplies and reinforcements which can be brought to them only across or over the sea.

We must also expect that, once bridgeheads are established, the tide of battle will ebb and flow. Because in Europe the enemy has strengthened the outer ramparts of his stronghold, it will be very difficult to reach German soil. There may be long periods of fighting in the occupied countries. This makes clear why, up to the present, all military authorities have insisted that, before a full-scale offensive is launched, there must be no lack of ships for the transport of troops and supplies; no lack of landing craft; no lack of aircraft to cover the advance of land operations; no menace at sea capable of cutting off the needed reinforcements and supplies.

The Submarine Menace

I need not remind you that at all times the North Atlantic sea lanes are a vital artery of supplies to the United Nations, especially to Britain and to Russia. If the war is to be won, the sea lanes must be kept open. If they were to be cut, the reserves of supplies in the British Isles would soon wither away. The whole tremendous armoury which has been concentrated in the citadel of Britain might very rapidly deteriorate, and its striking power be dissipated.

The Battle of the Atlantic, though hidden largely from view, is fiercer than ever. The submarine has become the deadliest weapon at Hitler's command. His U-boats have been concentrating in mid-Atlantic, along the shipping routes from Canada and the United States to Britain and the Mediterranean. Their numbers are larger than ever. Like wolves, they hunt in packs. Their aim is to sever the ocean lines of communication between the New World and the Old. The successful control of this menace is a necessary prelude to any successful invasion of the continent of Europe. Now, as never before, the bridge of ships across the North Atlantic must be maintained.

Lessons from the North African Campaign

In viewing the larger picture of the invasion of Europe, we may be helped to a truer perspective by what we already have seen in the invasion of North Africa.

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I am sure it will come as a surprise to you to recall that it is almost half a year since American and British forces landed at Casablanca and Algiers. At that time, many thought the end of the African campaign would be a matter of a few weeks. Instead, it has taken months. The difficulties of securing and maintaining lines of communication, of bringing up the necessary supplies and reinforcements, proved greater than were anticipated. Imagine, however, what the consequences would have been had the Allied forces met formidable or prolonged opposition. Imagine the situation if, at any stage, they had been cut off from needed reinforcements and supplies.

To the enemy, the landing in North Africa of American and British forces was a complete surprise. There can be no element of surprise in the attempted invasion of Europe, except for the places and moments of attack. From the beginning of the war, the enemy has been taking every conceivable precaution to meet invasion from any quarter. German forces can be moved from almost any part of Europe to almost any other part with lightning rapidity. No worse fate could befall an invading force than to find itself opposed by German divisions so vastly superior in numbers that it could not hold its ground. For it and for the enemy this would be the North African situation in reverse.

Need for the Most Complete Preparation

You will agree, I am sure, that this greatest of all tasks must be approached with the utmost foresight, that it will require the most complete preparation. It is the duty of all concerned to see that sound judgment is not impaired by impatience, that nothing that can possibly be foreseen is left to chance. Invasion when it comes must be fortified with as full knowledge, as it is possible to obtain in advance, of every factor that will count for life or death in the balances that to-day are deciding the fate of the world.

We are anxious to see the end of the war. But we are most of all concerned that it shall end in victory. The mighty venture in which our own men are destined to play a decisive role should be made as certain of success as anything in war can be made. That it may be made certain of success, that it may be crowned with victory, is shown by the North African campaign. The battle for Tunisia is in all our minds. No one will say that General Montgomery is lacking in swift decision, or that he ever hesitated to engage in perilous action when the possible gain was worth the risk. But his advance, while daring, has also been cautious. He has

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never allowed himself to be tempted or hurried into premature action. He has refused to move until every last preparation has been complete. Each time Montgomery has given the word to advance, it has been a signal of victory.

The Supreme Effort

I have attempted to give a more or less impressionist survey of Canada's war effort, as we are able to view its proportions to-day, from the vantage ground of the years of war. I have attempted also to give some impression of the magnitude of the task that still confronts the United Nations. I have referred to an impression still more vivid. It is a consciousness that we have not yet reached the summit of our endeavours. It is a realization that, if everything thus far accomplished is not to prove to have been in vain, a great new effort—a supreme effort—is now necessary.

Canada's Fighting Men

Of one thing we may be assured. In every effort, our fighting men will not fail us. Let us make very sure we do not fail them. Let them see how completely their country is behind them. For us at home, in Canada, it is not enough to be proud of their achievements. We must not permit the pride which all Canada feels in their gallant exploits to blind us to what their efforts cost in human life, in suffering and privation, and in anguish of heart and mind. They are prepared to give their all. Let them see that we are prepared to do the same.

Let us not forget the continued patience and endurance of our fighting men. Let us not forget that some of them have been separated from homes and loved ones for nearly four years. Let us remember that many already have made the supreme sacrifice; that many have been severely wounded, or crippled for life; that many are imprisoned in enemy camps. Let us remember that, day by day, and night by night, our fighting men are risking their lives, that not one of them knows what the morrow may bring.

Let us realize that the success of their supreme effort is bound up in what we do for them. Everything we do now, this very month, will save many lives and will count for victory at an earlier day.

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A War for Men's Minds and Souls

Our own interest as a nation, and every consideration of justice towards the wronged and the oppressed are bound up in this titanic struggle.

We cannot too often remind ourselves that the present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. It is the first war which, in an accurate geographical sense, is really a world war. Moreover, it is a war which is being fought at one and the same time, in the air, on land and at sea. It is different from other wars in the nature and use of the forces employed. It is a war, as Mr. Churchill has said, of machines, of science, and of psychology.

But this war is different from other wars in yet other and more important respects. It is different in its purpose, and in its possibilities. It is a war not only in the material realm. It is a war for the control of men's minds and of men's souls. It is a war that will affect not only our own generation. It will leave its imprint on every subsequent age of humanity. It is a war that will shape the moral destiny of the world.

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The Victory Loan has become a symbol of private determination and public duty—a symbol which reflects the strength and vigour of the Canadian people. The Victory Loan is a most essential part of Canada's war effort.

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There has never been a time in Canada's history when an appeal for a Victory Loan was more urgent or more compelling. The appeal is urgent, because we are nearer than ever to the days of supreme effort. It is compelling, because it concerns so immediately the lives of Canada's fighting men.

It is of Canada's fighting men that I should like to speak particularly to-day. I wish to emphasize what we owe to them.

From Nationhood to World Power

As we stand at the threshold of this Fourth Victory Loan campaign, and view Canada's war effort from the vantage ground of the years of war, we are able to see our effort in its true proportions, to see it in its relation to the war effort of the other United Nations, and in its relation to common objectives. But that is not all. We can see how greatly, within the compass of the United Nations, Canada's status as a nation has broadened. We gain a larger vision of our country's opportunities and responsibilities. We see Canada now emerging from mere nationhood to the position of a world power.

In this pause of a moment, we obtain another, a still more significant vision. It is as if all Canada, having striven steadily onward and upward, under continually increasing burdens, for nearly four years, had been brought suddenly to realize that the summit has not yet been reached; and that if everything thus far accomplished is not to fail of ultimate achievement, a great new effort—a supreme effort—is now necessary.

Growth of Canada's War Effort

Our war effort as a whole has been carefully planned and organized. Our military forces, our war production and our essential services, have been kept in balance. We have sought to make our national effort, a maximum effort.

Our forces, three and a half years ago, were limited in numbers, in equipment, and in training. We have steadily expanded our forces. They have been provided with the best equipment. Training has been continous, and is constantly being improved. We have developed many new kinds of war production. We have combined our effort harmoniously and efficiently with the efforts of our allies. Canadian forces and Canadian supplies have become a telling part of the total strength of the United Nations.

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British Commonwealth Air Training Plan

There could be no finer illustration of the spirit of co-operation, characteristic of our whole war effort, than the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. Nor has greater foresight been shown in any strategic aspect of war planning than has been revealed by this vast project. The Agreement, establishing the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, was signed on December 17, 1939. On the same day, the first contingent of Canada's army landed in Britain.

The rapidity of the organization, and the scale of development of the Air Training Plan, have far exceeded the expectations of all who shared the responsibility of bringing it into being. A year ago, President Roosevelt said the training plan had made of Canada "the Aerodrome of Democracy". In his recent address to both Houses of our Parliament, Mr. Anthony Eden said: "If Canada had done nothing else in this war, her predominant share in the Commonwealth Air Training scheme would insure for her an enduring place in the roll of fame".

The vast development of the Air Training Plan is an assurance that Canada will continue to contribute trained fighting airmen to sustain the offensives against Germany, Italy, and Japan, until the fate of all three is sealed.

The Royal Canadian Air Force

The Royal Canadian Air Force, in addition to its administration of the training plan, has, from the outset, patrolled and protected the approaches to our coasts. Long-range aircraft, manned by Canadians, are employed in growing numbers in protecting escorted ships across the sea lanes of the Atlantic.

Since 1940, our Air Force has shared increasingly in action against the enemy wherever he may be found. Canadian airmen have been operating, on this continent, from Newfoundland to Alaska and the Aleutians; in the Far East, in India and Ceylon; in the Middle East, in Palestine, Egypt and Libya. From Malta and the African coasts, they have been operating over Italy and the waters of the Mediterranean. Growing numbers of Canadian squadrons, based in Britain, have ranged far and wide over Germany and enemy-occupied Europe. I could give no more graphic picture of the extent to which Canada's war effort has become part of a world-wide conflict. Canada, to-day, is the fourth greatest military air power among the United Nations.

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The Royal Canadian Navy

The Canadian Navy, like the Canadian Air Force, has developed phenomenally. Its spirit, its organization, and its training, like those of the Air Force, have all stressed the need of smooth and effective co-operation with allied forces. Through more than three long and bitter years, whether on destroyers, corvettes, minesweepers, patrol vessels, sub-chasers, or other craft, men of the Royal Canadian Navy, in ever-growing numbers, have helped to hold the sea lanes open.

In recent months, our Navy has been sharing nearly half the burden of convoy duty on the North Atlantic sea routes. This is very arduous and very dangerous work. It is being carried on through every kind of weather and with unceasing vigil. Units of Canada's Navy have also operated in other theatres of war. On the Pacific Ocean, and in the waters of the Mediterranean, our ships and men have been in action against the foe.

When our present programme of Naval expansion is completed a year hence, the personnel of Canada's Navy will approximately equal in numbers the personnel of the British Navy shortly before the outbreak of war.

The Merchant Marine

Closely associated with our Navy is Canada's merchant marine. In this service also there has been immense expansion. Our merchant seamen operate the ships in the convoys. Theirs are the ships that transport across the seas the food, the guns, the tanks, the planes, and other munitions of war produced in Canada. Their rugged endurance of the stormy life of the sea and all its wartime dangers is equalled only by their constant resolution to bring these precious cargoes to their destination. Our merchant seamen are making a noble contribution to this world-wide fight for freedom.

The Canadian Army

The Canadian Army, like the Canadian Air Force and the Canadian Navy, has been built up and developed in close co-operation with the British forces, and more recently with those of other of our Allies.

After Dunkirk, the First Canadian Division was one of very few divisions in Britain equipped to fight. It was the presence there of our First Division, and the arrival of our Second Division, which, later in the year, made it possible for the British Government to send

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reinforcements to Egypt. These reinforcements, with other troops from Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India, saved the Middle East. New units, formations and reserves have gone forward from Canada to Britain as quickly and as continuously as ships could be found to carry them. The First Canadian Army Corps, formed at Christmas 1940, has now grown into an army of two corps with an appropriate proportion of armoured formations. General McNaughton has said that the Army he commands is, for its size, "the most highly mechanized force in the world".

Training and Strategy

In all the varied aspects of modern war, the officers and men of Canada's Army have undergone unending training. Our Army has brought its training—individually by units, and collectively as a striking force—to a perfection perhaps never exceeded. That training has been hard, a training resembling as closely as possible the conditions of actual warfare. All the while, at the heart of the world's greatest citadel of freedom, Canada's Army has stood guard. It has been constantly in readiness to repel the invader. It has been a means of holding in Western Europe, and of withholding from Russia and Africa, German forces many times its size.

There have been several periods of intense activity, when battle against the enemy seemed imminent. In the spring of 1940, a part of the First Division was all ready to set out for Norway. Our troops were prepared to go to France before Dunkirk. Some detachments actually landed in France after Dunkirk. In 1941, there was the expedition to Spitzbergen, in the Arctic. In 1942, there was Dieppe.

If our forces overseas have remained so largely, and for so long, within the British Isles, if Canadian formations have not been broken up for service in other theatres, this has been due entirely to the considered judgment and advice of those concerned with the strategical direction of the war. It has not been because of any restriction imposed by the government of Canada. War strategy must be planned as a whole. With respect to the operations of Canadian troops, our government, since the outbreak of war, has taken but one position. It is that Canadian forces, in whole or in part, should be used where and when they can make the best contribution to the winning of the war.

Service at Home and Abroad

From a very small beginning, the strength of the Canadian Active Army has now grown to more than 435,000 men, of which

number over 190,000 are in Britain. A few thousands more are serving outside Canada in this hemisphere. Of the more than 240,000 soldiers in Canada, over 180,000 have volunteered for service anywhere in the world.

Units of our army are manning coastal and anti-aircraft defences in Canada and providing mobile reserves in the coastal regions. Many thousands more are in training. Throughout the war, units of the Canadian Army have served in many parts of the Western Hemisphere. From Canada's east coast, they reached out to Newfoundland, to Labrador, and to Iceland. Canadian forces have served in Bermuda, in Jamaica, and in the Caribbean area. Still others are co-operating with United States forces in Alaska.

For over a year, Canadian tunnellers were stationed at Gibraltar. To gain first-hand battle experience, officers and non-commissioned officers of the Canadian Army in Britain have been attached to and are fighting as part of the British First Army in North Africa.

Units of Canada's Army have also served in the Far East. In recounting the actions which have made of Canada's defence against aggression a memorable part of the world-wide fight for freedom, sufficient recognition has never been given to the Canadian expedition which in the autumn of 1941, sailed for Hong Kong. Nor has adequate honour been done its heroic part in the defence of that distant island fortress.

When, in the great silence which will follow the defeat of Germany and Japan, the thoughts of the world revert to the days when these mighty powers were challenged, no episodes of chivalry or daring will shine forth more brightly than those which tell of the Canadians at Hong Kong and Dieppe.

Canada a Vast Arsenal

War-making is not merely a task for the armed forces. Obviously, for Canada, the military effort, however great, can only be a part of a total effort. To effect a total effort our national economy has been transformed. Canada has become a vast arsenal. In three years, our industrial output has been doubled. In volume of war production, our country is fourth among the United Nations.

From the beginning of the war, we planned to produce far more supplies than were required for Canada's forces. In foodstuffs, in munitions, in weapons, in aircraft, and in ships, we have sought to produce to the limit of our capacity.

Under our policy of mutual aid, we are doing everything we can to make sure that our munitions and supplies are available in the theatres of war where they are most needed. In sending supplies to other United Nations, we are in reality helping to defend our own country. We are supplying munitions of war to Russia and China, to Australia and New Zealand, as well as to Britain and the United States. We are supplying these munitions to fight for these countries, to fight for Canada, to fight for freedom, to shorten the war, and to save human lives.

Canada's Armed Forces as a Whole

In round numbers, the total strength of our armed forces is over 700,000. Naval personnel numbers, in men, over 55,000; air force personnel about 200,000; and army personnel over 435,000. In addition, there are 22,000 women serving in the uniforms of the three armed services. These numbers do not include many tens of thousands of men giving part time service in the Reserve Army.

Our war strategy is based on the principle that wherever the enemy can be successfully engaged, Canada's interests are being advanced, and world freedom preserved.

We have not neglected our particular responsibility for the local defence of our homeland and of nearby areas. But we have clearly recognized that, so long as the enemy is undefeated anywhere, Canada will not be secure.

Canadian airmen have fought over almost every battle area around the globe. Canadian sailors have served on every ocean. Canadian soldiers have seen action on all three continents of the Old World. By their deeds, our fighting men have shown that the Canadian people understand there are no real frontiers in this world war, except the frontier between freedom and servitude.

Canada's Supreme Hour

The supreme hour for Canada will come when, along with the combined forces of the Allied powers, all our forces in the air, at sea, and on land, are attacking as one, in a mighty effort to batter down the ramparts of Prussian power, and to slay the dragon of Nazi brutality in its native lair. It is to hasten the day of this final attack, and to give to our fighting men all the support that we can possibly give, that the government appeals to-day to men and women in all

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parts of Canada to make to the Fourth Victory Loan the largest response that Canada has made to any appeal, at any time.

The Supreme Task of the War

I wish I were in a position to tell you when the days of supreme effort will come. I wish much more it were possible to foretell the day of victory. These, no one in this world can foresee. I may be able, however, to help you form your own estimate.

Existing situations may continue favourable. They may change rapidly. It is well, therefore, that we should be prepared for the invasion of Europe at any time. But conditions may change in unexpected ways. It is well, therefore, that we should also be prepared to wait. Through some unpredictable event, all our present calculations may be set at naught. We may be found to have been too hopeful. Moreover, we must never lose sight of the fact that the Allied powers are at war with Japan, as well as with Germany and Italy. Major battles may be fought at any moment in any quarter of the globe.

Those who count upon recent Allied successes as an assurance of an early defeat of the Axis powers should recall the ebb and flow of battle over the past three years. Within that time what most people imagined would be a European war has become a conflict of hemispheres. Of the present situation, the most one can say is that, in the Orient and the Occident alike, the sweep appears to be narrowing. Against this contraction in the areas of conflict, we must offset the intensity of the fighting.

Of the defeat of Italy in this war there can be no doubt whatever. Her colonial empire has already been torn to shreds. Her troops, used by the Germans so largely to meet the onslaught of opposing forces, and to cover their own retreats, have been slain or captured by the hundreds of thousands; her shores daily face the prospect of invasion. The defeat of Japan is remote, but nonetheless a certainty once Germany is defeated. To destroy the military might of the German war machine remains for the Allied powers the supreme task of the war. That task can be finally accomplished only on German soil.

The Invasion of Europe

It is not for me, nor indeed for anyone else, to hint at Allied strategy, much less to disclose to the enemy its essential aspects.

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There are, however, some secrets, even military secrets, which are open secrets. The invasion of the continent of Europe by the combined Allied forces is one. The unconditional surrender of German forces on German soil is another. There is to be no other surrender. When the hour of supreme effort comes, each of the contending forces will know it is the end, and that one of them must yield or die. That hour will also decide whether civilization itself is to live or die. All that has gone before, all that is now taking place, is leading up to that hour.

As I think of the ordeal through which our country will be called upon to pass in the days of supreme effort, I wish I were able to express to you the thoughts that will be required to sustain the hearts of us all. I can but say, quoting from words of inspiration with which you are already familiar:

> "Think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you."

Rather, let us rejoice that it has been given to us to be partakers of the spirit of those—the flower of our land—who, to save mankind, proudly have gathered

> "rank on rank to war
> "As who had heard God's message from afar."

Difficulties of Invasion

In contemplating the conquest of Germany, we must keep in mind the way in which Nazi power has reached out in Europe. Little more than three years ago, the might of the Prussian war machine was held within the confines of a single country. It now controls a continent. The German stronghold has expanded into a European fortress. For the materials of war, and for food, Germany is able to draw upon a storehouse which comprises many countries. Nazi brutality continues to terrorize and to enslave conquered millions, to force their labour, and to exploit their resources.

Invasion from the sea is many times more difficult than invasion of adjacent lands. Before the Allied powers attempt invasion across the Mediterranean, the English channel, or the North Sea, or from the waters of the Atlantic, we will have to be very certain of being able to land forces and equipment, and to hold the bridgehead. It

would be no help to ourselves, to Russia or China, or to any other of the Allied powers to have landing forces annihilated. Once forces have landed, they will be dependent on supplies and reinforcements which can be brought to them only across or over the sea.

We must also expect that, once bridgeheads are established, the tide of battle will ebb and flow. Because in Europe the enemy has strengthened the outer ramparts of his stronghold, it will be very difficult to reach German soil. There may be long periods of fighting in the occupied countries. This makes clear why, up to the present, all military authorities have insisted that, before a full-scale offensive is launched, there must be no lack of ships for the transport of troops and supplies; no lack of landing craft; no lack of aircraft to cover the advance of land operations; no menace at sea capable of cutting off the needed reinforcements and supplies.

The Submarine Menace

I need not remind you that at all times the North Atlantic sea lanes are a vital artery of supplies to the United Nations, especially to Britain and to Russia. If the war is to be won, the sea lanes must be kept open. If they were to be cut, the reserves of supplies in the British Isles would soon wither away. The whole tremendous armoury which has been concentrated in the citadel of Britain might very rapidly deteriorate, and its striking power be dissipated.

The Battle of the Atlantic, though hidden largely from view, is fiercer than ever. The submarine has become the deadliest weapon at Hitler's command. His U-boats have been concentrating in mid-Atlantic, along the shipping routes from Canada and the United States to Britain and the Mediterranean. Their numbers are larger than ever. Like wolves, they hunt in packs. Their aim is to sever the ocean lines of communication between the New World and the Old. The successful control of this menace is a necessary prelude to any successful invasion of the continent of Europe. Now, as never before, the bridge of ships across the North Atlantic must be maintained.

Lessons from the North African Campaign

In viewing the larger picture of the invasion of Europe, we may be helped to a truer perspective by what we already have seen in the invasion of North Africa.

I am sure it will come as a surprise to you to recall that it is almost half a year since American and British forces landed at Casablanca and Algiers. At that time, many thought the end of the African campaign would be a matter of a few weeks. Instead, it has taken months. The difficulties of securing and maintaining lines of communication, of bringing up the necessary supplies and reinforcements, proved greater than were anticipated. Imagine, however, what the consequences would have been had the Allied forces met formidable or prolonged opposition. Imagine the situation if, at any stage, they had been cut off from needed reinforcements and supplies.

To the enemy, the landing in North Africa of American and British forces was a complete surprise. There can be no element of surprise in the attempted invasion of Europe, except for the places and moments of attack. From the beginning of the war, the enemy has been taking every conceivable precaution to meet invasion from any quarter. German forces can be moved from almost any part of Europe to almost any other part with lightning rapidity. No worse fate could befall an invading force than to find itself opposed by German divisions so vastly superior in numbers that it could not hold its ground. For it and for the enemy this would be the North African situation in reverse.

Need for the Most Complete Preparation

You will agree, I am sure, that this greatest of all tasks must be approached with the utmost foresight, that it will require the most complete preparation. It is the duty of all concerned to see that sound judgment is not impaired by impatience, that nothing that can possibly be foreseen is left to chance. Invasion when it comes must be fortified with as full knowledge, as it is possible to obtain in advance, of every factor that will count for life or death in the balances that to-day are deciding the fate of the world.

We are anxious to see the end of the war. But we are most of all concerned that it shall end in victory. The mighty venture in which our own men are destined to play a decisive role should be made as certain of success as anything in war can be made. That it may be made certain of success, that it may be crowned with victory, is shown by the North African campaign. The battle for Tunisia is in all our minds. No one will say that General Montgomery is lacking in swift decision, or that he ever hesitated to engage in perilous action when the possible gain was worth the risk. But his advance, while daring, has also been cautious. He has

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never allowed himself to be tempted or hurried into premature action. He has refused to move until every last preparation has been complete. Each time Montgomery has given the word to advance, it has been a signal of victory.

The Supreme Effort

I have attempted to give a more or less impressionist survey of Canada's war effort, as we are able to view its proportions to-day, from the vantage ground of the years of war. I have attempted also to give some impression of the magnitude of the task that still confronts the United Nations. I have referred to an impression still more vivid. It is a consciousness that we have not yet reached the summit of our endeavours. It is a realization that, if everything thus far accomplished is not to prove to have been in vain, a great new effort—a supreme effort—is now necessary.

Canada's Fighting Men

Of one thing we may be assured. In every effort, our fighting men will not fail us. Let us make very sure we do not fail them. Let them see how completely their country is behind them. For us at home, in Canada, it is not enough to be proud of their achievements. We must not permit the pride which all Canada feels in their gallant exploits to blind us to what their efforts cost in human life, in suffering and privation, and in anguish of heart and mind. They are prepared to give their all. Let them see that we are prepared to do the same.

Let us not forget the continued patience and endurance of our fighting men. Let us not forget that some of them have been separated from homes and loved ones for nearly four years. Let us remember that many already have made the supreme sacrifice; that many have been severely wounded, or crippled for life; that many are imprisoned in enemy camps. Let us remember that, day by day, and night by night, our fighting men are risking their lives, that not one of them knows what the morrow may bring.

Let us realize that the success of their supreme effort is bound up in what we do for them. Everything we do now, this very month, will save many lives and will count for victory at an earlier day.

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A War for Men's Minds and Souls

Our own interest as a nation, and every consideration of justice towards the wronged and the oppressed are bound up in this titanic struggle.

We cannot too often remind ourselves that the present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. It is the first war which, in an accurate geographical sense, is really a world war. Moreover, it is a war which is being fought at one and the same time, in the air, on land and at sea. It is different from other wars in the nature and use of the forces employed. It is a war, as Mr. Churchill has said, of machines, of science, and of psychology.

But this war is different from other wars in yet other and more important respects. It is different in its purpose, and in its possibilities. It is a war not only in the material realm. It is a war for the control of men's minds and of men's souls. It is a war that will affect not only our own generation. It will leave its imprint on every subsequent age of humanity. It is a war that will shape the moral destiny of the world.

For release to the press at 3.00 p.m., May 17, 1943. D 60502

Statement by the Prime Minister

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

on

THE FOURTH VICTORY LOAN

I should like to take the earliest opportunity to place on record the Government's appreciation of the splendid response of the Canadian people to the appeal for the fourth Victory Loan. When, on the 15th of this month, the period fixed for the campaign had terminated, the objective of $1,100,000,000 had been exceeded by over 100 million dollars. As soon as the final results of the campaign are available, the Minister of Finance will, of course, communicate them to the House. What is even more significant than the fact that the total objective was oversubscribed, is that reports indicate that the objective of $500,000,000 for the general canvass and payroll subscriptions will also be exceeded. That fact in itself is a magnificent demonstration of the patriotism and of the men and women of Canada, and equally emphatic evidence of national unity of purpose in firm support of Canada's fighting men in the campaigns which must be undertaken before victory can be achieved.

D 60503

I should like to express the government's thanks to the Chairman of the National War Finance Committee, Mr. G. W. Spinney, and to the thousands of devoted Canadians in national, provincial and local organizations, without whose untiring efforts the loan could not have succeeded. I am sure all honourable members would wish to share in this expression of appreciation of the services of the men and women of our country and of those from other lands who have given of their talents, time and energies to this phase of Canada's war effort.

Speaking for the government, may I also express appreciation of the contribution to the success of the campaign made by honourable members of all parties in their own constituencies and elsewhere.

Honourable members, I am sure, will feel that I am justified in extending warm congratulations to the Minister of Finance, whose efforts on behalf of the loan have been indefatigable. He is entitled to the sense of deep satisfaction which he must be experiencing today. The confidence he expressed in the Canadian people in setting the high objective of the fourth Victory Loan has been more than fulfilled.

D 60504

In expressing appreciation of the support and determination of the people of Canada, there is one word I should like to add. The completeness of the victory in North Africa is causing some persons who ought to know better to say that the major issue in the war in Europe has been decided, and that we may look for the end of the war this year. Significant as is the North African victory, I am sure that in Europe the heaviest fighting still lies ahead. Further decisive battles have still to be fought and won. We have not yet reached the moment of supreme ordeal.

The way in which the Canadian people have responded to the Victory Loan shows that they have not allowed any false optimism concerning an early victory to weaken their will. We know it would be fatal to let one victory destroy our sense of proportion. The victory in Africa has only touched the fringes of Axis power; the assault on Europe has not yet begun. There remains as well the task of defeating Japan. This, clearly, is not a time for relaxing, but a time for redoubling our efforts. It is a time for strengthening our hearts and minds for the tremendous exertions which will still be required to bring the cause of freedom to the hour of victory.

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D 60507

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D60508

THE FOURTH VICTORY LOAN

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D 60509

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D60510

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For release to the press at 3.00 p.m., May 17, 1943. D 60511

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Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

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In expressing appreciation of the support and determination of the people of Canada, there is one word I should like to add. The completeness of the victory in North Africa is causing some persons who ought to know better to say that the major issue in the war in Europe has been decided, and that we may look for the end of the war this year. Significant as is the North African victory, I am sure that in Europe the heaviest fighting still lies ahead. Further decisive battles have still to be fought and won. We have not yet reached the moment of supreme ordeal.

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D 60514

For release to the press at 3.00 p.m., May 17, 1943.

Statement by the Prime Minister

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

on

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D 60529

CANADA AND THE WAR

CANADA'S FIGHTING MEN

An Address on the Opening
of the Fourth Victory Loan Campaign

by

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

TORONTO, APRIL 19, 1943

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1943

CANADA AND THE WAR

CANADA'S FIGHTING MEN

An Address before the Canadian Club of Toronto

by

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

Toronto, April 19, 1943

May I express to you, Mr. President, and to other officers and members of the Canadian Club of Toronto, my warm appreciation of the invitations so kindly extended to me from time to time. I am especially pleased that the occasion to address the Club's members has presented itself at the opening of Canada's Fourth Victory Loan campaign. I am not less grateful that the opportunity to make an appeal to my fellow-citizens throughout the Dominion should be afforded in the city which, for me, holds so much in the way of personal association.

An Urgent and Compelling Appeal

The Victory Loan has become a symbol of private determination and public duty—a symbol which reflects the strength and vigour of the Canadian people. The Victory Loan is a most essential part of Canada's war effort.

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There has never been a time in Canada's history when an appeal for a Victory Loan was more urgent or more compelling. The appeal is urgent, because we are nearer than ever to the days of supreme effort. It is compelling, because it concerns so immediately the lives of Canada's fighting men.

It is of Canada's fighting men that I should like to speak particularly to-day. I wish to emphasize what we owe to them.

From Nationhood to World Power

As we stand at the threshold of this Fourth Victory Loan campaign, and view Canada's war effort from the vantage ground of the years of war, we are able to see our effort in its true proportions, to see it in its relation to the war effort of the other United Nations, and in its relation to common objectives. But that is not all. We can see how greatly, within the compass of the United Nations, Canada's status as a nation has broadened. We gain a larger vision of our country's opportunities and responsibilities. We see Canada now emerging from mere nationhood to the position of a world power.

In this pause of a moment, we obtain another, a still more significant vision. It is as if all Canada, having striven steadily onward and upward, under continually increasing burdens, for nearly four years, had been brought suddenly to realize that the summit has not yet been reached; and that if everything thus far accomplished is not to fail of ultimate achievement, a great new effort—a supreme effort—is now necessary.

Growth of Canada's War Effort

Our war effort as a whole has been carefully planned and organized. Our military forces, our war production and our essential services, have been kept in balance. We have sought to make our national effort, a maximum effort.

Our forces, three and a half years ago, were limited in numbers, in equipment, and in training. We have steadily expanded our forces. They have been provided with the best equipment. Training has been continous, and is constantly being improved. We have developed many new kinds of war production. We have combined our effort harmoniously and efficiently with the efforts of our allies. Canadian forces and Canadian supplies have become a telling part of the total strength of the United Nations.

British Commonwealth Air Training Plan

There could be no finer illustration of the spirit of co-operation, characteristic of our whole war effort, than the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. Nor has greater foresight been shown in any strategic aspect of war planning than has been revealed by this vast project. The Agreement, establishing the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, was signed on December 17, 1939. On the same day, the first contingent of Canada's army landed in Britain.

The rapidity of the organization, and the scale of development of the Air Training Plan, have far exceeded the expectations of all who shared the responsibility of bringing it into being. A year ago, President Roosevelt said the training plan had made of Canada "the Aerodrome of Democracy". In his recent address to both Houses of our Parliament, Mr. Anthony Eden said: "If Canada had done nothing else in this war, her predominant share in the Commonwealth Air Training scheme would insure for her an enduring place in the roll of fame".

The vast development of the Air Training Plan is an assurance that Canada will continue to contribute trained fighting airmen to sustain the offensives against Germany, Italy, and Japan, until the fate of all three is sealed.

The Royal Canadian Air Force

The Royal Canadian Air Force, in addition to its administration of the training plan, has, from the outset, patrolled and protected the approaches to our coasts. Long-range aircraft, manned by Canadians, are employed in growing numbers in protecting escorted ships across the sea lanes of the Atlantic.

Since 1940, our Air Force has shared increasingly in action against the enemy wherever he may be found. Canadian airmen have been operating, on this continent, from Newfoundland to Alaska and the Aleutians; in the Far East, in India and Ceylon; in the Middle East, in Palestine, Egypt and Libya. From Malta and the African coasts, they have been operating over Italy and the waters of the Mediterranean. Growing numbers of Canadian squadrons, based in Britain, have ranged far and wide over Germany and enemy-occupied Europe. I could give no more graphic picture of the extent to which Canada's war effort has become part of a world-wide conflict. Canada, to-day, is the fourth greatest military air power among the United Nations.

The Royal Canadian Navy

The Canadian Navy, like the Canadian Air Force, has developed phenomenally. Its spirit, its organization, and its training, like those of the Air Force, have all stressed the need of smooth and effective co-operation with allied forces. Through more than three long and bitter years, whether on destroyers, corvettes, minesweepers, patrol vessels, sub-chasers, or other craft, men of the Royal Canadian Navy, in ever-growing numbers, have helped to hold the sea lanes open.

In recent months, our Navy has been sharing nearly half the burden of convoy duty on the North Atlantic sea routes. This is very arduous and very dangerous work. It is being carried on through every kind of weather and with unceasing vigil. Units of Canada's Navy have also operated in other theatres of war. On the Pacific Ocean, and in the waters of the Mediterranean, our ships and men have been in action against the foe.

When our present programme of Naval expansion is completed a year hence, the personnel of Canada's Navy will approximately equal in numbers the personnel of the British Navy shortly before the outbreak of war.

The Merchant Marine

Closely associated with our Navy is Canada's merchant marine. In this service also there has been immense expansion. Our merchant seamen operate the ships in the convoys. Theirs are the ships that transport across the seas the food, the guns, the tanks, the planes, and other munitions of war produced in Canada. Their rugged endurance of the stormy life of the sea and all its wartime dangers is equalled only by their constant resolution to bring these precious cargoes to their destination. Our merchant seamen are making a noble contribution to this world-wide fight for freedom.

The Canadian Army

The Canadian Army, like the Canadian Air Force and the Canadian Navy, has been built up and developed in close co-operation with the British forces, and more recently with those of other of our Allies.

After Dunkirk, the First Canadian Division was one of very few divisions in Britain equipped to fight. It was the presence there of our First Division, and the arrival of our Second Division, which, later in the year, made it possible for the British Government to send

reinforcements to Egypt. These reinforcements, with other troops from Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India, saved the Middle East. New units, formations and reserves have gone forward from Canada to Britain as quickly and as continuously as ships could be found to carry them. The First Canadian Army Corps, formed at Christmas 1940, has now grown into an army of two corps with an appropriate proportion of armoured formations. General McNaughton has said that the Army he commands is, for its size, "the most highly mechanized force in the world".

Training and Strategy

In all the varied aspects of modern war, the officers and men of Canada's Army have undergone unending training. Our Army has brought its training—individually by units, and collectively as a striking force—to a perfection perhaps never exceeded. That training has been hard, a training resembling as closely as possible the conditions of actual warfare. All the while, at the heart of the world's greatest citadel of freedom, Canada's Army has stood guard. It has been constantly in readiness to repel the invader. It has been a means of holding in Western Europe, and of withholding from Russia and Africa, German forces many times its size.

There have been several periods of intense activity, when battle against the enemy seemed imminent. In the spring of 1940, a part of the First Division was all ready to set out for Norway. Our troops were prepared to go to France before Dunkirk. Some detachments actually landed in France after Dunkirk. In 1941, there was the expedition to Spitzbergen, in the Arctic. In 1942, there was Dieppe.

If our forces overseas have remained so largely, and for so long, within the British Isles, if Canadian formations have not been broken up for service in other theatres, this has been due entirely to the considered judgment and advice of those concerned with the strategical direction of the war. It has not been because of any restriction imposed by the government of Canada. War strategy must be planned as a whole. With respect to the operations of Canadian troops, our government, since the outbreak of war, has taken but one position. It is that Canadian forces, in whole or in part, should be used where and when they can make the best contribution to the winning of the war.

Service at Home and Abroad

From a very small beginning, the strength of the Canadian Active Army has now grown to more than 435,000 men, of which

number over 190,000 are in Britain. A few thousands more are serving outside Canada in this hemisphere. Of the more than 240,000 soldiers in Canada, over 180,000 have volunteered for service anywhere in the world.

Units of our army are manning coastal and anti-aircraft defences in Canada and providing mobile reserves in the coastal regions. Many thousands more are in training. Throughout the war, units of the Canadian Army have served in many parts of the Western Hemisphere. From Canada's east coast, they reached out to Newfoundland, to Labrador, and to Iceland. Canadian forces have served in Bermuda, in Jamaica, and in the Caribbean area. Still others are co-operating with United States forces in Alaska.

For over a year, Canadian tunnellers were stationed at Gibraltar. To gain first-hand battle experience, officers and non-commissioned officers of the Canadian Army in Britain have been attached to and are fighting as part of the British First Army in North Africa.

Units of Canada's Army have also served in the Far East. In recounting the actions which have made of Canada's defence against aggression a memorable part of the world-wide fight for freedom, sufficient recognition has never been given to the Canadian expedition which in the autumn of 1941, sailed for Hong Kong. Nor has adequate honour been done its heroic part in the defence of that distant island fortress.

When, in the great silence which will follow the defeat of Germany and Japan, the thoughts of the world revert to the days when these mighty powers were challenged, no episodes of chivalry or daring will shine forth more brightly than those which tell of the Canadians at Hong Kong and Dieppe.

Canada a Vast Arsenal

War-making is not merely a task for the armed forces. Obviously, for Canada, the military effort, however great, can only be a part of a total effort. To effect a total effort our national economy has been transformed. Canada has become a vast arsenal. In three years, our industrial output has been doubled. In volume of war production, our country is fourth among the United Nations.

From the beginning of the war, we planned to produce far more supplies than were required for Canada's forces. In foodstuffs, in munitions, in weapons, in aircraft, and in ships, we have sought to produce to the limit of our capacity.

Under our policy of mutual aid, we are doing everything we can to make sure that our munitions and supplies are available in the theatres of war where they are most needed. In sending supplies to other United Nations, we are in reality helping to defend our own country. We are supplying munitions of war to Russia and China, to Australia and New Zealand, as well as to Britain and the United States. We are supplying these munitions to fight for these countries, to fight for Canada, to fight for freedom, to shorten the war, and to save human lives.

Canada's Armed Forces as a Whole

In round numbers, the total strength of our armed forces is over 700,000. Naval personnel numbers, in men, over 55,000; air force personnel about 200,000; and army personnel over 435,000. In addition, there are 22,000 women serving in the uniforms of the three armed services. These numbers do not include many tens of thousands of men giving part time service in the Reserve Army.

Our war strategy is based on the principle that wherever the enemy can be successfully engaged, Canada's interests are being advanced, and world freedom preserved.

We have not neglected our particular responsibility for the local defence of our homeland and of nearby areas. But we have clearly recognized that, so long as the enemy is undefeated anywhere, Canada will not be secure.

Canadian airmen have fought over almost every battle area around the globe. Canadian sailors have served on every ocean. Canadian soldiers have seen action on all three continents of the Old World. By their deeds, our fighting men have shown that the Canadian people understand there are no real frontiers in this world war, except the frontier between freedom and servitude.

Canada's Supreme Hour

The supreme hour for Canada will come when, along with the combined forces of the Allied powers, all our forces in the air, at sea, and on land, are attacking as one, in a mighty effort to batter down the ramparts of Prussian power, and to slay the dragon of Nazi brutality in its native lair. It is to hasten the day of this final attack, and to give to our fighting men all the support that we can possibly give, that the government appeals to-day to men and women in all

parts of Canada to make to the Fourth Victory Loan the largest response that Canada has made to any appeal, at any time.

The Supreme Task of the War

I wish I were in a position to tell you when the days of supreme effort will come. I wish much more it were possible to foretell the day of victory. These, no one in this world can foresee. I may be able, however, to help you form your own estimate.

Existing situations may continue favourable. They may change rapidly. It is well, therefore, that we should be prepared for the invasion of Europe at any time. But conditions may change in unexpected ways. It is well, therefore, that we should also be prepared to wait. Through some unpredictable event, all our present calculations may be set at naught. We may be found to have been too hopeful. Moreover, we must never lose sight of the fact that the Allied powers are at war with Japan, as well as with Germany and Italy. Major battles may be fought at any moment in any quarter of the globe.

Those who count upon recent Allied successes as an assurance of an early defeat of the Axis powers should recall the ebb and flow of battle over the past three years. Within that time what most people imagined would be a European war has become a conflict of hemispheres. Of the present situation, the most one can say is that, in the Orient and the Occident alike, the sweep appears to be narrowing. Against this contraction in the areas of conflict, we must offset the intensity of the fighting.

Of the defeat of Italy in this war there can be no doubt whatever. Her colonial empire has already been torn to shreds. Her troops, used by the Germans so largely to meet the onslaught of opposing forces, and to cover their own retreats, have been slain or captured by the hundreds of thousands; her shores daily face the prospect of invasion. The defeat of Japan is remote, but nonetheless a certainty once Germany is defeated. To destroy the military might of the German war machine remains for the Allied powers the supreme task of the war. That task can be finally accomplished only on German soil.

The Invasion of Europe

It is not for me, nor indeed for anyone else, to hint at Allied strategy, much less to disclose to the enemy its essential aspects.

There are, however, some secrets, even military secrets, which are open secrets. The invasion of the continent of Europe by the combined Allied forces is one. The unconditional surrender of German forces on German soil is another. There is to be no other surrender. When the hour of supreme effort comes, each of the contending forces will know it is the end, and that one of them must yield or die. That hour will also decide whether civilization itself is to live or die. All that has gone before, all that is now taking place, is leading up to that hour.

As I think of the ordeal through which our country will be called upon to pass in the days of supreme effort, I wish I were able to express to you the thoughts that will be required to sustain the hearts of us all. I can but say, quoting from words of inspiration with which you are already familiar:

> "Think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you."

Rather, let us rejoice that it has been given to us to be partakers of the spirit of those—the flower of our land—who, to save mankind, proudly have gathered

> "rank on rank to war
> "As who had heard God's message from afar."

Difficulties of Invasion

In contemplating the conquest of Germany, we must keep in mind the way in which Nazi power has reached out in Europe. Little more than three years ago, the might of the Prussian war machine was held within the confines of a single country. It now controls a continent. The German stronghold has expanded into a European fortress. For the materials of war, and for food, Germany is able to draw upon a storehouse which comprises many countries. Nazi brutality continues to terrorize and to enslave conquered millions, to force their labour, and to exploit their resources.

Invasion from the sea is many times more difficult than invasion of adjacent lands. Before the Allied powers attempt invasion across the Mediterranean, the English channel, or the North Sea, or from the waters of the Atlantic, we will have to be very certain of being able to land forces and equipment, and to hold the bridgehead. It

would be no help to ourselves, to Russia or China, or to any other of the Allied powers to have landing forces annihilated. Once forces have landed, they will be dependent on supplies and reinforcements which can be brought to them only across or over the sea.

We must also expect that, once bridgeheads are established, the tide of battle will ebb and flow. Because in Europe the enemy has strengthened the outer ramparts of his stronghold, it will be very difficult to reach German soil. There may be long periods of fighting in the occupied countries. This makes clear why, up to the present, all military authorities have insisted that, before a full-scale offensive is launched, there must be no lack of ships for the transport of troops and supplies; no lack of landing craft; no lack of aircraft to cover the advance of land operations; no menace at sea capable of cutting off the needed reinforcements and supplies.

The Submarine Menace

I need not remind you that at all times the North Atlantic sea lanes are a vital artery of supplies to the United Nations, especially to Britain and to Russia. If the war is to be won, the sea lanes must be kept open. If they were to be cut, the reserves of supplies in the British Isles would soon wither away. The whole tremendous armoury which has been concentrated in the citadel of Britain might very rapidly deteriorate, and its striking power be dissipated.

The Battle of the Atlantic, though hidden largely from view, is fiercer than ever. The submarine has become the deadliest weapon at Hitler's command. His U-boats have been concentrating in mid-Atlantic, along the shipping routes from Canada and the United States to Britain and the Mediterranean. Their numbers are larger than ever. Like wolves, they hunt in packs. Their aim is to sever the ocean lines of communication between the New World and the Old. The successful control of this menace is a necessary prelude to any successful invasion of the continent of Europe. Now, as never before, the bridge of ships across the North Atlantic must be maintained.

Lessons from the North African Campaign

In viewing the larger picture of the invasion of Europe, we may be helped to a truer perspective by what we already have seen in the invasion of North Africa.

I am sure it will come as a surprise to you to recall that it is almost half a year since American and British forces landed at Casablanca and Algiers. At that time, many thought the end of the African campaign would be a matter of a few weeks. Instead, it has taken months. The difficulties of securing and maintaining lines of communication, of bringing up the necessary supplies and reinforcements, proved greater than were anticipated. Imagine, however, what the consequences would have been had the Allied forces met formidable or prolonged opposition. Imagine the situation if, at any stage, they had been cut off from needed reinforcements and supplies.

To the enemy, the landing in North Africa of American and British forces was a complete surprise. There can be no element of surprise in the attempted invasion of Europe, except for the places and moments of attack. From the beginning of the war, the enemy has been taking every conceivable precaution to meet invasion from any quarter. German forces can be moved from almost any part of Europe to almost any other part with lightning rapidity. No worse fate could befall an invading force than to find itself opposed by German divisions so vastly superior in numbers that it could not hold its ground. For it and for the enemy this would be the North African situation in reverse.

Need for the Most Complete Preparation

You will agree, I am sure, that this greatest of all tasks must be approached with the utmost foresight, that it will require the most complete preparation. It is the duty of all concerned to see that sound judgment is not impaired by impatience, that nothing that can possibly be foreseen is left to chance. Invasion when it comes must be fortified with as full knowledge, as it is possible to obtain in advance, of every factor that will count for life or death in the balances that to-day are deciding the fate of the world.

We are anxious to see the end of the war. But we are most of all concerned that it shall end in victory. The mighty venture in which our own men are destined to play a decisive role should be made as certain of success as anything in war can be made. That it may be made certain of success, that it may be crowned with victory, is shown by the North African campaign. The battle for Tunisia is in all our minds. No one will say that General Montgomery is lacking in swift decision, or that he ever hesitated to engage in perilous action when the possible gain was worth the risk. But his advance, while daring, has also been cautious. He has

never allowed himself to be tempted or hurried into premature action. He has refused to move until every last preparation has been complete. Each time Montgomery has given the word to advance, it has been a signal of victory.

The Supreme Effort

I have attempted to give a more or less impressionist survey of Canada's war effort, as we are able to view its proportions to-day, from the vantage ground of the years of war. I have attempted also to give some impression of the magnitude of the task that still confronts the United Nations. I have referred to an impression still more vivid. It is a consciousness that we have not yet reached the summit of our endeavours. It is a realization that, if everything thus far accomplished is not to prove to have been in vain, a great new effort—a supreme effort—is now necessary.

Canada's Fighting Men

Of one thing we may be assured. In every effort, our fighting men will not fail us. Let us make very sure we do not fail them. Let them see how completely their country is behind them. For us at home, in Canada, it is not enough to be proud of their achievements. We must not permit the pride which all Canada feels in their gallant exploits to blind us to what their efforts cost in human life, in suffering and privation, and in anguish of heart and mind. They are prepared to give their all. Let them see that we are prepared to do the same.

Let us not forget the continued patience and endurance of our fighting men. Let us not forget that some of them have been separated from homes and loved ones for nearly four years. Let us remember that many already have made the supreme sacrifice; that many have been severely wounded, or crippled for life; that many are imprisoned in enemy camps. Let us remember that, day by day, and night by night, our fighting men are risking their lives, that not one of them knows what the morrow may bring.

Let us realize that the success of their supreme effort is bound up in what we do for them. Everything we do now, this very month, will save many lives and will count for victory at an earlier day.

A War for Men's Minds and Souls

Our own interest as a nation, and every consideration of justice towards the wronged and the oppressed are bound up in this titanic struggle.

We cannot too often remind ourselves that the present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. It is the first war which, in an accurate geographical sense, is really a world war. Moreover, it is a war which is being fought at one and the same time, in the air, on land and at sea. It is different from other wars in the nature and use of the forces employed. It is a war, as Mr. Churchill has said, of machines, of science, and of psychology.

But this war is different from other wars in yet other and more important respects. It is different in its purpose, and in its possibilities. It is a war not only in the material realm. It is a war for the control of men's minds and of men's souls. It is a war that will affect not only our own generation. It will leave its imprint on every subsequent age of humanity. It is a war that will shape the moral destiny of the world.

Missing Page Numbers

The following pages were not microfilmed because they are duplicates.

They are numbers D60530 & D60531

Numéros des pages manquantes

Les pages suivantes n'ont pas été microfilmées parce qu'elles sont des doubles.

Il s'agit des pages numéro D60530 & D60532

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95		Fourth Victory Loan, Thanks, Recording, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	23 May 1943	D 60532 - D 60537	
95		Chang Kai-Shek, Madame, Government Dinner, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	16 June 1943	D 60538 - D 60539	
95		Canadian-Soviet Friendship Rally, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	22 June 1943	D 60540 - D 60575	
95		U.S. Congress, Representatives of. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	28 June 1943	D 60576 - D 60584	
95		Sicily, Invasion of. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 July 1943	D 60585 - D 60590	
95		The War and Italy, Ottawa. Speeches in Parliament	2 Aug. 1943	D 60591 - D 60601	
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D 60532

Remarks by the Prime Minister in connection
with Victory Loan Broadcast
Sunday, 7.30 p.m., May 23rd, 1943.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to express the Government's appreciation of the splendid response of the Canadian people to the appeal for the Fourth Victory Loan. The very large objective of $1,100,000,000 has been greatly exceeded. What is even more significant is that the objective for the general canvass and payroll subscriptions was also exceeded.

That fact in itself is a magnificent demonstration of the patriotism of the men and women of Canada. It is equally emphatic evidence of national unity of purpose in firm support of Canada's fighting men in the campaigns which must be undertaken before victory can be achieved.

I should like to express the government's thanks to the chairman of the national war finance committee, Mr. G. W. Spinney, and to the thousands of devoted Canadians in national, provincial and local organizations without whose untiring efforts the loan could not have succeeded. I am sure the Canadian people generally wish to share in this expression of appreciation of the services of the men and women of our country and of those from other lands who have given of their talents, time and energies to this phase of Canada's war effort.

D 60533

Speaking for the government, may I also express appreciation of the contribution to the success of the campaign made by members of Parliament of all parties in their own constituencies and elsewhere.

I feel that I am justified in extending warm congratulations to the Minister of Finance, whose efforts on behalf of the loan have been indefatigable. Mr. Ilsley is entitled to the sense of deep satisfaction which he must be experiencing as a result of its overwhelming success. The confidence he expressed in the Canadian people in setting the high objective of the Fourth Victory Loan has been more than fulfilled.

In expressing appreciation of the support and determination of the people of Canada, there is one word I should like to add. The completeness of the victory in North Africa is causing some persons who ought to know better, to say that the major issue in the war in Europe has been decided, and that we may look for the end of the war this year. Significant as is the North African victory, I am sure that in Europe the heaviest fighting still lies ahead. Further decisive battles have still to be fought and won. We have not reached the moment of supreme ordeal. The way in which the Canadian people have responded to the victory

loan shows that they have not allowed any false optimism concerning an early victory to weaken their will. We know it would be fatal to let one victory destroy our sense of proportion. The victory in Africa has only touched the fringes of axis power; the assault on Europe has not yet begun. There remains as well the task of defeating Japan. This, clearly, is not a time for relaxing, but a time for redoubling our efforts. It is a time for strengthening our hearts and minds for the tremendous exertions which will still be required to bring the cause of freedom to the hour of victory.

D 60535

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with Victory Loan Broadcast
Sunday, 7.30 p.m., May 23rd, 1943.

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95		Quebec Conference Dinner at Citadel, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1943	D 60602 - D 60607	

J.W.P.

Notes for Government dinner
in honour of Madame Chiang
June 16, 1943

Renew appreciation of visit to Canada Mr King
what it meant

Address illuminating and moving
reference to Canada's part

D 60538

proud to share

Welcome to Madame C's. party

Dr. Kung and Miss Kung--Confucious

Representative nature of our gathering:

Governor General and Princess Alice
Princess Juliana
Ministers and all parties
both Houses
Chief Justice
Diplomatic Service
Governments in exile

No community so wide and suffering

Mr. Jones of New Zealand

Glad opportunity to pay tribute to Madame C.

For herself
Story of her life
The Soong Sisters

A great interpreter:
a) of past to present
East to West
b) of ourselves
c) part women can play

Tribute to the Generalissimo
and two together

Joy of service, peace and war

D 60539

Browning
Webbs
President and Mrs. Roosevelt
King and Queen

The people of China

China's part in war:

numbers slain
country speaks "I gave my life for you"

Thoughts and reflections aroused by address

significance of an ancient culture --
fine arts -- principles

Relation of past and present

Professor Norton of Harvard
"Bread of Angels"

Significance of modern culture --
practical science

contribution of American Universities

"Cast bread on waters"

Boxer indemnity

Hope for the future order of the world

in government
history of changes in China
my visit to China

Unity

life of different peoples

Hope for new world

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~~W.L.M. / material~~

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Press Release

N.B. Not to be released before Broadcast
at 9.15 p.m. E.D.S.T. June 22nd, 1943.

CANADIAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP RALLY
TORONTO - June 22nd, 1943.

Introduction of Honourable Joseph E. Davies
by
Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada.

Two years ago today, the world learned with amazement of the invasion of Russia by Germany. No one needs to be told how terribly the Russian people have suffered in these past two years, or what qualities of heroism and endurance they have displayed. What needs to be stressed is the effective part which Russian resistance has had in the frustration of Germany's aims of world conquest.

In this global war, we of the United Nations are all debtors one of another. The resistance of allied nations on the continent of Europe, the prolonged resistance of Britain, supported by Canada and other nations of the Commonwealth, gained for Russia two precious years in which to strengthen her defences. In turn, the marvellous resistance of the Russians relieved Britain of the weight of the Nazi attack. It also gave time to the nations

of the British Commonwealth, and to the United States, to prepare for offensive action against the enemy. Indeed, the importance of Russia's resistance has been so great that we hardly dare ask ourselves what might have happened if, instead of standing firm, the Russians had yielded, or had been overborne. Hitler and his Nazi legions, rich in oil and conquered territories, would then have been free to work their evil will in the West, at the very time the treacherous Japanese were making their attacks in the Pacific. Without doubt, this was what the Axis powers believed they would accomplish. Their plans were made accordingly.

Because we, on this continent, have been spared the horrors of invasion, it is difficult for us to envisage the sufferings and losses of the Russian people. The story of their sacrifices does not begin to be told by their losses on the field of battle, staggering as the figures are. It is estimated that Russia's dead in this war - soldiers and civilians - men and women and children - total over ten millions. It is almost as if the whole of Canada's population had been wiped out in the past two years. Between three and four times that number were obliged to flee from their homes, leaving behind them all they had built through years of toil and hardship. In addition to those who have died and the homeless ones who have trekked to distant parts of the Soviet Union, there are about twenty million

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people still suffering under the Nazi occupation. From the occupied districts, the Nazis have deported over two millions to perform slave labour in Germany. For many of those who remain, existence is worse than death. They are being systematically overworked, / starved and tortured.

A recognition of the debt owed to Russia by all the allied nations, combined with sympathy for the Russian people in their sufferings, led to the organization in Canada some months ago, of the Aid-to-Russia campaign.

The splendid response to this campaign revealed how deep had become the feelings of sympathy and admiration of the people of Canada for the Russian people. The men and women who organized and administered that campaign have been inspired by the response to their efforts to undertake the foundation of a Council of Canadian-Soviet Friendship. Like the "Aid to Russia" campaign, the new venture has no official character. Its underlying purpose - the promoting of understanding and friendship between the peoples of the two countries - has, however, the warm support of the government. The Council is being organized and will be supported by Canadians who are united by a spirit of human brotherhood and an admiration for human fortitude.

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It is particularly appropriate that the Council of Canadian-Soviet Friendship should be established on the second anniversary of the attack on Russia by Nazi Germany. In a moment, I shall tell you why it is especially fitting that the speaker at this meeting should be the Honourable Joseph E. Davies, former United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

The Council of Canadian-Soviet Friendship is not being established only for the duration of the war. It aims at building up and maintaining lasting good-will and friendship between the people of Canada and the people of Soviet Russia. Apart altogether from our comradeship in arms, there are many reasons why friendship between our two countries should be particularly close.

A combination of geography and aviation has made Canada and Russia near neighbours. We have only to look at the top of the globe - or at the new aerial maps - to see that Russia and Canada are ~~the~~ Arctic powers. Our frontiers meet at the North Pole. ~~Canada and the Soviet Union~~ ~~Our two countries~~, moreover, are vast in space. In many ways, they are similar in climate and in resources. We have like problems of transport, of development and of adaptation to new northern environments. On scientific and technical levels, we have much to learn from each other. We can greatly help each other in the solution of many problems.

Through its possession of Alaska, the United States is also an Arctic power and a link between Canada and the Soviet Union x

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Canada and the Soviet Union are also alike in being countries of many races. Both of us have made great progress in the development of communities in which peoples of diverse racial origins have found the way to live together in harmony. I doubt if a greater contribution can be made to the cause of enduring peace than by the development, throughout the world, of a spirit of harmony among peoples of different racial origins. Canada and the Soviet Union are both helping to achieve that spirit. By our mutual friendship, we can contribute to its diffusion throughout the world. Ignorance and prejudice are the worst of all foes. They are responsible for most of the enmities between classes and races, and of the hatreds between individuals and nations. The hope of the future for men of all races lies in a universal recognition of our common humanity.

Speaking here in the Maple Leaf Gardens in March, 1941, I said that if the new world order was not already on its way before the war was over, we might look for it in vain. ~~By~~ In the promotion of understanding and friendship between nations, which organizations such as the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Council are intended to foster, we surely see the beginnings of the new world order. It is an order which seeks, not to divide and to destroy, but which,

by mutual co-operation between nations in the common defence of freedom and human rights, cannot fail to effect a new world unity.

The Nazi attack on Soviet Russia and the Japanese attack on the United States have shown that even the greatest powers cannot, by their own efforts, ensure their national security. Among nations in the world of today, security against aggression is indivisible.

Not only is the security of nations indivisible, their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought prosperity in economic isolation from its neighbours. In so doing, the prosperity of all nations was destroyed. Depression and war were the result. Now is the time for the entire world to realize that, just as no nation of itself can ensure its own security, so no nation in isolation can create its own prosperity. We shall have found the key to a new post-war order when the nations of the world come to base their policies on the truth that prosperity, like security, is indivisible; that no nation liveth unto itself; that we are members one of another. This is the only basis of a sound foreigh policy.

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Canada, tonight, is highly honoured by the presence at this great meeting of The Honourable Joseph E. Davies, ~~who has recently~~ so soon after his returned from a second mission to Moscow. At great personal inconvenience and some risk to his health, he has come to Toronto to assist in the establishment of the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Council. On your behalf I should like at once to extend to Mr. Davies a very warm welcome to our country. I should like as well, to welcome him on behalf of the government and people of Canada. We welcome him as a distinguished and public spirited citizen of the United States, as one who shares an intimate confidence and friendship with President Roosevelt, and as one who has been a life long exponent of the principles of freedom and the rule of law in international relations.

I doubt if anyone on this continent has done more to promote an understanding of the Soviet Union and its place in the world than Mr. Davies. As United States Ambassador in Moscow in the critical years of 1937 and 1938, Mr. Davies, as is the duty of a good ambassador, made remarkable use of his eyes and ears. We have since learned with what skill he used his fine gift of cool and objective judgment. To his

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keen observations, he added a rare insight into the real significance of events in the Soviet Union in those years.

The whole English-speaking world owes a debt of gratitude to President Roosevelt and Mr. Cordell Hull for their wise decision in permitting the publication of Ambassador Davies' confidential despatches and reports. "Mission to Moscow" is a major contribution to a true understanding of modern Russia. Since lasting friendship can be founded only on genuine understanding, Mr. Davies' book is a vital contribution to the development of friendship between all English-speaking countries and the Soviet Union.

In his book and in all his speeches, Mr. Davies has stressed the fact that he is definitely not a Communist, that he is a believer in the system of private enterprise, that he is proud to be called an individualist, and not ashamed to be designated as "a capitalist". He is a strong advocate of individual freedom in thought and opportunity. When in Russia, Mr. Davies made it clear that while he recognized that the Soviet system aimed to improve the lot of the common man, he believed that a fairer distribution of wealth and greater equality of opportunity for the underprivileged would be assured by the liberal and progressive methods applied in his own country.

D 60548

But

As one whose convictions are founded upon Christian teachings and his Christian faith, Mr. Davies has repeatedly said that he is heart and soul in the endeavour that we on this continent should become close working companions with the Soviet Union.

From the day, two years ago, when Hitler ordered the German armies to attack Russia, Mr. Davies has travelled through the United States speaking to great gatherings, like this one tonight, about the Soviet Union. Fortunately for us, his addresses have not been confined to his own country. He has made more than one visit to Canada. Since his last visit, he has circled the globe on a momentous second "Mission to Moscow". For his generosity in again sharing his experience and knowledge with us, we are indeed most grateful.

Within the past two years, Canada has had visits from distinguished representatives of most of the United Nations. In the same period, we have greatly extended the circle of diplomatic representation. We have received as Minister from the Soviet Union, Mr. Feodor Gousev whom we are delighted to have present on this platform tonight. We have sent to Russia, as our first Minister to that country, Mr. Dana Wilgress, one of the ablest of our public servants. Already this exchange of missions has resulted in a noticeable increase in understanding and good-will.

Most recent among Canada's distinguished visitors were Dr. Edouard Benes, the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, the wife of the Generalissimo of China.

Like Madame Chiang, Mr. Davies has been an interpreter between two civilizations which, on the surface, have many apparent differences to divide them, but which beneath the surface, have similarities more vital, which make for a community of interests.

Madame Chiang has acted as interpreter of the western world to China, and of China to the western world. Mr. Davies has helped Russia to understand the western democracies, and has contributed vastly to our understanding of the aspirations and the achievements of the Russia of today.

Like President Benes, Mr. Davies has shown a remarkable insight into the trend of world events. Not all public men have been so fortunate as Dr. Benes and Mr. Davies in having their prophecies on record, and what is more, in living to see them fulfilled.

In 1938, Dr. Benes forecast the outbreak and probable trend of the present war. He publicly stated his belief that war would come within a year; that it would strike, first Poland then France; that Hitler would attack all Europe, in the west and even in Russia; and that, in the end, the United States would be involved.

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In the same year that Dr. Benes made this remarkable forecast, Mr. Davies committed himself equally explicitly as to the inherent strength of the defensive position of the Soviet Union.

At that time, when so many military experts were misjudging Russia's strength, Mr. Davies, a civilian, wrote:

> "It is probable that the Soviet Union could defensively maintain its entity against any combination of two hostile powers. If confronted by a hostile alliance of more than two such powers, some territory of the Soviet Union might be occupied, but it is probable that the present military forces would prevent decisive defeat, and it is unlikely that permanent gains would accrue to the invading armies."

Mr. Davies saw in Russia much more than a titanic military power. He saw a country which under (to use his own words) "the resolute, bold and able leadership of Stalin", had developed amazingly in its industrial and economic life, and in the education and emancipation of the masses. He saw a country whose progress was certain to make it an important factor in world affairs. What is more, he saw in the Soviet Union, a sincere advocate of world peace.

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Ladies and Gentlemen: You will agree, I am sure, that the sponsors of this meeting could have found no one more entitled than Mr. Davies to speak with authority on the relations of the Soviet Union with the rest of the world. You will also agree that no one is better qualified to promote the cause of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the peoples of North America. It is now my privilege to introduce to you the speaker of the evening, the Honourable Joseph E. Davies.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER 122

MEMORANDUM for the Prime Minister. 60552

re Canadian Soviet Friendship Council

Attached are:

1. A letter and memorandum from the Canadian Legation in Moscow suggesting a possible slogan for a speech by yourself on post-war international policy -

2. A few paragraphs I have drafted along the lines of the suggestion which might be fitted into your speech introducing Mr. Davies.

J.W.P.

18th June, 1943.

JWP/JMC

D 60553

CANADIAN LEGATION

Legation du Canada

Kuibyshev,
May 18th, 1943

Dear Mr. Robertson,-

-- I am attaching copy of a memorandum submitted to me by Mr. Arnold C. Smith, Third Secretary of this Mission, in which he suggests the launching by a Canadian statesman of the slogan "Prosperity is indivisible." I think there is a lot of merit in his idea and perhaps you may care to consider putting forward to the Prime Minister the suggestion of Mr. Smith and the embodiment of the slogan and some paragraphs based on this theme in a speech which he will be delivering on post-war international policy.

I can subscribe fully to what Mr. Smith writes about the difficulty of making other people, particularly in a country such as this, understand exactly what Canada does stand for in world affairs.

Yours faithfully,

"L. D. Wilgress"

N. A. Robertson, Esq.,
Under Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa, Canada.

D 60554

5. "Prosperity is indivisible", the slogan suggested, has much to recommend it. It is short and striking. It is positive. Its emphasis on social and economic aspects of world politics is in tune with modern emotions and aspirations, and with modern problems. Its slight tendency to recall to mind Litvinov's famous slogan "Peace is indivisible" is an advantage, as reminiscent of a world policy which most people now recognize should have been followed. Above all, while the slogan is sufficiently vague not to commit its proponents to anything definite, yet the policies it suggests are eminently practicable, and indeed are likely to be in fact initiated. And the obvious fact that during the rest of the war the slogan would make admirable propaganda, means that it should not be difficult to have it spread widely throughout the world by United Nations publicity and propaganda offices. In particular I think it would be quite possible to induce the United Kingdom Ministry of Information to make a campaign of it; it is a slogan which most of their editors and writers would welcome as being useful propaganda for the United Nations both in neutral countries and in Axis-occupied Europe.

6. The general lines of post-war policy which the slogan suggests are likely to seem practicable and desirable to practically all peoples, and all classes and parties. Internally, in Canada and the United States, the connotation is full employment, good profits and large exports. In Europe the connotation is in no sense incompatible with the socialist aspirations of left-wing groups, yet the slogan takes no explicit sides in the important disputes which exist and will probably spread in Europe over this issue. And throughout most of Europe and all of Asia and Africa the slogan suggests economic development, the large-scale investment of capital which is the greatest need of these parts of the world and an indispensable condition for full employment in the economic system of the United States. In other words, the slogan suggests both international economic collaboration and solidarity, but also, internally in every country, the vital importance of social solidarity and recognition that the well-being and prosperity of the mass of the common people is essential to the well-being of the world.

7. Properly handled the slogan could therefore become a widely recognized key-note not only of war propaganda now, but even of the actual peace settlements if they proceed on intelligent lines -- which they may do. The advantages which would accrue in prestige and perhaps in resultant influence, to Canada, if this slogan were associated with the Canadian Prime Minister, are both very considerable and very obvious.

D 60555

"Prosperity is Indivisible"

1. The purpose of this memorandum is to suggest that the slogan "Prosperity is indivisible" be launched, preferably in an important speech by the Prime Minister, as an official expression of Canada's general attitude to the post-war problems of world politics.

2. Canada naturally wishes to play a part in determining post-war settlements commensurate with the importance of her functional contribution to the war effort and her probable contribution in economic terms to the restoration measures which will be taken. Canada's position as one of the greatest of the smaller powers is another factor which might well give her an important voice in international councils. So is our experience as a successful confederation.

3. An important difficulty, felt by other powers and by world public opinion, in considering Canadian pretensions to a voice in world policy, is sincere ignorance about what, if anything, Canada stands for in world politics, and what kind of a general policy she would be likely to initiate or support. Canada's membership of the British Commonwealth plus her North American position and her non-membership in the Pan-American Union all tend to support the widespread opinion that in international affairs Canada has little or no initiative or point of view of her own, so that Canadian representation in any international committees which were not in any case all-embracing would be at best pointless, at worst merely give one more vote to the United Kingdom or the United States view on any subject under discussion.

4. If the Prime Minister of Canada became associated with the enunciation of a slogan regarding post-war aims which caught public imagination as did the Atlantic Ch rter or Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" it would do much to dissipate this widespread and harmful impression described in paragraph 3. This should not be difficult: the Atlantic Charter has largely miss-fired through its over-emphasis of traditional nineteenth century sovereignty, and the increasingly obvious fact that it largely fails to correspond to the real policies of the Great Powers (e.g. India, the Darlan-Giraud policy of the U.S., the question of the Polish Government and frontiers, etc.--these illustrations will almost certainly be multiplied in the course of the next year or two); while Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" suffer from the drawback of being expressed negatively ("Freedom <u>from</u> want, Freedom <u>from</u> fear").

D 60556

8. Canada would be a particularly appropriate source for the enunciation of such a slogan and implied world policy, in that we are known to have practically no vested interests, pretensions, or prejudices on the political systems, frontiers, or other details of any part of the world outside our own, and yet, as a nation which has been in from the beginning in both this and the previous world war, and as one of the greatest of all exporting nations, to have an overwhelming vested interest in real international peace and international prosperity.

"Arnold C. Smith"

Kuibyshev,
May 18th, 1943.

D 60557

Prosperity is Indivisible.

The primary aim of the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Council is the strengthening of understanding and good will between Canada and the Soviet Union. Its sponsors, I am sure, have, as well, a wider objective. That objective is the strengthening of the bonds of friendship among all the United Nations.

By assuming world-encircling proportions, the war has convinced the masses of men in all countries that the old ideas of neutrality and isolation cannot survive in the twentieth century. The Nazi attack on Soviet Russia and the Japanese attack on the United States have shown that even the greatest powers cannot by their own efforts alone, ensure their national security. By mutual aid, the United Nations will achieve victory in war. Security against aggression in the world of today is indivisible. Only by mutual understanding and mutual aid can the free peoples of the world ensure their security for the future. The building of a lasting peace, when victory is won, will depend, in great part, on the attitude

and the policies of the Soviet Union. The bonds of friendship forged in war will contribute to co-operation in peace.

Not only is security indivisible in a world dominated by aviation, but prosperity also is indivisible. No one wishes to return to the mad scramble of the years before the war when almost every nation sought prosperity in economic isolation from its neighbours. In doing so, the prosperity of all nations was destroyed. The result was depression and war. Now is the time for all the world to realize that, just as no nation can ensure its own security, so no nation can create its own prosperity in isolation from other nations. If the nations of the world come to base their policies on the great truth that prosperity is indivisible, we shall have found the key to a new order of human welfare. To that high end, the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Council has the opportunity to make a valuable contribution.

/22

C O P Y

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

D 60559

WS Z DPR PAID

WS-TORONTO ONT 525PM June 12 1943

Mr. J. Pickersgill
Prime Minister's Department
East Block Parliament Buildings Ottawa Ont

Following are notes requested by Armstrong for Prime Minister reference June twenty second Canadian-Soviet Friendship rally STOP The admiration and sympathy felt by Canadians for the Russian people demonstrated by phenomenal success of the Canadian Aid to Russia Fund. The first public appeal made by Canadian Red Cross in December nineteen forty one. Objective was half million dollars but subscriptions totalled eight hundred thousand. In October nineteen forty two Canadian aid to Russia Fund incorporated under chairmanship J. S. McLean, Victor Sifton, Vice-President, and Harvey F. Skey, Treasurer. National campaign for one million dollars commenced November twenty-five and by end of March cash contributions totalled three million dollars and in addition over two million dollars worth clothing, blankets and other goods in kind donated by people of Canada. Subscriptions continuing to flow in unsolicited since campaign closed at rate of thousand dollars a day. Over two thousand committees actively engaged collecting clothing for Russians. Shipments of supplies going forward on Soviet boats monthly. No cash only goods sent listed by Soviet Minister.

Due to strong support given Fund by radio, press and film industries, also various technicians, campaign expenses only 1.35 per cent of gross collections in cash and clothing. This includes cost of head and branch office administration. Over eighty dailies and 706 weeklies, French and English speaking, supported campaign. All radio stations and movie theatres carried appeal for entire period of campaign.

About three hundred branches set up in cities and towns across Canada, headed by leading citizens, in most cases bankers serve as treasurers. Three provincial clothing depots open for collection and shipping of used goods donations.

D 60560

Purchasing of relief goods commenced on December 14 as soon as money began to come in. The first carload of goods was shipped on January 16, during campaign and to date close to two million dollars worth of goods purchased and shipped, in addition to which several carloads of used clothing going forward to Russia weekly.

Contributions have come from every class of citizens in Dominion. Workers on Alaska Highway signed over pay cheques to Fund. Airdrome workers and troops in Labrador contributed seven thousand dollars. From Indian reservations, inmates in hospitals and prisons came donations for the Russian people. Wedding and engagement rings were raffled for the Fund. Churches observed January 24 last as "Aid to Russia Sunday". Ontario County Councils voted contributions from treasuries, totalling $150,000. Many men and women in the armed forces donated a day's pay. Teachers and school children conducted special drives for money and clothing. In some places Rotary, veterans' and women's clubs constituted selves special committees for fund.

Following financial campaign came flow of requests for lecture services films and literature re Russia. People want to know about background and training which has given our allies endurance and ability exhibited in mechanized war with most inhuman brutal enemy in history.

Charter of Aid to Russia Fund limits it to relief work, hence decision to organize fact-finding and fact-distributing organization. The model is Lord Horder's Committee in Britain, and National Council for American-Soviet Friendship under Corliss Lamont which Ambassador Davies helped to organize. It is intended to establish liaison groups in Canada such as the Anglo-Soviet Medical Council, headed by Sir Alfred Webb-Johnson. There should be brought about mutually helpful relations between Canadian and Russian scientists, musicians, agronomists, technicians in public health, education, industry, etc., essential to the reconstruction and progress of both countries. Soviet Union leadership in war medicine and development of Polar region of practical interest to Canada. Through film, radio, lectures of authoritative standard, the Council would endeavour to promote understanding about Russia, tear down the walls which subversive propaganda has built in thepast, Aim also to spread knowledge in the Soviet Union about Canada.

D 60561

Chairman of the organizing committee of Canadian Soviet Friendship Council is Sir Ellsworth Flavelle. Among his associates are: John David Eaton, J. W. McConnell, J. E. Atkinson, Mrs. W. L. Grant, Sir Ernest MacMillan, J. S. McLean, Walter Jones, C. L. Burton, Hugh Mackenzie.

Sponsors to date include Lieutenant Governors, Premiers and Chief Justices of Provinces, Principals of Universities and similar leading citizens.

Margaret Gould,
Toronto Star

C O P Y

D 60562

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

WS Z DPR PAID

WS-TORONTO ONT 525PM June 12 1943

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Prime Minister's Department
East Block Parliament Buildings Ottawa Ont

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Margaret Gould,
Toronto Star

C O P Y

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

D 60565

WS Z DPR PAID

WS-TORONTO ONT 525PM June 12 1943

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Prime Minister's Department
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Margaret Gould,
Toronto Star

D 60568

Press Release

N.B. Not to be released before Broadcast
at 9.15 p.m. E.D.S.T. June 22nd, 1943.

CANADIAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP RALLY
TORONTO - JUNE 22nd, 1943.

Introduction of Honourable Joseph E. Davies
by
Right Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada.

Two years ago today, the world learned with amazement of the invasion of Russia by Germany. No one needs to be told how terribly the Russian people have suffered in these past two years, or what qualities of heroism and endurance they have displayed. What needs to be stressed is the effective part which Russian resistance has had in the frustration of Germany's aims of world conquest.

In this global war, we of the United Nations are all debtors one of another. The resistance of allied nations on the continent of Europe, the prolonged resistance of Britain, supported by Canada and other nations of the Commonwealth, gained for Russia two precious years in which to strengthen her defences. In turn, the marvellous resistance of the Russians relieved Britain of the weight of the Nazi attack. It also gave time to the nations of the British Commonwealth, and to the United States, to prepare for offensive action against the enemy. Indeed, the importance of Russia's resistance has been so great that we hardly dare ask ourselves what might have happened if, instead of standing firm, the Russians had yielded, or had been overborne. Hitler and his Nazi legions, rich in oil and conquered territories, would then have been free to work their evil will in the West, at the very time the treacherous Japanese were making their attacks in the Pacific. Without doubt, this was what the Axis powers believed they would accomplish. Their plans were made accordingly.

Because we, on this continent, have been spared the horrors of invasion, it is difficult for us to envisage the sufferings and losses of the Russian people. The story of their sacrifices does not begin to be told by their losses on the field of battle, staggering as the figures are. It is estimated that Russia's dead in this war - soldiers and civilians - men, women and children - total over ten millions. It is almost as if the whole of Canada's population had been wiped out in the past two years. Between three and four times that number were obliged to flee from their homes, leaving behind them all they had built through years of toil and hardship. In addition to those who have died and the homeless ones who have trekked to distant parts of the Soviet Union, there are about twenty million people still suffering under the Nazi occupation. From the occupied districts, the Nazis have deported over two millions to perform slave labour in Germany. For many of those who remain, existence is worse than death. They are being systematically overworked, starved and tortured.

A recognition of the debt owed to Russia by all the allied nations, combined with sympathy for the Russian people in their sufferings, led to the organization in Canada some months ago, of the Aid-to-Russia campaign.

The splendid response to this campaign revealed how deep had become the feelings of sympathy and admiration of the people of Canada for the Russian people. The men and women who organized and administered that campaign have been inspired by the response to their efforts to undertake the foundation of a Council of Canadian-Soviet Friendship. Like the "Aid to Russia" campaign, the new venture has no official character. Its underlying purpose - the promoting of understanding and friendship between the peoples of the two countries - has, however, the warm support of the government. The Council is being organized and will be supported by Canadians who are united by a spirit of human brotherhood and an admiration for human fortitude.

It is particularly appropriate that the Council of Canadian-Soviet Friendship should be established on the second anniversary of the attack on Russia by Nazi Germany. In a moment, I shall tell you why it is especially fitting that the speaker at this meeting should be the Honourable Joseph E. Davies, former United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

The Council of Canadian-Soviet Friendship is not being established only for the duration of the war. It aims at building up and maintaining lasting good-will and friendship between the people of Canada and the people of Soviet Russia. Apart altogether from our comradeship in arms, there are many reasons why friendship between our two countries should be particularly close.

A combination of geography and aviation has made Canada and Russia near neighbours. We have only to look at the top of the globe - or at the new serial maps - to see that Russia and Canada are the two Arctic powers. Our frontiers meet at the North Pole. Through its possession of Alaska, the United States is also an Arctic power and a link between Canada and the Soviet Union.

Our two countries, moreover, are vast in space. In many ways, they are similar in climate and in resources. We have like problems of transport, of development and of adaptation to new northern environments. On scientific and technical levels, we have much to learn from each other. We can greatly help each other in the solution of many problems.

Canada and the Soviet Union are also alike in being countries of many races. Both of us have made progress in the development of communities in which peoples of diverse racial origins have found the way to live together in harmony. I doubt if a greater contribution can be made to the cause of enduring peace than by the development, throughout the world, of a spirit of harmony among peoples of different racial origins. Canada and the Soviet Union are both helping to achieve that spirit. By our mutual friendship, we can contribute to its diffusion throughout the world. Ignorance and prejudice are the worst of all foes. They are responsible for most of the enmities between classes and races, and of the hatreds between individuals and nations. The hope of the future for men of all races lies in a universal recognition of our common humanity.

Speaking here in the Maple Leaf Gardens in March, 1941, I said that if the new world order was not already on its way before the war was over, we might look for it in vain. In the promotion of understanding and friendship between nations, which organizations such as the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Council are intended to foster, we surely see the beginnings of the world order. It is an order which seeks, not to divide and to destroy, but which, by mutual co-operation between nations in the common defence of freedom and human rights, cannot fail to effect a new world unity.

The Nazi attack on Soviet Russia and the Japanese attack on the United States have shown that even the greatest powers cannot, by their own efforts, ensure their national security. Among nations in the world of today, security against aggression is indivisible.

Not only is the security of nations indivisible, their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought prosperity in economic isolation from its neighbours. In so doing, the prosperity of all nations was destroyed. Depression and war were the result. Now is the time for the entire world to realize that, just as no nation of itself can ensure its own security, so no nation in isolation can create its own prosperity. We shall have found the key to a new post-war order when the nations of the world come to base their policies on the truth that prosperity, like security, is indivisible; that no nation liveth unto itself; that we are members one of another. This is the only basis of a sound foreign policy.

Canada, tonight, is highly honoured by the presence at this great meeting of The Honourable Joseph E. Davies, so soon after his return from a second mission to Moscow. At great personal inconvenience and some risk to his health, he has come to Toronto to assist in the establishment of the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Council. On your behalf I should like at once to extend to Mr. Davies a very warm welcome to our country. I should like as well, to welcome him on behalf of the government and people of Canada. We welcome him as a distinguished and public spirited citizen of the United States, as one who shares an intimate confidence and friendship with President Roosevelt,

and as one who has been a life long exponent of the principles of freedom and of the rule of law in international relations.

I doubt if anyone on this continent has done more to promote an understanding of the Soviet Union and its place in the world than Mr. Davies. As United States Ambassador in Moscow in the critical years of 1937 and 1938, Mr. Davies, as is the duty of a good ambassador, made remarkable use of his eyes and ears. We have since learned with what skill he used his fine gift of cool and objective judgment. To his keen observations, he added a rare insight into the real significance of events in the Soviet Union in those years.

The whole English-speaking world owes a debt of gratitude to President Roosevelt and Mr. Cordell Hull for their wise decisions in permitting the publication of Ambassador Davies' confidential despatches and reports. "Mission to Moscow" is a major contribution to a true understanding of modern Russia. Since lasting friendship can be founded only on genuine understanding, Mr. Davies' book is a vital contribution to the development of friendship between all English-speaking countries and the Soviet Union.

In his book and in all his speeches, Mr. Davies has stressed the fact that he is definitely not a Communist, that he is a believer in the system of private enterprise, that he is proud to be called an individualist, and not ashamed to be designated "a capitalist". He is a strong advocate of individual freedom in thought and opportunity. When in Russia, Mr. Davies made it clear that while he recognized that the Soviet system aimed to improve the lot of the common man, he believed that a fairer distribusion of wealth and great equality of opportunity for the underprivileged would be assured by the liberal and progressive methods applied in his own country. But as one whose convictions are founded upon Christian teachings and his Christian faith, Mr. Davies has repeatedly said that he is heart and soul in the endeavour that we on this continent should become close working companions with the Soviet Union.

From the day, two years ago, when Hitler ordered the German armies to attack Russia, Mr. Davies has travelled through the United States speaking to great gatherings, like this one tonight, about the Soviet Union. Fortunately for us, his addresses have not been confined to his own country. He has made more than one visit to Canada. Since his last visit, he has circled the globe on a momentous second "Mission to Moscow". For his generosity in again sharing his experience and knowledge with us, we are indeed most grateful.

Within the past two years, Canada has had visits from distinguished representatives of most of the United Nations. In the same period, we have greatly extended the circle of diplomatic representation. We have received as Minister from the Soviet Union, Mr. Feodor Gousev whom we are delighted to have present on this platform tonight. We have sent to Russia, as our first Minister to that country, Mr. Dana Wilgress, one of the ablest of our public servants. Already this exchange of missions has resulted in a noticeable increase in understanding and good-will.

Most recent among Canada's distinguished visitors were Dr. Edouard Benes, the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, the wife of the Generalissimo of China.

Like Madame Chiang, Mr. Davies has been an interpreter between two civilizations which, on the surface, have many apparent differences to divide them, but which beneath the surface, have similarities more vital, which make for a community of interests.

Madame Chiang has acted as interpreter of the western world to China, and of China to the western world. Mr. Davies has helped Russia to understand the western democracies, and has contributed vastly to our understanding of the aspirations and the achievements of the Russia of today.

Like President Benes, Mr. Davies has shown a remarkable insight into the trend of world events. Not all public men have been so fortunate as Dr. Benes and Mr. Davies in having their prophecies on record, and what is more, in living to see them fulfilled.

D 60571

In 1938, Dr. Benes forecast the outbreak and probable trend of the present war. He publicly stated his belief that war would come within a year; that it would strike, first Poland then France; that Hitler would attack all Europe, in the west and even in Russia; and that, in the end, the United States would be involved.

In the same year that Dr. Benes made this remarkable forecast, Mr. Davies committed himself equally explicitly as to the inherent strength of the defensive position of the Soviet Union.

At that time, when so many military experts were misjudging Russia's strength, Mr. Davies, a civilian wrote:

> "It is probable that the Soviet Union could defensively maintain its entity against any combination of two hostile powers. If confronted by a hostile alliance of more than two such powers, some territory of the Soviet Union might be occupied, but it is probable that the present military forces would prevent decisive defeat, and it is unlikely that permanent gains would accrue to the invading armies."

Mr. Davies saw in Russia much more than a titanic military power. He saw a country which under (to use his own words) "the resolute, bold and able leadership of Stalin", had developed amazingly in its industrial and economic life, and in the education and emancipation of the masses. He saw a country whose progress was certain to make it an important factor in world affairs. What is more, he saw in the Soviet Union, a sincere advocate of world peace.

Ladies and Gentlemen: You will agree, I am sure, that the sponsors of this meeting could have found no one more entitled than Mr. Davies to speak with authority on the relations of the Soviet Union with the rest of the world. You will also agree that no one is better qualified to promote the cause of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the peoples of North America. It is now my privilege to introduce to you the speaker of the evening, the Honourable Joseph E. Davies.

D 60572

Press Release

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Prime Minister of Canada.

Two years ago today, the world learned with amazement of the invasion of Russia by Germany. No one needs to be told how terribly the Russian people have suffered in these past two years, or what qualities of heroism and endurance they have displayed. What needs to be stressed is the effective part which Russian resistance has had in the frustration of Germany's aims of world conquest.

In this global war, we of the United Nations are all debtors one of another. The resistance of allied nations on the continent of Europe, the prolonged resistance of Britain, supported by Canada and other nations of the Commonwealth, gained for Russia two precious years in which to strengthen her defences. In turn, the marvellous resistance of the Russians relieved Britain of the weight of the Nazi attack. It also gave time to the nations of the British Commonwealth, and to the United States, to prepare for offensive action against the enemy. Indeed, the importance of Russia's resistance has been so great that we hardly dare ask ourselves what might have happened if, instead of standing firm, the Russians had yielded, or had been overborne. Hitler and his Nazi legions, rich in oil and conquered territories, would then have been free to work their evil will in the West, at the very time the treacherous Japanese were making their attacks in the Pacific. Without doubt, this was what the Axis powers believed they would accomplish. Their plans were made accordingly.

Because we, on this continent, have been spared the horrors of invasion, it is difficult for us to envisage the sufferings and losses of the Russian people. The story of their sacrifices does not begin to be told by their losses on the field of battle, staggering as the figures are. It is estimated that Russia's dead in this war - soldiers and civilians - men, women and children - total over ten millions. It is almost as if the whole of Canada's population had been wiped out in the past two years. Between three and four times that number were obliged to flee from their homes, leaving behind them all they had built through years of toil and hardship. In addition to those who have died and the homeless ones who have trekked to distant parts of the Soviet Union, there are about twenty million people still suffering under the Nazi occupation. From the occupied districts, the Nazis have deported over two millions to perform slave labour in Germany. For many of those who remain, existence is worse than death. They are being systematically overworked, starved and tortured.

A recognition of the debt owed to Russia by all the allied nations, combined with sympathy for the Russian people in their sufferings, led to the organization in Canada some months ago, of the Aid-to-Russia campaign.

The splendid response to this campaign revealed how deep had become the feelings of sympathy and admiration of the people of Canada for the Russian people. The men and women who organized and administered that campaign have been inspired by the response to their efforts to undertake the foundation of a Council of Canadian-Soviet Friendship. Like the "Aid to Russia" campaign, the new venture has no official character. Its underlying purpose - the promoting of understanding and friendship between the peoples of the two countries - has, however, the warm support of the government. The Council is being organized and will be supported by Canadians who are united by a spirit of human brotherhood and an admiration for human fortitude.

It is particularly appropriate that the Council of Canadian-Soviet Friendship should be established on the second anniversary of the attack on Russia by Nazi Germany. In a moment, I shall tell you why it is especially fitting that the speaker at this meeting should be the Honourable Joseph E. Davies, former United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

The Council of Canadian-Soviet Friendship is not being established only for the duration of the war. It aims at building up and maintaining lasting good-will and friendship between the people of Canada and the people of Soviet Russia. Apart altogether from our comradeship in arms, there are many reasons why friendship between our two countries should be particularly close.

A combination of geography and aviation has made Canada and Russia near neighbours. We have only to look at the top of the globe - or at the new serial maps - to see that Russia and Canada are the two Arctic powers. Our frontiers meet at the North Pole. Through its possession of Alaska, the United States is also an Arctic power and a link between Canada and the Soviet Union.

Our two countries, moreover, are vast in space. In many ways, they are similar in climate and in resources. We have like problems of transport, of development and of adaptation to new northern environments. On scientific and technical levels, we have much to learn from each other. We can greatly help each other in the solution of many problems.

Canada and the Soviet Union are also alike in being countries of many races. Both of us have made progress in the development of communities in which peoples of diverse racial origins have found the way to live together in harmony. I doubt if a greater contribution can be made to the cause of enduring peace than by the development, throughout the world, of a spirit of harmony among peoples of different racial origins. Canada and the Soviet Union are both helping to achieve that spirit. By our mutual friendship, we can contribute to its diffusion throughout the world. Ignorance and prejudice are the worst of all foes. They are responsible for most of the enmities between classes and races, and of the hatreds between individuals and nations. The hope of the future for men of all races lies in a universal recognition of our common humanity.

Speaking here in the Maple Leaf Gardens in March, 1941, I said that if the new world order was not already on its way before the war was over, we might look for it in vain. In the promotion of understanding and friendship between nations, which organizations such as the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Council are intended to foster, we surely see the beginnings of the world order. It is an order which seeks, not to divide and to destroy, but which, by mutual co-operation between nations in the common defence of freedom and human rights, cannot fail to effect a new world unity.

The Nazi attack on Soviet Russia and the Japanese attack on the United States have shown that even the greatest powers cannot, by their own efforts, ensure their national security. Among nations in the world of today, security against aggression is indivisible.

Not only is the security of nations indivisible, their prosperity also is indivisible. Few would wish to return to the years before the war, when almost every nation sought prosperity in economic isolation from its neighbours. In so doing, the prosperity of all nations was destroyed. Depression and war were the result. Now is the time for the entire world to realize that, just as no nation of itself can ensure its own security, so no nation in isolation can create its own prosperity. We shall have found the key to a new post-war order when the nations of the world come to base their policies on the truth that prosperity, like security, is indivisible; that no nation liveth unto itself; that we are members one of another. This is the only basis of a sound foreign policy.

Canada, tonight, is highly honoured by the presence at this great meeting of The Honourable Joseph E. Davies, so soon after his return from a second mission to Moscow. At great personal inconvenience and some risk to his health, he has come to Toronto to assist in the establishment of the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Council. On your behalf I should like at once to extend to Mr. Davies a very warm welcome to our country. I should like as well, to welcome him on behalf of the government and people of Canada. We welcome him as a distinguished and public spirited citizen of the United States, as one who shares an intimate confidence and friendship with President Roosevelt,

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and as one who has been a life long exponent of the principles of freedom and of the rule of law in international relations.

I doubt if anyone on this continent has done more to promote an understanding of the Soviet Union and its place in the world than Mr. Davies. As United States Ambassador in Moscow in the critical years of 1937 and 1938, Mr. Davies, as is the duty of a good ambassador, made remarkable use of his eyes and ears. We have since learned with what skill he used his fine gift of cool and objective judgment. To his keen observations, he added a rare insight into the real significance of events in the Soviet Union in those years.

The whole English-speaking world owes a debt of gratitude to President Roosevelt and Mr. Cordell Hull for their wise decisions in permitting the publication of Ambassador Davies' confidential despatches and reports. "Mission to Moscow" is a major contribution to a true understanding of modern Russia. Since lasting friendship can be founded only on genuine understanding, Mr. Davies' book is a vital contribution to the development of friendship between all English-speaking countries and the Soviet Union.

In his book and in all his speeches, Mr. Davies has stressed the fact that he is definitely not a Communist, that he is a believer in the system of private enterprise, that he is proud to be called an individualist, and not ashamed to be designated "a capitalist". He is a strong advocate of individual freedom in thought and opportunity. When in Russia, Mr. Davies made it clear that while he recognized that the Soviet system aimed to improve the lot of the common man, he believed that a fairer distribusion of wealth and great equality of opportunity for the underprivileged would be assured by the liberal and progressive methods applied in his own country. But as one whose convictions are founded upon Christian teachings and his Christian faith, Mr. Davies has repeatedly said that he is heart and soul in the endeavour that we on this continent should become close working companions with the Soviet Union.

From the day, two years ago, when Hitler ordered the German armies to attack Russia, Mr. Davies has travelled through the United States speaking to great gatherings, like this one tonight, about the Soviet Union. Fortunately for us, his addresses have not been confined to his own country. He has made more than one visit to Canada. Since his last visit, he has circled the globe on a momentous second "Mission to Moscow". For his generosity in again sharing his experience and knowledge with us, we are indeed most grateful.

Within the past two years, Canada has had visits from distinguished representatives of most of the United Nations. In the same period, we have greatly extended the circle of diplomatic representation. We have received as Minister from the Soviet Union, Mr. Feodor Gousev whom we are delighted to have present on this platform tonight. We have sent to Russia, as our first Minister to that country, Mr. Dana Wilgress, one of the ablest of our public servants. Already this exchange of missions has resulted in a noticeable increase in understanding and good-will.

Most recent among Canada's distinguished visitors were Dr. Edouard Benes, the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, the wife of the Generalissimo of China.

Like Madame Chiang, Mr. Davies has been an interpreter between two civilizations which, on the surface, have many apparent differences to divide them, but which beneath the surface, have similarities more vital, which make for a community of interests.

Madame Chiang has acted as interpreter of the western world to China, and of China to the western world. Mr. Davies has helped Russia to understand the western democracies, and has contributed vastly to our understanding of the aspirations and the achievements of the Russia of today.

Like President Benes, Mr. Davies has shown a remarkable insight into the trend of world events. Not all public men have been so fortunate as Dr. Benes and Mr. Davies in having their prophecies on record, and what is more, in living to see them fulfilled.

In 1938, Dr. Benes forecast the outbreak and probable trend of the present war. He publicly stated his belief that war would come within a year; that it would strike, first Poland then France; that Hitler would attack all Europe, in the west and even in Russia; and that, in the end, the United States would be involved.

In the same year that Dr. Benes made this remarkable forecast, Mr. Davies committed himself equally explicitly as to the inherent strength of the defensive position of the Soviet Union.

At that time, when so many military experts were misjudging Russia's strength, Mr. Davies, a civilian wrote:

> "It is probable that the Soviet Union could defensively maintain its entity against any combination of two hostile powers. If confronted by a hostile alliance of more than two such powers, some territory of the Soviet Union might be occupied, but it is probable that the present military forces would prevent decisive defeat, and it is unlikely that permanent gains would accrue to the invading armies."

Mr. Davies saw in Russia much more than a titanic military power. He saw a country which under (to use his own words) "the resolute, bold and able leadership of Stalin", had developed amazingly in its industrial and economic life, and in the education and emancipation of the masses. He saw a country whose progress was certain to make it an important factor in world affairs. What is more, he saw in the Soviet Union, a sincere advocate of world peace.

Ladies and Gentlemen: You will agree, I am sure, that the sponsors of this meeting could have found no one more entitled than Mr. Davies to speak with authority on the relations of the Soviet Union with the rest of the world. You will also agree that no one is better qualified to promote the cause of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the peoples of North America. It is now my privilege to introduce to you the speaker of the evening, the Honourable Joseph E. Davies.

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95		Canadian-Soviet Friendship Rally, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	22 June 1943	D 60540 - D 60575	
95		U.S. Congress, Representatives of. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	28 June 1943	D 60576 - D 60584	
95		Sicily, Invasion of. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 July 1943	D 60585 - D 60590	
95		The War and Italy, Ottawa. Speeches in Parliament	2 Aug. 1943	D 60591 - D 60601	
95		Quebec Conference Dinner at Citadel, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1943	D 60602 - D 60607	

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Government Dinner
for Representatives of U. S. Congress

June 28, 1943.

On Wednesday evening of last week, my colleagues and I had the privilege of extending a warm welcome to Canada to members of the British Empire Parliamentary Association from the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and Bermuda who have come to Canada upon the invitation of the Canadian Branch of the Association, and who in the course of the past week have been meeting in conference in our capital city.

Tonight we have the honour of having as our guests, distinguished members of the Congress of the United States, who have come to Canada upon invitation of the British Empire Parliamentary Association, to share in the concluding proceedings in Ottawa. Members of both those representative groups, together with members of the War Committee of the Canadian Cabinet and a few members of the public service of Canada are assembled together at this table this evening. It is, indeed, a goodly company and a very significant gathering.

May I say, first of all, on behalf of members of the Empire Parliamentary Association, not less than on behalf of the Canadian Government, how warmly we welcome the presence in Canada at this time of the distinguished representatives of the Senate and of the House of Representatives of the United States, and how delighted we are to have them with us this evening. All are well known by name of fame to Canadians generally. Most, if not all, are personal friends of several of my colleagues and myself. Some, I am happy to say, very old, and deeply valued friends.

The same, I may say, is true of the representatives who have come to Canada from the United Kingdom and other of the Nations of the British Commonwelath. You may imagine, therefore, gentlemen, the pleasure it is to my colleagues and to myself in particular, to have our friends from across the international boundary, meet with our friends from across the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific at our table in Canada, and this at a time when we are comrades in arms in the defence of our common liberties, as well as brothers in our desire to promote, among nations, everywhere and at all times, international understanding, peace and good-will.

I should like to say to our American friends that we feel particularly honoured that their presence in Canada as visitors to the Empire Parliamentary Association, should be by resolution of both Houses of the United States Congress.

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That, of itself, is an expression of international friendship and good-will which future generations, not less than our own will deeply value. It is the highest possible compliment to our country. Personally, I regard the resolution as of quite exceptional historic significance. It may well be given a foremost place among those records and documents which the historians of the future will regard as marking the beginnings of the new world order which we pray may be established in the new era which will follow the close of the present war.

Speaking of the new world order, I have said on more than one occasion that unless it were not already on the way before the war is over, we may come to look for it in vain. I say this because a new world order is something that is born, not made. It is created, not manufactured. It is a thing of the spirit, bred of the heart and mind, not a matter of parchments and seals. It is an attitude, a way of life. And that is why I am so happy this evening. I see in this gathering, small as it is, remote as it may seem from the magnitude of world events, the atmosphere of world conflict, and the glare of world publicity, something more than the promise of the fulfilment of my heart's desire - that it might be given to my country, given to Canada as a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the immediate neighbour and close friend of the United States of America, to play an increasingly helpful part in furthering, I shall not say merely mutual understanding and good-will, but rather in maintaining perpetual friendship between these two all important and powerful branches of the human family for the well-being of mankind throughout the world.

What is it to which we are all looking forward above all else? Is it, first of all, to early victory, then to the day when an armistice having been declared, the representatives of our respective countries shall be assembled in conference with representatives of other of the United Nations in an effort to decide not only upon the terms of peace but to agree upon those courses of international procedure and behaviour which are to make for the maintenance of peace and the promotion of progress among nations through the years to come?

What greater contribution could be made towards those great ends than that we should not wait for the end of conflict to reduce to writing the cherished ambitions of our

D 60578

lives, but to have them already so clearly understood in our minds, so fixed in our wills, so indelibly inscribed upon our hearts, so that, at the moment of greatest opportunity, our minds and wills and hearts will act as one in the service of mankind. That, my friends, is what we are all helping to make possible by what is symbolized in our tiny gathering here tonight.

Stop for a moment and reflect upon this gathering and its significance. It is not merely a gathering of good fellows from different parts of the British Empire and the United States of America. Though it is certainly that, it is a gathering representative of the parliaments of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and of the Congress of the United States of America. It is representative, in a word, of the law-making powers of what we describe as the English-speaking world - not forgetting that the English-speaking world as organized in government and in the making of laws includes men and women of many tongues and of pretty much every race under the sun. Reflect further that this gathering is assembled at a time of war, that the peoples it represents are in arms against a common foe, that they are pledged to fight and intend to fight until they have won an unconditional surrender of those who have sought to dominate the world by force.

Moreover this gathering is representative not of members of existing governments only but of existing oppositions as well, Not of members of one House only but of both Houses; not of one political party but of many political parties. It is not a unity that speaks of uniformity but a unity in diversity proclaiming to all and sundry, how much greater the things are which we have in common than those which serve to divide. Those are circumstances of vast significance to the many. Not merely the representative character of the English-speaking world, united in arms, but the fact that their duly elected representatives not only continue to function in their respective legislative bodies to carry on the business of law-making and war at the same time, but that they are able to foregather in conference and friendliest accord, and to do so across continents and oceans at a time of war. In contrast with what we know of the destruction of representative institutions in the countries of the Axis powers, this is as highly prophetic as it is significant. To us who are here assembled, it speaks of the highest kind of individual responsibility and of a common trust which, if anything, is higher still.

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I should like to take advantage of the opportunity which this occasion affords to say just a word, in the presence of our friends from the United Kingdom and other parts of the British Empire which may help to further the understanding which has increased in so great measure between them since our common interests have again manifested themselves so clearly against the background of world conflict. It will be only a word, but a word expressed because of what I sometimes hear of doubt or fear on the part of our American friends arising out of our position in the British Empire, and the doubts and fears arising in the minds of some of our British friends because of our position as a North American nation. There are always those who seek to make difficult situations more difficult by conjuring of all kinds of suspicions and fears, which tend to create mistrust of aims, motives and actions where only confidence and trust should exist. I would like in a word if I could to point out how altogether groundless some of these fears and suspicions are.

1st - re fear of British Empire because it is one, "ganging up" on other of the United Nations, in determination of post-war policies - independence;

2nd - re fear that Canada, because it is a North American nation, very friendly relationship with the United States, may come to be dominated by American opinion, and in its political tendencies become even more American than British. Each of these assumptions implies that Canada has not a mind of her own. It ignores altogether the very happy position in which Canada finds hereself as a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as an immediate neighbour and friend of the United States. It ignores, moreover, the highest mission which perhaps Canada is in a position to perform alike to the United Kingdom and other parts of the British Empire as well as to the United States, as an interpreter of each to the other and the highest service this continent can render the world of how two nations, the one mighty in numbers, wealth and power, the other relatively small in all three, may live together side by side, not merely enjoying a sense of the completest freedom, but helping as well to promote each other's security and prosperity.

United States part in war:
Assistance to allied nations,
S.W. Pacific,
North Africa,
Bombing in Europe, etc.

D 60580

Re: the past - differences -

The great schism of the Anglo Saxon world.

Grievances arising out of the past on grounds.

I might be supposed to have a grievance against both: British Crown for bounty placed on Mackenzie's head and for banishment and exile; against U.S., at behest of Britain, imprisoning Mackenzie for violating neutrality laws of U.K.

Perhaps I am under obligation to both, for mother was born when her father was in exile, born in the State of New York, as was also Mr. Churchill's mother, and the mother of President Roosevelt. That, today, is a somewhat meagre bond of union, which it would be hard to parallel, but which, combined with what happened in 1776, should help to make for a more complete understanding of our respective countries and their way of doing things.

--- More to be thankful for

(?)

A model for the United Nations -

A model for a regenerated world.

D 60581

Govt. Dinner for Representatives of Congress
June 28, 1943

Introductory - Guests at table.
goodly company - significant gathering.

Special welcome to U.S. representatives known by name and fame - many personal friends

Senator Connally - Bloom (Lunchn. with Churchill)
Eaton - 50 years.

Same true members of British Delegation.

Special pleasure to have at table
friends from across internatl. boundary;
" " " waters of Atlantic and Pacific;

At this time - comrades in arms.

Significance of resolution of Congress - historic significance

New World Order -
something born not made.

Why so happy this evening -
Fulfilment of heart's desire.

Gathering small -
Remote from world events -

Conflict and publicity.

Canada's increasingly helpful part -
Gathering prophetic of early victory and post-war possibilities:

(a) early victory - from part B.E. and U.S. had played - close co-operation;
All debtors to each other.

U.S. War Effort.

(b) Post-war possibilities - reaching in advance; terms of internatl. peace;
Courses of internatl. procedure;
Understood in our minds;
Inscribed in our hearts;
Fixed in our wills.
To act as one in service of mankind.

D 60581

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To act as one in service of mankind.

REPEAT
REPETITION

D 60582

. Significance of gathering -

1. Not merely good fellows;
2. Representative of Parliaments;
3. " " law-making powers;
4. Represents not government only, but opposition - both Houses - all political parties.

Unity in diversity - things in common;

5. Gathering of democratic governments at time of war - all carrying on legislative functions.

6. Represents a gathering of people in arm against common foe - till unconditional surrender.

All most significant - to enemy;
other united nations;

Future of world -
Speaks of individual responsibility and common trust.

Removal of doubts and fears:

1. On part of U.S. to position in B.E.
2. "Ganging up" on part of Britain due to position as North American country re loosening ties.

Canada wholly independent - mind of her own.
No pressure from Britain.

Ignores great contribution continent can make to world;
present ideal relationship.

Self-denying ordinance:
International Joint Commission,
Ogdensburg Agreement - Mutual aid.

Co-operation working model to world

Re present and past:

What we have in common greater than what divides;

I have lasting grievance against both countries, -

Much to be thankful for to both countries.

Desire nothing more than to be helpful to both countries - and to have a country of my own.

A working model for United Nations and for the world.

D 60584

Govt. Dinner for Representatives of Congress - June 28, 1943

Introductory.

Special welcome to U. S. representatives

Special pleasure - at table.

Resolution of Congress.

New World Order.

Canada's increasingly helpful part - prophetic of victory and post-war possibilities.

Significance of gathering - to enemy, etc.

Removal of doubts and fears in B.E.

Canada's position as North American country -

The present and the past

Things in common greater than what divides.

Mackenzie.

Working model for United Nations and for World.

D 60584

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House of Commons
Canada

7-9-43

Turnbull

Last lines of all

Please have read:

"In the name of Canada, I give to them the assurance that Canada will not fail her fighting men"

[illegible]

the —
is new

D 60586

SECRET

Statement by the Prime Minister

The war for the liberation of the conquered and enslaved countries of Europe has just entered upon a new and vital phase. ~~British~~ armed forces of Britain, United States and ~~Canadian armed forces~~ Canada are now in the forefront of an attack which has, as its ultimate objective, the unconditional surrender of Italy and Germany. All Canada will be justifiably proud to know that ~~Canadian soldiers~~ units of the Canadian army are a part of the allied force engaged in this attack.

A communique just received reports that early in the morning of July the 10th - which has already dawned in Europe/~~allied~~ forces under the command of General Eisenhower began landing operations in Sicily. The landings were preceded by allied air attack. Allied naval forces escorted the assault forces and bombarded the coast defences during the assault.

After Dunkirk, the Canadian army became ~~the foundation~~ a living ~~stone~~ shield of ~~the~~ defence against the threatened invasion of Britain. When the British expeditionary force which survived Dunkirk reached England's shores, it had lost large numbers of men, and practically all its weapons, munitions and equipment. Almost the only land force in the United Kingdom, at that time, equipped to meet an invader, was the first Canadian division.

The role of defenders of Britain was thrust in this way upon the Canadians. As successive divisions and re-inforcements crossed the Atlantic from Canada, they were fitted into that role. For the three years since, the Canadian army in Britain has ~~been a bulwark of the defence~~ helped to maintain the security of the world's citadel of freedom. This has been in accordance with the strategy planned by those who have had the supreme direction of the war.

The news we have received marks for Canada the beginning of a new phase of the war. ~~In nearly four years of war, (through no fault of its own,~~ The Canadian army has had few opportunities for ~~been little~~ active combat with the enemy. This has not been through any fault of its own or because of any policy of the Canadian Government.

From the outbreak of war, the Government of Canada has adhered to the position that Canadian forces, in whole or in part, should be used where and when they can make the best contribution to the winning of the war. When French resistance collapsed in June, 1940, Canadian troops were in France on the point of entering the battle. I have mentioned the vital share the Canadian army has had in the defence of Britain, in the subsequent three years. During that long period, as months grew into years, Canada's army in Britain grew in numbers, in efficiency, in mobility and in armament.

Its presence in Britain ~~released other forces for service in other theatres. It also~~ was the means of holding in Western Europe, German forces many times its size.

Meanwhile, by a strange turn of the wheel of fortune in this global war, it fell to other units of Canada's army, at the other side of the world, to see the first action in which Canadian soldiers took part. When, in overwhelming force, Japan struck her treacherous blow, Canadian troops at Hong Kong fought heroically against hopeless odds. It was not until many months later, at Dieppe, that units of the army in Britain first went into action against the enemy. That gallant Hong Kong costly Pacific war was a preparation for further operations some of which have already developed. Both at Dieppe and at Hong Kong, the courage and the daring of Canadian soldiers reflected undying honour upon themselves and upon our country. More recently, in order to gain experience in leadership under fire, officers and non-commissioned officers from our army in Britain went into battle with the British First Army in Tunisia. That experience was also a part of the preparation for the coming days.

In this new phase of the war for Canada, the army will share with the navy and the air force, the heat of combat, and, also, inevitable sufferings and losses. We can expect no easy victories and no quick successes. Rather must we be prepared for fierce fighting and for a long struggle.

We shall need firmness and steadiness in the individual citizen. We shall need calm and fortitude in the homes of Canada.

The soldiers of Canada have gone into battle exceptionally well-trained, superbly equipped, keen and full of spirit, ready for offensive warfare.

The fighting men of Canada, on land, at sea, and in the air, are risking their lives to preserve everything that all of us hold dear. They are joined together, in the cause of freedom, in the service of their fellowmen, and by an abiding attachment to their homeland. All Canada will share the pride of their loved ones in their courage and in their achievements. Of one thing we may be assured. They will not fail us. We must not fail them. They will fight better for the assurance of the support of a united Canada. We, too, shall need all the strength that comes from a deep feeling of unity. I repeat, we must not fail our fighting men. In the name of Canada, I give them the assurance that we will not fail.

JAG/Z
16.7.43

D 60590

Note for Radio Address

(To be made in case of major battle in Sicily involving Canadians)

1. Some word of reassurance to people whose sons or loved ones are in battle.

2. Necessity for steadiness.

3. Note reaction to previous statement (July 10, 1943)

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95		Fourth Victory Loan, Toronto. Speeches outside Parliament	19 Apr. 1943	D 60459 - D 60531	
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95		U.S. Congress, Representatives of. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	28 June 1943	D 60576 - D 60584	
95		Sicily, Invasion of. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 July 1943	D 60585 - D 60590	
95		The War and Italy, Ottawa. Speeches in Parliament	2 Aug. 1943	D 60591 - D 60601	
95		Quebec Conference Dinner at Citadel, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1943	D 60602 - D 60607	

PRESS RELEASE

THE WAR AND ITALY

Broadcast by the Prime Minister
Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.
8.30 p.m., August 2, 1943

D 60591

Introduction

My fellow-Canadians:

I know that you have been following, with intense interest, the momentous events of the past ten days. I know that you are impatiently awaiting the word that will tell you of the complete occupation of Sicily by the Allied forces. I know, too, that you are hoping for the announcement, at any moment, of the unconditional surrender of Italy. Events arousing these expectations have followed each other in quick succession. It may well be, however, that the final act will not come as soon as we might have expected. I doubt if we begin to realize how involved the whole situation in Italy has become, or how powerful, though confused, are the forces that within the confines of that country continue to contend for mastery.

Towards clarifying the situation, I should like this evening to review very briefly the developments of the past ten days. I doubt if many of us appreciate the full significance of what has happened in Italy. The events there have been of such a character as to constitute a major episode in the whole war. For Canada, the period has been one of true historical import. The participation of our armed forces, and their achievements have given a memorable and an inseparable place in the Sicilian campaign to the name of Canada.

D 60592

The Sicilian Campaign

In the two weeks after the Allied landings, three quarters of the island of Sicily was occupied by the allied forces. Ten days ago, the speed and success of these operations made it appear probable that, at any moment, all enemy resistance in the island might crumble. In the past week, progress has been much slower. Greatly stiffened resistance, principally German, has been encountered on the whole battle-front. Despite increased resistance, the allied forces are pushing steadily forward. Enemy territory is now limited to the north-east corner of the island. Behind the enemy lines, both in Sicily and on the Italian mainland across the straits of Messina, enemy strongholds and supply lines have been systematically bombed from the air. Water communication across the straits has been continuously harassed by British and American naval craft. It is perfectly clear that the complete military conquest and occupation of Sicily is only a matter of a comparatively short time.

D 60593

The Fall of Mussolini

Since Sunday, July 25th, the centre of interest in the Mediterranean area has shifted from the military operations in Sicily to the political developments on the Italian mainland. On July 25th, it was announced that Mussolini and all his cabinet had been turned out of office, and that they were being detained under armed guard. King Victor Emmanuel himself assumed the leadership of the armed forces of Italy. Marshal Badoglio, once Chief of Staff, was appointed to head a military government. The first governmental declarations included the announced determination to continue the war. Subsequently the Fascist party was outlawed.

Mussolini's fall from power was instantly recognized as closing one chapter, and beginning another in the history of Italy. For the past week, the world has been filled with rumours and counter-rumours about the immediate cause of Mussolini's dismissal from office. It would appear that after his last meeting with Hitler, Mussolini had been prepared to allow the Nazis to move additional forces into Northern Italy. This would have meant abandoning, for the time being at least, the rest of Italy to Allied occupation. This course was apparently not acceptable, even to the Fascist party. It was certainly not acceptable to the Italian army. At an interview with the King, Mussolini was dismissed from office. He was taken into custody, and the government of Italy came under military control.

D 60594

While in all else there may be much of conjecture, one thing at least is certain. The Fascist regime which controlled Italy for the past twenty years is at an end. That fact is of tremendous moral significance. Italian Fascism was the model and example of all other Fascist regimes, including the Nazi regime in Germany. The very essence and core of Fascism was supposed to be its military efficiency, its strength and its stability. When put to the acid test, it has proved to have none of these qualities. Instead, it has crashed about the head of its founder. For the other Fascist dictators - the little Mussolinis who have sprung up in recent years in Europe - the fall of Mussolini must have seemed - as it will be - the prelude to their own doom. Mussolini's fall may be for Hitler, too, an ominous forecast of his eventual fate.

It is still too soon to say what effect Mussolini's dismissal will have on Italy's course in the war. It is difficult, indeed, to know how much freedom of choice is open to the new regime or indeed to any regime. It is possible that Italy will experience complete political and social collapse. The tragic situation of the Italian people in this crisis in their history is a striking warning of the terrible consequences which may come to any people who surrender their freedom to a dictatorship. Everything that has happened since

Italy

D 60595

entered the war has shown that the Italian people generally, as opposed to their rulers, did not want war; that they had no heart in the struggle; that they know the real enemy or their country was Nazi Germany. Because they were in the grip or a brutal dictatorship, they were carried into an adventure which began in treachery and is ending in disaster.

Italy since Mussolini's Fall

Nothing definite can be said of the strength or stability of the government formed by Marshal Badoglio, or of its policies. For the time being, it is committed to carrying on the war.

Rumours persist that the authority of the new government is being defied, particularly in the industrial north. In many parts, there have been riotings, and demonstrations in favour of immediate peace. No one can say how strong are the forces which are opposed to the new government or whether any of them represents a political movement sufficiently coherent to be capable of establishing a government. Neither can anyone say how considerable is Germany's military control of the country, or how quickly the Germans can reinforce their troops.

The Italians are now faced with appalling alternatives. Either they must surrender unconditionally, in which event the Nazis will turn and rend them, destroy their armies wherever they are, steal their industrial equipment and all the supplies they can carry away, and occupy whatever part of the country they are able to hold. If, on the other hand, Italy does not surrender unconditionally, the war will be carried by the Allied powers relentlessly from Sicily into Italy. Italy, from end to end, will become a battleground

of Axis and Allied forces. No matter what Italy does, it is certain that German armies will seize what they can of Northern Italy, and fight there in the defence of Germany.

The Allied attitude to the new government was made clear, repeatedly, during the last week, first by Mr. Churchill in the British House of Commons on Tuesday, they by President Roosevelt in his broadcast on Wednesday and, finally, by General Eisenhower in his public offer of an honourable peace on Thursday.

The allies are ready to treat with any authority which is not Fascist, and which will cease aiding the Axis cause, once the military fordes under its control surrender unconditionally. The alternative which faces Italy is war with steadily increasing fury, war from the air, from the sea, and on her own soil until all resistance - Italian and German alike - is destroyed, and the whole country occupied by the allied forces.

We do not know which alternative Marshal Badoglio will choose; we do not even know whether he has the power to make a choice; whether he has any independent power, or whether he is under Nazi control. If the Badoglio government continues the war, we cannot say how long that government may retain office or how soon or by whom it may be overthrown. Failing unconditional surrender at an early date, it is not impossible.

D 60598

that all organized authority may collapse in Italy and that the country may by reduced to a condition or anarchy.

Regardless of the course adopted by the Italian Government, there are the best of reasons for believing that, except in the north, resistance in Italy cannot be prolonged. This is the more certain because the Italian army clearly has no more desire than the Italian people to continue the war as a tool of Germany. On the mainland, as in Sicily, whatever resistance the allies meet will be chiefly German resistance.

D 60599

The effect of Italian collapse

The occupation of Italy, when it is completed, will bring great strategic advantages to the allied cause. It will bring southern Germany and all of enemy occupied central Europe within easy bombing range. The aerial assault on Nazi power can then proceed, at one and the same time, from the south as well as from the west and the east. The occupation of Italy will also open a way to the isolation and virtual encirclement of the Axis forces in the Balkans. Finally the occupation of Italy will open to the allied forces another avenue for the eventual liberation of France.

The events in Italy, the recent successes of Soviet arms, the virtual annihilation of Hamburg, and the large scale and destructive aerial bombardment of the Rumanian oil fields; these, and other allied achievements, are bringing inexorably closer the final phase of the battle of Europe - the invasion and occupation of Nazi Germany.

D60600

A word, in conclusion, about Canada's contribution to these historic events.

In less than four years of war, the armed forces of Canada have grown in numbers to three quarters of a million men, exceedingly well-trained and magnificently equipped. In the same period, Canada has become a major source of supply of ships, machines, guns, munitions and other war supplies, and of foodstuffs, for all the United Nations. In addition to our own, thousands of airmen from our sister nations of the British Commonwealth have been trained on Canadian soil.

In the Sicilian campaign we are witnessing the fruits of the planning, organization and co-ordination which have made all this possible for a nation of eleven and a half million people. The First Division of the Canadian Army, which, for so long, was in the forefront of Britain's defences, is now in the forefront of the assault upon Europe. At the appointed time, the entire army will be in action. The Canadian troops in Sicily are fighting with machines, weapons and munitions made in Canada by Canadian workmen. They are supported overhead by Canadian airmen in squadrons of the R.C.A.F. and the R.A.F. When they landed, some of their landing craft were manned by Canadian sailors. Their lines of supply across the Atlantic are protected by the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force. Backing them, at home, is the industrial, financial and moral strength of a united Canada.

Every Canadian who is doing his part, however humble, to support our fighting men is entitled to a share of the pride in their achievements.

In Sicily, in the skies over the Mediterranean or Nazi Europe, on the waters of the North Atlantic and the North Pacific, and in the air over the Aleutians, wherever Canada's fighting men engage the enemy, they are bringing honour to themselves, glory to our country, and power and strength to the cause for which we fight.

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95		Quebec Conference Dinner at Citadel, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	18 Aug. 1943	D 60602 - D 60607	

~~JWP for info mation~~

~~JAG/Q13~~

Dinner at The Citadel
August 18, 1943

D 60602

Quebec 1943

Significant for the future of Canada

United Kingdom) direction of the
United States) war, planning of the peace

Welcome to all distinguished guests

President Roosevelt

Fourth official visit to Canada
(Quebec, July 31, 1936
Victoria, B.C., Sept. 30, 1937
Kingston, August 18, 1938
Quebec, 1943)

Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill

No stranger to Canada
Sixth wartime meeting with the President
Present is third in which Prime Minister of Canada has shared with President and Mr. Churchill
(Washington, December, 1941
Washington, May, 1943
Quebec, August, 1943)

D 60603

Quebec Conference

An outcome of significant earlier meetings with both leaders:

e.g. with President Roosevelt

Washington, April, 1937 (forerunner to joint staff conversations, Washington)

Ogdensburg Agreement, August 17, 1940

Hyde Park Declaration, April 20, 1941

Later visits to Washington re Pacific Council, etc.

History in the Making at Quebec

Pageant of history from 1608 to present, from Champlain, across uncharted seas, to

King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, 1939

A pageant of history unequalled by any other city of Canada

Quebec -- the "ancient capital" of New France

-- the first centre of British authority (after 1759)

D 60604

Quebec - capital of Lower Canada, 1791-1841

Capital of the United Province of Canada at two different periods before Confederation

Last capital before removal from Quebec to Ottawa in 1866

Scene of Quebec Conference, 1864
Drafting of resolutions for British North America Act

122

D 60605

Prime Minister's Dinner

The Citadel, Quebec

August 18, 1943

General:

The momentous Conference now in progress may influence the destinies of mankind for generations to come.

Fitting that this Conference should be held in a city of destiny.

At Quebec the destiny of North America was twice determined.

Wolfe's victory in 1759 decided ~~that~~ the century-long war between English and French for the control of North America.

The failure of Montgomery and Arnold to take Quebec, in 1775 decided that North America -- north of Mexico--should **not** be a single nation but should be shared between two nations -- the United States and Canada.

In Canada we have harmonized these ancient conflicts between French and English and between English and American. Canada is a British nation, an American nation and a French nation.

No place more appropriate than this city of Quebec to be, for a brief time, the focal point of the forces of freedom.

To the President:

Five years to the day since your last official visit to Canada. Your declaration at Queen's University at Kingston, on that occasion, was a milestone in our common history.

Three years ago yesterday we reached the Agreement at Ogdensburg -- the first formal step in that process of mutual aid between the United States and the British Commonwealth now bringing promise of early victory to our arms.

Canada welcomes you on this occasion as the Commander-in-Chief of our partner in war and one of the great leaders of the company of United Nations.

I add a personal word of welcome to a friend of many years.

D 60607

To Mr. Churchill:

Nearly twenty months have passed since your last visit to Canada. We acclaimed you then as the leader who had brought your country safely through its darkest hour.

Today we are proud to greet you as the restorer of the ancient greatness of Britain and as a leading architect of the world-wide coalition which has preserved the freedom of mankind.

It is my conviction that the sisterhood of free nations which we call the British Commonwealth has demonstrated, in this world crisis, that freedom alone provides a foundation strong enough to support a structure of lasting association between nations.

Never before, in our history, has more complete harmony prevailed between Canada and Britain than in these years of war while you have guided the destinies of Britain.

I like to believe that harmony owes something to a friendship between us, extending now over nearly four decades.

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

D 60608

August 21, 1943.

Broadcast by the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, on participation of Canadian forces in Alaska and the Aleutians.

You have learned today that United States and Canadian troops have occupied the island of Kiska. Kiska, as you are aware, is one of the Aleutian islands. This group of islands stretches from the coast of Alaska far out into the Pacific Ocean, in the direction of Japan. You will remember that, after Japan's entry into the war, the Japanese occupied Attu, which is at the extreme western end of the Aleutian group. They also occupied the larger island of Kiska, which is a little to the north and east of Attu. In the spring of this year United States forces drove the Japanese out of Attu. Kiska then remained the only outpost of the western hemisphere in Japanese hands. Under Japanese control Kiska was a menace alike to Canada and the United States.

The landing on Kiska began on August 15. The position of the Japanese troops in Kiska must have become untenable as no Japanese forces were found on the island. No doubt the United States recovery of Attu; the consequent attacks upon Japanese supply lines, and the recent bombardment of Kiska by air and surface craft caused the enemy to evacuate the island. In the heavy aerial bombardment which preceded the occupation of Kiska by United States and Canadian troops, our Canadian airmen had a part.

Under allied strategy the United States Navy has the primary responsibility for the North Pacific area. The operation against Kiska was carried out under United States Navy command. Its occupation is the first operation in the Aleutian Islands in which units of the Canadian army have participated.

The Canadian army force formed a part of the United States Army Task Force. The Canadian troops were drawn from the Pacific Command of the Canadian Army. The units comprising the force are representative of every part of Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A large proportion are soldieres called up for service under the National Resources Mobilization Act. All had been specially trained for operations in the North Pacific area.

D 60609

The Canadian force is commanded by Brigadier H. W. Foster. Until recently, Brigadier Foster commanded an infantry brigade in the Canadian Army overseas. The force included:

The Canadian Fusiliers of London, Ontario
The Winnipeg Grenadiers
The Rocky Mountain Rangers
Le Regiment de Hull
A Company of the Saint John Fusiliers
The 24th Field Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery
The 46th Light Anti-Aircraft Battery
The 24th Field Company, Royal Canadian Engineers
The 25th Field Ambulance Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps.

The force also included detachments from the Ordnance, Army Service Corps, Provost, Pay and Postal Corps.

The presence of Canadian forces in Alaska is, of course not a new development. From the outbreak of war with Japan all Canadian services have shared with United States forces in the defence of Alaska and the Pacific coast.

Canada's major contribution in the war has, of course, been in the Atlantic and European theatres. Because that has been our main interest, our contribution to the defence of this continent against Japanese aggression is comparatively little known. In the joint effort Canada's share has, nevertheless, been substantial. It is of Canada's part in this joint effort that I wish to speak tonight.

In conformity with the government's policy of preparing for all contingencies, attention has been given throughout the war to the Pacific area. Plans providing for joint action between United States and Canadian forces in defence of North-Western North America were prepared in accordance with recommendations of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence. These plans were put into effect immediately following the attack upon Pearl Harbor.

Before the outbreak of war in the Pacific, Canada had already commenced construction of a chain of airfields connecting Western Canada with Alaska. These airfields were planned to provide a speedy route, behind the protection of the mountain barrier, for the movement to Alaska of military aircraft from the United States and Canada. This chain of

D 60610

airfields is known as the North-West Staging Route. Over this route, the United States army has flown to Alaska great numbers of fighters, bombers and heavily laden transports. The newly constructed Alaska Highway, providing land communications between these airfields, roughly parallels the North-West Staging Route.

When the war against Japan began, the Canadian army and air force already had formations available in British Columbia. Immediately after the Japanese attack, anti-aircraft detachments of the Canadian army and squadrons of the Royal Canadian Air Force, were sent to Alaska to help strengthen its defences. The defences of the Pacific coast of Canada were also materially strengthened. The army was augmented by the establishment of one division in southern British Columbia and by the elements of another division in the northern portion of the Province. As rapidly as equipment became available, the anti-aircraft defences of the Pacific coast were also strengthened.

In providing adequate air defences to meet the Japanese menace, the Royal Canadian Air Force faced two problems. One was the provision of additional operational squadrons. The other was the construction of additional air bases. Complete squadrons were moved to Western operational stations. The air-crews, who now operate daily over the Pacific, fly in the most modern bombers and in large flying boats.

The development of additional aerodromes and bases has proceeded steadily. Their construction has presented great difficulties. The location of the bases is determined by strategic considerations and not by accessibility to roads and railways. Many of them are remote from human habitation. The transport of materials to the sites is, in most cases, both arduous and hazardous. The provision of adequate means of rapid communication has involved the construction of thousands of miles of land-line communications. It has also involved the training of personnel for their operation and maintenance. The Pacific coast is so sparsely settled that Coast Watching Detachments have had to be established at certain uninhabited points along the coast. Radio range stations have been constructed as aids to the navigation of coastal aircraft.

I should also make mention of the valuable work of the vast unpaid volunteer body of civilians known as the Aircraft Detection Corps.

D 60611

From the outset, co-operation between Canadian and American air forces has been most cordial and effective. The Royal Canadian Air Force has continued to share with the United States Air Force in the increasingly offensive defence of the Alaskan area. The occupation of Kiska marks a successful culmination of these operations.

Although allied strategy has given the primary responsibility for the Northern Pacific to the United States Navy, the Royal Canadian Navy, within the limitations imposed by its heavy commitments in the North Atlantic, has also co-operated in the defence of this area. Canadian Naval ships have the responsibility for patrolling a portion of the North Pacific Coast. Our Navy has the responsibility also for the control of merchant shipping in the ports and along the coasts of British Columbia, and for minesweeping in the defended areas.

When the Japanese began their thrust towards Alaska a year ago, ships of the Royal Canadian Navy were operating directly with the United States Navy. For many weeks our ships were engaged in important patrol and escort duties off Alaskan and the Aleutian waters. Canadian naval ships are still co-operating with United States naval forces in those far Northern waters.

Throughout the past year special attention has been devoted to the training, in offensive operations, of our troops in the Pacific Command. To provide additional training in offensive operations, the number of troops on static defence was decreased. The training has included special exercises and schools for combined operations, mountain and jungle warfare, and battle drill. When the Kiska operation was decided upon steps were taken to organize, concentrate and equip a Canadian army force to co-operate with the United States forces.

The troops selected for the operation against Kiska were concentrated on Vancouver Island. There the force received intensive training in combined operations prior to its departure for Alaska. Particular care was taken to see that all ranks measured up to the required standards of physical fitness, individual training, and length of service. The Canadian force underwent a further period of intensive training in Alaska.

The expulsion of enemy forces from the Aleutians and the secure control of the Northeast Pacific by forces of the United States and Canada is something much wider than the joint defence of this continent.

D 60612

Just as the control achieved by United States, Australian and New Zealand forces in New Guinea, the Solomons and elsewhere in the Southwest Pacific is aiding in the defence of Canada, so the control of the Aleutian Islands in the North Pacific by the United States and Canadian forces will aid in the defence of Australia and New Zealand.

Units of the Canadian army are today facing the enemy on opposite sides of the world, and at opposite ends of the Axis. Nothing could better bring home to all of us the world-encircling character of the present war.

In the operations in the Aleutians the army, navy and air force of our country have all had a share. By our co-operation in the occupation of Kiska, we have once more expressed Canada's determination to do her full part, until the military power of Japan, as well as the military power of Germany, is finally destroyed.

Before I conclude you will wish me, I am sure, to say just a word about the meeting, on our own Canadian soil, between the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt are here, in the old city of Quebec, residing in its historic Citadel as the guests of the government of Canada.

Canada greatly welcomes the opportunity to serve as a link between Great Britain and the United States. I am speaking, I know, for all the people of Canada when I express our pride that our country should be the scene of this memorable meeting. It will be looked upon, in years to come, as one of the great events in our national history.

D 60613

For release at 10.15 p.m. August 21, 1943

Broadcast by the Prime Minister the Rt. Hon.
W. L. Mackenzie King on participation of
Canadian forces in Alaska and the Aleutians.

You have learned today that United States and Canadian troops have occupied the island of Kiska. Kiska, as you are aware, is one of the Aleutian islands. This group of islands stretches from the coast of Alaska far out into the Pacific Ocean, in the direction of Japan. You will remember that, after Japan's entry into the war, the Japanese occupied Attu, which is at the extreme western end of the Aleutian group. They also occupied the larger island of Kiska, which is a little to the north and east of Attu. In the spring of this year United States forces drove the Japanese out of Attu. Kiska then remained the only outpost of the western hemisphere in Japanese hands. Under Japanese control Kiska was a menace alike to Canada and the United States.

The landing on Kiska began on August 15. The position of the Japanese troops in Kiska must have become untenable as no Japanese forces were found on the island. No doubt the United States recovery of Attu; the consequent attacks upon Japanese supply lines, and the recent bombardment of Kiska by air and surface craft caused the enemy to evacuate the island. In the heavy aerial bombardment which preceded the occupation of Kiska by United States and Canadian troops, our Canadian airmen had a part.

Under allied strategy the United States Navy has the primary responsibility for the North Pacific area. The ~~entire~~ operation against Kiska was carried out under United States Navy command. It ~~The~~ occupation ~~of Kiska~~ is the first operation in the Aleutian Islands in which units of the Canadian army have participated.

The Canadian army force formed a part of the United States Army Task Force. The Canadian troops were drawn from the Pacific Command of the Canadian Army. The units comprising the force are representative of every part of Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A large proportion are soldiers called up for service under the National Resources Mobilization Act. All had been specially trained for operations in the North Pacific area.

The Canadian force is commanded by Brigadier H. W. Foster. Until recently, Brigadier Foster commanded an infantry brigade in the Canadian Army overseas. The force included:

The Canadian Fusiliers of London, Ontario
The Winnipeg Grenadiers
The Rocky Mountain Rangers
Le Regiment de Hull
A Company of the Saint John Fusiliers
The 24th Field Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery
The 46th Light Anti-Aircraft Battery
The 24th Field Company, Royal Canadian Engineers
The 25th Field Ambulance Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps

The force also included detachments from the Ordnance, Army Service Corps, Provost, Pay and Postal Corps.

The presence of Canadian forces in Alaska is, of course, not a new development. From the outbreak of war with Japan all three Canadian services have shared with United States forces in the defence of Alaska and the Pacific coast.

D 60613

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 60614

Canada's major contribution in the war has, of course, been in the Atlantic and European theatres. Because that has been our main interest, ~~Canada's~~ our contribution to the defence of this continent against Japanese aggression is comparatively little known. In the joint effort Canada's share has, nevertheless, been substantial. It is of ~~this~~ Canada's part in this joint effort that I wish to speak tonight.

In conformity with the government's policy of preparing for all contingencies, attention has been given throughout the war to the Pacific area. Plans providing for joint action between United States and Canadian forces in defence of North-Western North America were prepared in accordance with recommendations of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence. These plans were put into effect immediately following the attack upon Pearl Harbor.

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In providing adequate air defences to meet the Japanese menace, the Royal Canadian Air Force faced two problems. One was the provision of additional operational squadrons. The other was the construction of additional air bases. Complete squadrons were moved to Western operational stations. The aircrews, who now operate daily over the Pacific, fly in the most modern bombers and in large flying boats.

The development of additional aerodromes and bases has proceeded steadily. Their construction has presented great difficulties. The location of the bases is determined by strategic considerations and not by accessibility to roads and railways. Many of them are remote from human habitation. The transport of materials to the sites is, in ~~many~~ most cases, both arduous and hazardous. The provision of adequate means of rapid communication has involved the construction of thousands of miles of land-line communications. It has also involved the training of personnel for their operation and maintenance. The Pacific coast is so sparsely settled that Coast Watching Detachments have had to be established at certain uninhabited points along the coast. Radio range stations have been constructed as aids to the navigation of coastal aircraft.

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D 60616

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Canada greatly welcomes the opportunity to serve as a link between Great Britain and the United States. I am speaking, I know, for all the people of Canada when I express our pride that our country should be the scene of this ~~great~~ memorable meeting. It will be looked upon, in years to come, as one of the great events in our national history.

D 60617

Corrections not made in
these copies

D 60618

For release at 10.15 p.m. August 21, 1943

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W. L. Mackenzie King on participation of
Canadian forces in Alaska and the Aleutians.

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The landing on Kiska began on August 15. The position of the Japanese troops in Kiska must have become untenable as no Japanese forces were found on the island. No doubt the United States recovery of Attu; the consequent attacks upon Japanese supply lines, and the recent bombardment of Kiska by air and surface craft caused the enemy to evacuate the island. In the heavy aerial bombardment which preceded the occupation of Kiska by United States and Canadian troops, our Canadian airmen had a part.

Under allied strategy the United States Navy has the primary responsibility for the North Pacific area. The entire operation against Kiska was carried out under United States Navy command. The occupation of Kiska is the first operation in the Aleutians in which units of the Canadian army have participated.

The Canadian army force formed a part of the United States Army Task Force. The Canadian troops were drawn from the Pacific Command of the Canadian Army. The units comprising the force are representative of every part of Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A large proportion are soldiers called up for service under the National Resources Mobilization Act. All had been specially trained for operations in the North Pacific area.

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D 60620

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D 60621

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D 60622

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N.B.- Ne pas publier avant midi (heure avance de l'est) le 25 aout, 1943.

Adresse de bienvenue au président

des Etats-Unis

D 60630

par

le premier ministre du Canada

Colline du parlement, Ottawa, 25 août, 1943

M. le Président, Excellence, Altesse,

M.M. les membres du Parlement du Canada,

Mesdames et Messieurs:

Nous vivons aujourd'hui une journée qui restera mémorable pour le Canada. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous rappeler, M. le Président, combien de fois j'ai exprimé le souhait que vous visitiez Ottawa pendant votre terme d'office comme président des Etats-Unis. Nous avions espéré qu'à l'occasion d'une telle visite, vous voudriez bien adresser la parole aux membres du Sénat et de la Chambre des Communes, soit à l'intérieur soit à l'extérieur de nos édifices parlementaires. Vous savez également combien souvent Son Excellence le gouverneur général et Son Altesse Royale la princesse Alice ont manifesté le désir d'avoir l'honneur d'une visite de la part de Madame Roosevelt et de vous-même, durant le terme d'office de Son Excellence en sa qualité de représentant de Sa Majesté le roi au Canada.

Peut-être me sera-t-il permis également de mentionner la grande hâte que j'avais moi-même, pour des motifs personnels, de goûter le plaisir d'accueillir dans la capitale et dans mon propre foyer, celui qui m'a favorisé de son amitié depuis ~~plus~~ de ~~quarante~~ nombreuses

D 60631

années. Aujourd'hui tous ces espoirs et ces voeux que nourissaient avec ferveur le peuple canadien, ses représentants au Parlement, Son Excellence et Son Altesse Royale ainsi que moi-même, se trouvent heureusement réalisés.

Au nom du Canada, je vous adresse aujourd'hui M. le Président, la plus cordiale bienvenue dans la capitale de notre pays. Je vous remercie d'avoir honoré de votre présence notre capitale en ces temps exceptionnels de l'histoire humaine.

Le peuple canadien désire, j'en suis sûr, vous exprimer par mon intermédiaire, toute l'admiration qu'il porte à votre personne et qu'il ressent pour le grand rôle que vous remplissez. Il reconnait en vous l'homme qui a toujours été profondément soucieux du bien-être de ses semblables. Nous savons depuis longtemps que les services rendus par vous à la cause de la liberté sont bien au-dessus des distinctions de race et des frontières nationales. Nous vous vénérons comme le champion indéfectible des droits de l'homme libre et le chef puissant des forces de la liberté dans un monde en guerre. Nous éprouvons de plus une affection particulière pour l'ami de toujours de notre pays.

C'est aujourdhui la premiere fois qu'un président des Etats-Unis visite la capitale du Canada. Il nous est particulièrement agréable de penser que cette visite fait suite à votre importante rencontre avec le premier ministre de la Grande-Bretagne dans l'ancienne capitale du Canada.

Vos réunions avec Monsieur Churchill, au cours des deux années précédentes, ont été le signal de grands événements. Nous avons confiance que la conférence de Québec qui vient de se terminer marquera une nouvelle avance vers la victoire finale.

La ville de Québec est le berceau du Canada. Au pied de ses falaises, en 1608, Champlain fonda un établissement, et en fit le siège de son gouvernement; sur ses hauteurs se dresse un monument formé d'un seul bloc de pierre, pour commémorer la bravoure de Wolfe et de Montcalm lors de la bataille décisive de 1759. C'est aussi la ville où se réunirent les pères de la conféderation canadienne en 1864, afin de jeter les fondations du Canada futur. Nous avons été très réjouis en vérité d'apprendre que Québec avait été choisie pour être le lieu de rencontre de Monsieur Churchill et de vous-même, ~~rencontre qui, nous le savons, influera sur la destinée des hommes et des nations.~~

Nous nous réjouissons, Monsieur le Président, que votre visite dans la capitale canadienne ait lieu au moment où, pour la première fois dans l'histoire de nos longues années d'étroit voisinage, des soldats canadiens et américains viennent de combattre côte à côte. Des forces britanniques, américaines et canadiennes combinées viennent de compléter l'occupation de la Sicile, marquant ainsi la première étape dans la libération de l'Europe. Des troupes des Etats-Unis et du Canada ont occupé conjointement le dernier avant-poste détenu par les Japonais dans l'hémisphère occidental.

D 60633

La rapidité avec laquelle le peuple des Etats-Unis s'est affermi, de même que la puissance et l'amplitude de son effort de guerre ont rempli le monde d'étonnement. Le Canada tout entier admire l'efficacité et l'héroïsme des forces combattantes des Etats-Unis. Dans le sud-ouest du Pacifique, dans les Aléoutiennes, en Afrique du Nord, en Sicile, au-dessus de tous les champs de bataille comme sur tous les océans du monde, leurs exploits constituent un chapitre glorieux dans l'histoire de la liberté.

Dans les efforts combinés du peuple et des armées des Etats-Unis et de l'Empire britannique, en union avec celles de la Russie et de la Chine héroïques, et des autres Nations Unies, réside la certitude de la victoire finale sur les forces de la tyrannie qui ont tenté de dominer le monde.

Le Canada considère comme un grand privilège d'être à même de faciliter aux Etats-Unis et au Commonwealth britannique des relations d'étroite amitié, de compréhension et de bienveillance. Nous sommes fermement convaincus qu'une association étroite et constante entre le Commonwealth britannique et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, offre la plus sure garantie de la paix internationale et de meilleures conditions de vie à travers le monde.

D 60633

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 60634

Monsieur le Président,

De nouveau et ne servant, cette fois, de l'autre langue officielle de notre pays, je désire~~rais~~ vous souhaiter la plus cordiale bienvenue au nom ~~du Canada~~ de la tout ~~entier.~~ le Canada.

D 60635

Publication autorisée à 10 heures et 15 minutes du soir

21 août 1943

Discours radiodiffusé par le premier ministre, le très hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, sur le rôle joué par les troupes canadiennes en Alaska et dans les Aléoutes

Vous avez appris aujourd'hui que les troupes américaines et canadiennes ont occupé l'île de Kiska. Kiska, vous ne l'ignorez pas, est l'une des îles Aléoutiennes. Cet archipel s'étend de la côte de l'Alaska, loin dans l'océan Pacifique, dans la direction du Japon. On se rappelle que, après l'entrée du Japon dans la guerre, les Japonais ont occupé Attu, à l'extrémité occidentale du groupe des Aléoutiennes. Ils ont aussi occupé l'île plus considérable de Kiska, située un peu au nord et à l'est d'Attu. Le printemps dernier, les troupes américaines ont chassé les Japonais d'Attu. Kiska restait le dernier avant-poste du Japon dans l'hémisphère occidental, avant-poste qui menaçait aussi bien le Canada que les Etats-Unis.

Le débarquement à Kiska a commencé le 15 août. La position des troupes japonaises y était sans doute devenue intenable, attendu qu'on n'en a pas trouvé dans l'île. Evidemment, la reprise d'Attu par les Américains; les attaques subséquentes sur les voies d'approvisionnement des Japonais; le récent bombardement de Kiska par des unités aériennes et navales, ont forcé l'ennemi à évacuer l'île. Les aviateurs canadiens ont participé au violent bombardement aérien qui a précédé l'occupation de Kiska par les troupes américaines et canadiennes.

En vertu de la stratégie alliée, la marine américaine a la responsabilité primordiale dans le Pacifique septentrional. L'opération contre Kiska, dans son ensemble, s'est effectuée sous le commandement de la marine américaine. L'occupation de Kiska constitue la première opération dans les Aléoutes à laquelle participent des unités de l'Armée canadienne.

Le contingent de l'Armée canadienne faisait partie de troupes expéditionnaires des Etats-Unis. Les troupes canadiennes venaient de la région militaire du Pacifique. Les unités dont le contingent se compose représentent chaque partie du Canada, de l'Atlantique au Pacifique. Dans une large proportion, elles comprennent des soldats appelés au service militaire sous l'empire de la loi de mobilisation des ressources nationales. Tous ont reçu une instruction particulièrement adaptée aux opérations dans la zone du Pacifique septentrional.

Le brigadier H.W. Foster commande les troupes canadiennes. Jusqu'à ces derniers temps, le brigadier Foster commandait une brigade d'infanterie de l'Armée canadienne outre-mer. Le contingent comprend:

Les Canadian Fusiliers, de London
Les Winnipeg Grenadiers
Les Rocky Mountain Rangers
Le Régiment de Hull
Une compagnie des Saint John Fusiliers
Le 24e régiment de campagne de l'Artillerie royale canadienne
La 46e batterie légère de D.C.A.
La 24e compagnie de campagne du Génie royal canadien
La 25e ambulance de campagne du service de santé de l'armée canadienne.

Ces troupes comprennent aussi des détachements des Magasins militaires, de l'Intendance, de la Prévôté, du service de la solde et du corps postal.

La présence de troupes canadiennes en Alaska n'a rien de nouveau. Dès le début de la guerre avec le Japon, les trois armes des forces canadiennes se sont partagé avec les troupes américaines la défense de l'Alaska et de la côte du Pacifique.

La participation du Canada à la guerre s'est, naturellement, manifestée surtout dans les théâtres de l'Atlantique et de l'Europe des opérations militaires. Parce que notre intérêt s'y révélait principalement, la part qu'a prise le Canada à la défense de notre continent contre l'agression japonaise reste relativement peu connue. Néanmoins, le Canada a joué un rôle appréciable dans l'effort commun. C'est de cet effort que je veux parler ce soir.

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Conformément à la ligne de conduite du Gouvernement qui consiste à prévoir toutes les éventualités, on s'est préoccupé pendant toute la guerre de la zone du Pacifique. En conformité des voeux de la Commission conjointe de défense, on avait préparé des plans visant à l'action commune des forces américaines et canadiennes à l'égard de la défense du nord-ouest de l'Amérique du Nord. On les a mis en oeuvre immédiatement après l'attaque contre Pearl Harbour.

Avant le début des hostilités dans le Pacifique, le Canada avait commencé l'établissement d'un réseau d'aérodromes afin de relier l'Ouest canadien à l'Alaska. Ces aérodromes avaient pour objet d'offrir une route rapide, à couvert de la barrière des montagnes, aux avions militaires remontant des Etats-Unis et du Canada vers l'Alaska. Ce réseau d'aérodromes a reçu le nom de route d'étapes du Nord-Ouest. Cette route a permis à l'Armée américaine d'expédier un nombre considérable de chasseurs et de bombardiers ainsi que d'appareils de transport lourdement chargés. La nouvelle route terrestre de l'Alaska, qui fournit un moyen de communication par voie de terre entre les aérodromes, est à peu près parallèle à la route d'étapes du Nord-Ouest.

Quand éclata la guerre contre le Japon, l'armée et l'aviation canadienne possédaient déjà des dispositifs en Colombie-Britannique. Dès l'attaque japonaise, des détachements anti-aériens de l'armée canadienne et des escadrilles du corps d'aviation royal canadien, ont été envoyés en Alaska pour en renforcer les défenses. Les défenses de la côte du Pacifique ont été de même considérablement renforcées. L'armée s'est augnentée d'une division dans le sud de la Colombie-Britannique et d'éléments d'une autre division dans le nord de la province. Dès qu'on a disposé de l'équipement nécessaire, la D.C.A. du littoral du Pacifique fut pareillement affermie.

Dans l'établissement d'une défence suffisant à faire face à la menace japonaise, le corps d'aviation royal canadien devait se proposer deux fins: l'une était d'augmenter le nombre des escadrilles de combat; l'autre, la construction de nouvelles bases aériennes. Des escadrilles complètes partirent pour des postes de combat dans l'Ouest. Les équipages qui survolent aujourd'hui le Pacifique, conduisentles plus récents types de bombardiers et de gros avions à coque.

L'établissement de nouveaux aérodromes et de nouvelles bases s'est poursuivi sans relâche. Leur construction a présenté de sérieuses difficultés. L'emplacementdes bases est déterminé par des motifs d'ordre stratégique et non par la proximité des routes terrestres ou des voies ferrées. Nombre d'entre eux se trouvent loin de toute zone habitée. Le transport des matériaux vers les emplacements choisis est, en bien des cas, aussi ardu que hasardeux. Afin de fournir des moyens suffisants de communication rapide, il a fallu établir, sur des milliers de milles, des voies de communications terrestres. Il a fally également former le personnel nécessaire à leur fonctionnement et à leur entretien. La population est si clairsemée sur le littoral du Pacifique qu'on a dû établir des détachements de surveillance côtière en des points inhabités de la côte. On a érigé des postes de radiogoniométrie en vue de faciliter la navigation des avions côtiers.

Je suis heureux de souligner ici l'utile travail accompli, sans solde, par les nombreux volontaires civils du Service de détection d'avions.

Dès le début, la collaboration entre les troupes canadiennes et américaines a pris un caractère de cordialité et d'efficacité bien marqué. Le C. A R. C. partage depuis avec l'aviation américaine la défense de plus en plus offensive de la région de l'Alaska. L'occupation de Kiska marque l'heureuse conclusion de ces trois opérations.

Bien que la stratégie alliée ait confié à la marine américaine la responsabilité primordiale dans le Pacifique septentrional, la marine canadienne, dans les limites que lui imposent les lourdes obligations qu'elle a dans l'Atlantique-Nord, a aussi collaboré à la défense de cette zone. Nos navires de guerre sont chargés de patrouiller une partie de la côte du Pacifique. Notre marine assure en outre la

surveillance de la navigation marchande dans les ports et le long des côtes de la Colombie-Britannique, ainsi que le nettoyage des mines dans les zones défendues.

Quand les Japonais ont lancé leur poussée vers l'Alaska, il y a un an , des unités de notre marine de guerre opéraient en union étroite avec la marine des Etats-Unis. Pendant plusieurs semaines, ces navires ont rempli d'importantes tâches de patrouille et d'escorte dans les eaux de l'Alaska et des Aléoutes. Des navires de guerre canadiens collaborent encore avec les forces navales américaines dans ces eaux septentrionales.

Au cours de l'année dernière, on s'est particulièrement préoccupé de former en vue des opérations offensives nos troupes de la région militaire du Pacifique. Afin d'étendre ce genre d'instruction, on a diminué le nombre des troupes affectées à la défense statique. L'instruction comprenait des exercices et des cours spéciaux sur les opérations combinées, le combat en montagne et dans la jungle, les exercices de combat. Quand a été décidée l'opération de Kiska, on a pris des dispositions visant à organiser, concentrer et équiper un contingent de l'Armée canadienne destiné à collaborer avec les troupes américaines.

Les troupes choisies pour les opérations contre Kiska, concentrées dans l'île de Vancouver, ont subi un entraînement intensif en matière d'opérations combinées avant leur départ pour l'Alaska. On a veillé particulièrement à ce que les militaires de tout grade atteignent aux normes requises quant à l'aptitude physique, l'instruction individuelle et la durée du service. En Alaska, le contingent canadien a passé par une autre période d'instruction intensive.

La destruction des forces ennemies dans les Aléoutes et la solide maîtrise dans le nord-ouest du Pacifique par les forces armées des Etats-Unis et du Canada, voilà qui dépasse la seule défense commune de notre continent.

Tout comme la prédominance que les forces américaines, australiennes et néo-zélandaises se sont assurée en Nouvelle-Guinée, dans les Salomons et ailleurs dans le sud-ouest du Pacifique, facilite la défense du Canada, de même la maîtrise des Aléoutes dans le Pacifique septentrional par les troupes américaines et canadiennes aidera à la défense de l'Australie et de la Nouvelle-Zélande.

Des unités de l'Armée canadienne font maintenant face à l'ennemi en des parties opposées du monde et aux extrémités opposées de l'Axe. Rien ne saurait mieux faire saisir le caractère universel de la présente guerre.

Nos armées de terre, de mer et de l'air ont toutes eu leur part dans les opérations des Aléoutes. Par notre participation à l'occupation de Kiska, nous avons de nouveau exprimé la détermination du Canada de collaborer à plein à la destruction définitive de la puissance militaire du Japon aussi bien que de l'Allemagne.

Vous aimeriez, j'en suis sûr, qu'avant de terminer, je vous dise un mot de la si importante réunion du président des Etats-Unis et du premier ministre de Grande-Bretagne sur notre sol canadien. M. Churchill et M. Roosevelt se trouvent, dans la vieille ville de Québec, à l'historique Citadelle, les hôtes du gouvernement canadien. Le Canada accueille avec plaisir l'occasion de servir de trait d'union entre la Grande-Bretagne et les Etats-Unis. Je me fais l'interprète de toute la population du Canada, je le sais, quand j'exprime la fierté que nous éprouvons de ce que notre pays soit la scène de cette grande réunion. On la considérera, dans l'avenir, comme l'un des grands événements de notre histoire nationale.

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95		Roosevelt, President, Visit to Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Aug. 1943	D 60638 - D 60655	
95		Galleys of Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1943	D 60656 - D 60701	
95		Italy, Unconditional Surrender of. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Sept. 1943	D 60702 - D 60723	
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For release at 12 noon E.D.S.T. Aug. 25, 1943

PRESS RELEASE

Welcome to the President of the United States

by the Prime Minister of Canada

Parliament Hill, Ottawa - August 25, 1943

Mr. President, Your Excellency, Your Royal Highness,
Members of the Parliament of Canada,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

Today will be, for all time a memorable day for Canada. I need not remind you, Mr. President, how often I have expressed the desire that you might visit Ottawa during your term of office as President of the United States. We have hoped that on such a visit, you would speak to the members of the Senate and the House of Commons, either within or without the walls of our Houses of Parliament. You know, too, how frequently His Excellency the Governor General and Her Royal Highness the Princess Alice have expressed the wish that they might have the honour of a visit from Mrs. Roosevelt and yourself at some time during His Excellency's term of office as the representative in Canada of His Majesty the King.

Perhaps I may be allowed also to mention how greatly, for personal reasons, I have looked forward to the pleasure of welcoming to the seat of government and to my own home, one whose friendship in ever closer association, I have been privileged to enjoy over many years.

Today all these hopes and wishes, so warmly cherished by the people of Canada, by their representatives in Parliament, by His Excellency and Her Royal Highness and by myself, are being happily realized.

On behalf of all Canada, I extend to you today, Mr. President, the warmest of welcomes to the Capital of our country. I thank you for having honoured our Capital city by your presence at a time which is without parallel in the history of human affairs.

The Canadian people will, I know, wish me to express to you the admiration which they feel for you and for your great career. We recognize in you one who has always had a deep concern for the well-being of his fellow-men. We have long known that your services to the cause of freedom far exceed limits of race and bounds of nationality. We honour you as an undaunted champion of the rights of free men and a mighty leader of the forces of freedom in a world at war. We feel, too, a special affection for a life-long friend of our country.

This is the first occasion on which a President of the United States has visited Canada's Capital. It is particularly pleasing to us that this visit should have its association with your momentous meeting in the ancient capital of Canada with the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

Over the past two years, your meetings with Mr. Churchill have been the signal for great events. The conference at Quebec just concluded will, I am confident, mark a further advance towards final victory.

The City of Quebec is the birth-place of Canada. Beneath its cliffs, in 1608, Champlain founded a settlement, and established a seat of government; upon its height is erected a monument commemorating in a single shaft the chivalry of Wolfe and Montcalm in the decisive battle of 1759. It is the city in which, in 1864, the fathers of the Canadian Confederation assembled in conference to fashion the Canada that was to be. We were indeed delighted when we learned that Quebec had been selected as the place of meeting between Mr. Churchill and yourself.

We rejoice, Mr. President, that your visit to Ottawa comes at a moment when for the first time in our long history as close neighbours, soldiers of Canada and the United States have fought side by side. Combined British, United States and Canadian forces have just completed the occupation of Sicily as a first step in the liberation of Europe. Combined United States and Canadian forces have just occupied the last Japanese outpost in the Western Hemisphere.

The rapidity with which the American people gathered their strength, and the momentum and magnitude of their war effort has filled the world with amazement. All Canada joins in admiration for the efficiency and heroism of the men of the fighting forces of the United States. In the South West Pacific, in the Aleutians, in North Africa, in Sicily, in the skies over every battlefront and on all the oceans of the world, their deeds are recording a glorious chapter in the history of freedom.

In the combined efforts of the military forces and the peoples of the United States and the British Empire, joined with those of the heroic peoples of Russia and China, and of the other United Nations lies the certainty of complete victory over the forces of tyranny which have sought the domination of the world.

Canada counts it a high privilege to have the opportunity of drawing into relations of closer friendship, understanding, and good-will, the United States and the nations of the British Commonwealth. We are firmly convinced that in the continued close association of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America lies the surest guarantee of international peace, and of the furtherance of the well-being of mankind throughout the world.

Monsieur le President,

De nouveau et me servant, cette fois, de l'autre langue officielle de notre pays, je desire vous adresser la plus cordiale bienvenue au nom du tout le Canada.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE CAPITAL OF CANADA

Addresses by

The Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
President of the United States

The Honourable THOMAS VIEN, K.C.,
Speaker of the Senate

The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN, K.C., M.P.,
Speaker of the House of Commons

PARLIAMENT HILL, OTTAWA
AUGUST 25, 1943.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1943

D 60644

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Address of Welcome by

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943

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Welcome on Behalf of All Canada

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Special Significance of Visit

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Allies in Two Hemispheres

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The rapidity with which the American people gathered their strength, and the momentum and magnitude of their war effort have

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filled the world with amazement. All Canada joins in admiration for the efficiency and heroism of the men of the fighting forces of the United States. In the South West Pacific, in the Aleutians, in North Africa, in Sicily, in the skies over every battlefront and on all the oceans of the world, their deeds are recording a glorious chapter in the history of freedom.

Victory and Peace

In the combined efforts of the military forces and the peoples of the United States and the British Empire, joined with those of the heroic peoples of Russia and China, and of the other United Nations lies the certainty of complete victory over the forces of tyranny which have sought the domination of the world.

Canada counts it a high privilege to have the opportunity of drawing into relations of closer friendship, understanding, and goodwill, the United States and the nations of the British Commonwealth. We are firmly convinced that in the continued close association of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America lies the surest guarantee of international peace, and of the furtherance of the well-being of mankind throughout the world.

Monsieur le Président: De nouveau et me servant, cette fois, de l'autre langue officielle de notre pays, je désire vous adresser la plus cordiale bienvenue au nom de tout le Canada.

English translation of the previous paragraph: Once more and using, this time, the other official language of our country, I wish to extend to you the most cordial welcome on behalf of all Canada.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Address by

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

President of the United States

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943

Your Excellency, Members of the Parliament, my good friends and neighbours of the Dominion of Canada:

It was exactly five years ago last Wednesday that I came to Canada to receive the high honour of a Degree at Queen's University. On that occasion—one year before the invasion of Poland, three years before Pearl Harbour—I said:

"We in the Americas are no longer a far-away continent, to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas could bring no interest or no harm. Instead, we in the Americas have become a consideration to every propaganda office and to every general staff beyond the seas. The vast amount of our resources, the vigour of our commerce, and the strength of our men have made us vital factors in world peace whether we choose it or not."

We did not choose this war—and that "we" includes each and every one of the United Nations.

War was violently forced upon us by criminal aggressors who measure their standards of morality by the extent of the death and the destruction that they can inflict upon their neighbours.

Comrades in War as in Peace

In this war, Canadians and Americans have fought shoulder to shoulder—as our men and our women and our children have worked together and played together in happier times of peace.

To-day, in devout gratitude, we are celebrating a brilliant victory won by British, Canadian and American fighting men in Sicily.

To-day, we rejoice also in another event for which we need not apologize. A year ago Japan occupied several of the Aleutian

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Islands on our side of the ocean and made a great "to-do" about the invasion of the continent of North America. I regret to say that some Americans and some Canadians wished our governments to withdraw from the Atlantic and the Mediterranean campaigns and divert all our vast strength to the removal of the Japs from a few rocky specks in the North Pacific.

To-day, our wiser councils have maintained our efforts in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and the China seas and the South-west Pacific with ever-growing contributions; and in the Northwest Pacific a relatively small campaign has been assisted by the Japs themselves in the elimination of the last Jap from Attu and Kiska. We have been told that Japs never surrender; their headlong retreat satisfies us just as well.

The Quebec Conference

Great councils are being held here on the free and honoured soil of Canada—councils which look to the future conduct of this war and to the years of building a new progress for mankind.

To these councils Canadians and Americans alike again welcome that wise and good and gallant gentleman, the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

Mr. King, my old friend, may I through you thank the people of Canada for their hospitality to all of us. Your course and mine have run so closely and affectionately during these many long years that this meeting adds another link to that chain. I have always felt at home in Canada and you, I think, have always felt at home in the United States.

During the past few days in Quebec, the Combined Staffs have been sitting around a table—which is a good custom—talking things over, discussing ways and means, in the manner of friends, in the manner of partners, and may I even say, in the manner of members of the same family.

We have talked constructively of our common purposes in this war—of our determination to achieve victory in the shortest possible time—of our essential co-operation with our great and brave fighting Allies.

And we have arrived, harmoniously, at certain definite conclusions. Of course, I am not at liberty to disclose just what these conclusions are. But, in due time, we shall communicate the secret

information of the Quebec Conference to Germany, Italy and Japan. We shall communicate this information to our enemies in the only language their twisted minds seem capable of understanding.

Sometimes I wish that that great master of intuition, the Nazi leader, could have been present in spirit at the Quebec Conference —I am thoroughly glad he was not there in person. If he and his Generals had known our plans they would have realized that discretion is still the better part of valour and that surrender would pay them better now than later.

The Struggle for Human Rights

The evil characteristic that makes a Nazi a Nazi is his utter inability to understand and therefore to respect the qualities or the rights of his fellowmen. His only method of dealing with his neighbour is first to delude him with lies, then to attack him treacherously, then beat him down and step on him, and then either kill him or enslave him. And the same thing is true of the fanatical militarists of Japan.

Because their own instincts and impulses are essentially inhuman, our enemies simply cannot comprehend how it is that decent, sensible individual human beings manage to get along together and live together as neighbours.

That is why our enemies are doing their desperate best to misrepresent the purposes and the results of this Quebec Conference. They still seek to divide and conquer Allies who refuse to be divided just as cheerfully as they refuse to be conquered.

We spend our energies and our resources and the very lives of our sons and daughters because a band of gangsters in the community of nations declines to recognize the fundamentals of decent, human conduct.

We have been forced to call out what we in the United States would call the sheriff's posse to break up the gang in order that gangsterism may be eliminated in the community of nations.

We are making sure—absolutely, irrevocably sure—that this time the lesson is driven home to them once and for all. Yes, we are going to be rid of outlaws this time.

Every one of the United Nations believes that only a real and lasting peace can justify the sacrifices we are making, and our unanimity gives us confidence in seeking that goal.

The Post-War World

It is no secret that at Quebec there was much talk of the post-war world. That discussion was doubtless duplicated simultaneously in dozens of nations and hundreds of cities and among millions of people.

There is a longing in the air. It is not a longing to go back to what they call "the good old days". I have distinct reservations as to how good "the good old days" were. I would rather believe that we can achieve new and better days.

Absolute victory in this war will give greater opportunities for the world because the winning of the war in itself is proving, certainly proving to all of us here, that concerted action can accomplish things. Surely we can make strides toward a greater freedom from want than the world has yet enjoyed. Surely by unanimous action in driving out the outlaws and keeping them under heel forever, we can attain a freedom from fear of violence.

I am everlastingly angry only at those who assert vociferously that the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter are nonsense because they are unattainable. If they had lived a century and a half ago they would have sneered and said that the Declaration of Independence was utter piffle. If they had lived nearly a thousand years ago they would have laughed uproariously at the ideals of Magna Carta. And if they had lived several thousand years ago they would have derided Moses when he came from the Mountain with the Ten Commandments.

The Ethics of Humanity

We concede that these great teachings are not perfectly lived up to to-day, and we concede that the good old world cannot arrive at Utopia overnight. But I would rather be a builder than a wrecker, hoping always that the structure of life is growing—not dying.

May the destroyers who still persist in our midst decrease. They, like some of our enemies, have a long road to travel before they accept the ethics of humanity.

Some day, in the distant future perhaps—but some day with certainty—all of them will remember with the Master—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself".

Monsieur le Premier: Ma visite à la ville historique de Québec rappelle vivement à mon esprit que le Canada est une nation fondée

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sur l'union de deux grandes races. L'harmonie de leur association dans l'égalité peut servir d'exemple à l'humanité toute entière—un exemple partout dans le monde.

English translation of the previous paragraph: My visit to the old city of Quebec has recalled vividly to my mind that Canada is a nation founded on a union of two great races. The harmony of their equal partnership is an example to all mankind—an example everywhere in the world.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Address by

The Honourable THOMAS VIEN, K.C.
Speaker of the Senate

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943
(TRANSLATION)

Mr. President,—

I have the signal honour and pleasure of tendering you in my mother tongue, one of the two official languages of this country, the warmest thanks of the Senate, of the House of Commons and of the people of Canada for having graciously consented to visit our Capital at the conclusion of the henceforth memorable Quebec Conference.

The sojourn among us of a President of the United States would suffice at any time to fill us with pride and enthusiasm. Yet we salute in you, Mr. President, more than the highest official of our sister nation and very good neighbour. We hail and acclaim in you a worthy successor of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Wilson, to mention but a few of the great men who symbolize the glory of your country.

An Enemy of Tyranny

Faithful exponent of the spirit that moved the founders of the Republic, you see in the Declaration of Independence a guarantee of freedom not only for your people, but for all the peoples of the earth. Liberal, in the widest sense of the term, you are the friend of man, in whom you behold the image and likeness of our Divine Maker. Having exhausted the resources of a wise and patient diplomacy, you unhesitatingly took up arms to free him from the yoke of oppressors who brutally denied him the exercise of his inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Were you not expressing your own philosophy of life when you so highly praised on a former occasion these words of Thomas Jefferson: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

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The British Empire, Canada and the civilized world owe you an immense debt of gratitude, Mr. President, for having come to their assistance on the morrow of Dunkirk, at an hour when the black clouds of defeat gathered threateningly on the horizon. Even before your entry into the conflict, you found the means of supplying Britain with ships, arms, munitions and the incalculable advantages of "Lend-Lease."

A Champion of Civilization

We Canadians are proud of the fact that we descend from the two greatest races in the world. Our hearts and yours, I am sure, shared the overwhelming grief of France, following the defeat of that unhappy country. We shall never forget that, for the second time in the life of this generation, your country has generously gone to the assistance of a France in mortal danger repeating Pershing's undying words: "La Fayette, we are here!"

When, with the proper perspective that only time can bring, the history of this era shall be written, you will stand in the forefront of that brilliant group of leaders—with Churchill, Mackenzie King, Stalin and Chiang Kai-Shek—who have so nobly served humanity.

May I be allowed, Mr. President, to express the deep satisfaction I feel in reiterating to you the heartfelt thanks of the Canadian Parliament and people for having honoured us with your presence here to-day and having cheered us with your very comforting remarks. We pray God that He may grant you his favours in abundance, that He may bless you and the great Republic whose destinies you guide, until such time as we may all glorify Him together in final victory, on the threshold of a lasting peace.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Address by

The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN, K.C., M.P.,
Speaker of the House of Commons

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943

To-day Canada has been afforded the unique privilege of welcoming to our own Capital the first President of the United States of America while still in office. This gathering is the culmination of a long-standing invitation given by the Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King to one who has been an intimate friend for more years than either of them would care to refer. It is well, Sir, that you should tax the hospitality of your friends occasionally and I can state confidently that everyone, young and old, in this vast assembly before you, together with that great unseen listening audience throughout the whole of Canada, look upon you with that possessive regard which is bestowed when a much-loved guest honours our home. I hope I shall not be misunderstood when I say that many Canadians affectionately call you "our President".

A True Friend in Dark Days

Canada will never forget the dark and dismal years of 1940 and 1941, nor will it ever forget that unparalleled act when you, as President of your great country, gave that generous and sorely needed Lease-Lend help which aided Great Britain to withstand and repel a conquering and then a seemingly invincible foe. National as well as human memories, with passing years and other conditions sometimes fade and become remote, but it would be an indelible blot on our escutcheon if at any future time Canada or the democracies forgot the noble help your country afforded us.

It is therefore with real pleasure we behold in our Capital your unmistakable figure and listen to that bold and confident voice so familiar to our ears. And what makes this day so memorable to us is the knowledge that it is to Canada particularly you speak. We have shared with the world in those intimate so-called fireside chats which you have addressed to your own people but which really en-

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compassed the world and belong to the ages. Those fireside chats, clothed in language simple, expressive and enduring, the product of a gifted mind and balanced judgment, made their striking appeal because they are based on the eternal verities without which, as we believe, nothing is. To-day, Sir, your speech is an outstanding example of those utterances which have endeared you to our people and caused dismaying fear to our foes.

Good Neighbours in Peace and War

The road still may be long and dreary and the end not yet in sight, but the issue is no longer in doubt and upon you, Sir, the tremendous responsibilities of victory will be part of your destiny. You will require the assistance of all who, like you, believe that good is the final goal of ill. We are confident that in Canada you will find that co-operation in peace which we have shared in war. All we desire is the right to exercise the four freedoms upon which an enduring democracy must be based. If I may say so, your own phrase—now a household word—"The good neighbour" definitely embodies these principles. We invoke the blessing of Almighty God upon you. May He strengthen and sustain you until victory is achieved and peace and happiness restored to this war-torn world.

Mr. President, in the name of and for Canada I thank you most cordially and sincerely for your presence with us to-day, and for your noble address.

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MAKE-UP

Canadians in Africa and Sicily

During the year now ended, picked officers and non-commissioned officers from the Canadian army in Britain served with the British First Army in the Tunisian campaign. Their service in Africa foreshadowed Canadian participation in military operations to come. July the 10th, 1943, will ever be a memorable date in the history of Canada. Early that morning, the First Division of the Canadian army landed in Sicily. Our troops were accorded the honour of forming a part of the British Eighth Army. They were the hinge between the British and American forces throughout most of the fighting in Sicily. All Canada is proud of the achievements of Canada's soldiers in that campaign. Their courage and efficiency won for them, from the Allied commanders, the highest praise.

Before the occupation of Sicily was completed, the Canadian troops were withdrawn from the battlefront to prepare, with other units of the Eighth Army, for the landing on the Italian mainland. On the eve of that landing, I received from General Simonds a most enheartening description of the spirit of the force under his command. His cable was in reply to a message of congratulations I had sent to him and to our troops at the conclusion of the Sicilian campaign. Here are General Simonds' words:

> "On behalf of all ranks of the First Canadian Division, I thank you for your inspiring message. We shall continue in our duty reinforced by your words of encouragement. Would you please assure your colleagues of the Government of Canada and the Canadian people, that their soldiers here are in great heart, that they face the future with full confidence, and that my own responsibilities are lightened by the knowledge that I command troops whose courage, skill and endurance are unsurpassed by any in the world. We have taken the measure of our enemies and though there may be bitter fighting ahead with its inevitable losses, we shall not look back until those enemies are finally defeated."

The Invasion of Italy

That was the spirit in which our troops landed on the mainland of Italy on the morning of September 3rd. It will ever be a source of pride for all Canadians that Canada had a part in establishing the first bridgehead of freedom on the European mainland. Italy has since surrendered unconditionally. We now know that September 3rd—the fourth anniversary of the day on which Britain entered the war—was the day on which the military terms of surrender were signed.

The Landing in Kiska

While Canada's main military effort at sea, on land and in the air has been directed against the European end of the Axis, it is also true that at sea, in the air and on land armed forces of Canada have co-operated closely with United States forces in operations against the Asiatic Axis partner on the other side of the globe. At the moment our forces were joined with those of Britain and the United States in wresting from the enemy the Island of Sicily in the waters of the Mediterranean, Canadian forces were associated with those of the United States in recovering from the Japanese the Island of Kiska in the Pacific.

The fighting forces will always merit the place of highest honour. But Canada's contribution to the cause of freedom is not to be measured only in terms of the valiant services of her fighting men. Canada's total contribution is more than the military effort; it is the united effort of all our people. Victories cannot be won without brave and well-trained fighting men. When forces are matched which are equally brave, equally well trained and equally well led, next to the spirit of man it is the weight of armour which turns the scale. Weight of armour means ships, aircraft, tanks, guns, weapons and munitions of all kinds. It means, in the final analysis, superior industrial power mobilized for war.

~~Canada's Industrial Contribution~~ The People's Contribution to Victory

In the present struggle, the industrial strength of the United Nations—and particularly of this North American continent—is now being applied decisively. Yesterday, the Minister of Munitions and Supply made public an astounding account of Canada's industrial contribution in this war. This record appeared in the press and was broadcast over the air. If you did not see it or hear it, I suggest that you look for it in yesterday's paper. By your work, by your self-denial, by your purchases of bonds and war savings certificates, you have helped to make that record. To the extent of your contribution in any of these particulars, you are entitled to share in the credit for this splendid achievement.

A Great Industrial Nation

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A Great Industrial Nation

You may also be proud that in doing your part to help win the war, you have helped to develop Canada into a great industrial nation. Through your contributions to a total war effort, you have aided in revolutionizing our national economy. The very exertions which Canada has made to do her utmost in the winning of the war have won for our country a place among the leading powers of the world.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

~~PARTICIPATION OF~~ CANADIAN FORCES IN ~~ALASKA~~ AND THE ALEUTIANS

~~RADIO ADDRESS~~

by

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada

Quebec, August 21, 1943

You have learned today that United States and Canadian troops have occupied the island of Kiska. Kiska, as you are aware, is one of the Aleutian Islands. This group of islands stretches from the coast of Alaska far out into the Pacific Ocean, in the direction of Japan. You will remember that, after Japan's entry into the war, the Japanese occupied Attu, which is at the extreme western end of the Aleutian group. They also occupied the larger island of Kiska, which is a little to the north and east of Attu. In the spring of this year United States forces drove the Japanese out of Attu. Kiska then remained the only outpost of the western hemisphere in Japanese hands. Under Japanese control Kiska was a menace alike to Canada and the United States.

The landing on Kiska began on August 15. The position of the Japanese troops in Kiska must have become untenable as no Japanese forces were found on the island. No doubt the United States recovery of Attu, the consequent attacks upon Japanese supply lines, and the recent bombardment of Kiska by air and surface craft caused the enemy to evacuate the island. In the heavy aerial bombardment which preceded the occupation of Kiska by United States and Canadian troops, our Canadian airmen had a part.

Under allied strategy the United States Navy has the primary responsibility for the North Pacific area. The operation against Kiska was carried out under United States Navy command. Its occupation is the first operation in the Aleutian Islands in which units of the Canadian army have participated.

Composition of Canadian Army Force

The Canadian army force formed a part of the United States Army Task Force. The Canadian troops were drawn from the Pacific Command of the Canadian Army. The units comprising the force are representative of every part of Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A large proportion are soldiers called up for service under the National Resources Mobilization Act. All had been specially trained for operations in the North Pacific area.

The Canadian force is commanded by Brigadier H. W. Foster. Until recently, Brigadier Foster commanded an infantry brigade in the Canadian Army overseas. The force included:

The Canadian Fusiliers of London, Ontario
The Winnipeg Grenadiers
The Rocky Mountain Rangers
Le Regiment de Hull
A Company of the Saint John Fusiliers
The 24th Field Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery
The 46th Light Anti-Aircraft Battery
The 24th Field Company, Royal Canadian Engineers
The 25th Field Ambulance Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps.

The force also included detachments from the Ordnance, Army Service Corps, Provost, Pay and Postal Corps.

The presence of Canadian forces in Alaska is, of course not a new development. From the outbreak of war with Japan all three Canadian services have shared with United States forces in the defence of Alaska and the Pacific coast.

Canada's ~~Part in~~ Defence Against Japan

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Canada's ~~Part in~~ Defence Against Japan

Canada's major contribution in this war has, of course, been in the Atlantic and European theatres. Because that has been our main interest, our contribution to the defence of this continent against Japanese aggression is comparatively little known. In the joint effort Canada's share has, nevertheless, been substantial. It is of Canada's part in this joint effort that I wish to speak tonight.

In conformity with the government's policy of preparing for all contingencies, attention has been given throughout the war to the Pacific area. Plans providing for joint action between United States and Canadian forces in defence of northwestern North America were prepared in accordance with recommendations of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence. These plans were put into effect immediately following the attack upon Pearl Harbor.

Chain of Military Air Fields

Before the outbreak of war in the Pacific, Canada had already commenced construction of a chain of airfields connecting Western Canada with Alaska. These airfields were planned to provide a speedy route, behind the protection of the mountain barrier, for the movement to Alaska of military aircraft from the United States and Canada. This chain of airfields is known as the North-West Staging Route. Over this route, the United States army has flown to Alaska great numbers of fighters, bombers and heavily laden transports. The newly constructed Alaska Highway, providing land communications between these airfields, roughly parallels the North-West Staging Route.

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89400—Speeches of Mr. King— Gal. 2

Strengthening of Pacific Coast Defences

When the war against Japan began, the Canadian army and air force already had formations available in British Columbia. Immediately after the Japanese attack, anti-aircraft detachments of the Canadian army and squadrons of the Royal Canadian Air Force, were sent to Adaska to help strengthen its defences. The defences of the Pacific coast of Canada were also materially strengthened. The army was augmented by the establishment of one division in southern British Columbia and by the elements of another division in the northern portion of the Province. As rapidly as equipment became available, the anti-aircraft defences of the Pacific coast were also strengthened.

In providing adequate air defences to meet the Japanese menace, the Royal Canadian Air Force faced two problems. One was the provision of additional operational squadrons. The other was the construction of additional air bases. Complete squadrons were moved to Western operational stations. The aircrews, who now operate daily over the Pacific, fly in the most modern bombers and in large flying boats.

Development of Additional Air Bases

The development of additional aerodromes and bases has proceeded steadily. Their construction has presented great difficulties. The location of the bases is determined by strategic considerations and not by accessibility to roads and railways. Many of them are remote from human habitation. The transport of materials to the sites is, in most cases, both arduous and hazardous. The provision of adequate means of rapid communication has involved the construction of thousands of miles of land-line communications. It has also involved the training of personnel for their operation and maintenance. The Pacific coast is so sparsely settled that Coast Watching Detachments have had to be established at certain uninhabited points along the coast. Radio range stations have been constructed as aids to the navigation of coastal aircraft.

I should also make mention of the valuable work of the vast unpaid volunteer body of citizens known as the Aircraft Detection Corps.

From the outset, co-operation between Canadian and American air forces has been most cordial and effective. The Royal Canadian Air Force has continued to share with the United States Air Force in the increasingly offensive defence of the Alaskan area. The occupation of Kiska marks a successful culmination of these operations.

Canadian Navy Shares in Defence

Although allied strategy has given the primary responsibility for the Northern Pacific to the United States Navy, the Royal Canadian Navy, within the limitations imposed by its heavy commitments in the North Atlantic, has also co-operated in the defence of this area. Canadian Naval ships have the responsibility for patrolling a portion of the North Pacific Coast. Our Navy has the responsibility also for the control of merchant shipping in the ports and along the coasts of British Columbia, and for minesweeping in the defended areas.

When the Japanese began their thrust towards Alaska a year ago, ships of the Royal Canadian Navy were operating directly with the United States Navy. For many weeks our ships were engaged in important patrol and escort duties off Alaska and the Aleutians. Canadian naval ships are still co-operating with United States naval forces in those far northern waters.

~~Troops Trained for~~ Offensive Operations against Kiska

Throughout the past year special attention has been devoted to the training, in offensive operations, of our troops in the Pacific Command. To provide additional training in offensive operations, the number of troops on static defence was decreased. The training has included special exercises and schools for combined operations, mountain and jungle warfare, and battle drill.

When the Kiska operation was decided upon steps were taken to organize, concentrate and equip a Canadian army force to co-operate with the United States forces. The troops selected for the operation against Kiska were concentrated on Vancouver Island. There the force received intensive training in combined operations prior to its departure for Alaska. Particular care was taken to see that all ranks measured up to the required standards of physical fitness, individual training, and length of service. The Canadian force underwent a further period of intensive training in Alaska.

The expulsion of enemy forces from the Aleutians and the secure control of the Northeast Pacific by forces of the United States and Canada is something much wider than the joint defence of this continent.

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The expulsion of enemy forces from the Aleutians and the secure control of the Northeast Pacific by forces of the United States and Canada is something much wider than the joint defence of this continent.

Just as the control achieved by United States, Australian and New Zealand forces in New Guinea, the Solomons and elsewhere in the Southwest Pacific is aiding in the defence of Canada, so the control of the Aleutian Islands in the North Pacific by the United States and Canadian forces will aid in the defence of Australia and New Zealand.

World-wide Nature of War

Units of the Canadian army are to-day facing the enemy on opposite sides of the world, and at opposite ends of the Axis. Nothing could better bring home to all of us the world-encircling character of the present war.

In the operations in the Aleutians the army, navy and air force of our country have all had a share. By our co-operation in the occupation of Kiska, we have once more expressed Canada's determination to do her full part, until the military power of Japan, as well as the military power of Germany, is finally destroyed.

Before I conclude you will wish me, I am sure, to say just a word about the meeting, on our own Canadian soil, between the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt are here, in the old city of Quebec, residing in its historic Citadel as the guests of the government of Canada.

Canada greatly welcomes the opportunity to serve as a link between Great Britain and the United States. I am speaking, I know, for all the people of Canada when I express our pride that our country should be the scene of this memorable meeting. It will be looked upon, in years to come, as one of the great events in our national history.

D 60659

89400—Speeches of Mr. King— Gal. 3

CANADA AND THE WAR

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

to

The HONOURABLE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
President of the United States

by

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943

Mr. President, Your Excellency, Your Royal Highness, Members of the Parliament of Canada:

Ladies and Gentlemen,—

Today will be, for all time a memorable day for Canada. I need not remind you, Mr. President, how often I have expressed the desire that you might visit Ottawa during your term of office as President of the United States. We have hoped that on such a visit, you would speak to the members of the Senate and the House of Commons, either within or without the walls of our Houses of Parliament. You know, too, how frequently His Excellency the Governor General and Her Royal Higness the Princess Alice have expressed the wish that they might have the honour of a visit from Mrs. Roosevelt and yourself at some time during His Excellency's term of office as the representative in Canada of His Majesty the King.

Perhaps I may be allowed also to mention how greatly, for personal reasons, I have looked forward to the pleasure of welcoming to the seat of government and to my own home, one whose friendship in ever closer association, I have been privileged to enjoy over many years. Today all these hopes and wishes, so warmly cherished by the people of Canada, by their representatives in Parliament, by His Excellency and Her Royal Highness and by myself, are being happily realized.

On behalf of all Canada, I extend to you today, Mr. President, the warmest of welcomes to the Capital of our country. I thank you for having honoured our Capital city by your presence at a time which is without parallel in the history of human affairs.

A Life-Long Friend of Canada

The Canadian people will, I know, wish me to express to you the admiration which they feel for you and for your great career. We recognize in you one who has always had a deep concern for the well-being of his fellow-men. We have long known that your services to the cause of freedom far exceed limits of race and bounds of nationality. We honour you as an undaunted champion of the rights of free men and a mighty leader of the forces of freedom in a world at war. We feel, too, a special affection for a life-long friend of our country.

Visit Creates Precedent

This is the first occasion on which a President of the United States has visited Canada's Capital. It is particularly pleasing to us that this visit should have its association with your momentous meeting in the ancient capital of Canada with the Prime Minister of Great Britain. Over the past two years, your meetings with Mr. Churchill have been the signal for great events. The conference at Quebec just concluded will, I am confident, mark a further advance towards final victory.

The City of Quebec is the birth-place of Canada. Beneath its cliffs, in 1608, Champlain founded a settlement, and established a seat of government; upon its height is erected a mounment commemorating in a single shaft the chivalry of Wolfe and Montcalm in the decisive battle of 1759. It is the city in which, in 1864, the fathers of the Canadian Confederation assembled in conference to fashion the Canada that was to be. We were indeed delighted when we learned that Quebec had been selected as the place of meeting between Mr. Churchill and yourself.

Allies in Two Hemispheres

We rejoice, Mr. President, that your visit to Ottawa comes at

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Allies in Two Hemispheres

We rejoice, Mr. President, that your visit to Ottawa comes at a moment when for the first time in our long history as close neighbours, soldiers of Canada and the United States have fought side by side. Combined British, United States and Canadian forces have just completed the occupation of Sicily as a first step in the liberation of Europe. Combined United States and Canadian forces have just occupied the last Japanese outpost in the Western Hemisphere.

The rapidity with which the American people gathered their strength, and the momentum and magnitude of their war effort has filled the world with amazement. All Canada joins in admiration for the efficiency and heroism of the men of the fighting forces of the United States. In the South West Pacific, in the Aleutians, in North Africa, in Sicily, in the skies over every battlefront and on all the oceans of the world, their deeds are recording a glorious chapter in the history of freedom.

Combined Efforts Ensure Complete Victory

In the combined efforts of the military forces and the peoples of the United States and the British Empire, joined with those of the heroic peoples of Russia and China, and of the other United Nations lies the certainty of complete victory over the forces of tyranny which have sought the domination of the world.

Canada counts it a high privilege to have the opportunity of drawing into relations of closer friendship, understanding, and goodwill, the United States and the nations of the British Commonwealth. We are firmly convinced that in the continued close association of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America lies the surest guarantee of international peace, and of the furtherance of the well-being of mankind throughout the world.

Monsieur le Président,

De nouveau et me servant, cette fois, de l'autre langue officielle de notre pays, je désire vous adresser la plus cordiale bienvenue au nom de tout le Canada.

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89400—Speeches of Mr. King— Gal. 4

CANADA AND THE WAR

ADDRESS

by

The Honourable FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
President of the United States

TO THE

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT
PARLIAMENT HILL, OTTAWA

August 25, 1943

Your Excellency, Members of the Parliament, my good friends and neighbours of the Dominion of Canada:

It was exactly five years ago last Wednesday that I came to Canada to receive the high honour of a Degree at Queen's University. On that occasion—one year before the invasion of Poland, three years before Pearl Harbour—I said:—

"We in the Americas are no longer a far-away continent, to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas could bring no interest or no harm. Instead, we in the Americas have become a consideration to every propaganda office and to every general staff beyond the seas. The vast amount of our resources, the vigour of our commerce, and the strength of our men have made us vital factors in world peace whether we choose it or not."

We did not choose this war—and that "we" includes each and every one of the United Nations.

War was violently forced upon us by criminal aggressors who measure their standards of morality by the extent of the death and the destruction that they can inflict upon their neighbours.

Comrades in War as in Peace

In this war, Canadians and Americans have fought shoulder to shoulder—as our men and our women and our children have worked together and played together in happier times of peace.

To-day, in devout gratitude, we are celebrating a brilliant victory won by British, Canadian and American fighting men in Sicily.

To-day, we rejoice also in another event for which we need not apologize. A year ago Japan occupied several of the Aleutian Islands on our side of the ocean and made a great "to-do" about the invasion of the continent of North America. I regret to say that some Americans and some Canadians wished our governments to withdraw from the Atlantic and the Mediterranean campaigns and divert all our vast strength to the removal of the Japs from a few rocky specks in the North Pacific.

To-day, our wiser councils have maintained our efforts in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and the China seas and the South-west Pacific with ever-growing contributions; and in the Northwest Pacific a relatively small campaign has been assisted by the Japs themselves in the elimination of the last Jap from Attu and Kiska. We have been told that Japs never surrender; their headlong retreat satisfies us just as well.

~~Significance of~~ Quebec Conference

Great councils are being held here on the free and honoured soil of Canada—councils which look to the future conduct of this war and to the years of building a new progress for mankind.

To these councils Canadians and Americans alike again welcome that wise and good and gallant gentleman, the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

Mr. King, my old friend, may I through you thank the people of Canada for their hospitality to all of us. Your course and mine have run so closely and affectionately during these many long years that this meeting adds another link to that chain. I have always felt at home in Canada and you, I think, have always felt at home in the United States.

During the past few days in Quebec, the Combined Staffs have been sitting around a table—which is a good custom—talking things over, discussing ways and means, in the manner of friends, in the manner of partners, and may I even say, in the manner of members of the same family.

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We have talked constructively of our common purposes in this war—of our determination to achieve victory in the shortest possible time—of our essential co-operation with our great and brave fighting Allies.

Will Communicate Results to Enemy

And we have arrived, harmoniously, at certain definite conclusions. Of course, I am not at liberty to disclose just what these conclusions are. But, in due time, we shall communicate the secret information of the Quebec Conference to Germany, Italy and Japan. We shall communicate this information to our enemies in the only language their twisted minds seem capable of understanding.

Sometimes I wish that that great master of intuition, the Nazi leader, could have been present in spirit at the Quebec Conference —and I am thoroughly glad he was not there in person. If he and his Generals had known our plans they would have realized that discretion is still the better part of valour and that surrender would pay them better now than later.

Nazis Unable to Understand Human Rights

The evil characteristic that makes a Nazi a Nazi is his utter inability to understand and therefore to respect the qualities or the rights of his fellowmen. His only method of dealing with his neighbour is first to delude him with lies, then to attack him treacherously, then beat him down and step on him, and then either kill him or enslave him. The same thing is true of the fanatical militarists of Japan.

Because their own instincts and impulses are essentially inhuman, our enemies simply cannot comprehend how it is that decent, sensible individual human beings manage to get along together and live together as good neighbours.

That is why our enemies are doing their desperate best to misrepresent the purposes and the results of this Quebec Conference. They still seek to divide and conquer Allies who refuse to be divided just as cheerfully as they refuse to be conquered.

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We spend our energies and our resources and the very lives of our sons and daughters because a band of gansters in the community of nations declines to recognize the fundamentals of decent human conduct.

We have been forced to call out what we in the United States would call the sheriff's posse to break up the gang in order that gangsterism may be eliminated in the community of nations.

We are making sure—absolutely, irrevocably sure—that this time the lesson is driven home to them once and for all. We are going to be rid of outlaws this time.

Every one of the United Nations believes that only a real and lasting peace can justify the sacrifices we are making, and our unanimity gives us confidence in seeking that goal.

The Post-War World

It is no secret that at Quebec there was much talk of the post-war world. That discussion was doubtless duplicated simultaneously in dozens of nations and hundreds of cities and among millions of people.

There is a longing in the air. It is not a longing to go back to what they call "the good old days". I have distinct reservations as to how good "the good old days" were. I would rather believe that we can achieve new and better days.

Absolute victory in this war will give greater opportunities to the world because the winning of the war in itself is proving, certainly proving to all of us here, that concerted action can accomplish things. Surely we can make strides toward a greater freedom from want than the world has yet enjoyed. Surely by unanimous action in driving out the outlaws and keeping them under heel forever, we can attain a freedom from fear of violence.

I am everlastingly angry only at those who assert viciferously that the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter are nonsense because they are unattainable. If they had lived a century and a half ago they would have sneered and said that the Declaration of Independence was utter piffle. If they had lived nearly a thousand years ago they would have laughed uproariously at the ideals of Magna Carta. And if they had lived several thousand years ago they would have derided Moses when he came from the Mountain with the Ten Commandments.

The Structure of Life is Growing

We concede that these great teachings are not perfectly lived up to to-day, and we concede that the good old world cannot arrive at Utopia overnight. But I would rather be a builder than a wrecker, hoping always that the structure of life is growing—not dying.

May the destroyers who still persist in our midst decrease. They, like some of our enemies, have a long road to travel before they accept the ethics of humanity.

Some day, in the distant future perhaps—but some day with certainty—all of them will remember with the Master—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself".

Ma visite à la ville historique de Québec rappelle vivement à mon esprit que le Canada est une nation fondée sur l'union de deux grandes races. L'harmonie de leur association dans l'égalité peut servir d'exemple à l'humanité toute entière—un exemple partout dans le monde.

English translation of the previous paragraph: My visit to the old city of Quebec has recalled vividly to my mind that Canada is a nation founded on a union of two great races. The harmony of their equal partnership is an example to all mankind—an example everywhere in the world.

D 60662

CANADA AND THE WAR

A STATEMENT ON THE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER OF ITALY

(September 3, 1943)

Statement - *Broadcast by*

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada

Ottawa, September 8, 1943

The world has heard this morning the tremendous news from General Eisenhower's headquarters that Italy has surrendered unconditionally. The first Allied landings on the Italian mainland were made on September 3rd, only five days ago. The news of surrender has followed swiftly.

The Allied Nations have now attained the first of their three main objectives—the unconditional surrender, in turn, of each of the Axis powers. Allied strategy for more than a year past has aimed at driving Italy out of the war, and thus clearing the way for a concentrated attack upon Nazi Germany by the Allied forces in Europe. It was hoped and expected that the defeat of Italy might be accomplished by this autumn. That end has now been achieved, and achieved according to plan. Its accomplishment, more immediately, is the outcome of the campaigns in Africa and in Sicily, and of the bombardment and invasion of the Italian mainland. It is the result of the combined efforts of the United Nations in all theatres of war.

Canada Has Reason to Rejoice

We in Canada may rejoice today that, from the very beginning of the present world conflict, our country took up arms against the forces of aggression and tyranny. We may rejoice that, throughout four years of war, the Canadian people have put forth their utmost effort in the cause of the world's freedom. This is not the moment at which to attempt to assess our contribution. As a nation, we saw the issue clearly from the outset, and our armed forces at sea, on land, and in the air have served wherever their highest service could be rendered. We may rejoice that, in this hour of triumph over one of the Axis powers, it has been given to Canada's forces to play a significant part.

Defeat of Remaining Axis Powers

Let there be rejoicing from one end of Canada to the other, but let the rejoicing be accompanied by a resolve, on the part of each, that from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass, in the quickest possible time, the defeat of the remaining Axis powers.

As Canadians, we may indeed be proud that Canada's armed forces were among those who were at the spearhead of the attack upon Sicily, and among the first to land upon the soil of Italy. It remains for us, by doing all that lies within our power, to ensure to our fighting men a position of honour in the final break-through into Germany, and in the slaying of the dragon of Naziism in its native lair. Once that is accomplished, the fate of Japan will definitely be sealed.

Again, I repeat, let us, one and all, from now on, do all that lies within our power to aid our fighting men.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

FOUR YEARS OF WAR

(1939-1943

Broadcast by

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

Prime Minister of Canada

Ottawa, September 10, 1943

To-day, Canada enters the fifth year of war. When I spoke to you, a year ago, the Axis powers had reached the extreme limits of their conquests. For the United Nations, the preceding months had been filled with disappointments and defeats. At El Alemain and at Stalingrad the advancing Nazi hordes threatened the two gateways of the Middle East. In the Far East and in the Pacific, Japanese power had spread across China and Southeast Asia to the frontiers of India, through all the Indies to the very shores of Australia, and into the Aleutian Islands in our own hemisphere. Everywhere throughout the world the forces of freedom were on the defensive.

Axis Dream Becomes a Nightmare

To-day, the world picture has changed. The Axis dream of world domination has been transformed into a nightmare of defeat and destruction. On every battlefront around the globe, the United Nations have seized and kept the initiative. China has entered undaunted into her seventh year of resistance. The Japanese have been driven from the Western Hemisphere. The forces of the United States, Australia and New Zealand are pressing forward in New Guinea and the Solomons. In Russia, the Nazi summer offensive has been turned into a defeat—a defeat so disastrous its proportions cannot yet be measured. The very heart of Germany has, day and night, been pounded from the air on a scale which, even a year ago, would have seemed incredible. Great cities have been reduced to smouldering ruins. On the sea, for the time at least, the menace of the Nazi U-boat is under control. The Axis forces have been driven out of the whole of Africa. The Mediterranean has again been opened to allied shipping. Sicily has been occupied; the mainland of Europe invaded. Italy has surrendered unconditionally.

Canada's War Effort in the Past Year

Let me now refer very briefly to what Canada has done in the past year to advance the common cause of freedom.

Canada Now a Naval Power

At sea, the contribution of Canada's navy in the North Atlantic has steadily increased. With the growth of our contribution has come an increase of responsibility for the safety of that life-line of freedom. The Canadian navy has not been confined to the North Atlantic. Last November, Canadian corvettes shared in escorting the great Anglo-American armada to North Africa. Several of our ships and their crews distinguished themselves in the Mediterranean. For many months, Canadian ships operated in the North Pacific against the Japanese in the Aleutians. Specially trained Canadian sailors manned many of the landing craft employed in the invasions of Sicily and the mainland of Italy. In this war, Canada has become a naval power, now third in strength, among the United Nations.

Canada's maritime contribution is not confined to the fighting navy. Our merchant fleet, manned by Canadian seamen, is growing in importance. No praise is too high for the heroism and endurance of the merchant seamen. Allied successes on every battlefront depend upon their exertions and their devotion.

World-wide Operations of Canada's Air Force

In aerial warfare, Canada's fighting strength has been directed against the enemy all around the globe. The results of planning, organization and training on a gigantic scale have been recorded in successes in all the theatres of war. Canadian airmen have destroyed U-boats on the Atlantic. They have blasted Japanese strongholds, from the fog-bound Aleutians, through the islands of the South Pacific, to the jungles of Burma. The vast air strength forged in Canada has left its mark in Africa, in Sicily, in Italy, and on enemy communications and military strongholds from France to Norway

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Canada's Soldiers Maintain Traditions

In fighting on land, Hong-Kong and Dieppe showed the world, what every Canadian knew in his heart, that Canadian soldiers of to-day have all the courage and all the spirit their fathers displayed on the fields of France and Flanders. In the years the Canadian Army overseas has helped to secure Britain against invasion, it has grown from a single army corps, which was what Canada had in the last war, to an army of two complete corps.

The strategy which assigned to the Canadian army in Britain the supreme duty of helping to defend the world's citadel of freedom against the enemy, denied to its divisions, until this fourth year of war, the opportunity to share in major operations in other theatres.

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Canadians in Africa and Sicily

During the year now ended, picked officers and non-commissioned officers from the Canadian army in Britain served with the British First Army in the Tunisian campaign. Their service in Africa foreshadowed Canadian participation in military operations to come. July the 10th, 1943, will ever be a memorable date in the history of Canada. Early that morning, the First Division of the Canadian army landed in Sicily. Our troops were accorded the honour of forming a part of the British Eighth Army. They were the hinge between the British and American forces throughout most of the fighting in Sicily. All Canada is proud of the achievements of Canada's soldiers in that campaign. Their courage and efficiency won for them, from the Allied commanders, the highest praise.

Before the occupation of Sicily was completed, the Canadian troops were withdrawn from the battlefront to prepare, with other units of the Eighth Army, for the landing on the Italian mainland. On the eve of that landing, I received from General Simonds a most enheartening description of the spirit of the force under his command. His cable was in reply to a message of congratulations I had sent to him and to our troops at the conclusion of the Sicilian campaign. Here are General Simonds' words:

> "On behalf of all ranks of the First Canadian Division, I thank you for your inspiring message. We shall continue in our duty reinforced by your words of encouragement. Would you please assure your colleagues of the Government of Canada and the Canadian people, that their soldiers here are in great heart, that they face the future with full confidence, and that my own responsibilities are lightened by the knowledge that I command troops whose courage, skill and endurance are unsurpassed by any in the world. We have taken the measure of our enemies and though there may be bitter fighting ahead with its inevitable losses, we shall not look back until those enemies are finally defeated."

The Invasion of Italy

That was the spirit in which our troops landed on the mainland of Italy on the morning of September 3rd. It will ever be a source of pride for all Canadians that Canada had a part in establishing the first bridgehead of freedom on the European mainland. Italy has since surrendered unconditionally. We now know that September 3rd—the fourth anniversary of the day on which Britain entered the war—was the day on which the military terms of surrender were signed.

The Landing in Kiska

While Canada's main military effort at sea, on land and in the air has been directed against the European end of the Axis, it is also true that at sea, in the air and on land armed forces of Canada have co-operated closely with United States forces in operations against the Asiatic Axis partner on the other side of the globe. At the moment our forces were joined with those of Britain and the United States in wresting from the enemy the Island of Sicily in the waters of the Mediterranean, Canadian forces were associated with those of the United States in recovering from the Japanese the Island of Kiska in the Pacific.

The fighting forces will always merit the place of highest honour. But Canada's contribution to the cause of freedom is not to be measured only in terms of the valiant services of her fighting men. Canada's total contribution is more than the military effort; it is the united effort of all our people. Victories cannot be won without brave and well-trained fighting men. When forces are matched which are equally brave, equally well trained and equally well led, next to the spirit of man it is the weight of armour which turns the scale. Weight of armour means ships, aircraft, tanks, guns, weapons and munitions of all kinds. It means, in the final analysis, superior industrial power mobilized for war.

Canada's Industrial Contribution

In the present struggle, the industrial strength of the United Nations—and particularly of this North American continent—is now being applied decisively. Yesterday, the Minister of Munitions and Supply made public an astounding account of Canada's industrial contribution in this war. This record appeared in the press and was broadcast over the air. If you did not see it or hear it, I suggest that you look for it in yesterday's paper. By your work, by your self-denial, by your purchases of bonds and war savings certificates, you have helped to make that record. To the extent of your contribution in any of these particulars, you are entitled to share in the credit for this splendid achievement.

A Great Industrial Nation

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A Great Industrial Nation

You may also be proud that in doing your part to help win the war, you have helped to develop Canada into a great industrial nation. Through your contributions to a total war effort, you have aided in revolutionizing our national economy. The very exertions which Canada has made to do her utmost in the winning of the war have won for our country a place among the leading powers of the world.

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Canada's contribution to the weapons of victory has been a large one. Our production has not been restricted to the needs of Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen. We have produced to the limit of our capacity to supply the fighting men of other allied notions. And we have taken steps to make sure that the arms and ammunitions are sent where they are most needed. That is what we mean by mutual aid.

In 1940 and 1941 when the enemy was winning battles on nearly every front, the soldiers, sailors and airmen of the United Nations were just as brave as they are to-day. To-day the allied forces are winning battles, because they have the armour: the guns and tanks and ships and planes. We have kept the fighting away from our own shores, because hundreds of thousands of young Canadians were ready to risk their lives to defeat the enemy on the other side of the seas. They have been able to take the splendid part they have because the people at home were willing to work harder, to practise self-denial, and to contribute of their means in taxes and loans, in order to provide the implements of war.

Speed in Production Can Shorten War

As the British, American, Canadian and other allied forces come to closer grips with Germany, the struggle will continue to increase in intensity and violence. The speed with which the war will be won will depend on the speed with which the factories and mines and forests of North America furnish the weapons and munitions of war. That is a sobering thought which I should like to bring home to every worker, with hand or brain, everywhere on the production lines of the new world. To the extent of your contribution, you have made the weapons that destroyed the power of Mussolini and his Fascist minions. The lives you have saved, the agony you have helped to spare the world,—these will be the measure of your reward. It is going to take all the weapons you can make, as quickly as you can make them, to destroy the power of Hitler and his Nazi gangsters; and the fanatic militarism of Japan.

Food Can Help Win the Peace

The farmers and the fishermen of Canada have helped to sustain the fighting forces everywhere, and the workers on the home front. By their contribution they too are saving human lives and sparing the world untold agony. The food produced on this continent not only is helping in the winning of the war; it will have a large part in shaping the peace to follow.

The liberation of European territory will make greater demands than ever upon the food resources of the United Nations. In its early stages, the supply of food will, for the underfed and starving peoples of the world, be the real test of liberation.

As the war goes on, the meaning of total war becomes clearer every day. The issue also becomes unmistakable. This war is nothing less than a life and death struggle between total servitude and total freedom.

The Valiant Fighter and the Valiant Worker

There is no hard and fast line between the fighting forces and the working forces. Both are essential to total victory. The men in the fighting forces, we know, will never fail us. They are ready, if need be, to sacrifice their lives, as many already have, that others may remain free. What it is necessary for every one of us to realize is that no individual can escape the consequences of his own contribution or of his own failure. If he does his best, he is helping to rid mankind of the scourges which beset it; if he fails to serve, or impedes the service of others, he is furthering throughout the world the ends of carnage and of death. A flagging of effort on the home front or any avoidable interruption of effort, will prolong the struggle and increase its cost in human lives.

The Hardest Battles Are Ahead

Whether civilization is to live or die has yet to be decided on the field of battle. All that has gone before, all that is now taking place is leading up to the hour of supreme effort. The strategic objective in driving Italy out of the war was to clear the way for a concentrated attack on Nazi Germany.

The surrender of Italy does not mean that the whole of Italy can be occupied without a bitter struggle. The defeat of the German armies in Italy—the phase of the war on which we have just entered—is but a prelude to the real task. In Europe, Germany has always been the real enemy. Victory over Hitlerite Germany will not be achieved without a tremendous struggle. Our hardest battles are still in the future.

I would not be true to myself nor to you, did I not say that I believe Canada's fifth year of war will demand more fortitude, greater efforts, heavier sacrifices than any we have yet faced. To be worthy of our fighting men, we must work more intensely, accept heavier burdens, co-operate more fully in a united effort.

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Our Hardest Battles ~~Are Ahead~~ Still in the future

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As I said when the news was announced, by all means let there be rejoicing and thanksgiving from one end of Canada to the other at the unconditional surrender of Italy which our efforts joined to those of others have helped to bring about. But as Canada enters upon her fifth year of war, let our rejoicing and our thanskgiving be accompanied by a resolve on the part of each, that from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a dtermination to encompass, in the quickest possible time, the defeat also of Germany and Japan. On their defeat depends the future wellbeing of mankind.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Translation of

Address by

THE HONOURABLE THOMAS VIEN, K.C.

SPEAKER OF THE SENATE

Mr. President,—

I have the signal honour and pleasure of tendering you in my mother tongue, one of the two official languages of this country, the warmest thanks of the Senate, of the House of Commons and of the people of Canada for having graciously consented to visit our Capital at the conclusion of the henceforth memorable Quebec Conference.

The sojourn among us of a President of the United States would suffice at any time to fill us with pride and enthusiasm. Yet we salute in you, Mr. President, more than the highest official of our sister nation and very good neighbour. We hail and acclaim in you a worthy successor of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Wilson, to mention but a few of the great men who symbolize the glory of your country.

(An Enemy of Tyranny) — subhead /

Faithful exponent of the spirit that moved the founders of the Republic, you see in the Declaration of Independence a guarantee of freedom not only for your people, but for all the peoples of the earth. Liberal, in the widest sense of the term, you are the friend of man, in whom you behold the image and likeness of our Divine Maker. Having exhausted the resources of a wise and patient diplomacy, you unhesitatingly took up arms to free him from the yoke of oppressors who brutally denied him the exercise of his inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Were you not expressing your own philosophy of life when you so highly praised on a former occasion these words of Thomas Jefferson: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

The British Empire, Canada and the civilized world owe you an immense debt of gratitude, Mr. President, for having come to their assistance on the morrow of Dunkirk, at an hour when the black clouds of defeat gathered threateningly on the horizon. Even before your entry into the conflict, you found the means of supplying Britain with ships, arms, munitions and the incalculable advantages of "Lend-Lease."

Subhead / (A Champion of Civilization)

We Canadians are proud of the fact that we descend from the two greatest races in the world. Our hearts and yours, I am sure, shared the overwhelming grief of France, following the defeat of that unhappy country. We shall never forget that, for the second time in the life of this generation, your country has generously gone to the assistance of a France in mortal danger repeating Pershing's undying words: "La Fayette, we are here!"

When, with the proper perspective that only time can bring, the history of this era shall be written, you will stand in the forefront of that brilliant group of leaders—with Churchill, Mackenzie King, Stalin and Chiang Kai-Shek—who have so nobly served humanity.

May I be allowed, Mr. President, to express the deep satisfaction I feel in reiterating to you the heartfelt thanks of the Canadian Parliament and people for having honoured us with your presence here to-day and having cheered us with your very comforting remarks. We pray God that He may grant you his favours in abundance, that He may bless you and the great Republic whose destinies you guide, until such time as we may all glorify Him together in final victory, on the threshold of a lasting peace.

Note. Original manuscript said: "supplying us" Obviously this was incorrect & I therefore suggest substitution "Britain" for "us" PR.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S VISIT

Address by

THE HONOURABLE JAMES ALLISON GLEN, K.C., M.P.

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

To-day Canada has been afforded the unique privilege of welcoming to our own Capital the first President of the United States of America while still in office. This gathering is the culmination of a long-standing invitation given by the Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King to one who has been an intimate friend for more years than either of them would care to refer. It is well, Sir, that you should tax the hospitality of your friends occasionally and I can state confidently that everyone, young and old, in this vast assembly before you, together with that great unseen listening audience throughout the whole of Canada, look upon you with that possessive regard which is bestowed when a much-loved guest honours our home. I hope I shall not be misunderstood when I say that many Canadians affectionately call you "our President".

subhead / A True Friend in Dark Days

Canada will never forget the dark and dismal years of 1940 and 1941, nor will it ever forget that unparalleled act when you, as President of your great country, gave that generous and sorely needed Lease-Lend help which ~~helped~~ Great Britain to withstand and repel a conquering and then a seemingly invincible foe. National as well as human memories, with passing years and other conditions sometimes fade and become remote, but it would be an indelible blot on our escutcheon if at any future time Canada or the democracies forgot the noble help your country afforded us.

aided / Note original manuscript said "which enabled the British Commonwealth and in particular Great Britain" &c This being incorrect, I suggest change to "which aided Great Britain"

It is therefore with real pleasure we behold in our Capital your unmistakable figure and listen to that bold and confident voice so familiar to our ears. And what makes this day so memorable to us is the knowledge that it is to Canada particularly you speak. We have shared with the world in those intimate so-called fireside chats which you have addressed to your own people but which really encompassed the world and belong to the ages. Those fireside chats, clothed in language simple, expressive and enduring, the product of a gifted mind and balanced judgment, made their striking appeal because they are based on the eternal verities without which, as we believe, nothing is. To-day, Sir, your speech is an outstanding example of those utterances which have endeared you to our people and caused dismaying fear to our foes.

subhead / ~~Keeping Both of Them~~

The road still may be long and dreary and the end not yet in sight, but the issue is no longer in doubt and upon you, Sir, the tremendous responsibilities of victory will be part of your destiny. You will require the assistance of all who, like you, believe that good is the final goal of ill. We are confident that in Canada you will find that co-operation in peace which we have shared in war. All we desire is the right to exercise the four freedoms upon which an enduring democracy must be based. If I may say so, your own phrase—now a household word—"The good neighbour" definitely embodies these principles. We invoke the blessing of Almighty God upon you. May He strengthen and sustain you until victory is achieved and peace and happiness restored to this war-torn world.

good neighbours ~~Co-operation~~ in peace and [illegible]

Mr. President, in the name of and for Canada I thank you most cordially and sincerely for your presence with us to-day, and for your noble address.

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78129—MR. KING'S SPEECH. Galley 1

Not to be released before delivery.

CANADA'S FIGHTING MEN

Address by the Prime Minister, Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, before the Canadian Club of Toronto, Monday, April 19, 1943. Opening of the Fourth Victory Loan Campaign.

May I express to you, Mr. President, and to other officers and members of the Canadian Club of Toronto, my warm appreciation of the invitations so kindly extended to me from time to time. I am especially pleased that the occasion to address the Club's members has presented itself at the opening of Canada's Fourth Victory Loan campaign. I am not less grateful that the opportunity to make an appeal to my fellow-citizens throughout the Dominion should be afforded in the city which, for me, holds so much in the way of personal association.

An Urgent and Compelling Appeal

The Victory Loan has become a symbol of private determination and public duty—a symbol which reflects the strength and vigour of the Canadian people. The Victory Loan is a most essential part of Canada's war effort.

There has never been a time in Canada's history when an appeal for a Victory Loan was more urgent or more compelling. The appeal is urgent, because we are nearer than ever to the days of supreme effort. It is compelling, because it concerns so immediately the lives of Canada's fighting men.

It is of Canada's fighting men that I should like to speak particularly to-day. I wish to emphasize what we owe to them.

From Nationhood to World Power

As we stand at the threshold of this Fourth Victory Loan campaign, and view Canada's war effort from the vantage ground of the years of war, we are able to see our effort in its true proportions, to see it in its relation to the war effort of the other United Nations, and in its relation to common objectives. But that is not all. We can see how greatly, within the compass of the United Nations, Canada's status as a nation has broadened. We gain a larger vision of our country's opportunities and responsibilities. We see Canada now emerging from mere nationhood to the position of a world power.

In this pause of a moment, we obtain another, a still more significant vision. It is as if all Canada, having striven steadily onward and upward, under continually increasing burdens, for nearly four years, had been brought suddenly to realize that the summit had not yet been reached; and that if everything thus far accomplished is not to fail of ultimate achievement, a great new effort—a supreme effort—is now necessary.

Growth of Canada's War Effort

Our war effort as a whole has been carefully planned and organized. Our military forces, our war production and our essential services, have been kept in balance. We have sought to make our national effort, a maximum effort.

Our forces, three and a half years ago, were limited in numbers, in equipment, and in training. We have steadily expanded our forces. They have been provided with the best equipment. Training is constantly being improved. We have developed many new kinds of war production. We have combined our effort harmoniously and

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British Commonwealth Air Training Plan

There could be no finer illustration of the spirit of co-operation, characteristic of our whole war effort, than the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. Nor has greater foresight been shown in any strategic aspect of war planning than has been revealed by this vast project. The Agreement, establishing the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, was signed on December 17, 1939. On the same day, the first contingent of Canada's army landed in Britain.

The rapidity of the organization, and the scale of development of the Air Training Plan, have far exceeded the expectations of all who shared the responsibility of bringing it into being. A year ago, President Roosevelt said the training plan had made of Canada "the Aerodrome of Democracy". In his recent address to both Houses of our Parliament, Mr. Anthony Eden said: "If Canada had done nothing else in this war, her predominant share in the Commonwealth Air Training scheme would insure for her an enduring place in the roll of fame".

The vast development of the Air Training Plan is an assurance that Canada will continue to contribute trained fighting airmen to sustain the offensives against Germany, Italy, and Japan, until the fate of all three is sealed.

The Royal Canadian Air Force

The Royal Canadian Air Force, in addition to its administration of the training plan, has, from the outset, patrolled and protected the approaches to our coasts. Long-range aircraft, manned by Canadians, are employed in growing numbers in protecting escorted ships across the sea lanes of the Atlantic.

Since 1940, our Air Force has shared increasingly in action against the enemy wherever he may be found. Canadian airmen have been operating, on this continent, from Newfoundland to Alaska and the Aleutians; in the Far East, in India and Ceylon; in the Middle East, in Palestine, Egypt and Libya. From Malta and the African coasts, they have been operating over Italy and the waters of the Mediterranean. Growing numbers of Canadian squadrons, based in Britain, have ranged far and wide over Germany and enemy-occupied Europe. I could give no more graphic picture of the extent to which Canada's war effort has become part of a world-wide conflict. Canada, to-day, is the fourth greatest military air power among the United Nations.

The Royal Canadian Navy

The Canadian Navy, like the Canadian Air Force, has developed phenomenally. Its spirit, its organization, and its training, like those of the Air Force, have all stressed the need of smooth and effective co-operation with allied forces. Through more than three long and bitter years, whether on destroyers, corvettes, minesweepers, patrol vessels, sub-chasers, or other craft, men of the Royal Canadian Navy, in ever-growing numbers, have helped to hold the sea lanes open.

In recent months, our Navy has been sharing nearly half the burden of convoy duty on the North Atlantic sea routes. This is very arduous and very dangerous work. It is being carried on through every kind of weather and with unceasing vigil. Units of Canada's Navy have also operated in other theatres of war. On the Pacific Ocean, and in the waters of the Mediterranean, our ships and men have been in action against the foe.

When our present programme of Naval expansion is completed a year hence, the personnel of Canada's Navy will approximately equal in numbers the personnel of the British Navy shortly before the outbreak of war.

The Merchant Marine

Closely associated with our Navy is Canada's merchant marine. In this service also there has been immense expansion. Our merchant seamen operate the ships in the convoys. Theirs are the ships that transport across the seas the food, the guns, the tanks, the planes, and other munitions of war produced in Canada. Their rugged endurance of the stormy life of the sea and all its wartime dangers is equalled only by their constant resolution to bring these precious cargoes to their destination. Our merchant seamen are making a noble contribution to this world-wide fight for freedom.

The Canadian Army

The Canadian Army, like the Canadian Air Force and the Canadian Navy, has been built up and developed in close co-operation with the British forces, and more recently with those of other of our Allies.

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After Dunkirk, the first Canadian Division was one of very few divisions in Britain equipped to fight. It was the presence there of our First Division, and the arrival of our Second Division, which, later in the year, made it possible for the British Government to send reinforcements to Egypt. These reinforcements, with other troops from Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India, saved the Middle East. New units, formations and reserves have ~~since~~ gone forward from Canada to Britain as quickly and as continuously as ships could be found to carry them. The First Canadian Army Corps, formed at Christmas 1940, has now grown into an army of two corps with an appropriate proportion of armoured formations. General McNaughton has said that the Army he commands is, for its size, "the most highly mechanized force in the world".

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Training and Strategy

In all the varied aspects of modern war, the officers and men of Canada's Army have undergone unending training. Our Army has brought its training—individually by units, and collectively as a striking force—to a perfection perhaps never exceeded. That training has been hard, a training resembling as closely as possible the conditions of actual warfare. All the while, at the heart of the world's greatest citadel of freedom, Canada's Army has stood guard. It has been constantly in readiness to repel the invader. It has been a means of holding in Western Europe, and of withholding from Russia and Africa, German forces many times its size.

There have been several periods of intense activity, when battle against the enemy seemed imminent. In the spring of 1940, a part of the First Division was all ready to set out for Norway. Our troops were prepared to go to France before Dunkirk. Some detachments actually landed in France after Dunkirk. In 1941, there was the expedition to Spitzbergen, in the Arctic. In 1942, there was Dieppe.

If our forces overseas have remained so largely, and for so long, within the British Isles, if Canadian formations have not been broken up for service in other theatres, this has been due entirely to the considered judgment and advice of ~~all~~ those concerned with the strategical direction of the war. It has not been because of any restriction imposed by the government of Canada. War strategy must be planned as a whole. With respect to the operations of Canadian troops, our government, since the outbreak of war, has taken but one position. It is that Canadian forces, in whole or in part, should be used where and when they can make the best contribution to the winning of the war.

Service at Home and Abroad

From a very small beginning, the strength of the Canadian Active Army has now grown to ~~about 450,000 men~~ more than 435,000 men, of which number over 190,000 ~~nearly 200,000~~ are in Britain. A few thousands are serving outside Canada in this hemisphere. Of the ~~345,000~~ more than 240,000 soldiers in Canada, over 180,000 have volunteered for service anywhere in the world.

Units of our army are manning coastal and anti-aircraft defences in Canada and providing mobile reserves in the coastal regions. Many thousands more are in training. Throughout the war, units of the Canadian Army have served in many parts of the Western Hemisphere. From Canada's east coast, they reached out to Newfoundland, to Labrador, and to Iceland. Canadian forces have served in Bermuda, in Jamaica, and in the Caribbean area. Still others are co-operating with United States forces in Alaska.

For ~~several months~~ over a year, Canadian tunnellers were stationed at Gibraltar. To gain first-hand battle experience, officers and non-commissioned officers of the Canadian Army in Britain have been attached to the British First Army in North Africa.

Units of Canada's Army have also served in the Far East. In recounting the actions which have made of Canada's defence against aggression a memorable part of the world-wide fight for freedom, sufficient recognition has never been given to the Canadian expedition which in the autumn of 1941, sailed for Hong Kong and are fighting as part of Nor has adequate honour been done its heroic part in the defence of that distant island fortress.

When, in the great silence which will follow the defeat of Germany and Japan, the thoughts of the world revert to the days when these mighty powers were challenged, no episodes of chivalry or daring will shine forth more brightly than those which tell of the Canadians at Hong Kong and Dieppe.

Canada a Vast Arsenal

War-making is not merely a task for the armed forces. Obviously, for Canada, the military effort, however great, can only be a part of a total effort. To effect a total effort our national economy has been transformed. Canada has become a vast arsenal. In three years, our industrial output has been doubled. In volume of war production, our country is fourth among the United Nations.

From the beginning of the war, we planned to produce far more supplies than were required for Canada's forces. In foodstuffs, in munitions, in weapons, in aircraft, and in ships, we have sought to produce to the limit of our capacity.

Under our policy of mutual aid, we are doing everything we can to make sure that our munitions and supplies are available in the theatres of war where they are most needed. In sending supplies to other United Nations, we are in reality helping to defend our own country. We are supplying munitions of war to Russia and China, to Australia and New Zealand, as well as to Britain and the United States. We are supplying these munitions to fight for these countries, to fight for Canada, to fight for freedom, to shorten the war, and to save human lives.

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Canada's Armed Forces as a Whole

In round numbers, the total strength of our armed forces is over 700,000. Naval personnel numbers over 55,000; air force personnel about 200,000; and army personnel ~~about 450,000~~ over 435,000 men. ~~With the addition of these, 22,000 women in the three services and 38,000 merchant seamen. Canada's total man-power on active service now reaches three-quarters of a million.~~ In addition, there are 22,000 women serving in the uniforms of the three armed services. These numbers do not include many tens of thousands of men giving part time service in the Reserve Army.

Our war strategy is based on the principle that wherever the enemy can be successfully engaged, Canada's interests are being advanced, and world freedom preserved.

We have not neglected our particular responsibility for the local defence of our homeland and of nearby areas. But we have clearly recognized that, so long as the enemy is undefeated anywhere, Canada will not be secure.

Canadian airmen have fought over almost every battle area around the globe. Canadian sailors have served on every ocean. Canadian soldiers have seen action on all three continents of the Old World. By their deeds, our fighting men have shown that the Canadian people understand there are no real frontiers in this world war, except the frontier between freedom and servitude.

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Canada's Supreme Hour

The supreme hour for Canada will come when, along with the combined forces of the Allied powers, all our forces in the air, at sea, and on land, are attacking as one, in a mighty effort to batter down the ramparts of Prussian power, and to slay the dragon of Nazi brutality in its native lair. It is to hasten the day of this final attack, and to give to our fighting men all the support that we can possibly give, that the government appeals to-day to men and women in all parts of Canada to make to the Fourth Victory Loan the largest response that Canada has made to any appeal, at any time.

The Supreme Task of the War

I wish I were in a position to tell you when the days of supreme effort will come. I wish much more it were possible to foretell the day of victory. These, no one in this world can foresee. I may be able, however, to help you form your own estimate.

Existing situations may continue favourable. They may change rapidly. It is well, therefore, that we should be prepared for the invasion of Europe at any time. But conditions may change in unexpected ways. It is well, therefore, that we should also be prepared to wait. Through some unpredictable event, all our present calculations may be set at naught. We may be found to have been too hopeful. Moreover, we must never lose sight of the fact that the Allied powers are at war with Japan, as well as with Germany and Italy. Major battles may be fought at any moment in any quarter of the globe.

Those who count upon recent Allied successes as an assurance of an early defeat of the Axis powers should recall the ebb and flow of battle over the past three years. Within that time what most people imagined would be a European war has become a conflict of hemispheres. Of the present situation, the most one can say is that, in the Orient and the Occident alike, the sweep appears to be narrowing. Against this contraction in the areas of conflict, we must offset the intensity of the fighting.

Of the defeat of Italy in this war there can be no doubt whatever. Her colonial empire has already been torn to shreds. Her troops, used by the Germans so largely to meet the onslaught of opposing forces, and to cover their own retreats, have been slain or captured by the hundreds of thousands; her shores face the prospect of invasion at any moment. The defeat of Japan is remote, but nonetheless a certainty once Germany is defeated. To destroy the military might of the German war machine remains for the Allied powers the supreme task of the war. That task can be finally accomplished only on German soil.

The Invasion of Europe

It is not for me, nor indeed for anyone else, to hint at Allied strategy, much less to disclose to the enemy its essential aspects. There are, however, some secrets, even military secrets, which are open secrets. The invasion of the continent of Europe by the combined Allied forces is one. The unconditional surrender of German forces on German soil is another. There is to be no other surrender. When the hour of supreme effort comes, each of the contending forces will know it is the end, and that one of them must yield or die. That hour will also decide whether civilization itself is to live or die. All that has gone before, all that is now taking place, is leading up to that hour.

In contemplating the conquest of Germany, we must keep in mind the way in which Nazi power has reached out in Europe. Little more than three years ago, the might of the Prussian war machine was held within the confines of a single country. It now controls a continent. The German stronghold has expanded into a European fortress. For the materials of war, and for food, Germany is able to draw upon a storehouse which comprises many countries. Nazi brutality continues to terrorize and to enslave conquered millions, to force their labour, and to exploit their resources.

Difficulties of Invasion from the Sea

Invasion from the sea is many times more difficult than invasion of adjacent lands. Before the Allied powers attempt invasion across the Mediterranean, the English channel, or the North Sea, or from the waters of the Atlantic, we will have to be very certain of being able to land forces and equipment, and to hold the bridgehead. It would be no help to ourselves, to Russia or China, or to any other of the Allied powers to have landing forces annihilated. Once forces have landed, they will be dependent on supplies and reinforcements which can be brought to them only across or over the sea.

We must also expect that, once bridgeheads are established, the tide of battle will ebb and flow. Because in Europe the enemy has strengthened the outer ramparts of his stronghold, it will be very difficult to reach German soil. There may be long periods of fighting in the occupied countries. This makes clear why, up to the present, all military authorities have insisted that, before a full-scale offensive is launched, there must be no lack of ships for the transport of troops and supplies; no lack of landing craft; no lack of aircraft [illegible] advance of land operations; no menace at sea capable

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The Submarine Menace

I need not remind you that at all times the North Atlantic sea lanes are a vital artery of supplies to the United Nations, especially to Britain and to Russia. If the war is to be won they must at all times be kept open. If they were to be cut, the reserves of supplies in the British Isles would soon wither away. The whole tremendous armoury which has been concentrated in the citadel of Britain might very rapidly deteriorate, and its striking power be dissipated.

The Battle of the Atlantic is fiercer than ever. The submarine has become the deadliest weapon at Hitler's command. His U-boats have been concentrating in mid-Atlantic, along the shipping routes from Canada and the United States to Britain and the Mediterranean. Their numbers are larger than ever. Like wolves, they hunt in packs. Their aim is to sever the ocean lines of communication between the New World and the Old. The successful control of this menace is a necessary prelude to any successful invasion of the continent of Europe. Now, as never before, the bridge of ships across the North Atlantic must be maintained.

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Lessons from the North African Campaign

In viewing the larger picture of the invasion of Europe, we may be helped to a truer perspective by what we already have seen in the invasion of North Africa.

I am sure it will come as a surprise to you to recall that it is almost half a year since American and British forces landed at Casablanca and Algiers. At that time, many thought the end of the African campaign would be a matter of a few weeks. Instead, it has taken months. The difficulties of securing and maintaining lines of communication, of bringing up the necessary supplies and reinforcements, proved greater than were anticipated. Imagine, however, what the consequences would have been had the Allied forces met formidable or prolonged opposition. Imagine the situation if, at any stage, they had been cut off from needed reinforcements and supplies.

To the enemy, the landing in North Africa of American and British forces was a complete surprise. There can be no element of surprise in the attempted invasion of Europe, except for the places and moments of attack. From the beginning of the war, the enemy has been taking every conceivable precaution to meet invasion from any quarter. German forces can be moved from almost any part of Europe to almost any other part with lightning rapidity. No worse fate could befall an invading force than to find itself opposed by German divisions so vastly superior in numbers that it could not hold its ground. For it and for the enemy this would be the North African situation in reverse.

Need for the Most Complete Preparation

You will agree, I am sure, that this greatest of all tasks must be approached with the utmost foresight, that it will require the most complete preparation. It is the duty of all concerned to see that sound judgment is not impaired by impatience, that nothing that can possibly be foreseen is left to chance. Invasion when it comes must be fortified with as full knowledge, as it is possible to obtain in advance, of every factor that will count for life or death in the balances that to-day are deciding the future fate of the world.

We are anxious to see the end of the war. But we are most of all concerned that it shall end in victory. The mighty venture in which our own men are destined to play a decisive role should be made as certain of success as anything in war can be made. That it may be made certain of success, that it may be crowned with victory, is shown by the North African campaign. The battle for Tunisia is in all our minds. No one will say that General Montgomery is lacking in swift decision, or that he ever hesitated to engage in perilous action when the possible gain was worth the risk. But his advance, while daring, has also been cautious. He has never allowed himself to be tempted or hurried into premature action. He has refused to move until every last preparation has been complete. Each time Montgomery has given the word to advance, it has been a signal of victory.

The Supreme Effort

I have attempted to give a more or less impressionist survey of Canada's war effort, as we are able to view its proportions to-day, from the vantage ground of the years of war. I have attempted also to give, from the vantage ground of the years of war, some impression of the magnitude of the task that still confronts the United Nations. I have referred to an impression still more vivid. It is a consciousness that we have not yet reached the summit of our endeavours. It is a realization that, if everything thus far accomplished is not to prove to have been in vain, a great new effort—a supreme effort—is now necessary.

Canada's Fighting Men

Of one thing we may be assured. In every effort, our fighting men will not fail us. Let us make very sure we do not fail them. Let them see how completely their country is behind them. For us at home, in Canada, it is not enough to be proud of their achievements. We must not permit the pride which all Canada feels in their gallant exploits to blind us to what their efforts cost in human life, in suffering and privation, and in anguish of heart and mind. They are prepared to give their all. Let them see that we are prepared to do the same.

Let us not forget the continued patience and endurance of our fighting men. Let us not forget that some of them have been separated from homes and loved ones for nearly four years. Let us remember that many already have made the supreme sacrifice; that many have been severely wounded, or crippled for life; that many are imprisoned in enemy camps. Let us remember that, day by day, and night by night, our fighting men are risking their lives, that not one of them knows what the morrow may bring.

Let us realize that the success of their supreme effort is bound up in what we do for them. Everything we do now, this very month

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Let us realize that the success of their supreme effort is bound up in what we do for them. Everything we do now, this very month, will save many lives and will count for victory at an earlier day.

A War for Men's Minds and Souls

Our own interest as a nation, and every consideration of justice towards the wronged and the oppressed are bound up in this titanic struggle.

We cannot too often remind ourselves that the present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. It is the first war which, in an accurate geographical sense, is really a world war. Moreover, it is a war which is being fought at one and the same time, in the air, on land and at sea. It is different from other wars in the nature and use of the forces employed. It is a war, as Mr. Churchill has said, of machines, of science, and of psychology.

But this war is different from other wars in yet other and more important respects. It is different in its purpose, and in its possibilities. It is a war not only in the material realm. It is a war for the control of men's minds and of men's souls. It is a war that will affect not only our own generation. It will leave its imprint on every subsequent age of humanity. It is a war that will shape the moral destiny of the world.

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MR. ACLAND:

Re: Speeches

Please note that whatever is done in one should be done in the others - italics, everything, should be symmetrical.

Also note all of my changes.

W.L.M.K.

September 16, 1943

MEMORANDUM

Office of the Prime Minister

Ottawa, File - 236

Sections of Phis Speech
Toronto, 19.iv.43
as approved by
Defence Depts! / VWP

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OKd by Mr Power

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The Royal Canadian Air Force

Since the beginning of the war, the Royal Canadian Air Force has patrolled and protected the approaches to our coasts. Long range aircraft, manned by Canadians, are employed, in growing numbers, in protecting escorted ships across the sea lanes of the Atlantic. Since 1940, our Air Force has shared increasingly in action against the enemy wherever he may be found.

Canadian airmen have been operating, on this continent, from Newfoundland to Alaska and the Aleutians; in the Far East, in India and Ceylon; in the Middle East, in the Persian Gulf, Palestine, Egypt, and Lybya; from Malta and the African coasts, over Italy and the waters of the Mediterranean; and, in the growing numbers of Canadian squadrons, based in Britain, and ranging far and wide over Germany and enemy-occupied Europe. I could give no more graphic picture of the extent to which Canada's war effort has become part of a world-wide conflict. Canada, today, is the fourth greatest military air power among the United Nations.

In March alone some 35 Canadian bombers were lost on daylight raids.

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The Royal Canadian Navy

The Canadian Navy, like the Canadian Air Force, has developed phenomenally. Its spirit, its organization, and its training, like those of the Air Force, have all stressed the need of smooth and effective co-operation with allied forces. Through more than three long and bitter years, whether on destroyers, corvettes, minesweepers, patrol vessels, sub-chasers, or other craft, men of the Royal Canadian Navy, in ever-growing numbers, have helped to hold the sea lanes open.

In recent months, our Navy has been sharing nearly half the burden of convoy duty on the North Atlantic sea routes. This is very arduous and very dangerous work. It is being carried on through every kind of weather and with unceasing vigil. Units of Canada's Navy have also operated in other theatres of war. In the waters of the Mediterranean and on the Pacific Ocean, our ships and men have been in action against the foe.

When our present programme of Naval expansion is completed a year hence, the personnel of our Navy will ~~actually~~ approximately equal in numbers the personnel of the British Navy shortly before the outbreak of war.

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with one
word
changed
by Mr MacDonald

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The Merchant Marine.

Closely associated with our Navy is Canada's Merchant Marine. In this service also there has been immense expansion. Our merchant seamen operate the ships in the convoys. Theirs are the ships that transport across the seas the food, the guns, the tanks, the planes, and other munitions of war produced in Canada. Their rugged endurance of the stormy life of the sea and all its wartime dangers is equalled only by their constant resolution to bring these precious cargoes to their destination. They are making a noble contribution to this world-wide fight for freedom.

D 60678

The Canadian Army

When, on December 17, 1939, the first contingent of the First Division of Canada's Army arrived in England, the number of trained soldiers and experienced officers was few indeed. Today, our Army in Britain numbers nearly 200,000, thoroughly trained men.

After Dunkirk, the first Canadian Division was the only division left in Britain equipped to fight. It was the presence there of our First Division, and the arrival of our Second Division, which later in the year made it possible for the British Government to send reinforcements to Egypt. These reinforcements, with other troops from Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India, saved the Middle East. New units, formations and reserves have since gone forward from Canada to Britain as quickly and as continuously as ships could be found to carry them. The first Canadian Army Corps, formed at Christmas 1940, has now grown into an army of two corps, with an appropriate proportion of armoured formations. one of which is armoured. General McNaughton has said that the Army he commands is, for its size, "the greatest mechanized force in the world".

The Canadian Army has not been developed in isolation. Like the Canadian Air Force and the Canadian Navy, it has, from the beginning, been built up and developed

in close co-operation with the British forces, and more recently with those of other of our Allies.

In all the varied aspects of modern war, the officers and men of Canada's army have undergone unending training. Our Army has brought its training - individually by units and collectively as a striking force - to a perfection perhaps never exceeded. That training has been hard, a training resembling as closely as possible the conditions of actual warfare. All the while, at the heart of the world's greatest citadel of freedom, Canada's Army has stood guard. It has been a means of holding in Western Europe, and of withholding from Russia and Africa, German forces many times its size.

There have been several periods of intense activity, when battle against the enemy seemed imminent. In the Spring of 1940, a part of the First Division was all ready to set out for Norway. Our troops were prepared to go to France before Dunkirk. Some detachments actually landed in France after Dunkirk. In 1941, there was the expedition to Spitzbergen, in the Arctic. In 1942, there was Dieppe. If our forces overseas have remained so largely and for so long within the British Isles, if Canadian formations have not been broken up for service in other theatres, this has been due entirely to the considered judgment and advice of all concerned

with the strategical direction of the war. It has not been because of any restriction imposed by the government of Canada.

War strategy must be planned as a whole. The war plans which have been made for Canada have been most carefully prepared to secure the greatest possible effect against the enemy. We have always been determined that the Canadian Army should be employed wherever it could serve most effectively. With respect to the operations of Canadian troops, our government, since the outbreak of war, has taken but one position. It is that Canadian forces, in whole or in part, should be used where and when they can make the best contribution to the winning of the war.

From a very small beginning, the strength of the Canadian Active Army has now grown to more than 455,000, ~~of which number 10,000 are women. In addition to the~~ army of nearly 200,000 in Britain, other units of our Canada's army are manning coastal defences in Canada and providing mobile reserves in the coastal regions. ~~guarding strategic industries and vital communications in Canada itself.~~ Many thousands more are in training. Of the 245,000 men in Canada, 180,000 have volunteered for service anywhere in the world.

Throughout the war, units of the Canadian Army have served in many parts of the Western Hemisphere. From

Canada's east coast they reached out to Newfoundland, to Labrador Greenland, and to Iceland. Other Canadian forces have served in Bermuda, In Jamaica, and in other outposts of the Caribbean area. Still others are co-operating with United States forces in Alaska. For several months, Canadian tunnellers ~~ha~~ were stationed at Gibraltar. To gain first-hand battle experience, Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers of the Canadian Army in Britain have been attached to the British First Army and fighting with as part of in North Africa.

Units of Canada's Army have also served in the Eastern hemisphere. In recounting the actions which have made of Canada's defence against aggression a memorable part of the world-wide fight for freedom, sufficient recognition has never been given to the Canadian expedition which in the autumn of 1941, sailed for Hong Kong. Nor has adequate honour been done its heroic part in the defence of that distant island fortress. When, in the great silence which will follow the defeat of Germany and Japan, the thoughts of the world revert to the days when these mighty powers were challenged, no episodes of chivalry or daring will shine forth more brightly than those which tell of the Canadians at Hong Kong and Dieppe.

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Not to be released before delivery at 1.15 p.m., April 19, 1943.

CANADA'S FIGHTING MEN

Address by the Prime Minister, Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, before the Canadian Club of Toronto, Monday, April 19, 1943. Opening of the Fourth Victory Loan Campaign.

May I express to you, Mr. President, and to other officers and members of the Canadian Club of Toronto, my warm appreciation of the invitations so kindly extended to me from time to time. I am especially pleased that the occasion to address the Club's members has presented itself at the opening of Canada's Fourth Victory Loan campaign. I am not less grateful that the opportunity to make an appeal to my fellow-citizens throughout the Dominion should be afforded in the city which, for me, holds so much in the way of personal association.

An Urgent and Compelling Appeal

The Victory Loan has become a symbol of private determination and public duty—a symbol which reflects the strength and vigour of the Canadian people. The Victory Loan is a most essential part of Canada's war effort.

There has never been a time in Canada's history when an appeal for a Victory Loan was more urgent or more compelling. The appeal is urgent, because we are nearer than ever to the days of supreme effort. It is compelling, because it concerns so immediately the lives of Canada's fighting men.

It is of Canada's fighting men that I should like to speak particularly to-day. I wish to emphasize what we owe to them.

From Nationhood to World Power

As we stand at the threshold of this Fourth Victory Loan campaign, and view Canada's war effort from the vantage ground of the years of war, we are able to see our effort in its true proportions, to see it in its relation to the war effort of the other United Nations, and in its relation to common objectives. But that is not all. We can see how greatly, within the compass of the United Nations, Canada's status as a nation has broadened. We gain a larger vision of our country's opportunities and responsibilities. We see Canada now emerging from mere nationhood to the position of a world power.

In this pause of a moment, we obtain another, a still more significant vision. It is as if all Canada, having striven steadily onward and upward, under continually increasing burdens, for nearly four years, had been brought suddenly to realize that the summit had not yet been reached; and that if everything thus far accomplished is not to fail of ultimate achievement, a great new effort—a supreme effort—is now necessary.

Growth of Canada's War Effort

Our war effort as a whole has been carefully planned and organized. Our military forces, our war production and our essential services, have been kept in balance. We have sought to make our national effort, a maximum effort.

Our forces, three and a half years ago, were limited in numbers, in equipment, and in training. We have steadily expanded our forces. They have been provided with the best equipment. Training has been continous, and is constantly being improved. We have developed many new kinds of war production. We have combined our effort harmoniously and efficiently with the efforts of our allies. Canadian forces and Canadian supplies have become a telling part of the total strength of the United Nations.

British Commonwealth Air Training Plan

There could be no finer illustration of the spirit of co-operation, characteristic of our whole war effort, than the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. Nor has greater foresight been shown in any strategic aspect of war planning than has been revealed by this vast project. The Agreement, establishing the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, was signed on December 17, 1939. On the same day, the first contingent of Canada's army landed in Britain.

The rapidity of the organization, and the scale of development of the Air Training Plan, have far exceeded the expectations of all who shared the responsibility of bringing it into being. A year ago, President Roosevelt said the training plan had made of Canada "the Aerodrome of Democracy". In his recent address to both Houses of our Parliament, Mr. Anthony Eden said: "If Canada had done nothing else in this war, her predominant share in the Commonwealth Air Training scheme would insure for her an enduring place in the roll of fame".

The vast development of the Air Training Plan is an assurance that Canada will continue to contribute trained fighting airmen to sustain the offensives against Germany, Italy, and Japan, until the fate of all three is sealed.

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The Royal Canadian Air Force

The Royal Canadian Air Force, in addition to its administration of the training plan, has, from the outset, patrolled and protected the approaches to our coasts. Long-range aircraft, manned by Canadians, are employed in growing numbers in protecting escorted ships across the sea lanes of the Atlantic.

Since 1940, our Air Force has shared increasingly in action against the enemy wherever he may be found. Canadian airmen have been operating, on this continent, from Newfoundland to Alaska and the Aleutians; in the Far East, in India and Ceylon; in the Middle East, in Palestine, Egypt and Libya. From Malta and the African coasts, they have been operating over Italy and the waters of the Mediterranean. Growing numbers of Canadian squadrons, based in Britain, have ranged far and wide over Germany and enemy-occupied Europe. I could give no more graphic picture of the extent to which Canada's war effort has become part of a world-wide conflict. Canada, to-day, is the fourth greatest military air power among the United Nations.

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The Canadian Navy, like the Canadian Air Force, has developed phenomenally. Its spirit, its organization, and its training, like those of the Air Force, have all stressed the need of smooth and effective co-operation with allied forces. Through more than three long and bitter years, whether on destroyers, corvettes, minesweepers, patrol vessels, sub-chasers, or other craft, men of the Royal Canadian Navy, in ever-growing numbers, have helped to hold the sea lanes open.

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When our present programme of Naval expansion is completed a year hence, the personnel of Canada's Navy will approximately equal in numbers the personnel of the British Navy shortly before the outbreak of war.

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The Merchant Marine

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The Canadian Army

The Canadian Army, like the Canadian Air Force and the Canadian Navy, has been built up and developed in close co-operation with the British forces, and more recently with those of other of our Allies.

After Dunkirk, the First Canadian Division was one of very few divisions in Britain equipped to fight. It was the presence there of our First Division, and the arrival of our Second Division, which, later in the year, made it possible for the British Government to send reinforcements to Egypt. These reinforcements, with other troops from Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India, saved the Middle East. New units, formations and reserves have gone forward from Canada to Britain as quickly and as continuously as ships could be found to carry them. The First Canadian Army Corps, formed at Christmas 1940, has now grown into an army of two corps with an appropriate proportion of armoured formations. General McNaughton has said that the Army he commands is, for its size, "the most highly mechanized force in the world".

Training and Strategy

In all the varied aspects of modern war, the officers and men of Canada's Army have undergone unending training. Our Army has brought its training—individually by units, and collectively as a striking force—to a perfection perhaps never exceeded. That training has been hard, a training resembling as closely as possible the conditions of actual warfare. All the while, at the heart of the world's greatest citadel of freedom, Canada's Army has stood guard. It has been constantly in readiness to repel the invader. It has been a means of holding in Western Europe, and of withholding from Russia and Africa, German forces many times its size.

There have been several periods of intense activity, when battle against the enemy seemed imminent. In the spring of 1940, a part of the First Division was all ready to set out for Norway. Our troops were prepared to go to France before Dunkirk. Some detachments actually landed in France after Dunkirk. In 1941, there was the expedition to Spitzbergen, in the Arctic. In 1942, there was Dieppe.

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Service at Home and Abroad

From a very small beginning, the strength of the Canadian Active Army has now grown to more than 435,000 men, of which number over 190,000 are in Britain. A few thousands are serving outside Canada in this hemisphere. Of the more than 240,000 soldiers in Canada, over 180,000 have volunteered for service anywhere in the world.

Units of our army are manning coastal and anti-aircraft defences in Canada and providing mobile reserves in the coastal regions. Many thousands more are in training. Throughout the war, units of the Canadian Army have served in many parts of the Western Hemisphere. From Canada's east coast, they reached out to Newfoundland, to Labrador, and to Iceland. Canadian forces have served in Bermuda, in Jamaica, and in the Caribbean area. Still others are co-operating with United States forces in Alaska.

For over a year, Canadian tunnellers were stationed at Gibraltar. To gain first-hand battle experience, officers and non-commissioned officers of the Canadian Army in Britain have been attached to and are fighting as part of the British First Army in North Africa.

Units of Canada's Army have also served in the Far East. In recounting the actions which have made of Canada's defence against aggression a memorable part of the world-wide fight for freedom, sufficient recognition has never been given to the Canadian expedition which in the autumn of 1941, sailed for Hong Kong. Nor has adequate honour been done its heroic part in the defence of that distant island fortress.

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When, in the great silence which will follow the defeat of Germany and Japan, the thoughts of the world revert to the days when these mighty powers were challenged, no episodes of chivalry or daring will shine forth more brightly than those which tell of the Canadians at Hong Kong and Dieppe.

Canada a Vast Arsenal

War-making is not merely a task for the armed forces. Obviously, for Canada, the military effort, however great, can only be a part of a total effort. To effect a total effort our national economy has been transformed. Canada has become a vast arsenal. In three years, our industrial output has been doubled. In volume of war production, our country is fourth among the United Nations.

From the beginning of the war, we planned to produce far more supplies than were required for Canada's forces. In foodstuffs, in munitions, in weapons, in aircraft, and in ships, we have sought to produce to the limit of our capacity.

Under our policy of mutual aid, we are doing everything we can to make sure that our munitions and supplies are available in the theatres of war where they are most needed. In sending supplies to other United Nations, we are in reality helping to defend our own country. We are supplying munitions of war to Russia and China, to Australia and New Zealand, as well as to Britain and the United States. We are supplying these munitions to fight for these countries, to fight for Canada, to fight for freedom, to shorten the war, and to save human lives.

Canada's Armed Forces as a Whole

In round numbers, the total strength of our armed forces is over 700,000. Naval personnel numbers over 55,000; air force personnel about 200,000; and army personnel over 435,000 men. In addition, there are 22,000 women serving in the uniforms of the three armed services. These numbers do not include many tens of thousands of men giving part time service in the Reserve Army.

Our war strategy is based on the principle that wherever the enemy can be successfully engaged, Canada's interests are being advanced, and world freedom preserved.

We have not neglected our particular responsibility for the local defence of our homeland and of nearby areas. But we have clearly recognized that, so long as the enemy is undefeated anywhere, Canada will not be secure.

Canadian airmen have fought over almost every battle area around the globe. Canadian sailors have served on every ocean. Canadian soldiers have seen action on all three continents of the Old World. By their deeds, our fighting men have shown that the Canadian people understand there are no real frontiers in this world war, except the frontier between freedom and servitude.

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Canada's Supreme Hour

The supreme hour for Canada will come when, along with the combined forces of the Allied powers, all our forces in the air, at sea, and on land, are attacking as one, in a mighty effort to batter down the ramparts of Prussian power, and to slay the dragon of Nazi brutality in its native lair. It is to hasten the day of this final attack, and to give to our fighting men all the support that we can possibly give, that the government appeals to-day to men and women in all parts of Canada to make to the Fourth Victory Loan the largest response that Canada has made to any appeal, at any time.

The Supreme Task of the War

I wish I were in a position to tell you when the days of supreme effort will come. I wish much more it were possible to foretell the day of victory. These, no one in this world can foresee. I may be able, however, to help you form your own estimate.

Existing situations may continue favourable. They may change rapidly. It is well, therefore, that we should be prepared for the invasion of Europe at any time. But conditions may change in unexpected ways. It is well, therefore, that we should also be prepared to wait. Through some unpredictable event, all our present calculations may be set at naught. We may be found to have been too hopeful. Moreover, we must never lose sight of the fact that the Allied powers are at war with Japan, as well as with Germany and Italy. Major battles may be fought at any moment in any quarter of the globe.

Those who count upon recent Allied successes as an assurance of an early defeat of the Axis powers should recall the ebb and flow of battle over the past three years. Within that time what most people imagined would be a European war has become a conflict of hemispheres. Of the present situation, the most one can say is that, in the Orient and the Occident alike, the sweep appears to be narrowing. Against this contraction in the areas of conflict, we must offset the intensity of the fighting.

Of the defeat of Italy in this war there can be no doubt whatever. Her colonial empire has already been torn to shreds. Her troops, used by the Germans so largely to meet the onslaught of opposing forces, and to cover their own retreats, have been slain or captured by the hundreds of thousands; her shores face the prospect of invasion at any moment. The defeat of Japan is remote, but nonetheless a certainty once Germany is defeated. To destroy the military might of the German war machine remains for the Allied powers the supreme task of the war. That task can be finally accomplished only on German soil.

The Invasion of Europe

It is not for me, nor indeed for anyone else, to hint at Allied strategy, much less to disclose to the enemy its essential aspects. There are, however, some secrets, even military secrets, which are open secrets. The invasion of the continent of Europe by the combined Allied forces is one. The unconditional surrender of German forces on German soil is another. There is to be no other surrender. When the hour of supreme effort comes, each of the contending forces will know it is the end, and that one of them must yield or die. That hour will also decide whether civilization itself is to live or die. All that has gone before, all that is now taking place, is leading up to that hour.

As I think of the ordeal through which our country will be called upon to pass in the days of supreme effort, I wish I were able to express to you the thoughts that will be required to sustain the hearts of us all. I can but say, quoting from words of inspiration with which you are already familiar:

> "Think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you."

Rather, let us rejoice that it has been given to us to be partakers of the spirit of those—the flower of our land—who, to save mankind, proudly have gathered

> "rank on rank to war
> "As who had heard God's message from afar."

Difficulties of Invasion

In contemplating the conquest of Germany, we must keep in mind the way in which Nazi power has reached out in Europe. Little more than three years ago, the might of the Prussian war machine was held within the confines of a single country. It now controls a continent. The German stronghold has expanded into a European fortress. For the materials of war, and for food, Germany is able to draw upon a storehouse which comprises many countries. Nazi brutality continues to terrorize and to enslave conquered millions, to force their labour, and to exploit their resources.

Invasion from the sea is many times more difficult than invasion of adjacent lands. Before the Allied powers attempt invasion across the Mediterranean, the English channel, or the North Sea, or from

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Invasion from the sea is many times more difficult than invasion of adjacent lands. Before the Allied powers attempt invasion across the Mediterranean, the English channel, or the North Sea, or from the waters of the Atlantic, we will have to be very certain of being able to land forces and equipment, and to hold the bridgehead. It would be no help to ourselves, to Russia or China, or to any other of the Allied powers to have landing forces annihilated. Once forces have landed, they will be dependent on supplies and reinforcements which can be brought to them only across or over the sea.

We must also expect that, once bridgeheads are established, the tide of battle will ebb and flow. Because in Europe the enemy has strengthened the outer ramparts of his stronghold, it will be very difficult to reach German soil. There may be long periods of fighting in the occupied countries. This makes clear why, up to the present, all military authorities have insisted that, before a full-scale offensive is launched, there must be no lack of ships for the transport of troops and supplies; no lack of landing craft; no lack of aircraft to cover the advance of land operations; no menace at sea capable of cutting off the needed reinforcements and supplies.

The Submarine Menace

I need not remind you that at all times the North Atlantic sea lanes are a vital artery of supplies to the United Nations, especially to Britain and to Russia. If the war is to be won they must at all times be kept open. If they were to be cut, the reserves of supplies in the British Isles would soon wither away. The whole tremendous armoury which has been concentrated in the citadel of Britain might very rapidly deteriorate, and its striking power be dissipated.

The Battle of the Atlantic is fiercer than ever. The submarine has become the deadliest weapon at Hitler's command. His U-boats have been concentrating in mid-Atlantic, along the shipping routes from Canada and the United States to Britain and the Mediterranean. Their numbers are larger than ever. Like wolves, they hunt in packs. Their aim is to sever the ocean lines of communication between the New World and the Old. The successful control of this menace is a necessary prelude to any successful invasion of the continent of Europe. Now, as never before, the bridge of ships across the North Atlantic must be maintained.

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Lessons from the North African Campaign

In viewing the larger picture of the invasion of Europe, we may be helped to a truer perspective by what we already have seen in the invasion of North Africa.

I am sure it will come as a surprise to you to recall that it is almost half a year since American and British forces landed at Casablanca and Algiers. At that time, many thought the end of the African campaign would be a matter of a few weeks. Instead, it has taken months. The difficulties of securing and maintaining lines of communication, of bringing up the necessary supplies and reinforcements, proved greater than were anticipated. Imagine, however, what the consequences would have been had the Allied forces met formidable or prolonged opposition. Imagine the situation if, at any stage, they had been cut off from needed reinforcements and supplies.

To the enemy, the landing in North Africa of American and British forces was a complete surprise. There can be no element of surprise in the attempted invasion of Europe, except for the places and moments of attack. From the beginning of the war, the enemy has been taking every conceivable precaution to meet invasion from any quarter. German forces can be moved from almost any part of Europe to almost any other part with lightning rapidity. No worse fate could befall an invading force than to find itself opposed by German divisions so vastly superior in numbers that it could not hold its ground. For it and for the enemy this would be the North African situation in reverse.

Need for the Most Complete Preparation

You will agree, I am sure, that this greatest of all tasks must be approached with the utmost foresight, that it will require the most complete preparation. It is the duty of all concerned to see that sound judgment is not impaired by impatience, that nothing that can possibly be foreseen is left to chance. Invasion when it comes must be fortified with as full knowledge, as it is possible to obtain in advance, of every factor that will count for life or death in the balances that to-day are deciding the future fate of the world.

We are anxious to see the end of the war. But we are most of all concerned that it shall end in victory. The mighty venture in which our own men are destined to play a decisive role should be made as certain of success as anything in war can be made. That it may be made certain of success, that it may be crowned with victory, is shown by the North African campaign. The battle for Tunisia is in all our minds. No one will say that General Montgomery is lacking in swift decision, or that he ever hesitated to engage in perilous action when the possible gain was worth the risk. But his advance, while daring, has also been cautious. He has never allowed himself to be tempted or hurried into premature action. He has refused to move until every last preparation has been complete. Each time Montgomery has given the word to advance, it has been a signal of victory.

The Supreme Effort

I have attempted to give a more or less impressionist survey of Canada's war effort, as we are able to view its proportions to-day, from the vantage ground of the years of war. I have attempted also to give, from the vantage ground of the years of war, some impression of the magnitude of the task that still confronts the United Nations. I have referred to an impression still more vivid. It is a consciousness that we have not yet reached the summit of our endeavours. It is a realization that, if everything thus far accomplished is not to prove to have been in vain, a great new effort—a supreme effort—is now necessary.

Canada's Fighting Men

Of one thing we may be assured. In every effort, our fighting men will not fail us. Let us make very sure we do not fail them. Let them see how completely their country is behind them. For us at home, in Canada, it is not enough to be proud of their achievements. We must not permit the pride which all Canada feels in their gallant exploits to blind us to what their efforts cost in human life, in suffering and privation, and in anguish of heart and mind. They are prepared to give their all. Let them see that we are prepared to do the same.

Let us not forget the continued patience and endurance of our fighting men. Let us not forget that some of them have been separated from homes and loved ones for nearly four years. Let us remember that many already have made the supreme sacrifice; that many have been severely wounded, or crippled for life; that many are imprisoned in enemy camps. Let us remember that, day by day, and night by night, our fighting men are risking their lives, that not one of them knows what the morrow may bring.

Let us realize that the success of their supreme effort is bound up in what we do for them. Everything we do now, this very month, will save many lives and will count for victory at an earlier day.

A War for Men's Minds and Souls

Our own interest as a nation, and every consideration of justice

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Let us realize that the success of their supreme effort is bound up in what we do for them. Everything we do now, this very month, will save many lives and will count for victory at an earlier day.

A War for Men's Minds and Souls

Our own interest as a nation, and every consideration of justice towards the wronged and the oppressed are bound up in this titanic struggle.

We cannot too often remind ourselves that the present war is different from any war in the past. It is different in scale. It is the first war which, in an accurate geographical sense, is really a world war. Moreover, it is a war which is being fought at one and the same time, in the air, on land and at sea. It is different from other wars in the nature and use of the forces employed. It is a war, as Mr. Churchill has said, of machines, of science, and of psychology.

But this war is different from other wars in yet other and more important respects. It is different in its purpose, and in its possibilities. It is a war not only in the material realm. It is a war for the control of men's minds and of men's souls. It is a war that will affect not only our own generation. It will leave its imprint on every subsequent age of humanity. It is a war that will shape the moral destiny of the world.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

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THE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER OF ITALY

(SEPTEMBER 3, 1943)

FOUR YEARS OF WAR
1939 - 1943

BROADCASTS

by

Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.,

Prime Minister of Canada

OTTAWA, SEPTEMBER 8 and 10, 1943

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1943

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CANADA AND THE WAR

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THE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER OF ITALY

SEPTEMBER 3, 1943

Statement Broadcast by

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada

Ottawa, September 8, 1943

The world has heard this morning the tremendous news from General Eisenhower's headquarters that Italy has surrendered unconditionally. The first Allied landings on the Italian mainland were made on September 3rd, only five days ago. The news of surrender has followed swiftly.

The Allied Nations have now attained the first of their three main objectives—the unconditional surrender, in turn, of each of the Axis powers. Allied strategy for more than a year past has aimed at driving Italy out of the war, and thus clearing the way for a concentrated attack upon Nazi Germany by the Allied forces in Europe. It was hoped and expected that the defeat of Italy might be accomplished by this autumn. That end has now been achieved, and achieved according to plan. Its accomplishment, more immediately, is the outcome of the campaigns in Africa and in Sicily, and of the bombardment and invasion of the Italian mainland. It is the result of the combined efforts of the United Nations in all theatres of war.

We in Canada may rejoice today that, from the very beginning of the present world conflict, our country took up arms against the forces of aggression and tyranny. We may rejoice that, throughout four years of war, the Canadian people have put forth their utmost effort in the cause of the world's freedom. This is not the moment at which to attempt to assess our contribution. As a nation, we saw the issue clearly from the outset, and our armed forces at sea, on land, and in the air have served wherever their highest service could be rendered. We may rejoice that, in this hour of triumph over one of the Axis powers, it has been given to Canada's forces to play a significant part.

Let there be rejoicing from one end of Canada to the other, but let the rejoicing be accompanied by a resolve, on the part of each, that from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass, in the quickest possible time, the defeat of the remaining Axis powers.

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As Canadians, we may indeed be proud that Canada's armed forces were among those who were at the spearhead of the attack upon Sicily, and among the first to land upon the soil of Italy. It remains for us, by doing all that lies within our power, to ensure to our fighting men a position of honour in the final break-through into Germany, and in the slaying of the dragon of Naziism in its native lair. Once that is accomplished, the fate of Japan will definitely be sealed.

Again, I repeat, let us, one and all, from now on, do all that lies within our power to aid our fighting men.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

FOUR YEARS OF WAR

1939 - 1943

Broadcast by

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada

Ottawa, September 10, 1943

To-day, Canada enters the fifth year of war. When I spoke to you, a year ago, the Axis powers had reached the extreme limits of their conquests. For the United Nations, the preceding months had been filled with disappointments and defeats. At El Alemain and at Stalingrad the advancing Nazi hordes threatened the two gateways of the Middle East. In the Far East and in the Pacific, Japanese power had spread across China and Southeast Asia to the frontiers of India, through all the Indies to the very shores of Australia, and into the Aleutian Islands in our own hemisphere. Everywhere throughout the world the forces of freedom were on the defensive.

Axis Dream Becomes a Nightmare

To-day, the world picture has changed. The Axis dream of world domination has been transformed into a nightmare of defeat and destruction. On every battlefront around the globe, the United Nations have seized and kept the initiative. China has entered undaunted into her seventh year of resistance. The Japanese have been driven from the Western Hemisphere. The forces of the United States, Australia and New Zealand are pressing forward in New Guinea and the Solomons. In Russia, the Nazi summer offensive has been turned into a defeat—a defeat so disastrous its proportions cannot yet be measured. The very heart of Germany has, day and night, been pounded from the air on a scale which, even a year ago, would have seemed incredible. Great cities have been reduced to smouldering ruins. On the sea, for the time at least, the menace of the Nazi U-boat is under control. The Axis forces have been driven out of the whole of Africa. The Mediterranean has again been opened to allied shipping. Sicily has been occupied; the mainland of Europe invaded. Italy has surrendered unconditionally.

Canada's War Effort in the Past Year

Let me now refer very briefly to what Canada has done in the past year to advance the common cause of freedom.

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At sea, the contribution of Canada's navy in the North Atlantic has steadily increased. With the growth of our contribution has come an increase of responsibility for the safety of that life-line of freedom. The Canadian navy has not been confined to the North Atlantic. Last November, Canadian corvettes shared in escorting the great Anglo-American armada to North Africa. Several of our ships and their crews distinguished themselves in the Mediterranean. For many months, Canadian ships operated in the North Pacific against the Japanese in the Aleutians. Specially trained Canadian sailors manned many of the landing craft employed in the invasions of Sicily and the mainland of Italy. In this war, Canada has become a naval power, now third in strength, among the United Nations.

Canada's maritime contribution is not confined to the fighting navy. Our merchant fleet, manned by Canadian seamen, is growing in importance. No praise is too high for the heroism and endurance of the merchant seamen. Allied successes on every battlefront depend upon their exertions and their devotion.

In aerial warfare, Canada's fighting strength has been directed against the enemy all around the globe. The results of planning, organization and training on a gigantic scale have been recorded in successes in all the theatres of war. Canadian airmen have destroyed U-boats on the Atlantic. They have blasted Japanese strongholds, from the fog-bound Aleutians, through the islands of the South Pacific, to the jungles of Burma. The vast air strength forged in Canada has left its mark in Africa, in Sicily, in Italy, and on enemy communications and military strongholds from France to Norway. Its greatest and most devastating weight has fallen upon the industrial cities of Germany.

In fighting on land, Hong-Kong and Dieppe showed the world, what every Canadian knew in his heart, that Canadian soldiers of to-day have all the courage and all the spirit their fathers displayed on the fields of France and Flanders. In the years the Canadian Army overseas has helped to secure Britain against invasion, it has grown from a single army corps, which was what Canada had in the last war, to an army of two complete corps.

The strategy which assigned to the Canadian army in Britain the supreme duty of helping to defend the world's citadel of freedom against the enemy, denied to its divisions, until this fourth year of war, the opportunity to share in major operations in other theatres.

Canadians in Africa and Sicily

During the year now ended, picked officers and non-commissioned officers from the Canadian army in Britain served with the British First Army in the Tunisian campaign. Their service in Africa foreshadowed Canadian participation in military operations to come. July the 10th, 1943, will ever be a memorable date in the history

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of Canada. Early that morning, the First Division of the Canadian army landed in Sicily. Our troops were accorded the honour of forming a part of the British Eighth Army. They were the hinge between the British and American forces throughout most of the fighting in Sicily. All Canada is proud of the achievements of Canada's soldiers in that campaign. Their courage and efficiency won for them, from the Allied commanders, the highest praise.

Before the occupation of Sicily was completed, the Canadian troops were withdrawn from the battlefront to prepare, with other units of the Eighth Army, for the landing on the Italian mainland. On the eve of that landing, I received from General Simonds a most enheartening description of the spirit of the force under his command. His cable was in reply to a message of congratulations I had sent to him and to our troops at the conclusion of the Sicilian campaign. Here are General Simonds' words:

> "On behalf of all ranks of the First Canadian Division, I thank you for your inspiring message. We shall continue in our duty reinforced by your words of encouragement. Would you please assure your colleagues of the Government of Canada and the Canadian people, that their soldiers here are in great heart, that they face the future with full confidence, and that my own responsibilities are lightened by the knowledge that I command troops whose courage, skill and endurance are unsurpassed by any in the world. We have taken the measure of our enemies and though there may be bitter fighting ahead with its inevitable losses, we shall not look back until those enemies are finally defeated."

The Invasion of Italy

That was the spirit in which our troops landed on the mainland of Italy on the morning of September 3rd. It will ever be a source of pride for all Canadians that Canada had a part in establishing the first bridgehead of freedom on the European mainland. Italy has since surrendered unconditionally. We now know that September 3rd—the fourth anniversary of the day on which Britain entered the war—was the day on which the military terms of surrender were signed.

The Landing on Kiska

While Canada's main military effort at sea, on land and in the air has been directed against the European end of the Axis, it is also true that at sea, in the air and on land armed forces of Canada have co-operated closely with United States forces in operations against the Asiatic Axis partner on the other side of the globe. At the moment our forces were joined with those of Britain and the United States in wresting from the enemy the Island of Sicily

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in the waters of the Mediterranean, Canadian forces were associated with those of the United States in recovering from the Japanese the Island of Kiska in the Pacific.

The fighting forces will always merit the place of highest honour. But Canada's contribution to the cause of freedom is not to be measured only in terms of the valiant services of her fighting men. Canada's total contribution is more than the military effort; it is the united effort of all our people. Victories cannot be won without brave and well-trained fighting men. When forces are matched which are equally brave, equally well trained and equally well led, next to the spirit of man it is the weight of armour which turns the scale. Weight of armour means ships, aircraft, tanks, guns, weapons and munitions of all kinds. It means, in the final analysis, superior industrial power mobilized for war.

The People's Contribution to Victory

In the present struggle, the industrial strength of the United Nations—and particularly of this North American continent—is now being applied decisively. Yesterday, the Minister of Munitions and Supply made public an astounding account of Canada's industrial contribution in this war. This record appeared in the press and was broadcast over the air. If you did not see it or hear it, I suggest that you look for it in yesterday's paper. By your work, by your self-denial, by your purchases of bonds and war savings certificates, you have helped to make that record. To the extent of your contribution in any of these particulars, you are entitled to share in the credit for this splendid achievement.

A Great Industrial Nation

You may also be proud that in doing your part to help win the war, you have helped to develop Canada into a great industrial nation. Through your contributions to a total war effort, you have aided in revolutionizing our national economy. The very exertions which Canada has made to do her utmost in the winning of the war have won for our country a place among the leading powers of the world.

Canada's contribution to the weapons of victory has been a large one. Our production has not been restricted to the needs of Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen. We have produced to the limit of our capacity to supply the fighting men of other allied notions. And we have taken steps to make sure that the arms and ammunitions are sent where they are most needed. That is what we mean by mutual aid.

In 1940 and 1941 when the enemy was winning battles on nearly every front, the soldiers, sailors and airmen of the United Nations were just as brave as they are to-day. To-day the allied

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forces are winning battles, because they have the armour: the guns and tanks and ships and planes. We have kept the fighting away from our own shores, because hundreds of thousands of young Canadians were ready to risk their lives to defeat the enemy on the other side of the seas. They have been able to take the splendid part they have because the people at home were willing to work harder, to practise self-denial, and to contribute of their means in taxes and loans, in order to provide the implements of war.

As the British, American, Canadian and other allied forces come to closer grips with Germany, the struggle will continue to increase in intensity and violence. The speed with which the war will be won will depend on the speed with which the factories and mines and forests of North America furnish the weapons and munitions of war. That is a sobering thought which I should like to bring home to every worker, with hand or brain, everywhere on the production lines of the new world. To the extent of your contribution, you have made the weapons that destroyed the power of Mussolini and his Fascist minions. The lives you have saved, the agony you have helped to spare the world,—these will be the measure of your reward. It is going to take all the weapons you can make, as quickly as you can make them, to destroy the power of Hitler and his Nazi gangsters; and the fanatic militarism of Japan.

Responsibility for Preservation or Loss of Human Lives

The farmers and the fishermen of Canada have helped to sustain the fighting forces everywhere, and the workers on the home front. By their contribution they too are saving human lives and sparing the world untold agony. The food produced on this continent not only is helping in the winning of the war; it will have a large part in shaping the peace to follow.

The liberation of European territory will make greater demands than ever upon the food resources of the United Nations. In its early stages, the supply of food will, for the underfed and starving peoples of the world, be the real test of liberation.

As the war goes on, the meaning of total war becomes clearer every day. The issue also becomes unmistakable. This war is nothing less than a life and death struggle between total servitude and total freedom.

There is no hard and fast line between the fighting forces and the working forces. Both are essential to total victory. The men in the fighting forces, we know, will never fail us. They are ready, if need be, to sacrifice their lives, as many already have, that others may remain free. What it is necessary for every one of us to realize is that no individual can escape the consequences of his own contribution or of his own failure. If he does his best, he is helping to rid mankind of the scourges which beset it; if he fails to serve, or impedes the service of others, he is furthering throughout the world

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the ends of carnage and of death. A flagging of effort on the home front or any avoidable interruption of effort, will prolong the struggle and increase its cost in human lives.

Hardest Battles Still in the Future

Whether civilization is to live or die has yet to be decided on the field of battle. All that has gone before, all that is now taking place is leading up to the hour of supreme effort. The strategic objective in driving Italy out of the war was to clear the way for a concentrated attack on Nazi Germany.

The surrender of Italy does not mean that the whole of Italy can be occupied without a bitter struggle. The defeat of the German armies in Italy—the phase of the war on which we have just entered —is but a prelude to the real task. In Europe, Germany has always been the real enemy. Victory over Hitlerite Germany will not be achieved without a tremendous struggle. Our hardest battles are still in the future.

I would not be true to myself nor to you, did I not say that I believe Canada's fifth year of war will demand more fortitude, greater efforts, heavier sacrifices than any we have yet faced. To be worthy of our fighting men, we must work more intensely, accept heavier burdens, co-operate more fully in a united effort.

As I said when the news was announced, by all means let there be rejoicing and thanksgiving from one end of Canada to the other at the unconditional surrender of Italy which our efforts joined to those of others have helped to bring about. But as Canada enters upon her fifth year of war, let our rejoicing and our thanskgiving be accompanied by a resolve on the part of each, that from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass, in the quickest possible time, the defeat also of Germany and Japan. On their defeat depends the future wellbeing of mankind.

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CANADA AND THE WAR

~~A Statement on the~~

THE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER
of I T A L Y
(September 3, 1943

FOUR YEARS OF WAR
~~FOUR YEARS~~
~~OF WAR~~ 1939-1943

Broadcasts
by

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

Prime Minister of Canada

Ottawa, September 8 and 10, 1943

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CANADA AND THE WAR

THE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER OF ITALY

SEPTEMBER 3, 1943

FOUR YEARS OF WAR 1939 - 1943

BROADCASTS

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Prime Minister of Canada

OTTAWA, SEPTEMBER 8 and 10, 1943

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(Inside page -
heading to address.)

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OF ITALY

Statement Broadcast

by

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada, Ottawa,

Ottawa September 8, 1943.

(Text Begins)

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LINO
MAKE-UP

CANADA AND THE WAR

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(September 3, 1943)

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Canada Has Reason to Rejoice

We in Canada may rejoice today that, from the very beginning of the present world conflict, our country took up arms against the forces of aggression and tyranny. We may rejoice that, throughout four years of war, the Canadian people have put forth their utmost effort in the cause of the world's freedom. This is not the moment at which to attempt to assess our contribution. As a nation, we saw the issue clearly from the outset, and our armed forces at sea, on land, and in the air have served wherever their highest service could be rendered. We may rejoice that, in this hour of triumph over one of the Axis powers, it has been given to Canada's forces to play a significant part.

Defeat of Remaining Axis Powers

Let there be rejoicing from one end of Canada to the other, but let the rejoicing be accompanied by a resolve, on the part of each, that from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass, in the quickest possible time, the defeat of the remaining Axis powers.

As Canadians, we may indeed be proud that Canada's armed forces were among those who were at the spearhead of the attack upon Sicily, and among the first to land upon the soil of Italy. It remains for us, by doing all that lies within our power, to ensure to our fighting men a position of honour in the final break-through into Germany, and in the slaying of the dragon of Naziism in its native lair. Once that is accomplished, the fate of Japan will definitely be sealed.

Again, I repeat, let us, one and all, from now on, do all that lies within our power to aid our fighting men.

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LINO MAKE-UP

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Ottawa, September 8, 1943

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The Allied Nations have now attained the first of their three main objectives—the unconditional surrender, in turn, of each of the Axis powers. Allied strategy for more than a year past has aimed at driving Italy out of the war, and thus clearing the way for a concentrated attack upon Nazi Germany by the Allied forces in Europe. It was hoped and expected that the defeat of Italy might be accomplished by this autumn. That end has now been achieved, and achieved according to plan. Its accomplishment, more immediately, is the outcome of the campaigns in Africa and in Sicily, and of the bombardment and invasion of the Italian mainland. It is the result of the combined efforts of the United Nations in all theatres of war.

Canada Has Reason to Rejoice

We in Canada may rejoice today that, from the very beginning of the present world conflict, our country took up arms against the forces of aggression and tyranny. We may rejoice that, throughout four years of war, the Canadian people have put forth their utmost effort in the cause of the world's freedom. This is not the moment at which to attempt to assess our contribution. As a nation, we saw the issue clearly from the outset, and our armed forces at sea, on land, and in the air have served wherever their highest service could be rendered. We may rejoice that, in this hour of triumph over one of the Axis powers, it has been given to Canada's forces to play a significant part.

Defeat of Remaining Axis Powers

Let there be rejoicing from one end of Canada to the other, but let the rejoicing be accompanied by a resolve, on the part of each, that from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass, in the quickest possible time, the defeat of the remaining Axis powers.

As Canadians, we may indeed be proud that Canada's armed forces were among those who were at the spearhead of the attack upon Sicily, and among the first to land upon the soil of Italy. It remains for us, by doing all that lies within our power, to ensure to our fighting men a position of honour in the final break-through into Germany, and in the slaying of the dragon of Naziism in its native lair. Once that is accomplished, the fate of Japan will definitely be sealed.

Again, I repeat, let us, one and all, from now on, do all that lies within our power to aid our fighting men.

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(Inside page - heading for address)

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CANADA AND THE WAR

FOUR YEARS OF WAR
1939-1943

Broadcast

by

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M. P.,
Prime Minister of Canada

Ottawa, September 10, 1943

(Text begins.)

LINO
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D 60700

89400—Speeches of Mr. King— Gal. 7

CANADA AND THE WAR

FOUR YEARS OF WAR

1939-1943

Broadcast by

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

Prime Minister of Canada

Ottawa, September 10, 1943

To-day, Canada enters the fifth year of war. When I spoke to you, a year ago, the Axis powers had reached the extreme limits of their conquests. For the United Nations, the preceding months had been filled with disappointments and defeats. At El Alemain and at Stalingrad the advancing Nazi hordes threatened the two gateways of the Middle East. In the Far East and in the Pacific, Japanese power had spread across China and Southeast Asia to the frontiers of India, through all the Indies to the very shores of Australia, and into the Aleutian Islands in our own hemisphere. Everywhere throughout the world the forces of freedom were on the defensive.

Axis Dream Becomes a Nightmare

To-day, the world picture has changed. The Axis dream of world domination has been transformed into a nightmare of defeat and destruction. On every battlefront around the globe, the United Nations have seized and kept the initiative. China has entered undaunted into her seventh year of resistance. The Japanese have been driven from the Western Hemisphere. The forces of the United States, Australia and New Zealand are pressing forward in New Guinea and the Solomons. In Russia, the Nazi summer offensive has been turned into a defeat—a defeat so disastrous its proportions cannot yet be measured. The very heart of Germany has, day and night, been pounded from the air on a scale which, even a year ago, would have seemed incredible. Great cities have been reduced to smouldering ruins. On the sea, for the time at least, the menace of the Nazi U-boat is under control. The Axis forces have been driven out of the whole of Africa. The Mediterranean has again been opened to allied shipping. Sicily has been occupied; the mainland of Europe invaded. Italy has surrendered unconditionally.

Canada's War Effort in the Past Year

Let me now refer very briefly to what Canada has done in the past year to advance the common cause of freedom.

Canada Now a Naval Power

At sea, the contribution of Canada's navy in the North Atlantic has steadily increased. With the growth of our contribution has come an increase of responsibility for the safety of that life-line of freedom. The Canadian navy has not been confined to the North Atlantic. Last November, Canadian corvettes shared in escorting the great Anglo-American armada to North Africa. Several of our ships and their crews distinguished themselves in the Mediterranean. For many months, Canadian ships operated in the North Pacific against the Japanese in the Aleutians. Specially trained Canadian sailors manned many of the landing craft employed in the invasions of Sicily and the mainland of Italy. In this war, Canada has become a naval power, now third in strength, among the United Nations.

Canada's maritime contribution is not confined to the fighting navy. Our merchant fleet, manned by Canadian seamen, is growing in importance. No praise is too high for the heroism and endurance of the merchant seamen. Allied successes on every battlefront depend upon their exertions and their devotion.

World-wide Operations of Canada's Air Force

In aerial warfare, Canada's fighting strength has been directed against the enemy all around the globe. The results of planning, organization and training on a gigantic scale have been recorded in successes in all the theatres of war. Canadian airmen have destroyed U-boats on the Atlantic. They have blasted Japanese strongholds, from the fog-bound Aleutians, through the islands of the South Pacific, to the jungles of Burma. The vast air strength forged in

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Canada's Soldiers Maintain Traditions

In fighting on land, Hong-Kong and Dieppe showed the world, what every Canadian knew in his heart, that Canadian soldiers of to-day have all the courage and all the spirit their fathers displayed on the fields of France and Flanders. In the years the Canadian Army overseas has helped to secure Britain against invasion, it has grown from a single army corps, which was what Canada had in the last war, to an army of two complete corps.

The strategy which assigned to the Canadian army in Britain the supreme duty of helping to defend the world's citadel of freedom against the enemy, denied to its divisions, until this fourth year of war, the opportunity to share in major operations in other theatres.

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Canada's contribution to the weapons of victory has been a large one. Our production has not been restricted to the needs of Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen. We have produced to the limit of our capacity to supply the fighting men of other allied notions. And we have taken steps to make sure that the arms and ammunitions are sent where they are most needed. That is what we mean by mutual aid.

In 1940 and 1941 when the enemy was winning battles on nearly every front, the soldiers, sailors and airmen of the United Nations were just as brave as they are to-day. To-day the allied forces are winning battles, because they have the armour: the guns and tanks and ships and planes. We have kept the fighting away from our own shores, because hundreds of thousands of young Canadians were ready to risk their lives to defeat the enemy on the other side of the seas. They have been able to take the splendid part they have because the people at home were willing to work harder, to practise self-denial, and to contribute of their means in taxes and loans, in order to provide the implements of war.

Speed in Production Can Shorten War

As the British, American, Canadian and other allied forces come to closer grips with Germany, the struggle will continue to increase in intensity and violence. The speed with which the war will be won will depend on the speed with which the factories and mines and forests of North America furnish the weapons and munitions of war. That is a sobering thought which I should like to bring home to every worker, with hand or brain, everywhere on the production lines of the new world. To the extent of your contribution, you have made the weapons that destroyed the power of Mussolini and his Fascist minions. The lives you have saved, the agony you have helped to spare the world,—these will be the measure of your reward. It is going to take all the weapons you can make, as quickly as you can make them, to destroy the power of Hitler and his Nazi gangsters and the fanatic militarism of Japan.

Food Can Help Win the Peace

The farmers and the fishermen of Canada have helped to sustain the fighting forces everywhere, and the workers on the home front. By their contribution they too are saving human lives and sparing the world untold agony. The food produced on this continent not only is helping in the winning of the war; it will have a large part in shaping the peace to follow.

The liberation of European territory will make greater demands than ever upon the food resources of the United Nations. In its early stages, the supply of food will, for the underfed and starving peoples of the world, be the real test of liberation.

As the war goes on, the meaning of total war becomes clearer every day. The issue also becomes unmistakable. This war is nothing less than a life and death struggle between total servitude and total freedom.

The Valiant Fighter and the Valiant Worker

There is no hard and fast line between the fighting forces and the working forces. Both are essential to total victory. The men in the fighting forces, we know, will never fail us. They are ready, if need be, to sacrifice their lives, as many already have, that others may remain free. What it is necessary for every one of us to realize is that no individual can escape the consequences of his own contribution or of his own failure. If he does his best, he is helping to rid mankind of the scourges which beset it; if he fails to serve, or impedes the service of others, he is furthering throughout the world the ends of carnage and of death. A flagging of effort on the home front or any avoidable interruption of effort, will prolong the struggle and increase its cost in human lives.

Our Hardest Battles Are Ahead

Whether civilization is to live or die has yet to be decided on the field of battle. All that has gone before, all that is now taking place is leading up to the hour of supreme effort. The strategic objective in driving Italy out of the war was to clear the way for a concentrated attack on Nazi Germany.

The surrender of Italy does not mean that the whole of Italy can be occupied without a bitter struggle. The defeat of the German armies in Italy—the phase of the war on which we have just entered—is but a prelude to the real task. In Europe, Germany has always been the real enemy. Victory over Hitlerite Germany will not be achieved without a tremendous struggle. Our hardest battles are still in the future.

I would not be true to myself nor to you, did I not say that I believe Canada's fifth year of war will demand more fortitude, greater efforts, heavier sacrifices than any we have yet faced. To be worthy of our fighting men, we must work more intensely, accept heavier burdens, co-operate more fully in a united effort.

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As I said when the news was announced, by all means let there be rejoicing and thanksgiving from one end of Canada to the other at the unconditional surrender of Italy which our efforts joined to those of others have helped to bring about. But as Canada enters upon her fifth year of war, let our rejoicing and our thanskgiving be accompanied by a resolve on the part of each, that from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a dtermination to encompass, in the quickest possible time, the defeat also of Germany and Japan. On their defeat depends the future wellbeing of mankind.

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95		Italy, Unconditional Surrender of. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Sept. 1943	D 60702 - D 60723	
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CANADA AND THE WAR

THE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER OF ITALY

(September 3, 1943)

FOUR YEARS OF WAR 1939-1943

BROADCASTS

by

Right Honourable W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.,

Prime Minister of Canada

OTTAWA, SEPTEMBER 8 and 10, 1943

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1943

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CANADA AND THE WAR

THE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER OF ITALY

(September 3, 1943)

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Let there be rejoicing from one end of Canada to the other, but let the rejoicing be accompanied by a resolve, on the part of each, that from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass, in the quickest possible time, the defeat of the remaining Axis powers.

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As Canadians, we may indeed be proud that Canada's armed forces were among those who were at the spearhead of the attack upon Sicily, and among the first to land upon the soil of Italy. It remains for us, by doing all that lies within our power, to ensure to our fighting men a position of honour in the final break-through into Germany, and in the slaying of the dragon of Naziism in its native lair. Once that is accomplished, the fate of Japan will definitely be sealed.

Again, I repeat, let us, one and all, from now on, do all that lies within our power to aid our fighting men.

D 60705

FOUR YEARS OF WAR

1939 - 1943

Broadcast by

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada

Ottawa, September 10, 1943

To-day, Canada enters the fifth year of war. When I spoke to you, a year ago, the Axis powers had reached the extreme limits of their conquests. For the United Nations, the preceding months had been filled with disappointments and defeats. At El Alemain and at Stalingrad the advancing Nazi hordes threatened the two gateways of the Middle East. In the Far East, and in the Pacific, Japanese power had spread across China and Southeast Asia to the frontiers of India, through all the Indies to the very shores of Australia, and into the Aleutian Islands in our own hemisphere. Everywhere throughout the world the forces of freedom were on the defensive.

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Canada's War Effort in the Past Year

Let me now refer very briefly to what Canada has done in the past year to advance the common cause of freedom.

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In fighting on land, Hong-Kong and Dieppe showed the world, what every Canadian knew in his heart, that Canadian soldiers of to-day have all the courage and all the spirit their fathers displayed on the fields of France and Flanders. In the years the Canadian Army overseas has helped to secure Britain against invasion, it has grown from a single army corps, which was what Canada had in the last war, to an army of two complete corps.

The strategy which assigned to the Canadian army in Britain the supreme duty of helping to defend the world's citadel of freedom against the enemy, denied to its divisions, until this fourth year of war, the opportunity to share in major operations in other theatres.

Canadians in Africa and Sicily

During the year now ended, picked officers and non-commissioned officers from the Canadian army in Britain served with the British First Army in the Tunisian campaign. Their service in Africa foreshadowed Canadian participation in military operations to come. July the 10th, 1943, will ever be a memorable date in the history

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of Canada. Early that morning, the First Division of the Canadian army landed in Sicily. Our troops were accorded the honour of forming a part of the British Eighth Army. They were the hinge between the British and American forces throughout most of the fighting in Sicily. All Canada is proud of the achievements of Canada's soldiers in that campaign. Their courage and efficiency won for them, from the Allied commanders, the highest praise.

Before the occupation of Sicily was completed, the Canadian troops were withdrawn from the battlefront to prepare, with other units of the Eighth Army, for the landing on the Italian mainland. On the eve of that landing, I received from General Simonds a most enheartening description of the spirit of the force under his command. His cable was in reply to a message of congratulations I had sent to him and to our troops at the conclusion of the Sicilian campaign. Here are General Simonds' words:

> "On behalf of all ranks of the First Canadian Division, I thank you for your inspiring message. We shall continue in our duty reinforced by your words of encouragement. Would you please assure your colleagues of the Government of Canada and the Canadian people, that their soldiers here are in great heart, that they face the future with full confidence, and that my own responsibilities are lightened by the knowledge that I command troops whose courage, skill and endurance are unsurpassed by any in the world. We have taken the measure of our enemies and though there may be bitter fighting ahead with its inevitable losses, we shall not look back until those enemies are finally defeated."

The Invasion of Italy

That was the spirit in which our troops landed on the mainland of Italy on the morning of September 3rd. It will ever be a source of pride for all Canadians that Canada had a part in establishing the first bridgehead of freedom on the European mainland. Italy has since surrendered unconditionally. We now know that September 3rd—the fourth anniversary of the day on which Britain entered the war—was the day on which the military terms of surrender were signed.

The Landing on Kiska

While Canada's main military effort at sea, on land and in the air has been directed against the European end of the Axis, it is also true that at sea, in the air and on land armed forces of Canada have co-operated closely with United States forces in operations against the Asiatic Axis partner on the other side of the globe. At the moment our forces were joined with those of Britain and the United States in wresting from the enemy the Island of Sicily

D 60708

in the waters of the Mediterranean, Canadian forces were associated with those of the United States in recovering from the Japanese the Island of Kiska in the Pacific.

The fighting forces will always merit the place of highest honour. But Canada's contribution to the cause of freedom is not to be measured only in terms of the valiant services of her fighting men. Canada's total contribution is more than the military effort; it is the united effort of all our people. Victories cannot be won without brave and well-trained fighting men. When forces are matched which are equally brave, equally well trained and equally well led, next to the spirit of man it is the weight of armour which turns the scale. Weight of armour means ships, aircraft, tanks, guns, weapons and munitions of all kinds. It means, in the final analysis, superior industrial power mobilized for war.

The People's Contribution to Victory

In the present struggle, the industrial strength of the United Nations—and particularly of this North American continent—is now being applied decisively. Yesterday, the Minister of Munitions and Supply made public an astounding account of Canada's industrial contribution in this war. This record appeared in the press and was broadcast over the air. If you did not see it or hear it, I suggest that you look for it in yesterday's paper. By your work, by your self-denial, by your purchases of bonds and war savings certificates, you have helped to make that record. To the extent of your contribution in any of these particulars, you are entitled to share in the credit for this splendid achievement.

A Great Industrial Nation

You may also be proud that in doing your part to help win the war, you have helped to develop Canada into a great industrial nation. Through your contributions to a total war effort, you have aided in revolutionizing our national economy. The very exertions which Canada has made to do her utmost in the winning of the war have won for our country a place among the leading powers of the world.

Canada's contribution to the weapons of victory has been a large one. Our production has not been restricted to the needs of Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen. We have produced to the limit of our capacity to supply the fighting men of other allied notions. And we have taken steps to make sure that the arms and ammunitions are sent where they are most needed. That is what we mean by mutual aid.

In 1940 and 1941 when the enemy was winning battles on nearly every front, the soldiers, sailors and airmen of the United Nations were just as brave as they are to-day. To-day, the allied

D 60709

forces are winning battles, because they have the armour: the guns and tanks and ships and planes. We have kept the fighting away from our own shores, because hundreds of thousands of young Canadians were ready to risk their lives to defeat the enemy on the other side of the seas. They have been able to take the splendid part they have because the people at home were willing to work harder, to practice self-denial, and to contribute of their means in taxes and loans, in order to provide the implements of war.

As the British, American, Canadian and other allied forces come to closer grips with Germany, the struggle will continue to increase in intensity and violence. The speed with which the war will be won will depend on the speed with which the factories and mines and forests of North America furnish the weapons and munitions of war. That is a sobering thought which I should like to bring home to every worker, with hand or brain, everywhere on the production lines of the new world. To the extent of your contribution, you have made the weapons that destroyed the power of Mussolini and his Fascist minions. The lives you have saved, the agony you have helped to spare the world,—these will be the measure of your reward. It is going to take all the weapons you can make, as quickly as you can make them, to destroy the power of Hitler and his Nazi gangsters; and the fanatic militarism of Japan.

Responsibility for Preservation or Loss of Human Lives

The farmers and the fishermen of Canada have helped to sustain the fighting forces everywhere, and the workers on the home front. By their contribution they, too, are saving human lives and sparing the world untold agony. The food produced on this continent not only is helping in the winning of the war; it will have a large part in shaping the peace to follow.

The liberation of European territory will make greater demands than ever upon the food resources of the United Nations. In its early stages, the supply of food will, for the underfed and starving peoples of the world, be the real test of liberation.

As the war goes on, the meaning of total war becomes clearer every day. The issue also becomes unmistakable. This war is nothing less than a life and death struggle between total servitude and total freedom.

There is no hard and fast line between the fighting forces and the working forces. Both are essential to total victory. The men in the fighting forces, we know, will never fail us. They are ready, if need be, to sacrifice their lives, as many already have, that others may remain free. What it is necessary for every one of us to realize is that no individual can escape the consequences of his own contribution or of his own failure. If he does his best, he is helping to rid mankind of the scourges which beset it; if he fails to serve, or impedes the service of others, he is furthering throughout the world

D 60710

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Hardest Battles Still in the Future

Whether civilization is to live or die has yet to be decided on the field of battle. All that has gone before, all that is now taking place is leading up to the hour of supreme effort. The strategic objective in driving Italy out of the war was to clear the way for a concentrated attack on Nazi Germany.

The surrender of Italy does not mean that the whole of Italy can be occupied without a bitter struggle. The defeat of the German armies in Italy—the phase of the war on which we have just entered—is but a prelude to the real task. In Europe, Germany has always been the real enemy. Victory over Hitlerite Germany will not be achieved without a tremendous struggle. Our hardest battles are still in the future.

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As I said when the news was announced, by all means let there be rejoicing and thanksgiving from one end of Canada to the other at the unconditional surrender of Italy, which our efforts, joined to those of others, have helped to bring about. But, as Canada enters upon her fifth year of war, let our rejoicing and our thanskgiving be accompanied by a resolve on the part of each that, from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass, in the quickest possible time, the defeat also of Germany and Japan. On their defeat depends the future well-being of mankind.

Ottawa, September 8, 1943.

D 60711

Statement by the
Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King
on the unconditional surrender of Italy.

The Allied Nations have attained the first of their three main objectives, - the unconditional surrender, in turn, of each of the Axis powers. Allied strategy for more than a year past has aimed at driving Italy out of the war and thus clearing the way for a concentrated attack upon Nazi Germany by the Allied forces in Europe. It was hoped and expected that the defeat of Italy might be accomplished by this autumn. That end has now been achieved, and achieved according to plan. Its accomplishment more immediately is the outcome of the campaigns in Africa and in Sicily and of the bombardment and invasion of the Ihalian mainland. It is the result of the combined efforts of the United Nations in all theatres of war.

We in Canada may rejoice today that, from the very beginning of the present world confliet, our country took up arms against the forces of aggression and tyranny. We may rejoice that throughout four years of war the Canadian people have put forth their utmost effort in the cause of the world's freedom. This is not the moment at which to attempt to assess our contribution. As a nation, we saw the

D 60712

issue clearly from the outset, and our armed forces at sea, on land and in the air have served wherever their highest service could be rendered. We may rejoice that, in this hour of triumph over one of the Axis powers, it has been given to Canada's forces to play a significant part.

Let there be rejoicing from one end of Canada to the other, but let the rejoicing be accompanied by a resolve on the part of each that from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass in the quickest possible time the defeat of the remaining Axis powers. As Canadians, we may indeed be proud that Canada's armed forces were among those who were at the spearhead of the attack upon Sicily, and among the first to land upon the soil of Italy. It remains for us, by doing all that lies within our power, to ensure to our fighting men a position of honour in the final break-through into Germany, and in the slaying of the dragon of Nazism in its native lair. Once that is accompalished, the fate of Japan will definitely be sealed. Again I repeat, let us one and all, from now on, do all that lies within our power to aid our fighting men.

Ottawa, September 8, 1943.

D 60713

Statement by the

Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King,

on the unconditional surrender of Italy

The Allied Nations have attained the first of their three main objectives, - the unconditional surrender, in turn, of each of the Axis powers. Allied strategy for more than a year past has aimed at driving Italy out of the war and thus clearing the way for a concentrated attack upon Nazi Germany by the Allied forces in Europe. It was hoped and expected that the defeat of Italy might be accomplished by this autumn. That end has now been achieved, and achieved according to plan. Its accomplishment more immediately is the outcome of the campaigns in Africa and in Sicily and of the bombardment and invasion of the Italian mainland. It is the result of the combined efforts of the United Nations in all theatres of war.

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Ottawa, September 8, 1943.

D 60715

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Ottawa, September 8, 1943.

60717

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Statement by the

Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King,

on the unconditional surrender of Italy

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Ottawa, September 8, 1943.

Statement by the

Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King,

on the unconditional surrender of Italy

D 60719

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Ottawa, September 5, 1943 D 60721

Statement by the Prime Minister,
Mr. Mackenzie King,
on the unconditional surrender of Italy.

The world has heard this morning the tremendous news from General Eisenhower's headquarters that Italy has surrendered unconditionally. The first Allied landings on the Italian mainland were made on September 3rd, only five days ago. The news of surrender has followed swiftly.

The Allied Nations have now attained the first of their three main objectives.- the unconditional surrender, in turn, of each of the Axis powers. Allied strategy for more than a year past has aimed at driving Italy out of the war, and thus clearing the way for a concentrated attack upon Nazi Germany by the Allied forces in Europe. It was hoped and expected that the defeat of Italy might be accomplished by this autumn. That end has now been achieved, and achieved according to plan. Its accomplishment, more immediately, is the outcome of the campaigns in Africa and in Sicily, and of the bombardment and invasion of the Italian mainland. It is the result of the combined efforts of the United Nations in all theatres of war.

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Again, I repeat, let us, one and all, from now on, do all that lies within our power to aid our fighting men.

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95		Italy, Unconditional Surrender of. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Sept. 1943	D 60702 - D 60723	
95		Four Years of War, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1943	D 60724 - D 60735	
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95		National Liberal Federation, Chateau Laurier, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Sept. 1943	D 60746 - D 60826	
95		Address in Reply to Speech from the Throne. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60827 - D 60882	
95		Alaska Highway. Speeches in Parliament	20 Apr. 1943	D 60883 - D 60884	

September 10, 1943

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D 60724

Broadcast by The Prime Minister,
Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M. P.

Four Years of War.

Today, Canada enters the fifth year of war. When I spoke to you a year ago, the Axis powers had reached the extreme limits of their conquests. For the United Nations, the preceding months had been filled with disappointments and defeats. At El Alemain and at Stalingrad the advancing Nazi hordes threatened the two gateways of the Middle East. In the Far East, and in the Pacific, Japanese power had spread across China and Southeast Asia to the frontiers of India, through all the Indies to the very shores of Australia, and into the Aleutian Islands in our own hemisphere. Everywhere throughout the world the forces of freedom were on the defensive.

Today, the world picture has changed. The Axis dream of world domination has been transformed into a nightmare of defeat and destruction. On every battlefront around the globe, the United Nations have seized and kept the initiative. China has entered undaunted into her seventh year of resistance. The Japanese have been driven from the Western Hemisphere. The forces of the United States, Australia and New Zealand are pressing forward in New Guinea and the Solomons. In Russia, the Nazi summer offensive has

been turned into a defeat - a defeat so disastrous its proportions cannot yet be measured. The very heart of Germany has, day and night, been pounded from the air on a scale which, even a year ago, would have seemed incredible. Great cities have been reduced to smouldering ruins. On the sea, for the time at least, the menace of the Nazi U-boat is under control. The Axis forces have been driven out of the whole of Africa. The Mediterranean has again been opened to allied shipping. Sicily has been occupied; the mainland of Europe invaded. Italy has surrendered unconditionally.

Let me refer very briefly to what Canada has done in the past year to advance the common cause of freedom.

At sea, the contribution of Canada's navy in the North Atlantic has steadily increased. With the growth of our contribution has come an increase of responsibility for the safety of that life-line of freedom. The Canadian navy has not been confined to the North Atlantic. Last November, Canadian corvettes shared in escorting the great Anglo-American armada to North Africa. Several of our ships and their crews distinguished themselves in the Mediterranean. For many months, Canadian ships operated in the North Pacific against the Japanese in the Aleutians. Specially trained Canadian sailors manned many of the landing craft employed in the invasions of Sicily and the mainland of Italy. In this war, Canada has become a naval power, now third in strength,

D 60726

among the United Nations.

Canada's maritime contribution is not confined to the fighting navy. Our merchant fleet, manned by Canadian seamen, is growing in importance. No praise is too high for the heroism and endurance of the merchant seamen. Allied successes on every battlefront depend upon their exertions and their devotion.

In aerial warfare, Canada's fighting strength has been directed against the enemy all around the globe. The results of planning, organization and training on a gigantic scale have been recorded in successes in all the theatres of war. Canadian airmen have destroyed U-boats on the Atlantic. They have blasted Japanese strongholds, from the fog-bound Aleutians, through the islands of the South Pacific, to the jungles of Burma. The vast air strength forged in Canada has left its mark in Africa, in Sicily, in Italy, and on enemy communications and military strongholds from France to Norway. Its greatest and most devastating weight has fallen upon the industrial cities of Germany.

In fighting on land, Hong-Kong and Dieppe showed the world, what every Canadian knew in his heart, that Canadian soldiers of today have all the courage and all the spirit their fathers displayed on the fields of France and Flanders. In the years the Canadian Army overseas has helped to secure Britain against invasion, it has grown from a single

D 60727

army corps, which was what Canada had in the last war, to an army of two complete corps.

The strategy which assigned to the Canadian army in Britain the supreme duty of helping to defend the world's citadel of freedom against the enemy, denied to its divisions, until this fourth year of war, the opportunity to share in major operations in other theatres.

During the year now ended, picked officers and non-commissioned officers from the Canadian army in Britain served with the British First Army in the Tunisian campaign. Their service in Africe foreshadowed Canadian participation in military operations to come. July the 10th, 1943, will ever be a memorable date in the history of Canada. Early that morning, the First Division of the Canadian army landed in Sicily. Our troops were accorded the honour of forming a part of the British Eighth Army. They were the hinge between the British and American forces throughout most of the fighting in Sicily. All Canada is proud of the achievements of Canada's soldiers in that campaign. Their courage and efficiency won for them, from the Allied commanders, the highest praise.

Before the occupation of Sicily was completed, the Canadian troops were withdrawn from the battlefront to prepare, with other units of the Eighth Army, for the landing on the Italian mainland. On the eve of that landing, I received from

General Simonds a most enheartening description of the spirit of the force under his command. His cable was in reply to a message of congratulations I had sent to him and to our troops at the conclusion of the Sicilian campaign. Here are General Simonds' words:

> "On behalf of all ranks of the First Canadian Division, I thank you for your inspiring message. We shall continue in our duty reinforced by your words of encouragement. Would you please assure your colleagues of the Government of Canada and the Canadian people that their soldiers here are in great heart, that they face the future with full confidence, and that my own responsibilities are lightened by the knowledge that I command troops whose courage, skill and endurance are unsurpassed by any in the world. We have taken the measure of our enemies, and though there may be bitter fighting ahead with its inevitable losses, we shall not look back until those enemies are finally defeated."

That was the spirit in which our troops landed on the mainland of Italy on the morning of September 3rd. It will ever be a source of pride for all Canadians that Canada had a part in establishing the first bridgehead of freedom on the European mainland. Italy has since surrendered unconditionally. We now know that September 3rd - the fourth anniversary of the

D 60729

day on which Britain entered the war - was the day on which the military terms of surrender were signed.

While Canada's main military effort at sea, on land and in the air has been directed against the European end of the Axis, it is also true that at sea, in the air and on land armed forces of Canada have co-operated closely with United States forces in operations against the Asiatic Axis partner on the other side of the globe. At the moment our forces were joined with those of Britain and the United States in wresting from the enemy the Island of Sicily in the waters of the Mediterranean, Canadian forces were associated with those of the United States in recovering from the Japanese the Island of Kiska in the Pacific.

The fighting forces will always merit the place of highest honour. But Canada's contribution to the cause of freedom is not to be measured only in terms of the valiant services of her fighting men! Canada's total contribution is more than the military effort; it is the united effort of all our people, Victories cannot be won without brave and well-trained fighting men. When forces are matched which are equally brave, equally well trained and equally well led, next to the spirit of men, it is the weight of armour which turns the scale. Weight of armour means ships, aircraft, tanks, guns, weapons and munitions of all kinds. It means, in the final analysis, superior industrial power mobilized for war.

D 60730

In the present struggle, the industrial strength of the United Nations - and particularly of this North American continent - is now being applied decisively. Yesterday, the Minister of Munitions and Supply made public an astounding account of Canada's industrial contribution in this war. This record appeared in the press, and was broadcast over the air. If you did not see it or hear it, I suggest that you look for it in yesterday's paper. By your work, by your self-denial, by your purchases of bonds and war savings certificates, you have helped to make that record. To the extent of your contribution in any of these particulars, you are entitled to share in the credit for this splendid achievement.

You may also be proud that in doing your part to help win the war, you have helped to develop Canada into a great industrial nation. Through your contributions to a total war effort, you have aided in revolutionizing our national economy. The very exertions which Canada has made to do her utmost in the winning of the war have won for our country a place among the leading powers of the world.

Canada's contribution to the weapons of victory has been a large one. Our production has not been restricted to the needs of Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen. We have produced to the limit of our capacity to supply the fighting men of other allied nations. And we have taken steps

D 60731

to make sure that the arms and munitions are sent where they are most needed. That is what we mean by mutual aid.

In 1940 and 1941, when the enemy was winning battles on nearly every front, the soldiers, sailors and airmen of the United Nations were just as brave as they are today. Today, the allied forces are winning battles, because they have the armour: the guns and tanks and ships and planes. We have kept the fighting away from our own shores, because hundreds of thousands of young Canadians were ready to risk their lives to defeat the enemy on the other side of the seas. They have been able to take the splendid part they have because the people at home were willing to work harder, to practice self-dential, and to contribute of their means in taxes and loans, in order to provide the implements of war.

As the British, American, Canadian and other allied forces come to closer grips with Germany, the struggle will continue to increase in intensity and violence. The speed with which the war will be won, will depend on the speed with which the factories and mines and forests of North America furnish the weapons and munitions of war. That is a sobering thought which I should like to bring home to every worker, with hand or brain, everywhere on the production lines of the new world. To the extent of your contribution, you have made

D 60732

the weapons that destroyed the power of Mussolini and his Fascist minions. The lives you have saved, the agony you have helped to spare the world, - these will be the measure of your reward. It is going to take all the weapons you can make, as quickly as you can make them, to destroy the power of Hitler and his Nazi gangsters; and the fanatic militarism of Japan.

The farmers and the fishermen of Canada have helped to sustain the fighting forces everywhere, and the workers on the home front. By their contribution they, too, are saving human lives and sparing the world untold agony. The food produced on this continent not only is helping in the winning of the war; it will have a large part in shaping the peace to follow.

The liberation of European territory will make greater demands than ever upon the food resources of the United Nations. In its early stages, the supply of food will, for the underfed and starving peoples of the world, be the real test of liberation.

As the war goes on, the meaning of total war becomes clearer every day. The issue also becomes unmistakable. This war is nothing less than a life and death struggle between total servitude and total freedom.

D 60733

There is no hard and fast line between the fighting forces and the working forces. Both are essential to total victory. The men in the fighting forces, we know, will never fail us. They are ready, if need be, to sacrifice their lives, as many already have, that others may remain free. What it is necessary for every one of us to realize is that no individual can escape the consequences of his own contribution or of his own failure. If he does his best, he is helping to rid mankind of the scourges which beset it; if he fails to serve, or impedes the service of others, he is furthering throughout the world, the ends of carnage and of death. A flagging of effort on the home front or any avoidable interruption of effort, will prolong the struggle and increase its cost in human lives.

Whether civilization is to live or die has yet to be decided on the field of battle. All that has gone before, all that is now taking place, is leading up to the hour of supreme effort. The strategic objective in driving Italy out of the war was to clear the way for a concentrated attack on Nazi Germany.

The surrender of Italy does not mean that the whole of Italy can be occupied without a bitter struggle. The defeat of the German armies in Italy - the phase of the war on which we have just entered - is but a prelude to the real task.

60734

In Europe, Germany has always been the real enemy. Victory over Hitlerite Germany will not be achieved without a tremendous struggle. Our hardest battles are still in the future.

I would not be true to myself, nor to you, did I not say that I believe Canada's fifth year of war will demand more fortitude, greater efforts, heavier sacrifices than any we have yet faced. To be worthy of our fighting men, we must work more intensely, accept heavier burdens, co-operate more fully in a united effort.

As I said when the news was announced, by all means let there be rejoicing and thanksgiving from one end of Canada to the other at the unconditional surrender of Italy, which our efforts, joined to those of others, have helped to bring about. But, as Canada enters upon her fifth year of war, let our rejoicing and our thanksgiving be accompanied by a resolve on the part of each that, from now on, as never before, the minds, the wills, the energies of all shall be united in a determination to encompass, in the quickest possible time, the defeat also of Germany and Japan. On their defeat depends the future well-being of mankind.

D60735

Mr. Acland:

You may wish to have these final copies of the Prime Minister's last speech.

Z.

Sept. 13/43

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95		Kiska Island, Occupation, Quebec. Speeches outside Parliament	21 Aug. 1943	D 60608 - D 60637	
95		Roosevelt, President, Visit to Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	25 Aug. 1943	D 60638 - D 60655	
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95		National Liberal Federation, Chateau Laurier, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Sept. 1943	D 60746 - D 60826	
95		Address in Reply to Speech from the Throne. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60827 - D 60882	
95		Alaska Highway. Speeches in Parliament	20 Apr. 1943	D 60883 - D 60884	

D 60736

Memorandum for the Prime Minister.
(via Mr. Pickersgill)

Attached are suggestions for title pages for the booklets to contain the seven speeches:

I. re Kiska;
II. re President Roosevelt's visit;
III. re Italian Surrender and Four Years of War;

Also attached are suggestions for headings of individual speeches IIA, B, C, D and IIIA and IIIB.

The suggestions regarding reception to President Roosevelt are based on form followed in setting up the addresses at the Lord Mayor's Luncheon to yourself. (French copy attached for style)

P.A.

13th September, 1943.

D 60737

I
(cover for booklet)

CANADA AND THE WAR

~~PARTICIPATION OF~~ CANADIAN FORCES in ALASKA and the ALEUTIANS

Broadcast

by

Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada

D 60738

(II)
(Cover for booklet)

Canada and the War

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES
to Canada

Addresses by

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
President of the United States

The Honourable THOMAS VIEN, K. C.,
Speaker of the Senate

The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN, K.C., M.P.,
Speaker of the House of Canada

PARLIAMENT HILL, OTTAWA

August 25, 1943.

D 60739

IIA (President's visit.
Heading of page
starting Prime
Minister's Speech.)

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S

VISIT

ADDRESS OF WELCOME
by

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

Prime Minister of Canada

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943

(Text Begins)

D 60740

IIB (Heading of page starting President's address)

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S

VISIT

ADDRESS

by

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

President of the United States

~~to the~~

~~Houses of Parliament~~

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25, 1943

(Text Begins)

II C D 60741
(Heading of page with
Speaker Vien's Address)

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S

VISIT

Translation of ADDRESS

by

The Honourable THOMAS VIEN, K.C.,

Speaker of the Senate

Parliament Hill, Ottawa, August 25th, 1943

(Text Begins)

Delay omitted when on others
R

D 60742

II D

(Heading of page with
Speaker Glen's address)

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S

VISIT

ADDRESS BY

The Honourable JAMES ALLISON GLEN, K.C., M.P.,

Speaker of the House of Commons

(Text Begins)

D 60743

III (Cover for booklet)

CANADA AND THE WAR

~~A Statement on~~ the

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER
of I T A L Y (September 3, 1943)

Four years of war

~~FOUR YEARS~~
~~OF WAR~~
1939 ——— 1943

Broadcasts
by

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

Prime Minister of Canada

Ottawa, September ~~8~~ 9 and 10, 1943

D 60744

(III) A.
(Inside page -
heading to address.)

CANADA AND THE WAR

~~A STATEMENT~~

~~ON~~ THE

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER

OF ITALY

Broadcast

by

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.,
Prime Minister of Canada

~~Ottawa~~

September 8, 1943.

(Text Begins)

D 60745

III B

(Inside page - heading for address)

CANADA AND THE WAR

FOUR YEARS OF WAR
1939 — 1943

Broadcast

by

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

Prime Minister of Canada

Ottawa ——— September 10, 1943

(Text begins.)

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95		Galleys of Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1943	D 60656 - D 60701	
95		Italy, Unconditional Surrender of. Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	8 Sept. 1943	D 60702 - D 60723	
95		Four Years of War, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	10 Sept. 1943	D 60724 - D 60735	
95		Titles for Speeches. Speeches outside Parliament	1943	D 60736 - D 60745	
95		National Liberal Federation, Chateau Laurier, Ottawa. Speeches outside Parliament	27 Sept. 1943	D 60746 - D 60826	
95		Address in Reply to Speech from the Throne. Speeches in Parliament	1943	D 60827 - D 60882	
95		Alaska Highway. Speeches in Parliament	20 Apr. 1943	D 60883 - D 60884	

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POLITICS AND THE WAR

Address by

The Rt. Honourable

W. L. Mackenzie King

Prime Minister of Canada

to

The National Liberal Federation

Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, September 27, 1943.

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On August the 8th, 1939, members of the Liberal party from all parts of Canada met in Toronto. The memories of that vast gathering are much in my thoughts tonight. It was the last occasion on which I had the privilege of meeting with other leaders and supporters of the party, at a social political gathering—a gathering which permitted of a review of the party's record in the past, of its present fortunes, and of its aims and cherished ambitions for the future.

Confidence of party towards its Leader during past quarter of a century.

I had just completed twenty years of leadership of the party, and the occasion was in part to commemorate that event. More than four years—the average life of a Parlia-

ment—is a long time to be allowed to lapse between any kind of meeting between the leader of a political party, and those to whose confidence he is primarily indebted for the position of trust he enjoys. The intervening years have been years of war. They have permitted of only occasional contacts, and the briefest of contacts, with members of the party, other than immediate colleagues in the Cabinet. These circumstances considered, it is indeed surprising to find, in the numbers here assembled, a gathering no less expressive of the confidence and good-will of the party towards its leader than the gathering of four years ago. It shows how great was the confidence which was built up between us in the years preceding the war, and how firm the faith of all has remained through the trying and testing years of war.

This continuing confidence of the members of the Liberal Party of Canada in my leadership of the party is something for which I am indeed profoundly grateful. I believe I am right when I say that no leader of a political party living today, in any country, has been accorded, over so long a period of time, so continuous an expression of the confidence and regard of his political supporters. That is something I can never forget. It is something that nothing can ever take away. It is something for which I cannot thank you all too warmly. It is a debt of gratitude which, with all my heart, I wish to acknowledge tonight.

Whatever the future may have in store for you and for me, the knowledge of the unbroken confidence, trust and support which I have enjoyed as the leader of my party for now—almost a quarter of a century, will ever be the most cherished possession of my public life.

Confidence of people in Liberal Party during quarter of a century.

This loyalty and co-operation between the party and its leader has made possible yet another expression of confidence which I may be pardoned perhaps if I regard as even greater still. I so view it because it is not limited in any personal way, but is something which belongs to the Liberal party, to the principles which it has advocated, and to the policies to which it has sought to give effect. It is the confidence which, over the past quarter of a century, the people of our country have expressed in the Liberal Party, in the capacity of the party to sense the needs of the nation, and in the ability of Liberal administrations to govern in accordance with the will and wishes of the majority.

When, on August the 7th, 1919, I was chosen its leader, our party was in opposition. It continued in opposition until the general elections of 1921 gave the country the opportunity to say to which party it wished to entrust the administration of the nation's affairs. From that time to the present, with the exception of a little over five years out of the last twenty-two, a Liberal administration has been in office in Canada. In the last two parliaments, the present administration has commanded a larger majority than that enjoyed by any government since Confederation. This is an expression of confidence which, also, I am anxious to acknowledge tonight. It is a debt which, on behalf of the Liberal Party of Canada, I wish to acknowledge with gratitude to the people of Canada. It is a record of which all present, and members of the party everywhere, may indeed be proud.

Confidence in the administration continues.

Within the past few weeks, there are some who have begun to assert that the present administration no longer enjoys the confidence of the country. I am not one of those who hold that view. Did I hold such a view, I would regard it as my constitutional duty to ask His Excellency the Governor General for an immediate dissolution of Parliament. I do not believe there is any other political party in Canada, or any combination of political parties, in which, from the very beginning of the war, the people of this country have had a comparable degree of confidence. Were I to announce tonight that I had asked for an immediate dissolution of Parliament, to decide the question of confidence in the administration, there would be, throughout Canada, not rejoicing, but consternation.

Parallel of political situation with that of 1940.

In 1939, the war had scarcely begun before we were told that our administration, which had been in office since 1935, no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Canadian people. We were told that a so-called national government, not a party government, was what the country required at a time of war. We were told that our war effort was not adequate. Of myself, it was said that, while I might be all right as a leader of the government, in times of peace, I was not the one to lead a government at a time of war. That was what our political opponents said. What did the Canadian peopie say? What was the national verdict when the appeal was made to the electorate in March of 1940? Not only was the government returned to office, but every member of the administration was re-elected. Nearly all or those who ran as National

Government candidates were defeated. As leader of the party, I was given a following never before equalled in the Canadian House of Commons.

In the general elections of 1940, the issue was unmistakable. The people were asked to which of the political parties in Canada they wished to entrust the carrying out of Canada's war effort. The answer was decisive. The great trust of the administration of Canada's affairs at a time of war was placed in the hands of the present government. From that day to this, the government has never lost sight of the mandate it was given by the people. As was our duty, we have centred our attention, first and foremost, on the winning of the war. In doing so we have sought as well to meet, from day to day, and from month to month those domestic problems to which the war has inevitably given rise. We have also endeavoured to look beyond into the future and to prepare to meet the many problems which will present themselves in the post-war period.

Canada's war effort magnificent.

I challenge any responsible citizen to say that Canada's war effort has not been magnificient. I challenge him to show that, all circumstances considered, it has been surpassed by the war effort of any other country. Should this assertion be disputed, I would ask, not that the word of any public man in Canada be accepted, but that we seek the verdict of any of the allied nations. In particular, I would ask, what is the view held by the Chiefs of Staff of Great Britain and the United States who, but yesterday, were assembled in conference at Quebec? And, what is the opinion of those great men, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States, who today share in the supreme direction of the war?

It is unthinkable that all this means nothing to the people of Canada; that it means nothing to the fathers and mothers who have seen their sons and daughters leave their homes in Canada to serve in all quarters of the globe; that it means nothing to the fighting forces themselves. Is it to be said that the present administration has lost the confidence of the country because we have not lost sight of our supreme duty? Is it to be said that we have lost the country's confidence because we have performed so well the one task that matters most; done so well in the one thing that is, and will remain, the supreme task of any government until the war is won?

The winning of the war still the supreme task of government.

Those who think and speak otherwise have not their minds centred on the winning of the war. Their aims and their ambitions lie in other directions. They cannot, even yet, have grasped the significance of this war—that, among nations, it is a war of survival; that the free nations of the world are still opposed by the most powerful forces that have ever menaced the freedom of the human race; that it is a war that threatens all that is best in a civilization it has taken centuries to create. Those who say or believe that there is today any duty of government superior to the continued direction of the country's utmost effort in the winning of the war can have no appreciation of the magnitude of the task which lies ahead. They surely cannot realize how many millions of precious lives will still be sacrificed before the war is won.

If, as a government or as a party, we had failed in our supreme duty, we might today have reason to feel we were

no longer worthy of the trust we had accepted. If instead of devoting our time and thought and energies to the winning of the war, we had turned the minds of the people away from the concerted effort that is needed to win the war; if we had concerned ourselves with party politics, with those things which tend, not to unite, but to divide, and had sought to undermine the efforts of others, we might indeed have cause to feel not only that we no longer merited the confidence of the people of Canada, but that we had forfeited all right to that confidence at any time in the future. Happily, on that score, we have nothing with which to reproach ourselves. Do not imagine that the people do not know and understand all these things; that they do not comprehend where their own interests lie. Do not believe that, at a time of world crisis, they would not know into what hands it was in their interest to entrust the fate of their country.

Cause of the commotion.

What then, may I ask, has occasioned all the commotion which has arisen in some political circles? The cause is not far to seek. On August the 4th, there was a provincial election in Ontario, and on August the 9th there were four federal by-elections. In the Ontario provincial contest, the government in office was defeated; in the federal by-elections, opposition candidates were returned.

By the parties opposed to the present government, an effort has since been made to link together the Ontario provincial elections and the four federal by-elections, and to attribute the results in all cases to dissatisfaction with policies of the federal administration.

On September 15th, following the provincial elections in Ontario, and the federal by-elections, there was another pro-

vincial election, this time in Prince Edward Island. What was the result? The Liberal Government of that province was returned to power by a majority of two to one over members of the Progressive-Conservative Party. The C.C.F. Party had entered candidates in the campaign. Not one of them was elected. Every one lost his deposit. During the elections it was repeatedly stated that Premier Jones of Prince Edward Island has been conferring with the administration at Ottawa. I have not noticed that members of the Progressive-Conservative party or of the C.C.F. have been telling the people of Canada that the return of the Liberal administration in Prince Edward Island is evidence of renewed endorsation, by the electors of Prince Edward Island of the policies of the Ottawa administration.

The Provincial Elections in Ontario.

It is not my intention, at this time, to hold an inquest into the causes of the defeat of the provincial government in Ontario, or of the defeat of government supporters in the recent federal by-elections. I do not mean, however, to allow either to pass unnoticed. All I wish to say about the recent elections in Ontario is that the results were the outcome of the views entertained by the electors of the manner in which public affairs had been conducted in that province in the preceding six years, just as, in Prince Edward Island, the results were the outcome of the views entertained by the electors of that province of the manner in which their affairs had been administered. In each case, the electors expressed their opinion, not on federal issues, but on matters of provincial concern. In Ontario, they made it apparent they had lost confidence in the provincial administration—that, however, was no fault of Harry Nixon's—in Prince Edward

Island, they made it equally apparent that they believed the provincial administration was deserving of a continuance of their confidence.

Perhaps I may be permitted to add my personal opinion that had there been, at this time of war, on the part of the Government of Ontario, the same kind and measure of co-operation with the Federal Government as there was on the part of the governments of every other province in Canada, there would be a Liberal Government in Office in Ontario today, and some of the very difficult situations with which the party has been confronted would never have arisen.

The Gallup Poll.

In forming their estimate or circumstances which account for political results, there are many persons who attach considerable importance to the findings of the Gallup poll. I personally am not as yet prepared to substitute the responses to a Gallup poll, for my own judgment. Nor would those who conduct the Gallup poll expect this of any one. We must not ask more of the Gallup poll than it professes to provide. There are, however, many things on which it may help to throw considerable light. While not infallible, the Gallup poll has its uses. An estimate of factors which account for the outcome of the recent elections in Ontario is, I believe, a case in point. In a poll which was confined to the province of Ontario, one reason after another was given for the defeat of the Ontario administration, and for the votes received by the Progressive-Conservatives and the C.C.F. respectively. The most significant of all the findings was that in not a single instance were the results attributed to the policies of the federal administration.

As to the size of the vote actually polled in the provincial election by each of the three parties, that I believe is to be accounted for, in the main, by the effectiveness of their respective organizations.

The Federal By-elections—Party organization discontinued by Liberals.

Let me speak of the federal by-elections. Here one has has not to go far afield to find the explanation of why government candidates were not returned.

When the elections of 1940 were over, even the semblance of a federal Liberal party organization was discontinued. The party's offices were closed. No party literature was published or distributed. In constituencies in which there were by-elections, no attention was paid to local organization until within a few weeks of polling. Since the war began, as I have already reminded you tonight, no nation-wide meetings or conventions of the party have been held. So far as federal affairs are concerned, there has been nothing in the way of party organization over that whole period of time; nor has there been, so far as the party is concerned, any organized effort to publicize the government's policies, or, even where needed, to interpret and explain their bearing upon domestic situations to which the exigencies of war have inevitably given rise.

I am not saying at the moment whether, from the point of view of national interest, or of party interests, this course of action, or rather, I should say, lack of action, has been the wise or right one. I am merely stating the facts so far as party organization and the dissemination of information on the party's policies are concerned.

Had the other political parties followed the same course, I should, at the moment, have nothing further to say on this point. But what, in fact, has been the course pursued by the other parties?

Party Organization and tactics of the Conservative Party

Let me speak first of the Conservative party,—now called the Progressive-Conservative party. I must be pardoned if I occasionally fail to use its latest name. During the years I have been in Parliament, that party has had a long succession of names and leaders. The elections of 1940 were scarcely over before the storm signals of party controversy began to make their appearance on the benches of the official opposition in parliament and throughout the country. In their secret conclaves, the Conservative party—it was not Progressive-Conservative then—began to organize a campaign against the administration with a view to dividing its forces, and substituting a different administration for the one that had been returned with such an overwhelming majority. Throughout 1941, the issue of conscription for overseas service was forced to the fore, and talk of a national government to enforce conscription was revived. In July and August of that year, the then leader of the Conservative opposition, with members of his party, made a tour of western Canada for the purpose, amongst other things, of seeing that constituencies were properly organized. In November of 1941, a meeting of Conservatives in Ottawa chose a new leader for the Conservative party. No longer was there to be even the pretence of co-operation with the government in its war effort, but instead out-and-out opposition to the administra-

tion on the floor of the House of Commons. That attempt at open conflict failed with the defeat of the new leader in York South in February 1942. A conscription issue which would have split this country from one end to another, and vastly impaired Canada's war effort, was thereby, for the time being, avoided in Parliament. It was avoided throughout the country by the plebiscite of 1942, which made clear that the government had perfect freedom to adopt conscription for overseas service at any time, if, as a means of helping to win the war, that step should become necessary. Since 1940, to this hour, there has not been a time, when ships were available in numbers sufficient to carry across the seas, the men who in Canada had enlisted voluntarily for service anywhere. The same has been true with respect to the transportation of available supplies of munitions.

In September of last year, at a meeting held at Port Hope, the Conservative party made a fresh start at political organization. That meeting was followed by a National Convention at Winnipeg in December, at which time the party outfitted itself with its new name, a new leader, and a new set of policies. From that day to this, the Progressive-Conservative party has been most active in publicising its new leader, in building up its organization at headquarters in Ottawa, and throughout Canada in the different constituencies.

It can scarcely be said that Mr. Bracken, the new leader of the Progressive-Conservative party, has made cooperation with the government in a united effort to win the war, his main objective. Because of his position as leader of the party which constitutes the official opposition in parliament, Mr. Bracken, throughout the past session, should have been the leader of the official Opposition in the House of Commons. Instead, he has been touring Canada from one end to the other in the interests of the political fortunes of the Pro-

gressive-Conservative party, and of himself as its leader. The party, at the same time, has retained the services of organizers, whose whole time is being given to the work of party organization aud publicity.

I am not saying that the Progressive-Conservative party has not a perfect right to do as it pleases with respect to its own affairs. All that I wish to make clear is that, as regards political organization and political propaganda, in these years of war, its course has been quite the opposite to that followed by the government and its supporters.

Party organization and tactics of The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

The same is true of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation party. Members of that party, during all the years of war, have steadily built up their party organization. They have, throughout, maintained offices for the publication and dissemination of party literature. They have had annual or semi-annual meetings of their National Council. In the summer of last year, they held a largely attended National Convention. They have been indefatigable in the work of political propaganda.

The propaganda of the C.C.F. has been very subtle. Today, that party professes its desires for an all-out war effort. I do not need to remind you of their attitute in 1939. In those days, the C.C.F. stood for a stay-at-home war effort. But while, in very general terms, they talk today about a total effort, when it comes to supporting the measures needed to achieve an utmost effort, their actions fail to measure up to their words.

The C.C.F. would have the people believe that they are the sole champions of the interests of Labour and of the poor and the depressed. But the C.C.F. has never given real support to the price control policy of Canada, although price control is the most important measure ever taken in Canada to protect the standard of living of the less fortunate members of society. They are continually seeking to spread discontent with price and wage stabilization. They tell the people that the C.C.F. policy is based on the policy of the New Zealand government and they speak of the lot of Labour in Australia. But they don't say that New Zealand has adopted the same system of price and wage control as Canada, and that Australia has also done the same.

C.C.F. propagandists never tell the people that an all-out war effort means burdens for everyone, scarcity, inconvenience and hardship. They talk as though the people at home are entitled to a painless war effort. They steadily exploit every grievance and every irritation. How much have you heard them tell of the sacrifices which the men at the front are being called upon to endure? How many times have you heard them say that all must be prepared to bear increasing burdens, if this war is to be brought to an end before the destruction of the youth of Canada has reached devastating proportions!

The C.C.F. have been boring into the Labour organizations of the country, that through the medium of organized Labour they may further their political ambitions and aims. They are doing their utmost to make Labour believe that the present administration is hostile to labour. They have thus been making more difficult—one of the most difficult of all tasks at a time of war—the maintenance of friendly relations between Government and Labour, and confidence and co-operation between all classes. They have not been content

to wait till the war is won to try to have organized labour become the wing of a political party. They openly profess that this is their aim, and they are using the circumstances of war to effect that end. The leaders of the Canadian Congress of Labour have already announced their acceptance of this alliance. To strengthen this very questionable alliance while the war is on, the C.C.F. have been taking advantage of every irritation and grievance it is possible for them to exploit. The very controls which, in war-time, are necessary to protect Labour, in common with the entire community, are cited as evidence of the government's hostility.

The C.C.F. appeal to Labour is coupled with deceptive propaganda about profiteering by wealthy interests. No war-time government in any country, in this, or in any other war, has adopted a more complete programme to prevent profiteering than has the present government. And no government has ever enforced its policies more rigorously.

No one could object to a political party in opposition advocating its own principles and policies and offering its own programme, even in wartime. That is the duty and purpose of an opposition. It is quite another thing to base political campaigns on tactics, whatever their purpose may be, which cannot but have the effect of serving to undermine the effort of the nation at a time of war.

A Word to Labour.

Let me say to Labour that, for some years before 1900, when I entered the public service to undertake the organization of a Federal Department of Labour, and became the Deputy Minister of that department, and, later, in 1909, its Minister and in all the years that have since intervened, I have watched,

with an interest, second to none in my life, the steady advance of Labour into a fuller recognition of its rights and dignity. I have been interested in its struggle for economic freedom because I believe Labour represents, in its aims and aspirations, the yearnings and feelings of the poor, the humble, and the lowly in their struggle against poverty and adversity, against want and misery—the one fight surely, that makes life worth living for any man whose heart has not become hardened against his fellowmen. But, I have yet to see an alliance made by Labour with any political party, or Labour itself become a political party, seeking its own ends as against those of society generally, that the outcome has not, sooner or later, proven disastrous alike to Labour and to the country.

Labour needs all the good-will, assistance and friendship it can win from men and women of all political parties, and of those who know nothing of politics. It will have all of these, in ever increasing measure, as it maintains its freedom to give its support wherever it may feel that support will best serve the common good. The claims of Humanity are superior to those of Industry; they are superior to the special claims of either Capital or Labour. It is the general, not the particular interest that needs to be kept uppermost in the minds of all today. That is as true of political parties, as of the parties to Industry. Political parties will only survive as they seek to serve the general, not the particular interest, and are broad enough to include within their membership men and women of all classes, of all creeds, of all conditions of economic circumstance, and of all walks of life.

Let Labour remember that it has everything to win or lose in the outcome of the present world war. Its own struggle is reflected on a world scale in this titanic conflict between the forces of tyranny and those of freedom. The battle

which is being fought out with such appalling suffering and terrible destruction of human life in every quarter of the globe today is nothing so limited as a struggle between individual nations, or between peoples of different origins or race or colour. It is a struggle to decide whether the general interest of mankind is to be superior to all special interests, be the special interest the military might of Germany or Japan; or the special interest of Nazi, Fascist, or some other form of single political control.

The Bloc Populaire Canadien and other minor parties.

There is a third opposition group of which I should now like to speak. It is the most recent and for the sake of Canadian unity, I trust it may be the most short-lived. I refer to the so-called Bloc Populaire Canadien. Its self-appointed leaders who are a small group of malcontents are indifferent to the good name of Canada, and to the security of Canada. They pretend that Canada is in no danger in this war. They talk as though Britain and not Nazi Germany was the real enemy. They are against further participation in the war. The Bloc Populaire is the only party I have ever heard of whose platform and policies are contained in the single word "non". That negative and destructive appeal has exceedingly harmful possibilities both to the war effort and the future of Canada.

The Bloc Populaire deliberately seeks to set Quebec against the rest of Canada. It is apparently indifferent to the harm it will do to the people of Quebec if it succeeds, by setting the rest of Canada, and indeed the rest of North America, against Quebec. The real design of its leaders is to gain votes and influence by exploiting racial differences

and stirring racial animosities. This exploitation of race, religious and other prejudices was carried to an extreme limit in the recent by-elections in Quebec, and accounts in the main for the defeat of the government candidates. It may prove all to the good that the people of Quebec have been put on their guard thus early. I am perfectly certain that any appreciable numbers of the population of that province will not allow themselves to be misled by these false prophets. They have already been denounced by the overwhelming majority of the members of parliament from Quebec. But let there be no mistake about it, the poison which they are spreading needs to be counteracted, actively and vigorously, by all who believe in the unity and the destiny of Canada as a great and free nation.

I shall not take time to refer to other parties such as the Social Credit Party, which is shrinking rapidly, and the most recent of all, the latest Progressive party—the Labour-Progressive party. The existence of these minor parties does, however, point to a danger which threatens the effective working of our Parliamentary democracy. It is the tendency to multiply parties and groups. The fate of unhappy France should be a terrible warning against this trend. It constitutes a national peril.

I have said enough to let you see how I account for the defeat of government candidates in the recent by-elections.

Undermining forces at work.

I do not think anyone can say that, from the beginning of the war, I have failed to keep before the people of Canada the appalling seriousness of the world situation and the magnitude of the conflict itself. I can truthfully say that I have done all that lies within my power to avoid and to

discourage unnecessary political controversy at this time of war, and to keep Canada united. No one can accuse the government of not having concentrated its energies upon the winning of the war, and upon making Canada's war effort just as effective as it could be made. But while the government has been giving its time and attention, all but exclusively, to the promotion of Canada's war effort, and to the solution of the problems which arise from day to day out of the war, the political parties by which it is opposed have been pursuing a different course. Instead of assisting the government in making clear to the people the terrible nature of the world conflict and the urgency of the demands of war, they have been developing and perfecting their political organizations, disseminating their party propaganda and exploiting the discontents which inevitably arise from the controls it is necessary to impose at a time of war, and the irritation which comes from restrictions of any kind. For the government of a country at war, this is an intolerable situation which cannot be allowed to continue.

The question of a general Election

At Toronto, on Saturday the 18th instant, at a dinner which opened the four day conference of the Ontario Council of the C.C.F. Mr. E. B. Jolliffe, the provincial C.C.F. leader, forecast a coming Dominion election. He pointed to the successes of his party in the province of Ontario as a signpost of things to come. Mr. Jolliffe is reported as having said: "The next federal election is the most important in the history of the Canadian people. Ontario is the key province, and when the next election comes,—that may be any time now,—Ontario will decide the issue." Of the government at Ottawa, he is reported to have said: "It may call a quick

election in the hope that once again the electors will support King rather than change horses in the middle of the stream." Mr. Jolliffe is then said to have called upon the party "to wage the federal campaign with more drive and determination than ever before". So much for what appears in quotations, of what was said at the dinner. The Canadian Press report concludes: "At today's meeting, held behind closed doors, a campaign was organized to extend party activities to every riding in Ontario."

It must be evident that, for Canada's armed forces abroad, the present year and whatever period may follow represent, if not the middle of the stream of war, certainly its most turbulent and dangerous course. Mr. Jolliffe, elated as he is over the recent successes of his party in the Ontario provincial campaign, recognizes that an immediate election in the federal field would be very different from the recent provincial campaign in Ontario. Even with his limited experience in politics, it is apparent to him that, to see this country through the war, the people of Canada are not going to substitute a C.C.F. government for the present administration. Nor, indeed, were an election to take place tomorrow, would the people of Canada, be any more likely than were the people of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, in the elections they have held in the present year, to entrust the mighty task of seeing Canada through this war to any government other than the one now responsible for the direction of the war effort.

I may say to Mr. Jolliffe that were I, like him, thinking in terms of winning elections, rather than, as I am, of winning the war, I would find in the assertions of himself, and others who claim that the present administration does not enjoy the confidence of the country, ample grounds for advising His Excellency the Governor General to grant an

immediate dissolution of Parliament. I should have no doubt whatever as to what the results of the appeal would be. Mr. Jolliffe would find, as others whose main concern was a change of government, found in 1940, that the people of Canada have a much keener perception of the seriousness of the present world situation than some people believe they have. At this of all times, the Canadian people are not in a mood to countenance any change of administration which would weaken or impair the influence and might of the magnificent war effort of this country.

Canada's fighting men must be her first concern.

Before the adjournment of Parliament, the pride of the Canadian people had been deeply stirred by the significant part which Canadian armed forces had taken in the invasion of Sicily. I was able, at the time, to point to the contrast of the situation as it presented itself at the time of adjournment the year before. At that time, the United Nations had experienced nearly eight months of reverses and setbacks. This continent was immediately threatened from the West. On the East, enemy U-boats ranged destructively along our coast, and into the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. Fortunately, this year, before Parliament adjourned, the tide had definitely turned. Everywhere the forces of freedom had the initiative.

Speaking in the House of Commons on the morning of the day of adjournment, I gave to the members of Parliament and to the people of Canada a very clear and definite statement of the position as I then viewed it. I knew that before Parliament reassembled in the new year, there would be much speculation as to what the government's course in relation to a general election might be. I was anxious that political controversy, certain to develop in the then approach-

ing Ontario elections, and the federal by-elections, should not, regardless of results, be allowed, if at all possible, to divert the minds of the Canadian people from an utmost effort in the winning of the war, until final victory was achieved Accordingly, I set forth in unequivocal words, my own view as to the course which I believed it to be the duty of the government to pursue. This view I expressed in the following words:—

> "While our fears about its outcome have lessened, the war, in a more immediate way, has been brought closer than ever to us. All arms of our fighting services are now in the thick of the conflict. Our fighting men are certain to continue in action on many fronts, until the enemy has surrendered. No one can say for how long that may be. Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

I see no reason whatever to alter the course there outlined because of anything which has taken place, in either the federal or provincial political arenas, since these words were spoken. Indeed, all that has since taken place, in the arena of war, affords to my mind the strongest of reasons for adhering with greater determination than ever to the resolution there expressed. Let me repeat its words:

> "Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

It was in that light, and in that light alone, at the time of Parliament's adjournment on July 24th, that I felt any

question as to the time for a general election in Canada should be viewed. I hold to that opinion more strongly than ever today.

Circumstances governing the date of an election.

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First of all, there is the limitation placed by the constitution upon the life of parliament. I hold strong views upon the duty of a government to see that the people are secured in their constitutional right to say who, within stated periods, is to represent them in the making of laws and the administration of public affairs. Should the war in Europe continue on into 1945, It will be necessary, regardless of what may happen meanwhile, for the government at some time in that year to give the people their opportunity to say to whom they wish to entrust the administration of the country's affairs in a succeeding parliament.

Apart from the constitutional limitation, circumstances might arise which would make it necessary for the government to appeal to the people at any time. One such circumstance would be sufficient evidence that any considerable proportion

of the people were unwilling to continue to support the policies which, in the opinion of the Government, are necessary to enable the war effort of the country to be carried on, in a manner which would ensure the utmost support being given our fighting men as they continue to face the terrible ordeal of battle.

One thing no administration could afford to countenance would be to allow its own position in the confidence of the country to be undermined by unwarrented and unworthy party activities on the part of political opponents, while the administration itself was giving its undivided attention, and devoting its whole energies, to the prosecution of the war effort of the country.

Possible difficulties in parliament.

Another such circumstance would be the kind and degree of obstruction with which the government might come to be faced in parliament from members of those parties and groups which compose the Opposition. I doubt if the Canadian people fully realize that while there is one government representative of the majority in parliament, there is opposed to the government a series of minority parties—the Progressive Conservative party, the C.C.F. party, the Social Credit party, to which have recently been added a miscellaneous group composed of members of The Bloc Populaire, so-called Independents, and Labour Progressives—all of which have ambitions of their own. At times it has looked as if members of each of these parties and groups felt it imperative to rival the others in going them one better in bidding for support by the electors, or in criticizing the administration. Almost any one of these groups, to say nothing of a combination of two or more, could, if desired, so impede the progress of business in parliament, or so misrepresent and distort the

government policies as to make it next to impossible for any government to carry on. Such a situation would be bad enough at any time. It would be an impossible situation for an administration charged with the responsibility of governing at a time of war. An experience of the kind would leave the government no alternative but a dissolution.

There is another possibility which might arise. It is that even within the government itself, and the ranks of its supporters, for causes at the moment wholly unforeseen, differences of view on matters of policy might arise which it might be found impossible to reconcile. In such a situation the only solution would be the verdict of the people themselves. Personally, I have little fear of anything of the kind occurring. But it is a possibility which, with the problems of government what they have become after four years of war, and in an atmosphere of strain and tension such as war engenders, no leader of a government can afford to overlook.

To all this must be added, in considering the date of a possible election, happenings and events at present completely beyond our ken, outside as well as within Canada, any one of which might make advisable or necessary, a reconstitution of the government or an immediate appeal to the people.

Support of fighting men the first consideration in deciding upon elections.

I am most anxious to take the country as completely as I can into my confidence in a matter so all-importan as a general election at a time of war. All I can honestly say is that I trust it may not be necessary to hold a general election before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming back, to their own homeland, those of that great company of the sons and daughters of Canada who have survived the

ordeal of battle in the different theatres of war. Whether a general election can be delayed until that time, I cannot say. I have indicated to you, as far as, at the moment, I am able to foresee them, the circumstances that will govern the decision.

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The Task of Liberalism

Fellow members of the Liberal Party of Canada:

In my opening remarks, this evening, I referred to that memorable gathering of our Party which was held in Toronto on August 8th, 1939. In my address on that occasion, I concluded with the following words:

> "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 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

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In those words, I was telling the people of Canada, no less than the members of my own party, that I believed the country was already under the shadow of war and that when war came, it would menace the freedom of all men.

Looking back, tonight, over four years of war, we may all feel the deepest satisfaction that Liberalism in Canada has been true to its fundamental principle—the defence of freedom. The task of Liberalism will not be finished when the war is won. That great moment will but mark a place of new beginning. In its defence of freedom, the future of the Liberal Party will not be found in defending the privileges of the few, or in arousing the prejudices of the many. It will be found in serving the whole community, and in promoting the security and freedom of all the people. In meeting the problems of the post-war period, the task of Liberalism will remain the preservation and the extension of freedom.

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D 60748



RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

In the darkest days, Canada, under your leadership, remained confident and true. Now the days are brighter and when victory is won, you will be able to look back with just pride upon a record surpassed by none.

THE RIGHT HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL
March 8 1943.

D 60749



I have also had the advantage of conferring with the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King, the experienced Statesman who led the Dominion instantly and unitedly into the war . . . . The contribution which Canada has made to the combined effort of the British Commonwealth and Empire in these tremendous times has deeply touched the heart of the Mother Country and of all the other members of the family.

August 31, 1943.

It is my special duty to promote and preserve this intimacy and concert between all parts of the British Commonwealth and Empire and especially with the great self-governing dominions like Canada, whose Prime Minister is with us at this moment and whose contribution is so massive and invaluable.

United States Congress, May 19, 1943

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the significance of the Commonwealth Air Training programme being carried out in Canada. I never conceived in its early days that it was going to develop to its present size. It is an enormous, perhaps a decisive, contribution.

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I would like once again to say here that we should pay our tribute to Canada's record of achievement. I came away with the impression of a great people, steadfast and loyal in struggle, proud to be a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and proud, too, of its splendid loyalty in our darkest hour.

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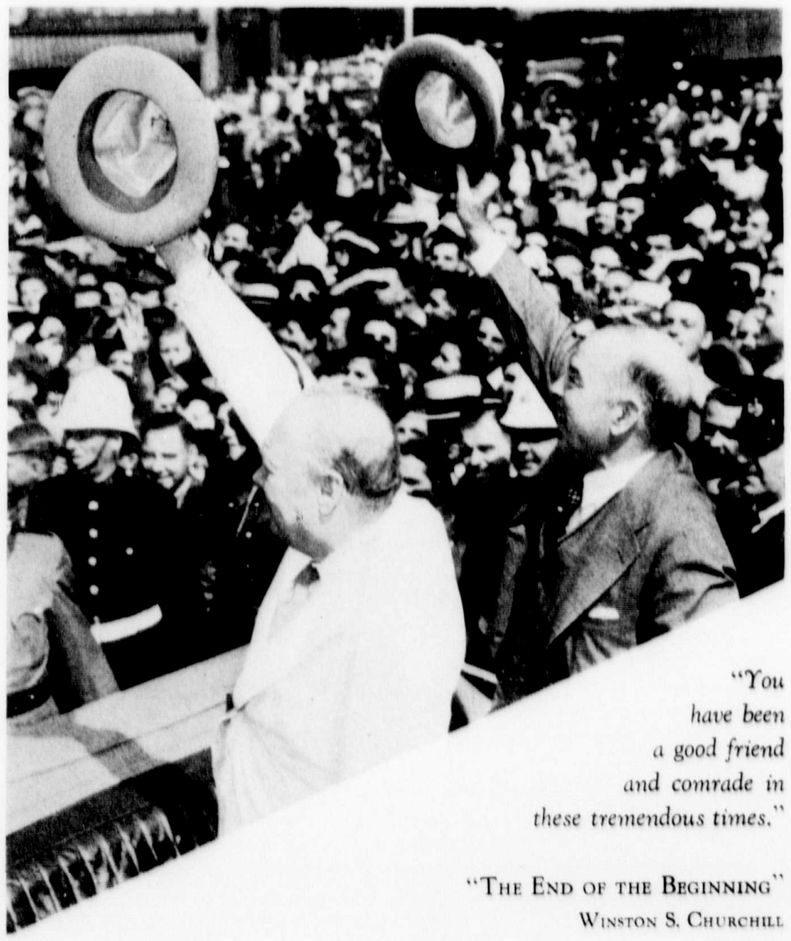
I do not think there ever has been a time in history when the productive manpower of two countries has been dove-tailed as closely as those of Canada and Britain are now. . . . The weight and resiliency of Canada's output in the last two years—particularly during 1940 when we had not many friends—were a salvation to us.

The Right Hon. Ernest Bevin,
October 26, 1942.

D 60750



"You have been a good friend and comrade in these tremendous times."

"The End of the Beginning"
Winston S. Churchill



The Soviet Government has directed me to express to the Canadian Government its deep gratitude for these contributions, which represent a further strengthening of friendly relations between Canada and the U.S.S.R.

V. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.
U.S.S.R., June 24, 1943.



We take pride in greeting our Canadian ally who, through its astounding achievements not only in the field of battle but also in the sphere of war production, has done so much to bring nearer the day of final victory over the forces of aggression.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek,
December 9, 1942.



The accumulated heroism of your commandos, the large amount of foodstuffs and munitions which your country has sent to England, the manner in which you have utilized your air bases for training of Allied effort and the fact that Canada has produced more for the war effort per capita than any other member of the United Nations, are indicative of Canada's will to victory.

Madame Chiang Kai-Shek,
June 16, 1943.



The great moral and material contribution of Canada in this struggle against the common enemy and the alliance of both our countries for the ultimate victory of justice and truth convince me that Canada and Czechoslovakia will remain true friends in fulfilling this great task.

President Eduard Benes,
June 7, 1943.

The part that Canada is playing in the fight for the liberty of man is worthy of your traditions and ours. We, your neighbor, have been profoundly impressed by reports that have come to us setting forth the magnitude and nature of your effort as well as the valiant spirit which supports it.



Yours are the achievements of a great nation. They require no praise from me—but they get that praise from me nevertheless. I understate the case when I say that we, in this country, contemplating what you have done and the spirit in which you have done it, are proud to be your neighbors.

President Roosevelt,
February 16, 1942.

Canada has increasingly become the airdrome of democracy, sending from her training fields thousands upon thousands of her own men and men of other nations to fight in the cause of liberty over all the battlefields of this planetary war. Without Canada's tremendous contribution to our common destiny the cause of the United Nations might have been greatly imperilled.

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Mr. King, my old friend, may I through you thank the people of Canada for their hospitality to all of us. Your course and mine have run so closely and affectionately during these many long years that this meeting adds another link to that chain.

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The spiritual interpretation of life teaches us that all human life is sacred; that we are members one of another; that the things which we have in common are greater than those which divide; that each is his brother's keeper. Those great truths have been given new meaning by the war. The way of co-operation and mutual aid is not only the road to victory for the United Nations; it is also the path to freedom and equality for all.

Victory and Peace, some day, will crown the sacrifices of those who fight for freedom. When that day comes, the peoples of the British Commonwealth and the people of the United States will be found at each other's side, united more closely than ever. But they will be part of a larger company. In that company, all the Nations now united in the defence of freedom will remain united in the service of mankind.

RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING
New York, December 2, 1942.

D 60751



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D 60752



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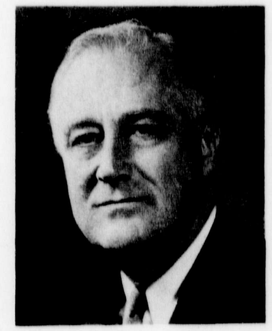

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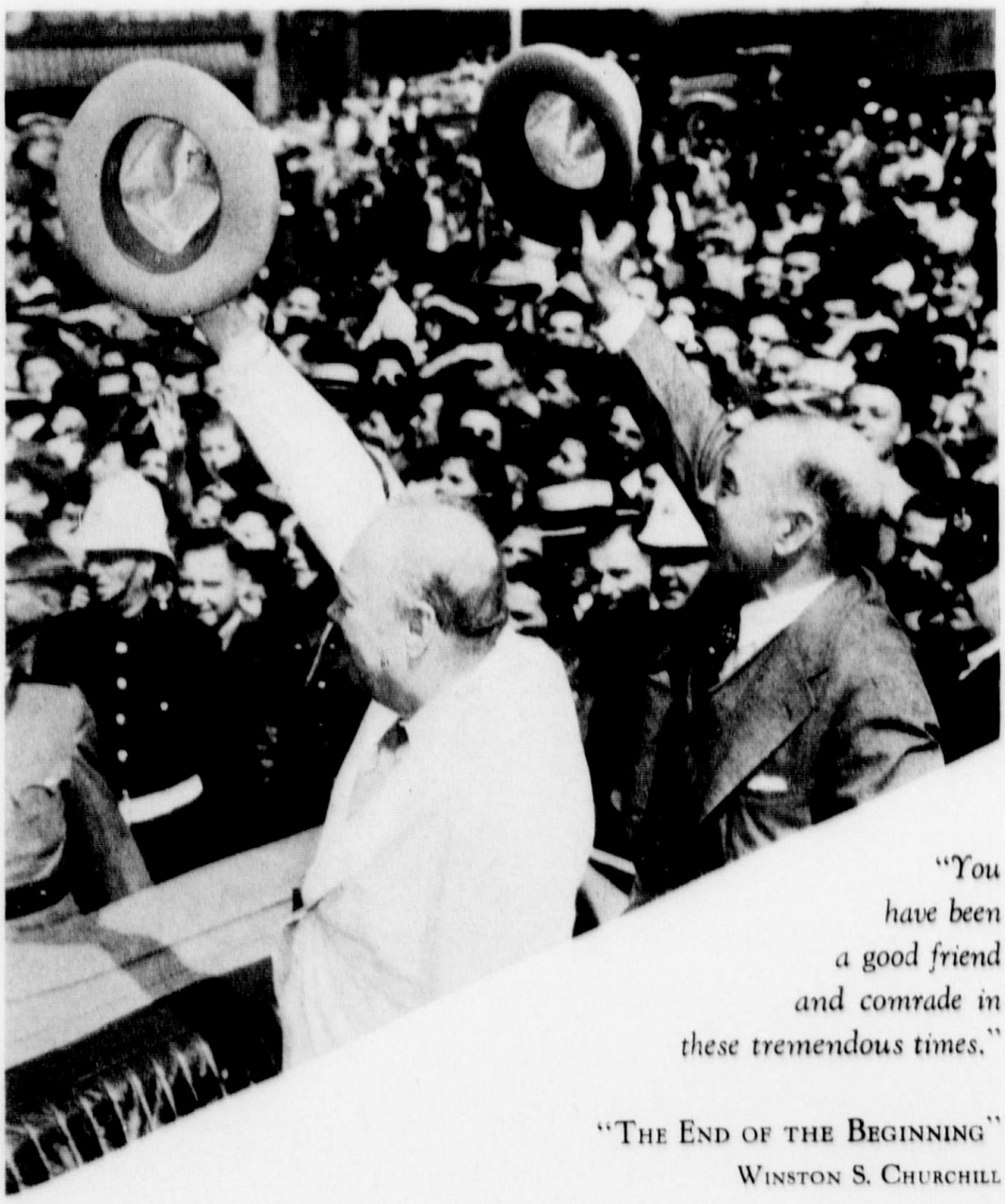

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RIGHT HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING
New York, December 2, 1942.

D 60754

Insert on page eleven before heading "Gallup Poll"

-11½-

Perhaps I may be permitted to add my personal opinion that had there been, at this time of war, on the part of the government of Ontario, the same kind and measure of co-operation with the Federal Government as there was on the part of the governments of every other province in Canada, there would be a Liberal Government in office in Ontario today, and some of the very difficult situations with which the party has been confronted would never have arisen.

D 60755

The question of a general Election

At Toronto, on Saturday the 18th instant, at a dinner which opened the four day conference of the Ontario Council of the C.C.F., Mr. E. B. Jolliffe, the provincial C.C.F. leader, forecast a coming Dominion election. He pointed to the successes of his party in the province of Ontario as a sign-post of things to come. Mr. Jolliffe is reported as having said: "The next federal election is the most important in the history of the Canadian people. Ontario is the key province, and when the next election comes, - that may be any time now, - Ontario will decide the issue." Of the government at Ottawa, he is reported to have said: "It may call a quick election in the hope that once again the electors will support King rather than change horses in the middle of the stream." Mr. Jolliffe is then said to have called upon the party "to wage the federal campaign with more drive and determination than ever before". So much for what appears in quotations, of what was said at the dinner. The Canadian Press report concludes: "At today's meeting, held behind closed doors, a campaign was organized to extend party activities to every riding in Ontario."

For Canada's armed forces abroad, it must be evident that the present year and whatever period may follow, represents, if not the middle of the stream of war, certainly its most

D 60756

turbulent and dangerous course. Mr. Jolliffe, elated as he is over the recent successes of his party in the Ontario provincial campaign, recognizes that an immediate election in the federal field would be very different from the recent provincial campaign in Ontario. Even with his limited experience in politics, it is apparent to him that to see this country through the war, the people of Canada are not going to substitute a C.C.F. government for the present administration. Nor, indeed, were an election to take place tomorrow, would the people of Canada, be any more likely than were the people of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, in the elections they have held in the present year, to entrust the mighty task of seeing Canada through this war to any government other than the one now responsible for the direction of the war effort.

I may say to Mr. Jolliffe that were I, like him, thinking in terms of winning elections, rather than, as I am, of winning the war, I would find in the assertions of himself, and others who claim that the present administration does not enjoy the confidence of the country, ample grounds for advising His Excellency the Governor General to grant an immediate dissolution of Parliament. I should have no doubt whatever as to what the results of the appeal would be.

Mr. Jolliffe would find, as others whose main concern was a change of government, found in 1940, that the people of Canada have a much keener perception of the seriousness of the present world situation than some people believe they have. At this of all times, the Canadian people are not in a mood to countenance any change of administration which would weaken or impair the influence and might of the magnificent war effort of this country.

Canada's fighting men must be her first concern

Before the adjournment of Parliament, the pride of the Canadian people had been deeply stirred by the significant part which Canadian armed forces had taken in the invasion of Sicily. I was able, at the time, to point to the contrast of the situation as it presented itself at the time of adjournment the year before. At that time, the United Nations had experienced nearly eight months of reverses and setbacks. This continent was immediately threatened from the West. On the East, enemy U-boats ranged destructively along our coast, and into the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. Fortunately, this year, before Parliament adjourned, the tide had definitely turned. Everywhere the forces or freedom had the initiative.

Speaking in the House of Commons on the morning of the day of adjournment, I gave to the members of Parliament and to the people of Canada a very clear and definite statement

of the position as I then viewed it. I knew that before Parliament reassembled in the new year, there would be much speculation as to what the government's course in relation to a general election might be. I was anxious that political controversy, certain to develop in the then approaching Ontario elections, and the federal by-elections, should not, regardless of results, be allowed, if at all possible, to divert the minds of the Canadian people from an utmost effort in the winning of the war, until final victory was achieved. Accordingly, I set forth in unequivocal words, my own view as to the course which I believed it to be the duty of the government to pursue. This view I expressed in the following words:-

"While our fears about its outcome have lessened, the war, in a more immediate way, has been brought closer than ever to us. All arms of our fighting services are now in the thick of the conflict. Our fighting men are certain to continue in action on many fronts, until the enemy has surrendered. No one can say for how long that may be. Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

I see no reason whatever to alter the course there outlined because of anything which has taken place, in either the federal or provincial political arenas, since these words were spoken. Indeed, all that has since taken place, in the arena of war, affords to my mind the strongest of reasons for adhering with greater determination than ever to the resolution there expressed. Let me repeat its words:

> "Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

It was in that light, and in that light alone, at the time of Parliament's adjournment on July 24th, that I felt any question as to the time for a general election in Canada should be viewed. I hold to that opinion more strongly than ever today.

Circumstances governing the date of an election

This does not mean that a general election may not have to be held before the war is over, or rather before an armistice may be declared in Europe on the basis of the unconditional surrender of Germany. How long it may take to overthrow the Nazi tyranny and the military might of Germany no one can say. About all we can be reasonably certain of is that, as

D 60760

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First of all, there is the limitation placed by the constitution upon the life of parliament. I hold strong views upon the duty of a government to see that the people are secured in their constitutional right to say who, within stated periods, is to represent them in the making of laws and the administration of public affairs. Should the war in Europe continue on into 1945, it will be necessary, regardless of what may happen meanwhile, for the government at some time in that year to give the people their opportunity to say to whom they wish to entrust the administration of the country's affairs in a succeeding parliament.

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Insert page 31 - at end of first three lines

D60761

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D 60762

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Support of fighting men the first consideration in deciding upon elections.

I am most anxious to take the country as completely as I can into my confidence in a matter so all-important as a general election at a time of war. All I can honestly say is

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D 60765

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D 60766

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D 60767

Discours du très hon. W.L. Mackenzie King,

premier ministre du Canada

devant la Fédération libérale nationale

Au Château Laurier, Ottawa, le 27 septembre 1943.

Le 8 août 1939, les membres du parti libéral de toutes les régions du pays se réunirent à Toronto. Le souvenir de cette grande réunion occupe mon esprit, ce soir. C'est la dernière fois qu'il m'a été donné de rencontrer d'autres chefs et adeptes du parti à une réunion politique et sociale, réunion à laquelle on peut faire une revue des réalisations passées du parti, de son état actuel et de ses visées et des ambitions qu'il caresse pour l'avenir.

Confiance du parti dans son chef depuis un quart de siècle

Je venais de compléter une période de vingt ans à la direction du parti et la réunion en question avait partiellement pour objet de commémorer cet événement. Plus de quatre ans, -- la durée moyenne d'un Parlement, -- sans aucune réunion entre le chef d'un parti politique et ceux à la confiance desquels il doit d'abord son poste important, c'est beaucoup. Les années d'intervalle ont été des années de guerre. Ellesne m'ont permis de prendre contact qu'en de rares et brèves occasions avec les membres du parti autres que mes collègues du cabinet. Si l'on tient compte de ces circonstances, il est vraiment surprenant de constater que la présente assemblée ne témoigne pas moins de confiance et de bienveillance de la part du parti envers son chef que la réunion d'il y a quatre ans. Cela indique combien grande était la confiance qui s'est établie entre nous dans les années antérieures à la guerre, et combien ferme elle est demeurée dans les rudes années d'épreuve de la guerre.

Je suis profondément reconnaissant de ce maintien de la confiance du parti libéral canadien dans ma direction. J'ai raison de dire qu'aucun chef vivant d'un parti politique, en aucun pays, n'a été, sans interruption, dans une si longue période, l'objet de la confiance et de l'estime de ses partisans politiques. C'est une chose que je ne pourrai jamais oublier. C'est une chose que rien ne pourra jamais supprimer. C'est une chose dont je ne saurais vous remercier trop chaleureusement. C'est une dette de gratitude dont je reconnais de tout mon coeur l'existence, ce soir.

Quel que soit le sort que l'avenir nous réserve à vous et à moi, la pensée de la confiance et de l'appui ininterrompus dont j'ai joui comme chef du parti durant presque un quart de siècle sera le trésor le plus

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précieux de ma vie publique.

Confiance des électeurs dans le parti libéral durant presque un quart de siècle

L'existence de cette loyauté et de cette collaboration entre le parti et son chef a rendu possible un autre témoignage de confiance qu'on me pardonnera de trouver encore plus grand. Il me semble tel parce qu'il ne se limite pas à ma personne, mais s'adresse au parti libéral, aux principes qu'il a préconisés et au programme qu'il s'est efforcé d'exécuter. Je parle de la confiance que depuis un quart de siècle la population a témoigné au parti libéral, dans son habileté à deviner les besoins de la population et dans l'habileté des gouvernements libéraux à gouverner conformément à la volonté et aux désirs de la majorité.

Lorsque j'ai été choisi comme son chef le 7 août 1919, notre parti était dans l'opposition. Il y est resté jusqu'à ce que les élections générales de 1921 aient fourni aux électeurs l'occasion d'indiquer à quel parti ils voulaient confier l'administration des affaires du pays. Depuis lors jusqu'à aujourd'hui, sauf une période d'un peu plus de cinq ans, un gouvernement libéral a été au pouvoir au pays depuis les vingt-deux dernières années. Dans les deux dernières législatures, la majorité du gouvernement actuel a été plus grande que celle dont ait jamais disposé un gouvernement depuis l'établissement de la Confédération. C'est un témoignage de confiance que je tiens à reconnaître ce soir. C'est une dette qu'au nom du parti libéral je tiens à reconnaître envers la population canadienne. C'est un exploit dont tous les assistants et tous les membres du parti libéral ont droit d'être fiers.

Le gouvernement continue à jouir de la confiance publique

D'aucuns ont commencé à affirmer depuis quelques semaines que le gouvernement actuel ne jouit plus de la confiance des électeurs. Je ne partage pas cette façon de voir. Si tel était mon avis, je considérerais que c'est mon devoir constitutionnel de prier Son Excellence le Gouverneur général de dissoudre immédiatement le Parlement. Il n'y a je crois, au Canada, aucun autre parti politique ni aucun groupement de partis politiques qui ait reçu du peuple canadien, depuis le début de la guerre, autant de marques de confiance. Si je devais annoncer ce soir que j'ai

demandé une dissolution immédiate du Parlement afin de poser la question de confiance dans l'administration, une telle nouvelle serait accueillie non pas avec joie mais avec consternation.

Parallèle entre la situation politique actuelle et celle de 1940

En 1939, la guerre venait à peine de commencer et l'on nous déclarait que notre régime, en fonctions depuis 1935, n'avait plus la confiance du peuple canadien. En temps de guerre, il fallait, nous disait-on, non un gouvernement de parti mais ce que l'on appelait un gouvernement national. Et l'on alléguait que notre effort de guerre n'était pas suffisant. On disait à mon sujet que tout en étant acceptable comme chef d'un gouvernement en temps de paix, je n'étais pas le chef qu'il fallait pour diriger l'Etat en temps de guerre. Voilà quels étaient les propos de nos adversaires. Quelle fut la réponse du peuple canadien? Qu'est-il résulté de l'appel au peuple de mars 1940? Le Gouvernement fut non seulement maintenu en fonctions mais tous les membres du cabinet furent réélus. Presque tous les candidats du gouvernement national furent défaits. Comme chef du parti, j'obtenais une majorité de députés sans précédent dans les annales de la Chambre des communes.

Les résultats des élections générales de 1940 furent décisifs. Il s'agissait pour le peuple canadien de décider à quel parti politique il désirait confier la direction de notre effort de guerre. La réponse fut catégorique. L'important mandat de diriger les affaires de l'Etat pendant une période de guerre fut confié au gouvernement actuel. Depuis ce temps, le Gouvernement a toujours eu présent à l'esprit le mandat qu'il a reçu du peuple. Notre premier et plus important devoir était de porter toute notre attention à la poursuite victorieuse de la guerre. C'est ce que nous avons fait tout en nous efforçant de faire face, de jour en jour et de mois en mois, aux problèmes d'ordre domestique auxquels la guerre devait inévitablement donner lieu. Nous n'avons pas négligé non plus d'envisager l'avenir et de nous préparer à faire face aux nombreux problèmes qui surgiront après la guerre.

L'effort de guerre du Canada a été prodigieux

Aucun citoyen éclairé ne saurait mettre en doute l'ampleur de notre effort de guerre. Je défie qui que ce soit de démontrer, compte tenu des circonstances, que notre effort a été inférieur à celui d'un autre pays quel qu'il soit. Si un tel défi était relevé, j'invoquerais le témoignage, non pas d'hommes publics canadiens mais celui des chefs de l'une ou l'autre des Nations Unies. Je poserais la question aux chefs d'état major de la Grande-Bretagne et des Etats-Unis qui, il y a quelques jours à peine, étaient réunis en conférence à Québec; et j'interrogerais sur ce point ces éminents hommes d'Etat, le premier ministre de Grande-Bretagne et le Président des Etats-Unis, entre les mains de qui se trouve actuellement la direction suprême de la guerre.

Il serait inconcevable que tout cela n'ait aucune valeur aux yeux du peuple canadien; que tout cela n'ait aucune valeur aux yeux des pères et des mères qui ont vu leurs fils et leurs filles quitter leur foyer pour aller servir aux quatre coins du globe; que cela enfin n'ait aucune valeur aux yeux des membres des forces armées. Dira-t-on que le Gouvernement actuel a perdu la confiance du peuple à cause de sa constante fidélité au devoir suprême? Dira-t-on que le peuple n'a plus confiance en nous parce que nous avons si bien accompli la tâche qui importait le plus; parce que nous nous sommes si bien acquittés de la mission qui est, et demeurera, le devoir suprême de tout gouvernement jusqu'à la victoire?

La victoire demeure le but suprême du Gouvernement

Ceux qui pensent ou qui disent qu'il n'en est pas ainsi, ne songent pas uniquement à la poursuite victorieuse de la guerre. Ils ont d'autres visées et d'autres buts. Ils n'ont pas encore saisi l'enjeu véritable de cette guerre qui pose, pour les nations, la question de vie ou de mort; ils n'ont pas compris qu'en face des nations libres du monde se dressent encore les forces les plus puissantes qui aient jamais menacé la liberté des hommes; ils ne peuvent savoir qu'il s'agit d'une guerre qui menace tout ce qu'a de meilleur une civilisation qu'il a fallu des siècles pour édifier. Ceux qui affirment ou qui croient qu'il est aujourd'hui une tâche quelconque qui soit plus importante pour le Gouvernement que la direction constante d'un effort de guerre suprême en vue de la victoire ne se rendent aucun compte de l'ampleur de la tâche qui nous attend. Ils ne se font certes aucune idée des millions de vies précieuses qu'il faudra sacrifier avant que la guerre soit gagnée.

Si comme gouvernement ou comme parti politique nous avions falli à la tâche essentielle, nous serions peut-être justifiables de nous croire indignes de la mission que nous avons acceptée. Si, au lieu de consacrer notre temps, nos pensées et nos énergies à la poursuite victorieuse de la guerre, nous avions détourné le peuple de l'effort concerté nécessaire à la victoire; si nous avions agi de manière à rechercher des avantages politiques; si nous nous étions arrêtés à des questions qui tendent, non pas à unir, mais à diviser; et si nous avions cherché à miner les efforts des autres, nous pourrions avoir raison de penser que non seulement nous ne méritions plus la confiance du peuple canadien, mais aussi que nous avions perdu tout droit à cette confiance pour toujours. Heureusement, sous ce rapport, nous n'avons rien à nous reprocher. Ne vous imaginez pas que le peuple ne sait pas et ne comprend pas toutes ces choses; qu'il ne voit pas où se trouve son propre intérêt. Ne croyez pas qu'à un moment de crise mondiale il ne sait pas en quelles mains placer les intérêts et le sort de son pays.

Cause de l'agitation

Quelle est la cause de toute l'agitation suscitée dans certains milieux politiques? Elle n'est pas difficile à trouver. Le 4 août on a tenu des élections provinciales en Ontario et le gouvernement au pouvoir a été renversé. Au cours des élections fédérales partielles tenues le 9 août des candidats de l'opposition ont été élus.

Les partis opposés au Gouvernement actuel ont cherché depuis à faire un rapprochement entre les élections provinciales d'Ontario et les quatre élections fédérales partielles, et à attribuer les résultats dans tous les cas au mécontentement occasionné par le programme de l'Administration fédérale.

Le 15 septembre, à la suite des élections provinciales en Ontario et des élections fédérales partielles, il y a eu une autre élection provinciale, et cette dernière dans l'Ile du Prince-Edouard. Quel a été le résultat? Le gouvernement libéral de cette province a été de nouveau porté au pouvoir et il a fait élire deux de ses partisans pour chaque membre du parti conservateur progressiste élu. La Fédération du commonwealth coopératif a mis un certain nombre de candidats sur les rangs. Pas un seul n'a été élu et tous ont perdu leur dépôt. Au cours des élections on a répété à plusieurs reprises que le premier ministre Jones de l'Ile du Prince-Edouard se tenait en communication avec le Gouvernement à Ottawa. Je n'ai pas constaté que les membres du parti conservateur progressiste ou de la Fédération du commonwealth coopératif aient dit aux Canadiens que le retour au pouvoir du gouvernement libéral de l'Ile du Prince-Edouard était la preuve d'un renouvellement de confiance de la part des électeurs de cette province dans l'Administration d'Ottawa.

Les élections provinciales en Ontario.

Je n'ai pas l'intention en ce moment de tenir une enquête sur les causes de la défaite du gouvernement provincial d'Ontario, ou de la défaite des candidats du Gouvernement lors des récentes élections fédérales partielles. Cependant, je ne voudrais pas laisser passer ces deux événements sans en dire un mot. Au sujet des élections en Ontario je me contenterai de dire que les résultats sont l'expression de l'opinion des électeurs sur la manière dont les affaires publiques de cette province avaient été dirigées au cours des six années précédentes, tout comme, dans l'Ile du Prince-Edouard, les résultats révèlent les sentiments des habitants de cette province relativement à la gestion des affaires publiques chez eux. Dans chaque cas, les électeurs ont exprimé leur opinion, non pas sur des problèmes fédéraux, mais sur des questions d'intérêt provincial. En Ontario, ils ont démontré que le gouvernement provincial avait perdu la confiance du public; dans l'Ile du Prince-Edouard, le scrutin a démontré de façon aussi manifeste que le peuple avait encore confiance dans ses administrateurs.

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Le scrutin Gallup.

Lorsqu'il s'agit de tirer des conclusions de certains événements politiques quantité de gens attachent une grande importance aux résultats du scrutin Gallup. Quant à moi je ne suis pas prêt à substituer les réponses données à un scrutin Gallup à mon propre jugement. Les organisateurs de ces scrutins ne s'attendent pas à cela de/qui que ce soit. Nous ne devons pas leur faire dire plus qu'ils ne sont censés dire. Cependant, dans certains cas ils peuvent nous éclairer considérablement. Bien qu'il ne soit pas infaillible le scrutin Gallup a une certaine utilité. Nous en avons un exemple dans l'appréciation qu'on a faite des causes qui ont amené le résultat des récentes élections en Ontario. Dans un scrutin limité à la province d'Ontario, on a invoqué différentes raisons pour expliquer la défaite du gouvernement de cette province, et pour justifier les votes donnés aux conservateurs progressistes et/à la Fédération du commonwealth coopératif respectivement. Ce qu'il y a de plus significatif à ce sujet c'est que dans aucun cas on n'a attribué ces résultats au programme de l'Administration fédérale.

Quant à l'importance du vote accordé à chacun des trois partis lors de l'élection provinciale, je crois qu'on peut l'attribuer, en

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On me permettra d'ajouter qu'à mon avis, si le gouvernement d'Ontario avait, durant cette période de guerre, coopéré avec le gouvernement fédéral de la même manière et dans la même mesure que les gouvernements de toutes les autres provinces du Canada, le parti libéral serait encore au pouvoir en Ontario à l'heure actuelle et quelques-uns des problèmes les plus épineux qui se sont présentés pour le parti n'auraient jamais surgi.

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grande partie, à l'efficacité de leurs organisations respectives.

Les élections fédérales partielles - Organisation de parti abandonnée par les libéraux.

Je dirai maintenant un mot des élections fédérales partielles. Dans ce cas il n'est pas nécessaire de chercher bien longtemps pour trouver l'explication de la défaite des candidats du Gouvernement.

Immédiatement après les élections de 1940 nous avons cessé tout travail d'organisation du parti libéral fédéral. Les bureaux du parti ont été fermés, et aucun tract de propagande politique n'a été imprimé ou distribué. Dans les circonscriptions où ont été tenues des élections partielles, le travail d'organisation n'a été repris que quelques semaines avant le jour de la votation. Depuis le début de la guerre, comme je l'ai déjà rappelé ce soir, notre parti n'a tenu aucune assemblée ou convention de portée nationale. Pour ce qui est des questions d'ordre fédéral, notre parti n'a fait aucun travail d'organisation durant toute cette période et n'a fait aucun effort organisé pour publier les programmes adoptés par le Gouvernement ou, même là où la chose s'imposait, pour en interpréter ou expliquer la portée sur les problèmes que posent ici même, dans notre pays, les exigences de la guerre.

Je ne cherche aucunement, pour l'instant, à dire si, du point de vue national, ou dans l'intérêt de notre parti, cette manière d'agir ou, devrais-je dire, ce défaut d'agir, a été la plus sage ou la meilleure ligne de conduite à suivre. Je me contente d'exposer les faits, pour ce qui touche à l'organisation du parti et à la publication des renseignements concernant son programme.

Si les autres partis avaient suivi la même ligne de conduite, je n'aurais plus rien à ajouter sur ce point. Mais comment, de fait, les autres partis se sont-ils conduits?

Organisation et tactique du parti conservateur

Je vous parlerai d'abord du parti conservateur, - que l'on appelle maintenant le parti conservateur progressiste. On me pardonnera s'il m'arrive de ne pas toujours le désigner sous ce dernier nom. Au cours des années que j'ai passées au Parlement, ce parti a bien des fois changé de nom et de chef. A peine les élections de 1940 étaient-elles terminées que l'on commença à percevoir des signes de gros temps dans les divergences d'opinions qui se manifestaient au sein même des mem-

bres de l'opposition officielle. Dans leurs réunions secrètes, au Parlement et partout dans le pays, les membres du parti conservateur, - il ne s'appelait pas encore le parti conservateur progressiste, - ont lancé une campagne contre le gouvernement dans le but de diviser les forces du parti au pouvoir et de confier l'administration du pays à un parti autre que celui qui avait obtenu une majorité si écrasante. Pendant toute l'année 1941, on a mis de l'avant la question du service obligatoire outre-mer et on a ressuscité celle d'un gouvernement national pour en faire l'application. Aux mois de juillet et d'août de cette année-là, celui qui dirigeait alors l'opposition conservatrice, ainsi que des membres de son parti, ont fait une tournée dans l'ouest du Canada pour voir à ce que, entre autres choses, l'organisation fut bien à point dans toutes les circonscriptions. Au mois de novembre 1941, au cours d'une réunion tenue à Ottawa, le parti conservateur se choisit un nouveau chef. Il ne devait plus être question, dans la suite, de soi-disant collaboration avec le Gouvernement dans la mise à exécution de son effort de guerre, mais commençait alors ouvertement l'opposition au parti au pouvoir sur le parquet même de la Chambre des communes. Cette tentative de guerre ouverte a échoué à la suite de la défaite du nouveau chef dans la circonscription d'York-Sud, au mois de février 1942. C'est ainsi qu'on a épargné au Parlement la discussion de la question du service obligatoire qui aurait divisé le pays et grandement nui à l'effort de guerre du Canada. Cette question n'a pas été soulevée dans le pays, grâce à la tenue du plébiscite de 1942, lequel a clairement démontré que le Gouvernement était parfaitement libre d'adopter une mesure de service obligatoire outre-mer quand il le voudrait si, pour assurer la victoire finale, une telle mesure devait s'imposer. Depuis 1940 jusqu'à nos jours, à aucun moment le nombre des navires disponibles n'a été assez considérable pour nous permettre de transporter outre-mer les recrues qui se sont de plein gré enrôlées au Canada pour faire du service n'importe où. La situation a été la même pour ce qui est du transport des approvisionnements et des munitions disponibles.

Au mois de septembre de l'an dernier, au cours d'une assemblée tenue à Port-Hope, le parti conservateur a entrepris de refaire tout à neuf son organisation politique. Cette réunion a été suivie d'une convention nationale tenue à Winnipeg au mois de décembre. C'est à cette convention que ce parti s'est donné un nouveau nom, un nouveau chef, et un

nouveau programme. Depuis ce jour, le parti conservateur progressiste a déployé beaucoup d'activité pour faire connaître son nouveau chef, pour organiser son bureau-chef à Ottawa et aussi dans toutes les circonscriptions de notre pays.

On peut difficilement dire que M. Bracken, le nouveau chef du parti conservateur progressiste a collaboré avec le gouvernement en vue de fournir un effort de guerre uni au point d'en faire son principal objectif. Compte tenu de sa position de chef du parti qui constitue l'opposition officielle au Parlement, M. Bracken, aurait dû durant toute la dernière session diriger l'opposition officielle à la Chambre des communes. Au lieu de celà, il a parcouru le Canada en tous sens dans l'intérêt du parti conservateur progressiste et aussi dans son propre intérêt à titre de chef de ce parti. Ce groupe politique a de plus retenu les services d'organisateurs qui consacrent tout leur temps à assurer l'organisation et la publicité du parti. Je ne veux pas affirmer que le parti conservateur progressiste n'a pas le droit de conduire ses propres affaires comme il l'entend. Je tiens uniquement à dire bien clairement qu'au point de vue de l'organisation et de la publicité d'ordre politique durant la guerre, ce parti a suivi une ligne de conduite diamétralement opposée à celle des membres du gouvernement et du parti ministériel.

Organisation et tactique du parti de la Fédération du Commonwealth coopératif.

La situation est la même dans le cas de la Fédération du commonwealth coopératif.

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Chaque année, depuis le début de la guerre, les membres de ce parti se sont appliqués à édifier leur organisme politique. Ils ont maintenu des bureaux pour la publication et la distribution d'écrits politiques. Leur conseil national a tenu des assemblées annuelles ou semi-annuelles. Pendant l'été de l'année dernière, ils ont tenu un congrès national réunissant une foule nombreuse . Ils ont fait preuve d'un zèle infatigable dans leur travail de propagande politique.

La propagande de la C.C.F. a été des plus subtiles. A l'heure actuelle, ce parti manifeste le désir de livrer une guerre totale. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous rappeler quelle a été son attitude à cet égard en 1939. La C.C.F. était alors en faveur d'un effort de guerre limité à la défense de notre seul pays. Mais quand les membres de ce parti parlent aujourd'hui, en termes vagues, d'un effort de guerre total, ils refusent de mettre leurs conseils en pratique et d'appuyer les mesures propres à assurer cet effort maximum.

Les membres de la C.C.F. veulent faire croire à la population qu'ils sont les uniques champions des intérêts des ouvriers, des pauvres et des délaissés. Or, la C.C.F. n'a jamais appuyé sincèrement notre politique canadienne de la réglementation des prix, bien que cette mesure soit la plus importante qu'on ait jamais adoptée au Canada pour assurer aux membres les moins fortunés de la société un niveau de vie convenable. Les membres de ce parti cherchent sans cesse à semer la discorde autour de notre politique de stabilisation des prix et des salaires. Ils disent à la population que leur politique est calquée sur celle du gouvernement de la Nouvelle-Zélande et ils parlent du sort des ouvriers de l'Australie; mais ils refusent de nous dire que la politique de réglementation des prix et des salaires adoptée en Nouvelle-Zélande et en Australie est la même que celle qui est en vigueur au Canada.

Les propagandistes de la C.C.F. prennent bien garde de dire à la population qu'effort de guerre total signifie pour tous et chacun fardeaux, rareté de produits, inconvénients et privations. Selon eux, la population a droit à un effort de guerre qui n'exige d'elle aucun sacrifice. Ces gens ne manquent pas d'exploiter tous les griefs et tous les

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mécontentements. Ont-ils souvent mentionné les sacrifices que nos militaires doivent consentir au front? Combien souvent les a-t-on entendu dire que tous doivent être prêts à porter des fardeaux de plus en plus lourds si l'on veut que la guerre se termine avant que la destruction de notre jeunesse ait atteint des proportions alarmantes?

Les membres de la C.C.F. ont travaillé les syndicats ouvriers du pays afin de se servir de ces syndicats pour satisfaire leurs ambitions et leurs fins politiques. Ils s'appliquent de leur mieux à faire croire aux ouvriers que le présent Gouvernement est hostile envers la classe ouvrière. Ils rendent ainsi plus difficile l'une des tâches les plus dures en temps de guerre, savoir le maintien des relations amicales entre le Gouvernement et les ouvriers, de la confiance et de la collaboration entre toutes les classes de la société. Ils ne peuvent attendre la fin de la guerre pour inviter les ouvriers syndiqués à lier leur sort à celui d'un parti politique. Ils déclarent ouvertement que tel est leur but et ils se servent de la guerre pour arriver à cette fin. Les dirigeants du Congrès canadien du travail ont déjà fait savoir qu'ils accepteraient cette alliance. Pour affermir cette alliance plus que douteuse, la C.C.F. exploite tous les mécontentements et tous les griefs possibles. Elle cite comme preuve de cette hostilité du Gouvernement envers les ouvriers ces règlements mêmes qui, en temps de guerre, sont nécessaires pour sauvegarder les intérêts des ouvriers, en même temps que ceux de toute la collectivité.

<u>Un mot aux ouvriers</u>

Je dirai aux ouvriers que dès avant 1900 lorsque je débutai dans la vie publique pour aider à l'organisation d'un ministère fédéral du Travail dont je devins le sous-ministre, et plus tard, en 1909, le titulaire, je n'ai cessé pendant tout ce temps, comme au cours des années subséquentes, de suivre avec le plus vif intérêt les progrès constants accomplis par la classe ouvrière prenant de plus en plus conscience de ses droits et de sa dignité. Je me suis intéressé à ses luttes pour la liberté économique parce que je crois que la classe ouvrière représente, dans ses buts et ses aspirations, les tendances et les sentiments des

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pauvres, des humbles et des petits dans leur lutte contre la pauvreté et l'adversité, contre le besoin et la misère, la seule lutte, à n'en pas douter, que puisse livrer celui qui conserve dans son coeur l'amour de son prochain. Mais jamais, à ma connaissance, je n'ai vu des ouvriers s'allier à un parti politique quelconque ou des ouvriers former leur propre parti politique, poursuivant sa propre fin sans se soucier de celle de la société en général, sans qu'une telle alliance ne finît tôt ou tard par être désastreuse tant pour les ouvriers eux-mêmes que pour le pays.

Les ouvriers ont besoin de toute la bonne volonté, de toute l'aide et de toute l'amitié qu'ils peuvent obtenir des hommes et des femmes de tous les partis politiques, comme de tous ceux qui ne possèdent aucune notion en ce domaine. Les ouvriers obtiendront toutes ces choses et ce, dans une mesure de plus en plus grande, à la condition qu'ils restent libres de donner leur appui à tous les mouvements susceptibles de servir le bien commun. Les besoins de l'humanité viennent avant ceux de l'industrie; ils viennent avant les besoins particuliers du capital ou du travail. C'est l'intérêt général, et non pas l'intérêt particulier, qui doit occuper la première place dans nos esprits à l'heure actuelle. Ce principe s'applique aux partis politiques tout comme aux groupements qui s'intéressent à l'industrie. Les partis politiques ne survivront qu'à la condition de servir les intérêts généraux et non les intérêts particuliers et à la condition que leurs cadres soient suffisamment larges pour admettre dans leurs rangs les hommes et les femmes de toutes les classes de la société, de toutes les croyances, de toutes les conditions sociales et de toutes les professions.

Que les ouvriers se rappellent que leur sort dépend entièrement de l'issue du conflit mondial actuel. Le présent conflit titanesque qui met aux prises les forces de la tyrannie et celles de la liberté reproduit, sur une échelle mondiale, la lutte qu'ils livrent eux-mêmes. La bataille qui se poursuit aujourd'hui et qui cause tant de souffrances et de destruction dans toutes les parties du monde ne se limite nullement à un conflit entre diverses nations ni entre des peuples d'origine, de race ou de couleur différentes. C'est une lutte dont l'issue décidera si l'intérêt général de l'humanité doit primer tous les intérêts particuliers, qu'il s'agisse de la puissance militaire de l'Allemagne ou du Japon ou de l'intérêt particulier du nazisme, du fascisme ou de quelque autre genre de contrôle politique.

Cet appel que la C.C.F. lance aux ouvriers se joint à une propagande trompeuse au sujet du mercantilisme des classes riches. Aucun gouvernement du temps de guerre, dans un pays quelconque, n'a, dans cette guerre ou dans quelque autre conflit, adopté pour la prévention de toute exploitation, un programme plus complet que celui que s'est tracé le gouvernement actuel, et aucun gouvernement n'a appliqué ses mesures avec plus de rigueur.

Personne ne saurait trouver mauvais qu'un parti politique de l'opposition fasse valoir ses principes et sa politique et énonce son propre programme, même en temps de guerre. Tel est le devoir et le but d'une opposition. Il y a cependant loin de là à fonder des campagnes politiques sur des tactiques qui, quel que soit le but visé, ne peuvent avoir pour effet que de contribuer à saper l'effort de la nation en temps de guerre.

<u>Le Bloc populaire et les autres partis d'importance secondaire</u>

L'opposition comprend un troisième groupe dont je dirai maintenant quelques mots. C'est le plus récent et, songeant à l'unité canadienne, j'espère qu'il sera le plus éphémère. Je veux parler du Bloc populaire canadien. Ceux qui s'en sont arrogé la direction constituent un petit groupe de mécontents que la bonne renommée et la sécurité du Canada laissent indifférents. Ils prétendent que le Canada ne court aucun danger dans la guerre actuelle. A les entendre, la Grande-Bretagne et non l'Allemagne nazie serait le véritable ennemi. Ils s'opposent à ce que notre pays participe davantage à la guerre. Le Bloc populaire est, que je sache, l'unique parti dont le programme et la politique soient formulés par le simple mot "non". Cette doctrine négative et destructive est de nature à compromettre très gravement l'effort de guerre du Canada ainsi que l'avenir du pays.

Le Bloc populaire cherche, de propos délibéré, à soulever le Québec contre le reste du Canada. Peu lui importe, apparemment, le tort qu'il causera à la population du Québec s'il réussit à ranger le reste du Canada, et à vrai dire le reste de l'Amérique du Nord, contre le Québec. Le but véritable de ses chefs est de capter des votes et de s'assurer de l'influence en exploitant les divergences ethniques et en fomentant les querelles de race. Ces appels aux préjugés de race, de religion et autres ont été poussés à l'extrême limite lors des élections complémentaires qui ont récemment eu lieu dans le Québec, et ils expliquent, en somme, la défaite des candidats du gouvernement. Peut-être aura-t-il été bon que la population du Québec ait ainsi été mise en garde dès le début. J'ai la certitude absolue qu'aucun groupe important de cette population ne se laissera tromper par ces faux prophètes. Ils ont déjà été dénoncés par une écrasante majorité des députés fédéraux de la province de Québec. Toutefois, qu'on ne s'y méprenne pas, le poison qu'ils répandent devra être neutralisé activement et vigoureusement par tous ceux qui ont à coeur l'unité du Canada et qui désirent le voir devenir une nation grande et libre.

Je ne m'arrêterai pas à parler des autres partis tels que celui du Crédit social, qui diminue rapidement en importance, ainsi que le plus récent de tous, c'est-à-dire le parti travailliste-progressiste. Toutefois, l'existence de ces partis d'importance secondaire révèle un danger qui menace le fonctionnement efficace de notre démocratie parlementaire. Il s'agit de la tendance des partis et des groupes à se multiplier. Le sort de la malheureuse France devrait constituer une terrible mise en garde contre cette tendance, qui constitue un péril national.

Ce que je viens de dire suffit à démontrer comment je m'explique la défaite des candidats du gouvernement lors des récentes élections complémentaires.

Personne, je crois, ne peut prétendre que, depuis le début de la guerre, j'ai négligé de signaler au peuple canadien la terrible gravité de la situation mondiale et l'importance du conflit lui-même. Je puis dire en toute vérité que j'ai fait tout mon possible pour éviter et atténuer toute polémique politique en ce temps de guerre et pour maintenir l'unité canadienne. Personne ne peut accuser le gouvernement de n'avoir pas consacré toute son énergie à gagner la guerre et à rendre l'effort de guerre du Canada aussi efficace que possible. Toutefois, bien que le gouvernement ait consacré presque exclusivement son temps et son attention à diriger l'effort de guerre du Canada et à résoudre les problèmes que la guerre fait surgir d'un jour à l'autre, les partis politiques qui lui font la lutte ont pris une attitude différente.

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Au lieu d'aider le gouvernement à faire comprendre au peuple l'extrême gravité du conflit mondial et la nature urgente des nécessités de la guerre, ils ont élaboré et perfectionné leur organisation politique, disséminant leur propagande de parti et exploitant le mécontentement que suscitent inévitablement les mesures de contrôle nécessaires en temps de guerre, ainsi que l'irritation que font naître toutes restrictions, de quelque nature qu'elles soient. Pour le gouvernement d'un pays en guerre, c'est là une situation intolérable, qu'on ne saurait laisser se perpétuer.

D 60783

La question d'une élection générale

Le samedi 18 courant, à Toronto, au cours d'un dîner qui inaugurait le congrès de quatre jours du conseil de la Fédération du commonwealth coopératif pour l'Ontario, M. E.B. Jolliffe, chef provincial de ce groupe, a prédit une élection fédérale prochaine. Il a donné comme signes avant-coureurs des événements futurs les succès que son parti a remportés dans la province d'Ontario. D'après un rapport, M. Jolliffe aurait prononcé les paroles suivantes: "La prochaine élection fédérale est la plus importante de l'histoire du peuple canadien. La province d'Ontario est le pivot qui déterminera les résultats de la prochaine élection qui peut maintenant avoir lieu d'un moment à l'autre." On rapporte qu'il aurait tenu au sujet du gouvernement d'Ottawa les propos suivants: "Il peut tenir une élection en vitesse dans l'espoir que les électeurs appuieront encore une fois l'administration King plutôt que de changer de monture au milieu du ruisseau." On dit aussi que M. Jolliffe a invité son parti "à mener la campagne fédérale avec une énergie et une détermination sans précédent." Voilà pour les paroles prononcées, d'après les rapports, au cours de ce dîner. Le rapport de la Presse canadienne se termine ainsi: "A la réunion d'aujourd'hui, tenue à huis clos, on organise une campagne en vue d'étendre à toutes les circonscriptions de l'Ontario les activités du parti."

Pour les forces armées canadiennes en service outremer, la présente année et toute la période qui doit suivre représente, de toute évidence, sinon le milieu du ruisseau de la guerre, du moins et certainement son courant le plus violent et le plus dangereux. Si transporté qu'il soit, à la suite des récents succès de son parti lors de la campagne provinciale d'Ontario, M. Jolliffe se rend compte qu'une élection immédiate dans le domaine fédéral différerait beaucoup de la récente campagne provinciale d'Ontario. Il lui appert, même avec son expérience politique limitée, que la population canadienne n'est pas prête à remplacer l'administration actuelle par un gouvernement de la Fédération du commonwealth coopératif pour traverser la période de guerre. Si, en effet, une élection devait avoir lieu demain, la population du Canada ne serait pas plus disposée que celles de l'Afrique du Sud, de l'Australie, et de la Nouvelle-Zélande où des élections ont eu lieu au cours de la guerre actuelle, à

D 60784

confier à un autre gouvernement que celui qui est maintenant chargé de la direction de notre effort de guerre, la tâche formidable de veiller aux destinées du Canada jusqu'à la fin de cette guerre.

Si, au lieu de penser, comme je le fais, à gagner la guerre, je ne songeais, comme M. Jolliffe, qu'à gagner des élections, je trouverais dans les assertions de ce dernier et dans celles d'autres qui prétendent que le gouvernement actuel ne jouit pas de la confiance du pays, des motifs suffisants pour conseiller à Son Excellence le Gouverneur général d'accorder la dissolution immédiate du Parlement. Je n'entretiens aucun doute sur les résultats de cet appel au peuple. M. Jolliffe constaterait, comme l'ont fait en 1940 d'autres dont l'objectif principal était un changement de gouvernement, que la population canadienne a un sens beaucoup plus profond de la gravité de la situation mondiale actuelle que certains ne le croient. A l'heure présente, la population du Canada est moins que jamais disposée à se prêter à un changement d'administration susceptible d'amoindrir ou de compromettre la portée et la puissance du magnifique effort de guerre du pays. Le Canada doit s'intéresser avant tout à ses combattants.

Le rôle important que les forces armées canadiennes ont joué dans l'invasion de la Sicile a exalté d'une façon intense la fierté du peuple canadien, avant l'ajournement du Parlement. J'ai pu alors signaler le contraste qui existait entre la situation à ce moment-là et celle qui se présentait l'année précédente au moment de l'ajournement. Les Nations Unies avaient connu jusque-là près de huit mois de revers et de reculs. Notre continent était directement menacé du côté de l'Ouest. A l'Est, les sous-marins ennemis faisaient des ravages le long de la côte et jusque dans le golfe et le fleuve Saint-Laurent. Cette année avant l'ajournement des Chambres, la tournure des événements avait heureusement changé. Les armées de la liberté avaient partout saisi l'initiative.

Le matin de l'ajournement, je faisais, dans l'enceinte de la Chambre des communes, aux membres du Parlement et à la population du Canada, un exposé très clair et très précis de la situation telle qu'elle me paraissait alors. Je savais qu'avant la réunion du Parlement l'an prochain, la ligne de conduite que le gouvernement pourrait suivre relativement à la tenue d'une élection générale donnerait lieu à bien des conjectures. Je tenais à ce que la controverse politique, inévitable à la veille des élections provinciales d'Ontario et des élections complémentaires fédérales, n'aboutisse pas, si c'était possible, indépendamment du résultat de ces élections, à détourner, avant la victoire définitive, l'attention de la population canadienne de la nécessité d'un effort suprême en vue de gagner la guerre. J'ai donc exposé en termes non équivoques mes propres vues sur la ligne de conduite que selon moi le gouvernement doit suivre. Voici les termes de cet exposé:

> "Bien que nos craintes sur l'issue du conflit aient diminué, la guerre ne nous touche néanmoins que plus directement. Toutes les armes de nos forces combattantes sont maintenant au fort de la mêlée. Nos soldats sont certains de rester dans la lutte sur plusieurs fronts jusqu'à ce que l'ennemi ait capitulé. Nul ne peut dire combien de temps cela prendra. Nos soldats sont engagés dans une lutte terrible. Jusqu'à ce que nous ayons remporté la victoire, ils doivent engendrer dans nos coeurs et dans nos esprits une ferme et unique résolution, celle de les appuyer par toutes les ressources dont dispose notre pays."

Tout ce qui s'est produit dans les arènes politiques provinciale ou fédérale depuis que ces paroles ont été prononcées, ne motive aucun changement à la ligne de conduite que je traçais alors. En vérité, les événements qui se sont produits sur le théâtre de la guerre, m'apportent les motifs les plus impérieux de m'en tenir avec une détermination plus irréductible que jamais à la résolution que je formulais et dont je cite de nouveau les termes:

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D 60786

Au moment de l'ajournement du Parlement le 24 juillet, j'estimais qu'en déterminant la date d'une élection générale au Canada il fallait tenir compte de ce fait et de ce fait seulement. Je le crois encore aujourd'hui et plus fermement que jamais.

Circonstances qui déterminent la date d'une élection

Cela ne signifie pas qu'il n'y aura pas lieu de tenir des élections générales avant la fin de la guerre ou plutôt avant la signature d'un armistice en Europe à la suite d'une capitulation sans condition de la part de l'Allemagne. Personne ne sait combien de temps il faudra pour abattre la tyrannie nazie et pour réduire la puissance militaire de l'Allemagne. Il n'est pour ainsi dire qu'une seule chose qui soit raisonnablement certaine et c'est que, comme M. Churchill l'a déclaré à la Chambre des communes anglaise l'autre jour les combats les plus sanglants sont encore à venir. Tant que ces jours terribles ne seront pas révolus personne ne pourrait désirer que l'on tienne des élections générales au Canada, s'il est possible de s'en abstenir. Cependant, il se peut que la tenue d'élections générales soit inévitable avant la fin du conflit en Europe.

Tout d'abord, la constitution impose certaines restrictions quant à la durée d'une législature. J'ai des idées bien arrêtées sur le devoir qui incombe à un gouvernement de respecter le droit constitutionnel qu'a le peuple de désigner, à des périodes déterminées, les représentants qui doivent légiférer et administrer la chose publique. Si la guerre en Europe se prolongeait jusqu'en 1945, il faudrait de toute nécessité, sans tenir compte des événements qui pourraient se dérouler dans l'intervalle, que le gouvernement fournisse l'occasion au peuple, à un moment donné au cours de cette année là, de choisir ceux à qui il voudrait confier l'administration des affaires du pays durant la législature suivante.

Abstraction faite des restrictions constitutionnelles, des circonstances pourraient surgir qui obligeraient le Gouvernement à en appeler au peuple en tout temps. Il pourrait en être ainsi si on était bien convaincu qu'une partie considérable de la population ne voudrait plus appuyer le programme qui, de l'avis du Gouvernement, serait nécessaire à la poursuite de l'effort de guerre du pays, d'une manière qui assurerait à nos forces combattantes tout l'appui possible pendant qu'elles continuent de faire face à cette épreuve terrible.

S'il est une chose qu'aucune administration ne saurait favoriser, c'est de permettre que la confiance placée en elle par le pays soit minée par des activités partisannes, indignes et injustifiées, suscitées par des adversaires politiques, alors que l'administration elle-même doit donner toute son attention et consacrer toutes ses énergies à la poursuite de l'effort de guerre.

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REPEAT
REPETITION

D 60787

Difficultés qui peuvent surgir au Parlement

Une autre situation semblable résulterait du genre et de l'importance de l'obstruction dont le Gouvernement pourrait être l'objet au Parlement de la part des membres des partis et des groupes qui composent l'opposition. Je me demande si la population du Canada se rend pleinement compte du fait que, bien que le Gouvernement représente la majorité au Parlement, il doit faire face à une opposition formée d'une série de groupes minoritaires, - le parti Conservateur progressiste, le parti de la fédération du commonwealth coopératif, le parti du crédit social, auxquels est venu s'ajouter récemment un groupe d'éléments divers composé des membres du bloc populaire, des soit-disant indépendants et des travaillistes progressistes qui tous ont des ambitions qui leur sont propres. On pouvait croire à certains moments que chacun des membres de ces groupes et de ces partis se pensait obligé de rivaliser de zèle avec les autres en vue de s'assurer l'appui des électeurs ou en vue de critiquer le gouvernement. On peut presque dire que chacun de ces groupes, pour ne pas parler d'une association de deux ou de plusieurs d'entre eux, pourrait, s'il le voulait, tellement entraver la marche des travaux au Parlement, ou dénaturer et fausser les programmes du gouvernement que ce dernier se trouverait dans l'impossibilité de continuer à administrer les affaires du pays. Une telle situation serait déjà assez critique en temps ordinaire. Ce serait une situation impossible pour un gouvernement chargé de la conduite des affaires publiques en temps de guerre. Cela ne laisserait au gouvernement d'autre choix que la dissolution des chambres.

Une autre éventualité est possible. Pour des causes tout à fait imprévues dans le moment, il pourrait surgir dans le gouvernement lui-même et parmi ses partisans, des divergences d'opinion inconciliables sur la politique à suivre. En pareil cas, l'unique solution serait un appel au peuple. Pour ma part, je redoute peu une telle éventualité. Mais étant donné les problèmes d'administration après quatre ans de guerre, aucun chef de gouvernement ne peut se permettre d'ignorer la possibilité de la chose dans l'atmosphère de tension que produit un tel conflit.

Il faut ajouter à tous ces éléments, en envisageant la date d'élections possibles, les événements qui nous échappent actuelle-

ment tout à fait imprévisibles tant à l'étranger qu'au pays, dont aucun peut entraîner l'opportunité ou la nécessité d'une reconstitution du cabinet ou d'un appel immédiat au peuple.

L'appui à donner à nos combattants est la première considération dont il faut tenir compte dans la question des élections.

Je tiens beaucoup à mettre la population le plus possible dans ma confidence dans une question aussi importante que celle d'élections générales en temps de guerre. Tout ce que je puis dire, c'est que j'espère qu'il ne sera pas nécessaire de tenir des élections générales avant le jour où nous nous préparerons à souhaiter la bienvenue à nos fils et à nos filles qui reviendront en grand nombre dans leur patrie après avoir participé aux combats sur les divers théâtres de la guerre. Je ne saurais dire s'il sera possible de retarder jusqu'à cette époque la tenue d'élections générales. Je vous ai indiqué, dans la mesure où il m'est possible présentement de prévoir ce qui arrivera, les facteurs susceptibles d'influencer pareille décision.

C'est notre devoir d'assurer à nos combattants, par l'union de nos efforts, le succès de leurs armes. Ce succès, nous le devons également à la mémoire de ceux qui sur terre, sur mer et dans l'air ont déjà donné leur vie, de même qu'à ceux qui ont sacrifié leurs forces ou leur liberté pour que nous puissions par là continuer à jouir de notre liberté et l'assurer à d'autres dans une mesure plus grande que celle que la plupart des hommes ont connue jusqu'ici. Voilà un objectif qu'il sera possible d'atteindre à mon sens, pourvu que d'ici la fin de la guerre, nos combattants occupent une place d'honneur dans nos coeurs et dans nos esprits et que notre pays leur accorde tout l'appui dont il est capable.

Collègues du parti libéral canadien:

Au début de mes remarques, ce soir, j'ai parlé de la mémorable réunion tenue par notre parti à Toronto le 8 août 1939. Le discours que je prononçai en cette occasion se terminait ainsi:

"Le libéralisme a débuté par une lutte pour l'extension et la défense de la liberté. Au cours des ans, son oeuvre a représenté un effort en vue de l'extension et de la défense de la liberté. Dans le passé, cet effort a surtout porté sur la liberté au sein de notre propre pays. Pour l'avenir, si nous sommes

fidèles à notre cause, nous, libéraux, chercherons à accroître
et à défendre la liberté non seulement pour nous-mêmes dans notre
propre pays, mais aussi, selon les circonstances, dans l'intérêt de l'humanité."

En m'exprimant ainsi, je disais au peuple canadien, tout autant qu'aux membres de mon propre parti, que je croyais notre pays déjà exposé à la guerre et que, si la guerre venait à éclater, elle menacerait la liberté de tout le genre humain.

Nous reportant ce soir à une période de plus de quatre années de guerre, nous pouvons tous trouver un motif de profonde satisfaction dans le fait que le libéralisme canadien a été fidèle à son principe fondamental, la défense de la liberté. La tâche du libéralisme ne se trouvera pas terminée lorsque la victoire aura été remportée. Ce moment suprême ne fera que marquer le début d'une ère nouvelle. La tâche future du parti libéral ne consistera pas à défendre les privilèges d'une minorité ou à soulever les préjugés des masses. Elle consistera à servir toute la collectivité et à assurer la sécurité et la liberté de tous les citoyens. Dans la solution des problèmes de l'après-guerre, la tâche du libéralisme continuera d'être le maintien et l'extension de la liberté.

Not to be released before delivery

D 60790

Address by The Rt. Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada
to
The National Liberal Federation
Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, September 27, 1943.

On August the 8th, 1939, members of the Liberal party from all parts of Canada met in Toronto. The memories of that vast gathering are much in my thoughts tonight. It was the last occasion on which I had the privilege of meeting with other leaders and supporters of the party, at a social political gathering - a gathering which permitted of a review of the party's record in the past, of its present fortunes, and of its aims and cherished ambitions for the future.

Confidence of party towards its Leader during past quarter of a century.

I had just completed twenty years of leadership of the party, and the occasion was in part to commemorate that event. More than four years - the average life of a Parliament - is a long time to be allowed to lapse between any kind of meeting between the leader of a political party, and those to whose confidence he is primarily indebted for the position of trust he enjoys. The intervening years

have been years of war.

have been years of war. They have permitted of only occasional contacts, and the briefest of contacts, with members of the party, other than immediate colleagues in the Cabinet. These circumstances considered, it is indeed surprising to find, in the numbers here assembled, a gathering no less expressive of the confidence and good-will of the party towards its leader than the gathering of four years ago. It shows how great was the confidence which was built up between us in the years preceding the war, and how firm the faith of all has remained through the trying and testing years of war.

This continuing confidence of the members of the Liberal Party of Canada in my leadership of the party is something for which I am indeed profoundly grateful. I believe I am right when I say that no leader of a political party living today, in any country, has been accorded, over so long a period of time, so continuous an expression of the confidence and regard of his political supporters. That is something I can never forget. It is something that nothing can ever take away. It is something for which I cannot thank you all too warmly. It is a debt of gratitude which, with all my heart, I wish to acknowledge tonight.

Whatever the future may have in store for you and for me, the knowledge of the unbroken confidence, trust and support which I have enjoyed as the leader of my party for now - almost a quarter of a century, will ever be the most cherished possession of my public life.

Confidence of people in Liberal Party during quarter of a century.

This loyalty and co-operation between the party and its leader has made possible yet another expression of confidence which I may be pardoned perhaps if I regard as even greater still. I so view it because it is not limited in any personal way, but is something which belongs to the Liberal party, to the principles which it has advocated, and to the policies to which it has sought to give effect. It is the confidence which, over the past quarter of a century, the people of our country have expressed in the Liberal Party, in the capacity of the party to sense the needs of the nation, and in the ability of Liberal administrations to govern in accordance with the will and wishes of the majority.

When, on August the 7th, 1919, I was chosen its leader, our party was in opposition. It continued in opposition until the general elections of 1921 gave

the country the opportunity

the country the opportunity to say to which party it wished to entrust the administration of the nation's affairs. From that time to the present, with the exception of a little over five years out of the last twenty-two, a Liberal administration has been in office in Canada. In the last two parliaments, the present administration has commanded a larger majority than that enjoyed by any government since Confederation. This is an expression of confidence which, also, I am anxious to acknowledge tonight. It is a debt which, on behalf of the Liberal Party of Canada, I wish to acknowledge with gratitude to the people of Canada. It is a record of which all present, and members of the party everywhere, may indeed be proud.

Confidence in the administration continues.

Within the past few weeks, there are some who have begun to assert that the present administration no longer enjoys the confidence of the country. I am not one of those who hold that view. Did I hold such a view, I would regard it as my constitutional duty to ask His Excellency the Governor General for an immediate dissolution of Parliament.

D 60794

of Parliament. I do not believe there is any other political party in Canada, or any combination of political parties, in which, from the very beginning of the war, the people of this country have had a comparable degree of confidence. Were I to announce tonight that I had asked for an immediate dissolution of Parliament, to decide the question or confidence in the administration, there would be, throughout Canada, not rejoicing, but consternation.

Parallel of political situation with that or 1940.

In 1939, the war had scarcely begun before we were told that our administration, which had been in office since 1935, no longer enjoyed the confidence of the Canadian people. We were told that a so-called national government, not a party government, was what the country required at a time of war. We were told that our war effort was not adequate. Of myself, it was said that, while I might be all right as a leader of the government, in times of peace, I was not the one to lead a government at a time of war. That was what our political opponents said. What did the Canadian people say? What was the national verdict when the appeal was made to the electorate in March of 1940? Not only was the government returned to office, but every member of the administration was re-elected.

D 60795

Nearly all or those who ran as National Government candidates were defeated. As leader of the party, I was given a following never before equalled in the Canadian House of Commons.

In the general elections of 1940, the issue was unmistakable. The people were asked to which or the political parties in Canada they wished to entrust the carrying out of Canada's war effort. The answer was decisive. The great trust of the administration of Canada's affairs at a time of war was placed in the hands of the present government. From that day to this, the government has never lost sight of the mandate it was given by the people. As was our duty, we have centred our attention, first and foremost, on the winning of the war. In doing so we have sought as well to meet, from day to day, and from month to month, those domestic problems to which the war has inevitably given rise. We have also endeavoured to look beyond into the future and to prepare to meet the many problems which will present themselves in the post-war period.

Canada's war effort magnificent

I challenge any responsible citizen to say that Canada's war effort has not been magnificent. I challenge him to show that, all circumstances considered, it has been surpassed by the war effort of any other country.

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Should this assertion be disputed, I would ask, not that the word of any public man in Canada be accepted, but that we seek the verdict of any of the allied nations. In particular, I would ask, what is the view held by the Chiefs of Staff of Great Britain and the United States who, but yesterday, were assembled in conference at Quebec? And, what is the opinion of those great men, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States, who today share in the supreme direction of the war?

It is unthinkable that all this means nothing to the people of Canada; that it means nothing to the fathers and mothers who have seen their sons and daughters leave their homes in Canada to serve in all quarters of the globe; that it means nothing to the fighting forces themselves. Is it to be said that the present administration has lost the confidence of the country because we have never lost sight of our supreme duty? Is it to be said that we have lost the country's confidence because we have performed so well the one task that matters most; done so well in the one thing that is, and will remain, the supreme task of any government until the war is won?

D 60797

The winning of the war is still
the supreme task of government

Those who think and speak otherwise have not their minds centred on the winning of the war. Their aims and their ambitions lie in other directions. They cannot, even yet, have grasped the signiricance or this war - that, among nations, it is a war of survival; that the free nations of the world are still opposed by the most powerful rorces that have ever menaced the freedom or the human race; that it is a war that threatens all that is best in a civilization it has taken centuries to create. Those who say or believe that there is today any duty of government superior to the continued direction of the country's utmost errort in the winning of the war can have no appreciation of the magnitude of the task which lies ahead. They surely cannot realize how many millions of precious lives will still be secrificed berore the war is won.

If, as a government or as a party, we had railed in our supreme duty, we might today have reason to feel we were no longer worthy of the trust we had accepted. If instead of devoting our time and thought and energies to the winning or the war, we had turned the minds of the people away from the concerted effort that is needed to

win the war;

D 60798

win the war; if we had concerned ourselves with party politics, with those things which tend, not to unite, but to divide, and had sought to undermine the efforts of others, we might indeed have cause to feel not only that we no longer merited the confidence or the people of Canada, but that we had forfeited all right to that confidence at any time in the future. Happily, on that score, we have nothing with which to reproach ourselves. Do not imagine that the people do not know and understand all these things; that they do not comprehend where their own interests lie. Do not believe that, at a time of world crisis, they would not know into what hands it was in their interest to entrust the fate of their country.

The cause of the commotion.

What then, may I ask, has occasioned all the commotion which has arisen in some political circles? The cause is not far to seek. On August the 4th, there was a provincial election in Ontario, and on August the 9th there were four federal by-elections. In the Ontario provincial contest, the government in office was defeated; in the federal by-elections, opposition candidates were returned.

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By the parties opposed to the present government, an effort has since been made to link together the Ontario provincial elections and the four federal by-elections, and to attribute the results in all cases to dissatisfaction with policies of the federal administration.

On September 15th, following the provincial elections in Ontario, and the federal by-elections, there was another provincial election, this time in Prince Edward Island. What was the result? The Liberal Government of that province was returned to power by a majority of two to one over members of the Progressive-Conservative Party. The C.C.F. Party had entered candidates in the campaign. Not one of them was elected. Every one lost his deposit. During the elections it was repeatedly stated that Premier Jones of Prince Edward Island has been conferring with the administration at Ottawa. I have not noticed that members of the Progressive-Conservative party or of the C. C. F. have been telling the people of Canada that the return of the Liberal administration in Prince Edward Island is evidence of renewed endorsation, by the electors of Prince Edward Island of the policies of the Ottawa administration.

D 60800

The Provincial Elections in Ontario

It is not my intention, at this time, to hold an inquest into the causes of the defeat of the provincial government in Ontario, or of the defeat of government supporters in the recent federal by-elections. I do not mean, however, to allow either to pass unnoticed. All I wish to say about the recent elections in Ontario is that the results were the outcome of the views entertained by the electors of the manner in which public affairs had been conducted in that province in the preceding six years, just as, in Prince Edward Island, the results were the outcome of the views entertained by the electors of that province of the manner in which their affairs had been administered. In each case, the electors expressed their opinion, not on federal issues, but on matters of provincial concern. In Ontario, they made it apparent they had lost confidence in the provincial administration; in Prince Edward Island, they made it equally apparent that they believed the provincial administration was deserving of a continuance or their confidence.

The Gallup Poll

In forming their estimate or circumstances which account for political results, there are many persons who attach considerable importance to the findings of the Gallup poll.

D 60801

I personally am not as yet prepared to substitute the responses to a Gallup poll, for my own judgment. Nor would those who conduct the Gallup poll expect this of any one. We must not ask more of the Gallup poll than it professes to provide. There are, however, many things on which it may help to throw considerable light. While not infallible, the Gallup poll has its uses. An estimate of factors which account for the outcome of the recent elections in Ontario is, I believe, a case in point. In a poll which was confined to the province of Ontario, one reason after another was given for the defeat of the Ontario administration, and for the votes received by the Progressive-Conservatives and the C.C.F. respectively. The most significant of all the findings was that in not a single instance were the results attributed to the policies of the federal administration.

As to the size of the vote actually polled in the provincial election by each of the three parties, that I believe is to be accounted for, in the main, by the effectiveness or their respective organizations.

The Federal By-elections - Party organization discontinued by Liberals

Let me speak of the federal by-elections. Here one has not to go rar afield to find the explanation of why government candidates were not returned.

D 60802

When the elections of 1940 were over, even the semblance of a federal Liberal party organization was discontinued. The party's orrices were closed. No party literature was published or distributed. In constituencies in which there were by-elections, no attention was paid to local organization until within a few weeks or polling. Since the war began, as I have already reminded you tonight, no nation-wide meetings or conventions of the party have been held. So far as federal affairs are concerned, there has been nothing in the way of party organization over that whole period of time; nor has there been, so far as the party is concerned, any organized effort to publicize the government's policies, or, even where needed, to interpret and explain their bearing upon domestic situations to which the exigencies of war have inevitably given rise.

I am not saying at the moment whether, from the point or view or national interest, or of party interests, this course or action, or rather, I should say, lack of action, has neen the wise or right one. I am merely stating the racts so far as party organization and the dissemination of information on the party's policies are concerned.

Had the other political parties followed the same course, I shoudd, at the moment, have nothing further to say on this point. But what, in fact, has been the course pursued by the other parties?

D 60803

Party Organisation and tactics of the Conservative Party

Let me speak first of the Conservative party, - now called the Progressive-Conservative party. I must be pardoned if I occasionally fail to use its latest name. During the years I have been in Parliament, that party has had a long succession of names and leaders. The elections of 1940 were scarcely over before the storm signals of party controversy began to make their appearance on the benches of the official opposition in parliament and throughout the country. In their secret conclaves, the Conservative party - it was not Progressive-Conservative then - began to organize a campaign against the administration with a view to dividing its forces, and substituting a different administration for the one that had been returned with such an overwhelming majority. Throughout 1941, the issue of conscription for overseas service was forced to the fore, and talk of a national government to enforce conscription was revived. In July and August of that year, the then leader of the Conservative Opposition, with members of his party, made a tour of western Canada for the purpose, amongst other things, of seeing that constituencies were properly organized. In November of 1941, a meeting of Conservatives in Ottawa chose a new leader for the Conservative party.

No longer was there to be even the pretence of co-operation with the government in its war effort, but instead out-and-out opposition to the administration on the floor of the House of Commons. That attempt at open conflict failed with the defeat of the new leader in York South in February 1942. A conscription issue which would have split this country from one end to the other, and vastly impaired Canada's war effort, was thereby, for the time being, avoided in Parliament. It was avoided throughout the country by the plebiscite of 1942, which made clear that the government had perfect freedom to adopt conscription for overseas service at any time, if, as a means of helping to win the war, that step should become necessary. Since 1940, to this hour, there has not been a time, when ships were available in numbers sufficient to carry across the seas, the men who in Canada had enlisted voluntarily for service anywhere. The same has been true with respect to the transportation of available supplies of munitions.

In September of last year, at a meeting held at Port Hope, the Conservative party made a fresh start at political organization. That meeting was followed by a National Convention at Winnipeg in December, at which time the party outfitted itself with its new name, a new leader, and a new set of policies. From that day to this, the Progressive-Conservative party has been most active in publicising its new leader, in building up its

<u>organization at headquarters</u>

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organization at headquarters in Ottawa, and throughout Canada in the different constituencies.

It can scarcely be said that Mr. Bracken, the new leader of the Progressive-Conservative party, has made co-operation with the government in a united effort to win the war, his main objective. Because of his position as leader of the party which constitutes the official opposition in parliament, Mr. Bracken, throughout the past session, should have been the leader of the official Opposition in the House of Commons. Instead, he has been touring Canada from one end to the other in the interests of the political fortunes of the Progressive-Conservative party, and of himself as its leader. The party, at the same time, has retained the services of organizers, whose whole time is being given to the work of party organization and publicity.

I am not saying that the Progressive-Conservative party has not a perfect right to do as it pleases with respect to its own affairs. All that I wish to make clear is that, as regards political organization and political propaganda, in these years of war, its course has been quite the opposite to that followed by the government and its supporters.

Party organization and tactics of
The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation

The same is true of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation party. Members of that party, during all the years

D 60806

of war, have steadily built up their party organization. They have, throughout, maintained offices for the publication and dissemination of party literature. They have had annual or semi-annual meetings of their National Council. In the summer of last year, they held a largely attended National Convention. They have been indefatigable in the work of political propaganda.

The propaganda of the C.C.F. has been very subtle. Today, that party professes its desire for an all-out war effort. I do not need to remind you of their attitude in 1939. In those days, the C.C.F. stood for a stay-at-home war effort. But while, in very general terms, they talk today about a total effort, when it comes to supporting the measures needed to achieve an utmost effort, their actions fail to measure up to their words.

The C.C.F. would have the people believe that they are the sole champions of the interests of labour and of the poor and the depressed. But the C.C.F. has never given real support to the price control policy of Canada, although price control is the most important measure ever taken in Canada to protect the standard of living of the less fortunate members of society. They are continually seeking to spread discontent with price and wage stabilization. They tell the people that the C.C.F. policy is based on the policy of the New Zealand

government

D 60807

government and they speak of the lot of Labour in Australia. But they don't say that New Zealand has adopted the same system of price and wage control as Canada, and that Australia has also done the same.

C.C.F. propagandists never tell the people that an all-out war effort means burdens for everyone, scarcity, inconvenience and hardship. They talk as though the people at home are entitled to a painless war effort. They steadily exploit every grievance and every irritation. How much have you heard them tell of the sacrifices which the men at the front are being called upon to endure? How many times have you heard them say that all must be prepared to bear increasing burdens, if this war is to be brought to an end before the destruction of the youth of Canada has reached devastating proportions!

The C.C.F. have been boring into the Labour organizations of the country, that through the medium of organized Labour they may further their political ambitions and aims. They are doing their utmost to make Labour believe that the present administration is hostile to Labour. They have thus been making more difficult - one of the most difficult of all tasks at a time of war - the maintenance of friendly relations between Government and Labour, and confidence and co-operation between all classes.

D 60808

co-operation between all classes. They have not been content to wait till the war is won to try to have organized labour become the wing of a political party. They openly profess that this is their aim, and they are using the circumstances of war to effect that end. The leaders of the Canadian Congress of Labour have already announced their acceptance of this alliance. To strengthen this very questionable alliance while the war is on, the C.C.F. have been taking advantage of every irritation and grievance it is possible for them to exploit. The very controls which, in war-time, are necessary to protect Labour, in common with the entire community, are cited as evidence of the government's hostility.

A Word to Labour

Let me say to Labour that, for some years before 1900, when I entered the public service to assist in the organization of a Federal Department of Labour, and became the Deputy Minister and, later, in 1909, the Minister of that department, and in all the years that have since intervened, I have watched, with an interest, second to none in my life, the steady advance of Labour into a fuller recognition of its rights and dignity. I have been interested in its struggle for economic freedom because I believe labour represents, in its aims and aspirations, the yearnings and feelings of the poor, the humble, and the lowly in their struggle against poverty and adversity.

D 60809

and adversity, against want and misery - the one right, surely, that makes life worth living for any man whose heart has not become hardened against his fellowmen. But, I have yet to see an alliance made by Labour with any political party, or Labour itself become a political party, seeking its own ends as against those of society generally, that the outcome has not, sooner or later, proven disastrous alike to Labour and to the country.

Labour needs all the good-will, assistance and friendship it can win from men and women of all political parties, and of those who know nothing of politics. It will have all of these, in ever increasing measure, as it maintains its freedom to give its support wherever it may feel that support will best serve the common good. The claims of Humanity are superior to those of Industry; they are superior to the special claims of either Capital or Labour. It is the general, not the particular interest that needs to be kept uppermost in the minds of all today. That is as true of political parties, as of the parties to Industry. Political parties will only survive as they seek to serve the general, not the particular interest, and are broad enough to include within their membership men and women of all classes, of all creeds, of all conditions of economic circumstance, and of all walks of life.

D 60810

Let Labour remember that it has everything to win or lose in the outcome of the present world war. Its own struggle is reflected on a world scale in this ~~Atlantic~~ titanic conflict between the forces of tyranny and those of freedom. The battle which is being fought out with such appalling suffering and terrible destruction of human life in every quarter of the globe today is nothing so limited as a struggle between individual nations, or between peoples of different origins or race or colour. It is a struggle to decide whether the general interest of mankind is to be superior to all special interests, be the special interest the military might of Germany or Japan; or the special interest of Nazi, Fascist, or some other form of single political control.

This C.C.F. appeal to Labour is coupled with deceptive propaganda about profiteering by wealthy interests. No war-time government in any country, in this, or in any other war, has adopted a more complete programme to prevent profiteering than has the present government. And no government has ever enforced its policies more rigorously.

No one could object to a political party in opposition, advocating its own principles and policies and offering its own programme, even in wartime. That is the duty and purpose of an opposition. It is quite another thing to base political

D 60811

campaigns on tactics, whatever their purpose may be, which cannot but have the effect of serving to undermine the effort of the nation at a time of war.

The Bloc Populaire Canadien and other minor parties

There is a third opposition group of which I should now like to speak. It is the most recent and for the sake of Canadian unity, I trust it may be the most short-lived. I refer to the so-called Bloc Populaire Canadien. Its self-appointed leaders who are a small group of malcontents are indifferent to the good name of Canada, and to the security of Canada. They pretend that Canada is in no danger in this war. They talk as though Britain and not Nazi Germany was the real enemy. They are against further participation in the war. The Bloc Populaire is the only party I have ever heard of whose platform and policies are contained in the single word "non". That negative and destructive appeal has exceedingly harmful possibilities both to the war effort and the future of Canada.

The Bloc Populaire deliberately seeks to set Quebec against the rest of Canada. It is apparently indifferent to the harm it will do the people of Quebec if it succeeds, by setting the rest of Canada, and indeed the rest of North America, against Quebec. The real design of its leaders is to gain votes and influence by exploiting racial differences and stirring up racial animosities.

This exploitation of race, religious and other prejudices was carried to an extreme limit in the recent by-elections in Quebec. and accounts in the main for the defeat of the government candidates. It may prove all to the good that the people of Quebec have been put on their guard thus early. I am perfectly certain that any appreciable numbers of the population of that province will not allow themselves to be misled by these false prophets. They have already been denounced by the overwhelming majority of the members of parliament from Quebec. But let there be no mistake about it, the ~~maximum~~ poison which they are spreading needs to be counteracted, actively and vigorously, by all who believe in the unity and the destiny of Canada as a great and free nation.

I shall not take time to refer to other parties such as the Social Credit Party, which is shrinking rapidly, and the most recent of all, the latest Progressive party - the Labour-Progressive party. The existence of these minor parties does, however, point to a danger which threatens the effective working of our Parliamentary democracy. It is the tendency to multiply parties and groups. The fate of unhappy France should be a terrible warning against this trend. It constitutes a national peril.

I have said enough to let you see how I account for the defeat of government candidates in the recent by-elections.

D 60813

I do not think anyone can say that, from the beginning of the war, I have failed to keep before the people of Canada the appalling seriousness of the world situation and the magnitude of the conflict itself. I can truthfully say that I have done all that lies within my power to avoid and to discourage unnecessary political controversy at this time of war, and to keep Canada united. No one can accuse the government of not having concentrated its energies upon the winning of the war, and upon making Canada's war effort just as effective as it could be made. But while the government has been giving its time and attention, all but exclusively, to the promotion of Canada's war effort, and to the solution of the problems which arise from day to day out of the war, the political parties by which it is opposed have been pursuing a different course. Instead of assisting the government in making clear to the people the terrible nature of the world conflict and the urgency of the demands of war, they have been developing and perfecting their political organizations, disseminating their party propaganda and exploiting the discontents which inevitably arise from the controls it is necessary to impose at a time of war, and the irritation which comes from restrictions of any kind. For the government of a country at war, this is an intolerable situation which cannot be allowed to continue.

D 60814

The question of a general Election

At Toronto, on Saturday the 16th instant, at a dinner which opened the four day conference of the Ontario Council of the C.C.F., Mr. E. B. Jolliffe, the provincial C.C.F. leader, forecast a coming Dominion election. He pointed to the successes of his party in the province of Ontario as a sign-post of things to come. Mr. Jolliffe is reported as having said: "The next federal election is the most important in the history of the Canadian people. Ontario is the key province, and when the next election comes, - that may be any time now, - Ontario will decide the issue." Of the government at Ottawa, he is reported to have said: "It may call a quick election in the hope that once again the electors will support King rather than change horses in the middle of the stream." Mr. Jolliffe is then said to have called upon the party "to wage the federal campaign with more drive and determination than ever before". So much for what appears in quotations, of what was said at the dinner. The Canadian Press report concludes: "At today's meeting, held behind closed doors, a campaign was organized to extend party activities to every riding in Ontario."

For Canada's armed forces abroad, it must be evident that the present year and whatever period may follow, represents, if not the middle of the stream or war, certainly its most

turbulent and dangerous course. Mr. Jolliffe, elated as he is over the recent successes of his party in the Ontario provincial campaign, recognizes that an immediate election in the federal field would be very different rrom the recent provincial campaign in Ontario. Even with his limited experience in politics, it is apparent to him that to see this country through the war, the people of Canada are not going to substitute a C.C.F. government for the present administration. Nor, indeed, were an election to take place tomorrow, would the people of Canada, be any more likely than were the people of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, in the elections they have held in the present year, to entrust the mighty task of seeing Canada through this war to any government other than the one now responsible ror the direction or the war effort.

I may say to Mr. Jolliffe that were I, like him, thinking in terms of winning elections, rather than, as I am, of winning the war, I would find in the assertions of himself, and others who claim that the present administration does not enjoy the confidence of the country, ample grounds for advising His Excellency the Governor General to grant an immediate dissolution of Parliament. I should have no doubt whatever as to what the results of the appeal would be.

Mr. Jolliffe would find, as others whose main concern was a change of government, found in 1940, that the people of Canada have a much keener perception of the seriousness of the present world situation than some people believe they have. At this of all times, the Canadian people are not in a mood to countenance any change of administration which would weaken or impair the influence and might of the magnificent war effort of this country.

Canada's fighting men must be her first concern

Before the adjournment of Parliament, the pride of the Canadian people had been deeply stirred by the significant part which Canadian armed forces had taken in the invasion of Sicily. I was able, at the time, to point to the contrast of the situation as it presented itself at the time of adjournment the year before. At that time, the United Nations had experienced nearly eight months of reverses and setbacks. This continent was immediately threatened from the West. On the East, enemy U-boats ranged destructively along our coast, and into the Gulf and River St. Lawrence. Fortunately, this year, before Parliament adjourned, the tide had definitely turned. Everywhere the forces or freedom had the initiative.

Speaking in the House of Commons on the morning of the day of adjournment, I gave to the members of Parliament and to the people of Canada a very clear and definite statement

or the position

of the position as I then viewed it. I knew that before Parliament reassembled in the new year, there would be much speculation as to what the government's course in relation to a general election might be. I was anxious that political controversy, certain to develop in the then approaching Ontario elections, and the federal by-elections, should not, regardless of results, be allowed, if at all possible, to divert the minds of the Canadian people from an utmost effort in the winning of the war, until final victory was achieved. Accordingly, I set forth in unequivocal words, my own view as to the course which I believed it to be the duty of the government to pursue. This view I expressed in the following words:-

> "While our fears about its outcome have lessened, the war, in a more immediate way, has been brought closer than ever to us. All arms of our fighting services are now in the thick of the conflict. Our fighting men are certain to continue in action on many fronts, until the enemy has surrendered. No one can say for how long that may be. Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

I see no reason whatever to alter the course there outlined because of anything which has taken place, in either the federal or provincial political arenas, since these words were spoken. Indeed, all that has since taken place, in the arena of war, affords to my mind the strongest of reasons for adhering with greater determination than ever to the resolution there expressed. Let me repeat its words:

> "Our men face a terrible ordeal of battle. Until victory is achieved, above all else, they must command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support."

It was in that light, and in that light alone, at the time of Parliament's adjournment on July 24th, that I felt any question as to the time for a general election in Canada should be viewed. I hold to that opinion more strongly than ever today.

Circumstances governing the date of an election

This does not mean that a general election may not have to be held before the war is over, or rather before an armistice may be declared in Europe on the basis of the unconditional surrender of Germany. How long it may take to overthrow the Nazi tyranny and the military might of Germany no one can say. About all we can be reasonably certain of is that, as

Mr. Churchill told the British House of Commons the other day, the bloodiest fighting is still to come. Until that terrible period is past no one could wish for a general election in Canada, if it is at all possible to avoid one. But a general election may, nonetheless, prove to be inevitable before the war in Europe is over.

First of all, there is the limitation placed by the constitution upon the life of parliament. I hold strong views upon the duty of a government to see that the people are secured in their constitutional right to say who, within stated periods, is to represent them in the making of laws and the administration of public affairs. Should the war in Europe continue on into 1945, it will be necessary, regardless of what may happen meanwhile, for the government at some time in that year to give the people their opportunity to say to whom they wish to entrust the administration of the country's affairs in a succeeding parliament.

Apart from the constitutional limitation, circumstances might arise which would make it necessary for the government to appeal to the people at any time. One such circumstance would be sufficient evidence that any considerable proportion of the people were unwilling to continue to support the policies which, in the opinion of the government, are necessary to enable the

D60820

war effort of the country to be carried on, in a manner which would ensure the utmost support being given our fighting men as they continue to face the terrible ordeal of battle.

Possible difficulties in parliament

Another such circumstance would be the kind and degree of obstruction with which the government might come to be faced in parliament from members of those parties and groups which compose the Opposition. I doubt if the Canadian people fully realize that while there is one government representative of the majority in parliament, there is opposed to the government a series of minority parties - the Progressive Conservative party, the C.C.F. party, the Social Credit party, to which have recently been added a miscellaneous group composed of members of The Bloc Populaire, so-called Independents, and Labour Progressives -- all of which have ambitions of their own. At times it has looked as if members of each of these parties and groups felt it imperative to rival the others in going them one better in bidding for support by the electors, or in criticizing the administration. Almost any one of these groups, to say nothing of a combination of two or more, could, if it desired, so impede the progress of business in parliament, or so misrepresent and distort the government policies as to make it next to impossible for any government to carry on. Such a situation would be bad enough

at any time

at any time. It would be an impossible situation for an administration charged with the responsibility of governing at a time of war. An experience of the kind would leave the government no alternative but a dissolution.

There is another possibility which might arise. It is that even within the government itself, and the ranks of its supporters, for causes at the moment wholly unforeseen, differences of view on matters of policy might arise which it might be found impossible to reconcile. In such a situation the only solution would be the verdict of the people themselves. Personally, I have little fear of anything of the kind occurring. But it is a possibility which, with the problems of government what they have become after four years of war, and in an atmosphere of strain and tension such as war engenders, no leader of a government can afford to overlook.

To all this must be added, in considering the date of a possible election, happenings and events at present completely beyond our ken, outside as well as within Canada, any one of which might make advisable or necessary, a reconstitution of the government or an immediate appeal to the people.

Support of fighting men the first consideration in deciding upon elections.

I am most anxious to take the country as completely as I can into my confidence in a matter so all-important as a general election at a time of war. All I can honestly say is

that I trust

that I trust it may not be necessary to hold a general election before the hour at which we may look forward to welcoming back, to their own homeland, those of that great company of the sons and daughters of Canada who have survived the ordeal of battle in the different theatres of war. Whether a general election can be delayed until that time, I cannot say. I have indicated to you, as far as, at the moment, I am able to foresee them, the circumstances that will govern the decision.

We owe it to our fighting men to ensure, by our united support, the success of their arms. We owe this no less to the memory of those men who at sea, on land and in the air already have given their lives; and to those also who have given their strength or their liberty that we may continue to enjoy the freedom we have, and to provide for others a larger freedom than most men have yet enjoyed. This can, I believe, be realized if, until victory is achieved, our fighting men command a singleness of purpose in our hearts and minds, and the utmost that our country can give in their support.

D 60823

Fellow members of the Liberal Party of Canada:

In my opening remarks, this evening, I referred to that memorable gathering of our Party which was held in Toronto on August 8th, 1939. In my address on that occasion, I concluded with the following words:

> "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 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 interests of mankind."

In those words, I was telling the people of Canada, no less than the members of my own party, that I believed the country was already under the shadow of war and that when war came, it would menace the freedom of all men.

Looking back, tonight, over four years of war, we may all feel the deepest satisfaction that Liberalism in Canada has been true to its fundamental principle - the defence of freedom. The

task of Liberalism will not

be finished when the war is won. That great moment will but mark a pl
place of new beginning. The future of the Liberal Party will
not be found in defending the privileges of the few, or in
arousing the prejudices of the many. It will be found in
serving the whole community, and in promoting the security
and freedom of all the people. In meeting the problems of the
post-war period, the task of Liberalism will remain the
preservation and the extension of freedom.

Insert on page eleven before heading "Gallup Poll" D 60825

Perhaps I may be permitted to add my personal opinion that had there been, at this time of war, on the part of the government of Ontario, the same kind and measure of co-operation with the Federal Government as there was on the part of the governments of every other province in Canada, there would be a Liberal Government in office in Ontario today, and some of the very difficult situations with which the party has been confronted would never have arisen.

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

WJT 1.II.43

D 60827

Mover - Major Harris - (Grey-Bruce)

Seconder - Lt. Col. Hallé
(Brome-Missisquoi)

Reflected credit to themselves;
Contribution armed services and Canada.

Speaking in uniform;
Thanks of M.P.s;
Recognition of armed services.

Speeches - appreciation of services -

endurance, valour, sacrifices.

" - expression of Canadian Unity.

Speeches that actuated men at Dieppe

Abbé Sabourin

Wider outlook gained by enterprise.

Appreciation of what expected in post-war period.

Key note to deliberations of session.

1.II.43

Throne Speech debate D 60828

1. Canada's relation to combined Anglo-American organization.

Have in mind - all United Nations,
" parts Br. Em.
espec. - 4 Great Powers.

Strategy - a matter for military authorities.

Combined Chiefs of Staff -
Washington - London.

Canada - represented at Washington:
Pope.

Liaison.

Canada's chiefs visit U. S.

British chiefs " Canada.

War Committee of Cabinet -
Dept. in Council.

Informed by cables from London -

" " Macdonald
and Massey.

2 to 3 days' visit with President -
Pacific Conference -
Canadian Minister to Washington

Plans marked out - in series of steps.

Nothing finally decided at conference.

File 122 (12)

D 60829

Prime Minister's Speech on Address

Bureaucracy

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

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

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

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

D 60830

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

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

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

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

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

D 60831

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

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

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

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

Criticism to be useful, should be precise and specific.

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

Do they mean the permanent civil servants?

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

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

If so, this is a strange conception of bureaucracy.

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

5. What is behind the criticism?

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

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

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

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

P.M's Speech on Address

D 60833 pleuro
122

Manpower

No intention of embarking on detailed discussion of subject which will be debated at appropriate stage.

Wish to point merely to a few salient facts.

Manpower needs for fiscal year 1942-3 estimated as follows on March 24th: 1942 ~~1942~~ want 2 mm?

War Industry	100,000
Navy	13,000
Army	90-100,000
Air Force	70- 80,000

160-193 mm

Various revisions made from time to time in light of changing needs of war. Army estimates raised because of increased home defence programme. (Unrevised Hansard p.1708)

Actual achievements of 1942 for calendar year:

War Industry	over 300,000
Armed Forces	over 200,000

In other words, the achievements in mobilization of manpower greatly exceeded the goals set in 1942.

In controversy over methods, let us not forget that results are what really count.

Method of course, important.

Government never minimized difficulties.
(See extracts attached from Speech on Address, January 26, 1942 - Unrevised Hansard p.53)

D 60834

Unrevised Hansard -

January 26, 1942, p. 53

The Prime Minister:

The administrative machinery required to carry out the proposed measures equitably and efficiently will necessarily be intricate and complicated. The capacities of men and women cannot be weighed and measured and graded with the same certainty as the qualities of wheat or cement or steel can be determined. To perform the complicated task of selection with success will demand both time and skill.

D 60835

Unrevised Hansard -

January 26, 1942, p. 53

The Prime Minister:

Certainly no government is wise enough to decide the appropriate task for every individual in the nation. And, even if governments were all-knowing, the war would not wait while this stupendous job was being performed. What the government can do, and what we propose to undertake to do, is to meet the urgent needs by the best means we can devise.

D 60836

Manpower

Essential Labour in Agriculture

Government has recognized the need to maintain labour on farms by measures for stabilization of employment in agriculture announced on March 24 of last year.

So far as military training and service is concerned the effectiveness of these measures can be illustrated by figures.

Before the stabilization order was passed, only 63% of requests for postponements by farmers and agricultural workers were granted; since the order was passed over 93% have been granted and less than 7% refused.

Increasingly stringent control is being exercised over the granting of permits to farmers and agricultural workers to seek employment outside agriculture. All but a very small number of the permits granted have been of a temporary nature and for seasonal employment in essential primary industries.

The Government recognizes that stabilization measures only conserve existing labour and do not provide additional help which may be needed.

Shortages are bound to occur in agriculture as in other activities, because of magnitude of manpower mobilized for armed forces and war industries.

D 60837

Active consideration being given by Selective Service administration to meeting shortages where possible.

Government will welcome constructive suggestions by members and will give all suggestions full consideration.

P.M's Speech on Address

D 60838

Manpower

No intention of embarking on detailed discussion of subject which will be debated at appropriate stage.

Wish to point merely to a few salient facts.

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Navy	13,000
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(See extracts attached from Speech on Address, January 26, 1942 - Unrevised Hansard p.53)

D 60839

Unrevised Hansard -

January 26, 1942, p. 53

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D 60840

Unrevised Hansard -

January 26, 1942, p. 53

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122 file re Mutual Aid Wm Supplies (7)

P.M's Speech

P 60841

The Financing and Allocation of War Supplies
to the United Nations

Provision made last year for payment by Canada of cost of war supplies contributed to Britain up to a billion dollars.

Full amount already expended.

War Supplies contributed by Canada were in fact allocated by Britain to the forces of other United Nations as well as to British forces.

Canadian war supplies for use of allied forces are an integral part of Canada's total war effort.

Government believe it more consistent with Canada's status as a full partner in United Nations to make our own allocations of Canadian war supplies, in full consultation, of course, with our allies.

Government proposes to introduce legislation which will establish a Canadian War Supplies Allocation Board to be composed of Ministers of the Crown.

Canadian war supplies to be furnished on conditions which will not burden post war commerce, give cause for the imposition of trade restrictions or otherwise prejudice a just and enduring peace.

D 60842

Financial aspects will be explained by Minister of Finance when Bill before the House.

Important to realize: that Canada's utmost contribution to the victory of the United Nations cannot be exclusively military;
that the more weapons Canada can deliver to the allied forces in addition to those needed for our own forces, the sooner the war will be won and the smaller will be the sacrifice of human life.

P.M's Speech

D 60843

The Financing and Allocation of War Supplies
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D 60844

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that the more weapons Canada can deliver to the allied forces in addition to those needed for our own forces, the sooner the war will be won and the smaller will be the sacrifice of human life.

D 60845

P.M.'s Speech on Address

Recent Canadian naval successes against submarines.

I would just like to mention that within the past few months we have been able to announce the sinking by the corvette H.M.C.S. OAKVILLE of a German submarine in the Caribbean and the rescuing by H.M.C.S. MORDEN, also a corvette, of 194 men, women and children, who were passengers on a Canadian Merchantmen torpedoed in the Atlantic.

A Canadian Naval force of 5 warships co-operated with the U.S. forces in effecting a landing in the Aleutians while 17 of Canada's corvettes assisted in the landing of U.S. and British troops in North Africa.

Only a week ago, we were able to announce the sinking of a German submarine in the Mediterranean by a Canadian corvette, the H.M.C.S. VILLE DE QUEBEC, and today we were happy to announce a further sinking, also in the Mediterranean, of an Italian submarine by H.M.C.S. PORT ARTHUR.

D 60846

Manpower

Essential Labour in Agriculture

Government recognized need to maintain labour on farms by measures for stabilization of employment in agriculture announced on March 24 of last year.

So far as military training and service is concerned effectiveness of measures can be illustrated by figures.

Before the stabilization order was passed, only 63% of requests for postponements by farmers and agricultural workers were granted; since the order was passed over 93% have been granted and less than 7% refused.

Increasingly stringent control is being exercised over the granting of permits to farmers and agricultural workers to seek employment outside agriculture. All but a very small number of the permits granted have been of a temporary nature and for seasonal employment in essential primary industries.

Government recognizes that stabilization measures only conserve existing labour and do not provide additional help which may be needed.

Shortages bound to occur in agriculture as in other activities, because of magnitude of manpower mobilized for armed forces and war industries.

D 60847

Active consideration being given by Selective Service administration to meeting shortages where possible.

Government will welcome constructive suggestions by members and will give all suggestions full consideration.

D 60848

Prime Minister's Speech on Address

Canadian Coal Situation

(Subject raised by hon. member for Lake Centre on Orders of the Day on Friday, Jan. 29. Material supplied by Coal Administrator and Labour Dept.)

West - Head of Lakes to the Pacific Coast

Shortages have occurred in many areas due to:

(a) Loss of man power from the mines.

(b) Greatly increased demand due to war industries, requirements for the Armed Forces, lack of wood fuel and the extremely severe winter.

(c) Transportation difficulties due to increased traffic demands, heavy snow conditions and low temperature.

(d) Strikes and slow down methods employed by the miners thereby seriously interfering with production; also greatly increased absenteeism.

Measures Taken to Meet the Situation

(1) Granting of leave to miners in the Armed Forces to return to the mines. 285 already returned, others being actively canvassed.

(2) Combing of industry by the National Selective Service to induce miners to return to their original employment. From Nov. 1st to Jan. 14th about 2.300 men placed in mines by Selective Service.

(3) Adjustment of wage scales by the National War Labour Board.

(4) Encouragement and financial assistance to operators to maintain and expand present production.

D 60849

(5) Appointment of regional representatives of the Coal Administrator in Winnipeg, Calgary and Vancouver to regulate and allocate distribution.

East - Head of Lakes and Eastward

There have been no serious difficulties in this area with the possible exception of isolated anthracite shortages due to the strike in the Pennsylvania anthracite fields during January. Even prior to the anthracite strike the anthracite mines were some two months behind in their deliveries.

Some slight difficulties occurred in distribution due to lack of labour and heavy weather conditions.

Summary

The Government has recently set up an Emergency Coal Production Board headed by the Coal Administrator, Mr. J. McG. Stewart. It has had a number of important meetings and has done considerable investigative work into the human financial and statistical facts of Canadian coal production. Study has also been given to Manpower, Absenteeism, Transportation, and Distribution. (Order in Council creating the Board and Press release attached).

Notwithstanding the extensive Government publicity all last summer advising the public to buy and store their coal early and also the financial credit arrangements made to assist the public to buy early, there was a failure on the part of many to heed these warnings.

Coal supplies have been maintained to meet all industrial, railway, and war plant requirements.

FILE CONTINUES ON NEXT REEL

LE DOSSIER CONTINUE SUR LA BOBINE SUIVANTE

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